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**Dealing with Natural Hazards through
Local Knowledge: The People from
Talim Island's (*Taga-Isla*) Patterns of
Thought, Cosmology and the Worlds
Beyond the Human**

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ABSTRACT

This study is an ethnography of conversations between humans and nonhuman entities. By *conversation*, I mean constant interaction and intimate relationship with the natural surroundings over a long period of time, leading to the acquisition and accumulation of skills, beliefs, perceptions and understandings of the physical world through day-to-day practice and experience. It comprises conversations between the *taga-isla*, the people from Talim Island, and the elements, between them and nonhuman beings, between them and natural phenomena (*masamang panahon/bagyo*), and between them, nonhuman beings and natural phenomena. It underscores the centrality of these conversations to the performance and realization of their way of life particularly in grappling with natural hazards. In this light, it looks into their cognition or patterns of thought by probing the domain of the elements and bringing to light the structure, relationships and patterns of the winds, and unveils how these are deeply embedded and suffused into their consciousness and way of life and vital in coming to terms with hydrometeorological phenomena and *masamang panahon*, the local concept for hydrometeorological hazards. It also delves into their ways of construing their surroundings in view of ensuing *masamang panahon* and brings to the fore how resiliency is entrenched in local cosmology. In addition, it explores their relationship with nonhuman life forms and zeroes in on the essentiality of the latter's behaviors in managing the said hazards. Corollary, it probes the worlds beyond the human and the life forms that inhabit them vis-à-vis the *taga-isla* themselves and their world and presents through ethnography how nonhuman life forms may come to know things on their own, possess consciousness and intentionality, and exercise agency- capabilities that are imperative not only in understanding transspecies/transpersons relationships but also in grasping how the *taga-isla* come to grips with *masamang panahon*. On this account, this study valorizes local knowledge, as within it that conversations are contained and constantly shaped and reformulated. In this regard, it is a study that looks into the *taga-isla's* local knowledge in view of the performance of their way of life especially in grappling with natural hazards, underlining their cognition, world view and belief system, and their conversations with other nonhuman life forms and the elements and weather.

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From its inception to gestation to completion, *Dealing with Natural Hazards through Local Knowledge: The People from Talim Island's (Taga-Isla) Patterns of Thought, Cosmology and the Worlds Beyond the Human* owes much of the life it has taken to my very patient and able mentors both from Université catholique de Louvain (UCLouvain) and University of the Philippines Diliman (UP Diliman) and to my unselfish and kind collaborators, the *taga-isla*, who selflessly shared not only their time but more importantly their very selves to this undertaking.

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Table of Contents

Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
List of Pictures and Illustrations	ix
List of Maps, Tables and Figures	xiii
Introduction	1
1.1. Finding meaning for the data	1
1.2. Research objectives	3
1.3. Conceptual Frameworks	4
1.4. Methodologies	6
1.4.1. Ethical issues	7
1.5. Importance of the study	8
1.6. Definition of terms	9
1.6.1. Local knowledge: a vanishing knowledge?	11
1.6.2. A colonized mind?	12
1.6.3. Local knowledge: a hybridized knowledge	13
1.7. Organization of the study	15
Chapter II. Study area, research collaborators and methodologies	19
2.1. Situating the study area and the research collaborators	20
2.1.1. Laguna de Bay, the municipalities of Binangonan and Cardona and Talim Island	21
2.1.1.a. <i>Laguna de Bay</i>	21
2.1.1.b. <i>The municipalities of Binangonan and Cardona in Rizal Province</i>	24
2.1.1.c. <i>Talim Island</i>	25
2.1.2. Study sites	26
2.1.3. Socio-economic profile	28
2.2. Methodology	37
2.2.1. Ethnographic fieldwork	37
2.2.1.a. <i>The Invisible Visible Anthropologist</i>	37
2.2.1.b. <i>The Filipino Foreigner</i>	38
2.2.1.c. <i>The Fugitive or Police Asset?</i>	40
2.2.1.d. <i>The Ethnographer's Magic and Magic Moment</i>	41
2.2.1.e. <i>Interviews</i>	43
2.2.1.f. <i>Focus Group Discussions</i>	44
2.2.1.g. <i>Ethnographic workshop</i>	46
2.2.3. Primary and Secondary data	49
Chapter III. Talim Island and the <i>taga-isla</i> , the people from the island: an historical background	51
3.1. Talim Island's volcanic origin	51
3.2. The island during Spanish colonization	52
3.2.1. The peopling of the island	59
3.3. Sufferings and terrors at the hands of the Americans and Japanese	60
3.4. Post-war island transformation	63
3.4.1. Emergence of new important fish species and proliferation of aquaculture industries	63
3.4.2. Technological metamorphosis	67

3.4.3. Utilizing the knowledge of the elements	69
3.4.4. Demographical sea change	71
3.5. The ‘people from the river’ of Central and South Luzon and the nation Tagala	74
3.5.1. Absence of homogeneity	75
3.5.2. Never a ‘ <i>tanga-isla</i> ’ (dumb islander), but a better off ‘ <i>taga-isla</i> ’ (from the island)	76
3.5.3. Apprehensive of developments	79
Chapter IV. The realm of the elements: harmonious conflict and conflicted harmony	82
4.1. Major winds’ appellations and characteristics	83
4.2. Minor winds’ appellations and characteristics	88
4.3. The Winds’ relationships, structure and system	90
4.3.1. <i>Magkasalubungan</i> : Binary relationships between the elements	90
4.3.1.a. The binary relationships engendered by the ‘domain of the physical’	91
4.3.1.b. Binary relationships emanating from the ‘domain of thought’	96
4.3.2. The elaborate system of the elements	102
4.4. The fragmented but continuous world	106
Chapter V. Forewarned is forearmed: conversing with the elements and <i>bagyo</i> ’s fellowship with the great winds	111
5.1. <i>Taga-isla</i> ’s idea of <i>sama ng panahon</i> , <i>kalamidad</i> , <i>sakuna</i> and <i>trahedya</i>	112
5.2. Of tensions and contradictions	116
5.3. Dealing with <i>sama ng panahon</i> , <i>kalamidad</i> and <i>sakuna</i> using local knowledge of winds	118
5.3.1. Five seasons and two sub-seasons of great winds in a year	121
5.3.2. <i>Habagat</i> and <i>Amihan</i> , the two contending but complementing forces	126
5.3.3. Seeing and feeling the weather	132
5.4. Dealing with <i>sama ng panahon</i> , <i>kalamidad</i> and <i>sakuna</i> using local knowledge of <i>bagyo</i>	137
5.4.1. <i>Hilaga</i> , <i>Bagyo</i> and <i>Timog</i> : The fellowship of great winds and the cycle of chaos and order	138
5.5. Forewarned is forearmed: local knowledge and the importance of being abreast of the natural surroundings	143
Chapter VI. Anticipating the future: re-presenting the not-yet in the now through conversation with nonhuman life forms	146
6.1. Notion of presence and absence	146
6.1.1 Windless breakage	150
6.2. From above, going down	152
6.3. From below, going up	155
6.4. The binary opposition in grappling with natural hazards through conversation with nonhuman life forms	159
6.5. The union of opposition	159

6.6. The ‘meaningful’ meaning in a complex whole/context	163
6.7. Nonhuman life forms consciousness and agency	165
6.8. Other signs	167
Chapter VII. Worlds beyond the human: communication, representation and agency in other nonhuman life forms	172
7.1. Animals know	173
7.2. Signs in the world	177
7.3. Analogic collectives and the world-in-becoming	178
7.4. Semiotic modalities	179
7.5. Conversations	181
7.6. Trans-species/transpersons conversations and natural hazards	185
7.6.1. Wholeness of meanings within the semiotic chain	186
7.6.2. Agency beyond the human	189
7.7. Perceiving signs and nonsemiotic, nonhuman entities	193
7.8. Recapitulation	194
Conclusion	196
8.1. Foundational patterns of the <i>taga-isla</i> ’s thought	197
8.1.2. Complex whole: binary opposition and its opposition	199
8.2. Valorizing indigenous knowledge and thought in dealing with natural hazards	203
8.2.1. The <i>taga-isla</i> ’s cosmology	205
8.2.1.a. Human and nonhuman world	207
8.3. Worlds beyond the human	208
8.4. <i>Taga-isla</i> ’s distinct ontology	211
8.5. Limitations and recommendations	213
8.5.1. A more comprehensive scope	213
8.5.2. Factoring in anthropogenic hazards	213
8.5.3. Impact of development and influx of outsiders’ influences	214
Bibliography	215
Appendix A	226
Appendix B	271

List of Pictures and Illustrations

Picture 1.1. The traditional <i>altaris</i> , a community-wide festivity a day after the celebration of the town fiesta. This event showcases two interesting features: one, it is a day of celebration reserved only for the <i>taga-isla</i> (this is because the day of the fiesta itself is devoted to visitors from other communities); two, it is a day when they treat themselves for a year's hard work by engaging in lavish alcohol drinking- such festivity also serves a double purpose by rewarding the needy on the condition that they get drunk first.	7
Picture 1.2. A typical morning <i>kwentuhan</i> (small talk) with my informants. <i>Kuya Tek</i> (right) enthusiastically shares his experience after returning from last night's <i>pamamanti</i> (open water fishing).	8
Picture 1.3. Construction such as this tower of a major telecommunication company paves the way for the influx of outsider's influences into the island.	14
Picture 1.4. The participants of the ethnographic workshop that I conducted in Barangay Sapang where I also did my fieldwork.	18
Picture 1.5. After a session, the focus group discussion participants in Barangay Janosa strike a pose for posterity.	18
Picture 2.1. Even before the first light, a <i>mamanti</i> (fisherfolk) attends to his <i>panti</i> ' (gill nets) in the hope of a good catch.	29
Picture 2.2. The hills that are covered with bamboos stand against the background of Mt. Tagapo.	31
Picture 2.3. All by his lonesome, a <i>mamanti</i> 's life is a sweet sacrifice for his family. He leaves his family at three o'clock in the morning to tend his <i>panti</i> and comes back at eight o'clock to offer his earnings to his loved ones.	32
Picture 2.4. A son helps his father in harvesting fingerlings from their fish cage, an endeavor that requires familial bond and cooperation to ensure its success.	33
Illustration 2.1 Illustrations of a fish cage and a fish pen. Note the difference in the number of posts used in securing the nets. The former requires a smaller number of posts compared to the latter, indicating a huge discrepancy in size (the area of a cage ranges from 75m ² to one hectare while a pen's area ranges from 5 hectares [for medium players] to 25 hectares [for big players]). A typical <i>taga-isla</i> can only own a cage as the pens are only for the <i>mayayaman</i> , wealthy.	34
Picture 2.5. Bamboo furniture making has been a dependable source of income by the <i>taga-isla</i> , keeping them afloat especially when <i>nagdamot ang dagat</i> , the sea turned mean.	35
Picture 2.6. Women are actively involved in bamboo furniture making. The cottage industry thrives on Talim Island as an alternate livelihood.	36

Picture 2.7. It takes skill to stack up the huge furniture in the <i>lampitaw</i> , a tiny boat.	45
Picture 2.8. On our way to a client's house in the nearby town to deliver the bamboo bed frame.	45
Picture 2.9. Select participants of the ethnographic workshop at Barangay Sapang braced themselves for the morning session.	50
Illustration 3.1. In the ethnographic workshop conducted in January 2017, one of the participants remembers the game that used to abound on the island: <i>baboy ramo</i> (wild boar), <i>usa</i> (deer), <i>manok labuyo</i> (wild chicken), etc.	55
Picture 3.1. The link between Rizal and the island has persisted until the present times, as local religious sects venerating the national hero as a god still exist on the island. The photo shows me and my students inside the chapel of the Rizalists.	57
Illustration 3.2. A mid-nineteenth century illustration of Talim Island showing the forest that used to dominate the landscape.	58
Illustration 3.3. Another mid-nineteenth century illustration of Talim Island showing Bundok ng Susong Dalaga (Mt. Tagapo) as seen from Majayjay, Laguna.	59
Picture 3.2. Treasure hunting activities on the island left an open pit at the summit of Mt. Tagapo (<i>Susong Dalaga</i>).	64
Picture 3.3. A bird's eye view of the fish pens and cages that litter the lake.	68
Picture 3.4. A close-up view of the fish cages from Mt. Tagapo.	68
Illustration 3.4. The <i>lagumbahan</i> or traditional irrigation equipment made from bamboo vanished as the <i>taga-isla</i> abandoned farming.	70
Picture 3.5 An old photograph of Sitio Lambak in barangay Sapang shows a 'few and distant houses' even in the 1970s.	73
Picture 3.6. The present-day photo of Sitio Lambak in Barangay Sapang shows no trace of the 'few and distant houses' of the past.	73
Picture 3.7. It is not uncommon to see the <i>taga-isla</i> sharing their food with one another, a trait that they always take great pride in.	78
Picture 3.8. This cellular tower of one of the major telecom companies in the Philippines was being constructed just behind the house where I stayed during my fieldwork on Talim Island in 2017.	81
Picture 4.1. The participants of the focus group discussion in 2015 discuss the elements that prevail over the island all year round.	84

Illustration 4.1. An illustration of the destructive wind that gusts through the island by one of the participants in the ethnographic workshop, highlighting the house that was tossed up in the air and shattered into pieces.	86
Picture 4.2. Rough waves are a typical scene as the Habagat season prevails over the island.	94
Picture 4.3. The calm waters of the lake are associated with the advent of <i>Amihan Magulang</i> , a time when fishing becomes favorable.	99
Picture 4.4. The <i>taga-isla</i> crowd a boat during the annual <i>Pagoda Festival</i> , a fluvial parade in honor of Sto. Domingo in August. Knowing the fundamental features of their cognition is essential in understanding their way of life.	105
Picture 5.1. The occurrence of <i>masamang panahon</i> can easily disrupt normalcy on the island. The photo shows the aftermath of a thunderstorm, causing floods in Barangay Sapang.	114
Picture 5.2. A strong <i>unos</i> batters the fish cages. The unleashing of the inherent ‘nature of nature’ is regarded as <i>kalamidad</i> by the <i>taga-isla</i> , distinguishing the process from the entity- <i>sama ng panahon</i> .	116
Picture 5.3. The proliferation of fish cages in the lake makes life harder for the fisher as they impede mobility; such hard life becomes even more difficult as <i>Amihang mura</i> asserts itself over the island.	123
Picture 5.4. The fisherfolk maximize the advent of the <i>Salatan</i> season as its winds are most favorable for fishing.	124
Picture 5.5. A house that is reinforced by a <i>serga</i> is commonplace on the island.	128
Picture 5.6. My informant from Barangay Bangad shows a <i>tarungkal</i> to me. The <i>tarungkal(s)</i> are buried at the bottom of the lake and the branches of the bamboo are the ones responsible for keeping the cages in place amidst strong winds.	131
Picture 5.7. The <i>kaliskis ng buwaya</i> that hovers above <i>Bundok ng Susong Dalaga</i> (Mt. Tagapo) is indicative of <i>mabuting panahon</i> in the coming days.	136
Picture 5.8. During the onslaught of bagyo, normalcy is momentarily halted as disorder prevails over the island. Fishing boats are moored to the shore and bamboos for the cottage industry are safely secured to the coast as livelihood is also put on hold.	140
Picture 5.9. Some fisherfolk are able to improve their houses from being made up of light materials to concrete due to the fortune offered by the aftermath of the typhoon.	142
Picture 5.10. During <i>bangusan</i> , a fisher catches tons of milkfish, earning as much as P20,000 in three days.	144

Picture 6.1. The breaking of bamboos in spite of the absence of wind blows is an omen of an imminent natural hazard.	151
Picture 6.2. A flight of <i>Kalangay-langayan</i> flying at a very low altitude indicates, for sure, an arrival of <i>masamang panahon</i> .	154
Picture 6.3. A snail glides its way up a bamboo pole during a heavy downpour on the island, as my informant calls my attention to its action.	158
Picture 6.4. Normalcy is disrupted during <i>masamang panahon</i> , as fisherfolk have to refrain from fishing and secure their boats against its onslaught.	167
Picture 6.5. The littering of water hyacinth in the lake though obstructs the way of the boat, clears the doubts of <i>taga-isla</i> about a forthcoming <i>masamang panahon</i> .	169
Picture 6.6. As cogon grass dominates the summit of <i>Bundok ng Susong Dalaga</i> (Mt. Tagapo), the ‘palipad buntot pusa’ is a sight to behold in October.	171
Picture 7.1 The sun was already out, yet, only a handful of fish was caught as Ed retrieved his gill nets.	175
Picture 7.2. Our first catch- a goby fish (<i>biya</i>). Ed believes that fishes like the gobies avoid being caught by purposely swimming ‘motionlessly’ in front of the gill nets.	180
Picture 7.3. A view from my balcony shows a typical rainy afternoon in Barangay Sapang when the whole community was engulfed in dark clouds and heavy downpours.	184
Picture 7.4. In times of rain only the hills are seen as <i>Mt. Tagapo</i> (<i>Bundok ng Susong Dalaga</i>) buries itself beneath the clouds.	188
Picture 7.5. The <i>taga-isla</i> take the actions of some animals as a sign of the forthcoming <i>mabuting panahon</i> such as shown in the photo where clear skies illuminate the summit of Mt. Tagapo.	190
Picture 7.6. A fisher attends to his gill nets before the onslaught of <i>masamang panahon</i> . Through trans-species conversations, the <i>taga-isla</i> prevent such fate by being one step ahead.	194

List of Maps, Tables and Figures

Map 2.1. Map of Rizal province in 1933 showing Laguna de Bay, Talim Island, and the neighboring towns. Taken from <i>Rizal Provincial Directory</i> , 1934.	23
Map 2.2. Map showing Talim Island in the middle of Laguna de Bay (Laguna Lake) vis-à-vis the surrounding provinces and the metropolis.	26
Map 2.3. A close-up map of the island showcasing all the barangays on both Binangonan (left) and Cardona (right) sides.	27
Table 2.1. Ethnographic Workshop Participants in Barangays Bangad and Janosa, January 2017.	47
Table 2.2. Ethnographic Workshop Participants in Barangay Sapang, February 2017.	48
Table 4.1. Major elements and their location of origin	87
Table 4.2. Minor elements and their location of origin	89
Figure 4.1. The binary opposition among the variants of Habagat. The sign + indicates superiority while the sign – indicates inferiority.	91
Figure 4.2. The binary opposition among the variants of Amihan. The sign + indicates superiority while the sign – indicates inferiority.	92
Figure 4.3. The binary opposition between two different realms and their variants. The sign + indicates superiority while the sign – indicates inferiority.	93
Figure 4.4. The binary opposition between the great winds Timog and Hilaga. The sign + indicates superiority while the sign – indicates inferiority. Note the inverse location.	95
Figure 4.5. The binary opposition between Salatan and Sabalas. The sign + indicates superiority while the sign – indicates inferiority. Note the inverse location.	98
Figure 4.6. The binary oppositions between the elements and their effects. Among the elements, the sign + indicates superiority while the sign – indicates inferiority. Among the effects, the sign + indicates order while the sign – indicates disorder. Normal condition bears the sign + which indicates an absence of destruction typical of <i>bagyuhan</i> season.	99
Figure 4.7. The binary oppositions between the elements and their effects in an abnormal condition. Among the elements, the sign + indicates superiority while the sign – indicates inferiority. Among the effects, the sign + indicates order while the sign – indicates disorder. Abnormal condition bears the sign – which indicates the presence of destruction typical of the <i>bagyuhan</i> season.	102

Figure 4.8. The domain of thought and the domain of the physical where the relationships in the latter are dynamically integrated into the latter.	103
Figure 5.1. In the <i>taga-isla's</i> world, the year is divided into four seasons and two sub seasons that are marked by particular weather patterns.	127
Map 5.1. A map of Talim Island showcasing the various winds that prevail over it all year-round. Map modified by Julia Giezl Nunag.	134
Figure 6.1. Aberration, <i>masamang panahon</i> , and the three domains in the world.	156
Figure 6.2. The meaningful meaning in a complex whole.	164
Figure 6.3. The complex whole is formed by the incorporation of other complex wholes.	165

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Finding meaning for the data

It all makes sense now. When I left Talim Island in September 2017, following the consummation of my fieldwork, I had no idea how to make sense of the enormous data that I had gathered. Despite the anthropological theories at my fingertips, I struggled to find meaning and coherence in the information that I collected. I spent many restless nights, with all the data juggling in my thoughts, trying to figure out the peculiar behaviors, thinking and approaches to life of the *taga-isla*-an appellation to which the people from the island of Talim proudly affix to themselves. I was baffled by what I saw, heard and experienced.

In the times that I went fishing with the native fisherfolk, I frequently heard them saying, ‘alam ng mga isda’, ‘the fishes know’. This declaration pertained to my apprehension about the lack of catch in the gill nets. I was perplexed to learn that fishes were conscious of their surroundings; hence, they deliberately avoided getting caught by swimming right in front of the nets and stopping at a safe distance at will. I just could not comprehend how the fishes came to know and were able to ‘swim motionlessly’ right in front of the nets- ‘nandyan lang, nakahinto sila’, ‘they are there, at a standstill’.

I felt the same confusion and fascination about their behaviors towards other animals. One afternoon while having our usual coffee session at the balcony of the house where I stayed, one of my collaborators who regularly visited me directed my attention to the aberrant behavior of a *bakaw* (striated heron, *Butorides striatus*) that was building its nest in the lower crown of a tree not far away, something that it would not normally do. Taking this as a sign of forthcoming bad weather, they decided to cancel our scheduled fishing trip the next day, and in place of that, they just secured their fishing gears and boats ashore. These peculiar relationships between the *taga-isla* and nonhuman life forms, which I call ‘conversations’, play a significant role in the lives of the people of the island.

My dilemma of finding coherence in the data was further compounded by the fact that these relationships were more than just a means to deal with natural phenomena. On many occasions I heard them speaking, ‘mas alam ng mga hayup’, ‘animals know better (than us)’. These relationships, hence, also acknowledge a conception of the animals that goes beyond our accepted way of conceiving nonhuman life forms. Furthermore, this conception is embedded in these relationships as part of their way of grappling both with nonhuman beings and natural phenomena. No wonder, as I spent my days on the island I constantly witnessed their peculiar behavior towards nonhuman species unfolding before my very eyes- from the

kalangay-langayan's (swallow, *Hirundo tahitica*; *Hirundo striolata*) flight to rooster's crowing to frog's croaking to snail's gliding to worm's slithering and the list goes on.

Moreover, their relationship with the elements added to the incoherence that was troubling me. Similarly, they constantly interacted with the elements as they went about their daily lives. A slight change in the movement, direction, strength and behavior of the winds never slipped their discriminating eyes. In the *kwentuhan* (small talk) that I had with them, the elements were always a mainstay, and they were always exuberant in narrating their experiences- 'humuhugong Prop!' 'the wind is roaring Prof.!' It is not surprising then to learn about their complex knowledge of the winds, coming up with names for every element there is in their surroundings. Hence, there is *Timog*, the king of the winds and tamer of typhoons; *Hilaga*, the forerunner of typhoons; and so on and so forth.

It took me to write more than half of my dissertation before I made sense of the data I gathered and put coherence upon them. One glaring finding is that trans-species and human-nature relations are at the core of the *taga-isla's* lives, ushering them to a peculiar world where humans are in continuity to nonhuman life forms that are themselves persons. These relationships bring about a new kind of reality where the ways of the world transcend the conventional mode of how humans look at the world and its ways. Such view is born of their meaningful connection with nonhumans and is not fully restricted to the structure of human understanding.

The essentiality of these relationships in the performance and realization of their way of life especially in matters pertaining to natural hazards is undeniable. These relationships are incorporated in their body of local knowledge, forming a stock of know-how, skills, perceptions, beliefs and understandings. This body of knowledge, in turn, is utilized as means to function better and to optimize their lives. In this regard, my research study looks into their local knowledge in view of the performance of their way of life especially in grappling with natural hazards, underlining their cognition, worldview and belief system, and their 'conversations' with other nonhuman life forms and the elements and weather. This is why my dissertation is titled, "Dealing with Natural Hazards through Local Knowledge: The People from Talim Island's (*Taga-isla*) Patterns of Thought, Cosmology and the Worlds Beyond the Human".

1.2. Research objectives

In this light, my research study aims to bring to the fore the materiality of trans-species and human-nature relations in understanding the peculiar way of life of the *taga-isla*. Through this, it intends to come up with a narrative illustrating their genuine history and culture, one that is reflective of their experiences, thoughts and points of view and presents them as a social group displaying their own power and history. Moreover, it aspires to draw attention to the importance of these relationships in understanding their resiliency and agency especially in handling natural hazards. In this regard, it examines how resiliency is entrenched in local cosmology, underlining their worldview and their curious relationships with the elements and nonhuman life forms. On that account, it underscores their constant interaction and intimate relationship with the elements and nonhuman life forms, which I call *conversation*, highlighting the interconnection between their worlds.

It also looks into their cognition or patterns of thought by probing the domain of the elements and bringing to light the structure, relationships and patterns of the winds. On this basis, it conjectures that discussions on resiliency and adaptability to natural hazards at the local level must begin with the unveiling of the structures of local cognition and the centrality of transspecies relationships.

It also aims to valorize local knowledge as a legitimate way of knowing the world and managing natural hazards. Consequently, it looks into their ways of construing their surroundings in view of ensuing natural hazards and how strategies are formulated based on these interpretations. On that account, it investigates the interplay between their behaviors and the elements, and how this interplay impacts the formulation of strategies and mechanisms for grappling with *masamang panahon*- the local concept for hydrometeorological hazards. Moreover, it explores their relationship with nonhuman life forms and brings to the fore the essentiality of the latter's behaviors in managing the said hazard.

In conjunction, my study intends to bring into the open the importance of exploring the worlds beyond the human and the life forms that inhabit them in order to better understand ourselves as humans. Accordingly, it presents through ethnography how nonhuman life forms may come to know things on their own, possess consciousness and intentionality, and exercise agency- capabilities that are imperative not only in understanding their relationships with one another but also in grasping how the *taga-isla* come to grips with *masamang panahon*.

Lastly, my research study aims to help in the formulation of policies befitting local and indigenous communities by calling attention to the current bottom-up approach of the government, that though acknowledges the participation of local communities, is still choreographed by government people and academe whose ideas are undeniably inspired by Western ontologies. Hence, the formulated policies are based on outsiders' reality rather than on local/indigenous reality. As such, the framing of policies and aids are designed to undermine local cultures and epistemologies because they emerge from the understanding of the outsiders. It is in this aspect that my study finds its place as it aims to aid in crafting policies that cater to the real conditions of local people by bringing to the fore the essentiality of recognizing their peculiar ways of apprehending the world and all its inhabitants.

1.3. Conceptual Frameworks

My research study draws inspiration from the works of Claude Levi-Strauss, Philippe Descola, Vivieros de Castro, Charles Peirce and Eduardo Kohn. Accordingly, it is informed deeply by Levi-Strauss' structuralism that zeroes in on the underlying patterns of human thought that create categories rather than on the categories themselves. Following Levi-Strauss, I labored to uncover the fundamental patterns of the *taga-isla's* thought. Through this, I was able to bring into the open the basic feature, relationships, structure and system of their cognition. In this regard, I put a premium on the mind's parsing of the physical reality rather than reality itself.

In addition to Levi-Strauss' approach, I also used Philippe Descola's ontologies sparingly. Descola provides models for conceptualizing relationships between humans and nonhuman entities. According to him, humans pattern the world based on whether nonhumans are endowed with physicality and interiority. In totemic ontology, he posits that humans and nonhumans possess physicality and interiority analogous to one another. On the one hand, analogism asserts the dissimilarity of physicality and interiority between humans and nonhumans, and on the other, naturalism underlines the continuity of physicality but discontinuity of interiority of all entities. Lastly, animism inverts the ontological premises of naturalism, as it foregrounds a continuity of souls but a discontinuity of bodies (Descola 2006, 2011, 2013, 2014). It is analogism and animism ontologies that have a particular use in my research work.

In connection with this, I also approached my data using Vivieros de Castro's perspectivism that postulates that all entities are endowed with distinct perspectives with

which they view the world and its inhabitants, which includes humans, animals and other subjectivities (gods, spirits, the dead, plants, meteorological phenomena, etc.). In other words, the way humans see animals and these subjectivities is different from the way animals and these subjectivities perceive humans and themselves. Vivieros de Castro argues that perspectivism is different from animism as it puts a premium on physical discontinuity, which enables a body to acquire a specific point of view. Drawing inspiration from Amerindian cosmology that postulates a metaphysical continuity and physical discontinuity between the beings of the cosmos, Vivieros de Castro, asserts that the former results in animism while the latter in perspectivism. In this cosmology, humans, in normal conditions, see themselves as humans, the animals as animals, and the spirits, if they see them, as spirits. Predatory animals and spirits, on the one hand, see humans as animals (as prey), and preys, on the other, see humans as spirits and predatory animals. Meanwhile, animals and spirits perceived themselves as humans (Vivieros de Castro 1998, 2004, 2007).

Aside from these, my research study was influenced heavily by Charles Peirce's ideas (1998, 1998a, 1998b) through Eduardo Kohn's work. Peirce brings to the fore semiotics, the study that deals with the way signs represent things in the world. Drawing inspiration from Peirce, Kohn posits that representation is something more than conventional, linguistic and symbolic. By this, he means that nonhuman life forms also represent the world as humans do, however, through different modalities. He asserts that these nonsymbolic representational modalities are present and apparent throughout the world and that these are intrinsic to the being of life forms- humans (together with symbolic modality) and nonhumans. In this regard, he postulates that signs also exist well beyond the human and that both humans and nonhumans live with and through signs (2013). In this regard, he calls on a rethinking of our assumptions about the nature of representation, and in turn, how this rethinking alters anthropological concepts. Consequently, Kohn calls attention to anthropology that does not radically separate humans from nonhumans. In short, he espouses anthropology beyond the human (2007, 2013). It is this approach of Kohn that has had an enormous impact on my research study.

In sum, my research study is inspired by the above-mentioned approaches. It is a work that is informed by the marriage of these conceptual frameworks, a marriage that undoubtedly proves fruitful in making sense of my data. Nonetheless, this marriage has produced in my research study 'offspring' that alter some of these approaches in one way or another.

1.4. Methodologies

At this juncture, I would like to give just an overview of the methodologies I used in the gathering of my ethnographic materials. This is because I had the following chapter devoted to an in-depth discussion on methodologies, underlining my experiences on the island as I progressed with my fieldwork. In collecting the data for my dissertation I did a six-month fieldwork in one of the *barangays* (municipal units) on Talim Island from March to September 2017. During this period, I conducted participant observation on every sector and aspect of the *taga-isla's* way of life within the constraints of my conditions. As I engaged in this endeavor I recorded, with their permission, their practices through video, audio and written formats, carefully noting any peculiarities. In the times that permission was not granted, I tried to account as much as possible what I heard and saw in my journal before I went to bed.

Accordingly, I accompanied the fishers in their work from the time they deployed their gill nets to the moment they sold their catch in the market. Similarly, I joined the furniture makers in creating their crafts from the time they gathered their materials in the hills until they delivered their finished products to their clients. I also spent time with the vendors peddling stuff on the streets. Moreover, I took part in community gatherings and activities ranging from school graduation to sports fest to beauty pageant (as a member of the panel of judges) to town fiesta. Also, I celebrated with them during baptisms and weddings. In so short a time, I was asked to be a *ninong* (godfather) to a baptism of a newborn baby and a *ninong* (sponsor) to two weddings.

In addition, I also employed techniques befitting Filipino culture such as *kwentuhan* (small talk) with the elders and youth whenever the situation permitted; and *inuman* (liquor drinking session) with adult males. All these comprise the informal interviews that I did, augmenting the formal ones (key informant interviews). The latter were conducted among select *taga-isla* based on their age, knowledge, length of stay on the island, etc. Moreover, I also did focus group discussions (FGDs) on several occasions in different *barangays*. Prior to my six-month fieldwork, I had already frequented the island from 2015 until 2017 during which I conducted FGDs in three *barangays*. Finally, I administered ethnographic (multi-generational) workshops in three *barangays* in 2017. This methodology is a free-flowing discussion that aims to elicit knowledge and experiences as said, shared and lived by the inhabitants themselves. The workshops were conducted on five to seven consecutive days, from morning until the afternoon with breaks in between.



Picture 1.1. The traditional *altaris*, a community-wide festivity a day after the celebration of the town fiesta. This event showcases two interesting features: one, it is a day of celebration reserved only for the *taga-isla* (this is because the day of the fiesta itself is devoted to visitors from other communities); two, it is a day when they treat themselves for a year's hard work by engaging in lavish alcohol drinking- such festivity also serves a double purpose by rewarding the needy on the condition that they get drunk first. Photo: Angelito Nunag (2 May 2017).

1.4.1. Ethical issues

In doing ethnography, ethical issues are a major concern. In this regard, I asked all my collaborators if I could cite their names and use their pictures in the study. I explained the pros and cons should they consent to my proposition. I also offered anonymity if they wish otherwise and let them weigh up the advantages and disadvantages. Should they agree to my proposal, I underlined the problem that might arise in the future if they have a change of heart eventually. It was made clear to them that that would be one problem difficult to rectify once everything was done. My proposition earned various answers and reactions. Some were enthusiastic and immediately gave consent while others thought about it for a while. Nevertheless, all of them eventually decided to grant me permission to cite their names and

use their pictures. In this regard, a verbal agreement was reached between me and my collaborators.



Picture 1.2. A typical morning *kwentuhan* (small talk) with my informants. *Kuya Tek* (right) enthusiastically shares his experience after returning from last night's *pamamanti* (open water fishing). Photo: Jom Jayo (29 December 2020).

1.5. Importance of the study

Much has been written on the coastal communities around Laguna de Bay. However, most of these tackle the socio-economic aspect of life, underscoring the grave impact of the proliferation of the aquaculture industry on the environment and on the way of life of the inhabitants. Sadly, the literature that focuses solely on Talim Island is wanting especially in matters other than socio-economic. It is high time that a study that is devoted exclusively to the island and its people is done. One that zeroes in on their peculiar way of life, highlighting their cognition, worldview and belief system.

The importance of my study, therefore, lies in addressing this need. It is valuable because it brings to the table research that shies away from the typical socio-economic studies, but rather focuses on the thought processes and cosmology of the inhabitants of

Talim Island. More importantly, it is not only a pioneering work on Talim Island but also a new anthropological endeavor in the Philippines as it attempts to dwell on anthropology beyond the human. In this regard, my research study also finds its worth in its contribution to the growing ethnography on the anthropology that extends humanity to nonhuman without losing our own humanity.

There is no denying that all anthropological studies are aimed at coming up with a better grasp of our species and humanity. Yet, some studies, in their attempt to fulfill this goal, end up obscuring rather than illuminating our understanding of ourselves by confining us in the ‘meaning-filled morally loaded worlds’ (Kohn 2013) that we create, isolating us from the rest of the world and its life forms, and from here, imposing our will and conventions upon the latter. In so doing, these studies deliver us to a more ambiguous understanding of ourselves, and in the process, we fall short of really grasping our humanity, if not losing it at all. Following this new approach in the discipline called ‘anthropology beyond the human’, I hope that my humble study does not tread the path of the above-mentioned studies, but rather, contributes to the better understanding of what it means to be human in a world that extends beyond us by not treating humans as exceptional, and thus, fundamentally separate from the rest of the world. Instead, by treating humans as both distinct from and continuous with the world beyond the human and its life forms.

1.6. Definition of terms

It is but fitting to clarify some of the terms that I used in this study to put things in proper perspective. In the Philippines, the term ‘islander’ has unpleasant connotations; hence, its usage in academic research has to be mindful. Accordingly, I intentionally avoided using the term to describe the inhabitants of the island although it is a loose translation of the term *taga-isla*. In the light of this, I adopted the latter to describe the populace properly, a label that they use to describe themselves and take pride in. Literally, the term *taga-isla* refers to the people from the island, where the prefix *taga* means *from* and the word *isla* means *island*. Nonetheless, the term *taga-isla* does not simply refer to the people who come from the island for it embodies their identity and values that separate them from the *taga-labas*, the people from the outside. This explains their boldness in challenging me to spend the night on the streets and to sleep in my house with doors and windows open. “Gawin mo Prop at walang masamang mangyayari sa iyo, ang pitaka mo ay nasa bulsa mo pa din pag gising mo,” “Do it Prof., and no harm will come to you, you will wake up with your wallet still in your pocket.”

Something that cannot be done in the mainland or city as there is no guarantee of safety and security. This also explains why many *taga-isla* are apprehensive of the initiative to build a bridge that will connect the island to the mainland for they fear that their values will be corrupted by outsiders' influences. Hence, the term *taga-isla* is more than just a label but a badge of honor and moral standards that they wear and take pride in.

I also took caution in utilizing the terms 'local knowledge' and 'indigenous knowledge'. In the Philippines, indigenous peoples refer to a 'group of people... who have continuously lived as organized community on communally bounded and defined territory...sharing common bonds of language, customs, traditions and other distinctive cultural traits...became historically differentiated from the majority of the Filipinos' (Republic Act No. 8371 1997: 2). In this light, indigenous knowledge pertains only to the knowledge that is possessed by indigenous peoples. On this account, the inhabitants of Talim Island, being members of the Tagalog ethnic group, one of the major ethnic groups in the country, are by no means indigenous. It follows then that the knowledge they possess is not all indigenous. Tensions and disagreements between the concepts of local and indigenous knowledge are present in the literature. Nevertheless, initiatives have been instituted to reconcile the two. For example, UNESCO's programme on Local and Indigenous Knowledge Systems (LINKS) asserts that 'local and indigenous knowledge refers to the understandings, skills and philosophies developed by societies with long histories of interaction with natural surroundings' (Hiwasaki *et al.* 2014:3-4). At the workshop held in March 2011, it was settled that the term local and indigenous knowledge is 'analogous to terms such as local knowledge, traditional ecological knowledge, indigenous technical knowledge and endogenous knowledge' (2014:4).

In view of the discourse, I opted for the term 'local knowledge' here, which is broadly defined as 'localized ways in which groups of people have adapted to elements within their physical and social environments' (Dalisay 2014:77). The practicality of this term is fitting because conceptually local knowledge incorporates indigenous knowledge (Burgos *et al.* 2011). Hence, the former goes beyond the limitations of the latter, encompassing not just the indigenous peoples and their knowledge as defined above but also a greater number of people living beyond a communally bounded and defined territory. In this light, local knowledge is also found among people and communities in rural and urban areas whose knowledge is 'acquired through practice and experience and is aware of their usefulness...' (Burgos *et al.* 2011:12). In other words, it is 'what people living in an urban or rural locality know that is

useful to them in their lives’ (Wisner 2009:1). Local knowledge in this regard is the ‘totality of perceptions, beliefs, understandings and skills that one or more members of a community uses or potentially uses to communicate about and manipulate the world’(2009:1). The world here comprises the physical and built environment and the social, economic and political environment that affect production and consumption at the local level (2009).

1.6.1. Local knowledge: a vanishing knowledge?

At this juncture, it is appropriate to make some comments on the *taga-isla*’s view regarding the state of local knowledge on the island. When I first set foot in the community, trying to establish rapport among them, I had to explain the purpose of my presence. In one of my initial conversations with them, a middle-aged man in Barangay Bangad, upon learning that I was after their local thought and knowledge, remarked ‘importante pa ba yan? Wala ng katotohanan ang ganyan.’ ‘Is it still important? There is no more truth to that.’ His declaration hinted at a generational gap in perception and approach to local knowledge.

In the focus group discussions and ethnographic workshops I conducted, this gap was further magnified. Most of the participants, with the exception of the old ones (those who were sixty-five years old and above), were one in saying that they were oblivious to the knowledge of the older generations. When asked about the old practices that made them persist, the middle-aged participants would always refer to their predecessors, saying ‘sabi lang po yan ng nanay/tatay ko’ ‘that was just what my mother/father told me’, and then followed through with a quip, ‘hindi na po namin yan alam at hindi na namin ginagawa ngayon’, ‘we do not this anymore and we do not practice this now’. The gap between these two generations widened even more with the succeeding generation, as the youth were totally naïve about the native thought and knowledge of their ancestors. A typical conversation in the workshop exemplifying this follows:

Middle-aged participant: Ako po ay matanda na, pero ngayon ko lang po narinig yan. (I am already of age, but it is only now that I heard about that.)

Youth participant: Hindi na po namin alam yan. (We are no longer knowledgeable about that.)

Elderly participant: Hindi na nila alam yan. Iba na ang panahon ngayon. (They do not know that anymore. Time has changed now.)

This gap, however, is understandable, for the younger generations were referring to ‘sinaunang kaalaman’ (roughly translated as ‘ancient knowledge’ but is more aptly translated, I think, as ‘knowledge that came first’ to distinguish it to ‘bagong kaalaman’, new knowledge or ‘knowledge that came after’) and ‘matandang kaalaman’ (old knowledge or ‘knowledge of the old people’). These terms refer to the understandings, perceptions and skills of the old people that are acquired through a long period of practice and experience and are employed in their day-to-day lives. Hence, ‘sinaunang kaalaman’ and ‘matandang kaalaman’ undeniably constitute local knowledge. However, these terms are time-and-generation-specific, meaning, the knowledge and practices contained in them belong particularly to old people. Thus, we understand the generational gap because the younger generations are not only privy to ‘sinauna’ and ‘matandang kaalaman’ but also because they make a distinction between the knowledge of their generation and that of the older ones.

This initiative to differentiate is attributable to external influences that were obtained through various channels especially the ones that contained traces of Western knowledge and technology (e.g. radio, television, social media, Internet, etc.). In view of this, the younger generations chose to sideline ‘sinauna’ and ‘matandang kaalaman’ in favor of knowledge acquired from the said channels. This explains why it is not uncommon among the middle-aged and youth to hear that ‘sinauna’ and ‘matandang kaalaman’ are just ‘paniniwala’ or ‘pamahiin’ (superstitious beliefs), dismissing them as trivial, irrational, unreliable and unscientific. Such pronouncement leaves the elderly lamenting:

Paano naman makikinig ang mga kabataan ngayon,
sabihin mo, ang isasagot nila, ows, di na yan totoo. Iba na
nga ang panahon ngayon.

How will the youth listen now, if you tell them about
it, they will reply, oh, that is no longer true. Time, indeed,
has changed now (Minay EW February 2017).

1.6.2. A colonized mind?

The outlook of the young *taga-isla* exemplifies an issue about the dominance of Western knowledge and thought over local and indigenous. Since the Enlightenment, naturalism-the default position of Western thought- had been regarded as rational and objective as opposed to other means of knowing that were relegated to an inferior status. Accordingly, other cosmologies were treated as ‘wrong, bizarre and exotic views of the world based on primitive and childish mentalities and on irrational assumptions (Halbmayer 2012:104).’ The declaration of the younger generations seems to echo this assertion.

Indeed, the time has changed and so are the *taga-isla* and Talim Island. Televisions, radios, cell phones and Internet services are commonplace nowadays. Internet shops have sprouted all over the place, connecting them to people from all over the globe. The advent of motorboats, on the one hand, has connected them to the mainland and the metropolis. Even the *barangays* within the island that used to be isolated are now connected with one another through the road that dissects the island. The island's facelift still continues as cellular towers for telecommunication are being constructed. All these, undeniably, have radically altered and effected a new way of life reminiscent of outsider's culture.

On the surface, it may seem that the younger generations possess a colonized mind as evidenced by their current outlook. A closer look, however, reveals that this may not be the case. During my stay on the island, I constantly witnessed them utilizing their extensive knowledge of the elements in forecasting weather, juxtaposing it with the weather forecast on national television, which is done with the help of modern inanimate equipment, technology and computer models typical of modern scientific forecasting. Interestingly, there were times when I observed them doing things with traces of both 'sinauna/matandang kaalaman' and contemporary knowledge in their approach. This knowledge, hence, can neither be considered 'sinauna/matanda' (for it has traces of the contemporary) nor contemporary (for it bears traces of 'sinauna/matanda'), but rather a whole new knowledge that is formed through the synthesis of the old and new.

1.6.3. Local knowledge: a hybridized knowledge

The above discussion brings to mind the current issues on the concept of local knowledge. It underlines that local knowledge is not closed and static but rather open and dynamic, accommodating and adapting new knowledge through time. Its willingness to accept new elements makes it hybridized and therefore, it is passed down to the next generation with traces of both the old and new knowledge. This hybridization, nonetheless, is not without tension, as new or outsider's knowledge will always be pitted against the existing old knowledge before amalgamating in time. Hence, we understand the younger generations' dismissal of 'sinauna/matandang kaalaman' as superstitious, trivial, irrational, unreliable and unscientific and the older generation's lamentation over the former's seemingly indifference.

It is also through this context that we grasp the view that local knowledge is 'vanishing'. From the vantage point of the old folk, local knowledge is vanishing because the younger generations are no longer practicing the old ways. From the perspective of the young ones, on the other hand, local knowledge is vanishing because it is no longer accessible to



Picture 1.3. Construction such as this tower of a major telecommunication company paves the way for the influx of outsider's influences into the island. Photo: Angelito Nunag (25 May 2017).

them in the same fashion that it was accessible to the previous generations. There is truth to both claims, though, both are incorrect in stating that local knowledge is vanishing. The old folk no longer see the young ones practice the local knowledge that they were used to because what they observe is a changed version of their local knowledge. Conversely, the young ones can no longer access the local knowledge of the old folk because what they have is hybridized.

In view of this, one important characteristic of local knowledge then is that it is dynamic and evolving (Dalisay 2014; Bennagen 2015; Gratani et al. 2011). Accordingly, it is not passed on to the next generation as is, hence, it is not entirely traditional. On that account, it is hybridized for it is combined with outside specialist knowledge (Wisner 2009). In the Philippines, this hybridized knowledge is analogous to endogenous knowledge which is defined as a hybrid of indigenous and local knowledge. It is based on endogenous system which is referred to as 'the interrelated mechanisms coming from within, using internal resources and capacities. It includes values and practices that are of external origin but have assimilated by local people in their way of life' (Hiwasaki *et al.* 2014:10). Going back to the

differing views of the *taga-isla*, local knowledge is by no means vanishing for it is evolving; and it may seem vanished in their eyes because what they see is a hybridized knowledge.

1.7. Organization of the study

My dissertation comprises eight chapters including the introduction and the conclusion. Here in the introduction, the rationale of the study, research objectives, conceptual frameworks and methodologies were laid out. Also, its importance was underlined and some clarifications were tackled.

In chapter two, which is titled ‘Study area, research collaborators and methodologies,’ I introduced my research area, the research participants or collaborators and the methodologies that I used. In doing this, I underlined the circumstances surrounding the execution of my research. Accordingly, I provided a context with which to better understand my study area and my collaborators, situating Talim Island within a greater geographical area upon which it is socially and economically connected, and describing the state of affairs of its inhabitants. Together with these backdrops, I presented an account of the conditions under which the data were obtained. This in-depth discussion on the methodology zeroes in on my actual experiences in the field, underscoring my tribulations in conducting my fieldwork. Through this, I tackled the different techniques and strategies that I employed and described how I was compelled to modify my strategy at times to fit a particular situation.

In view of the discussions in chapter two, the following chapter entitled ‘Talim Island and the *taga-isla*, the people from the island: an historical background,’ provides a comprehensive historical background of the island and an explanation of the distinction of its inhabitants relative to the residents of the Tagalog region. In this regard, it tackles the history of the island from colonial time until the contemporary period. It accounts the historical experiences of the *taga-isla* at the hands of the Spanish, American and Japanese rulers from the sixteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century. Also, it gives an account of their situation in the present times. In addition, chapter three describes their peculiarity vis-à-vis other Tagalogs in the region, underlining the variations in the spoken language and the differences in their way of life. In the last part of this chapter, I explained the impact of development both on the landscape of the island and on the lives of the populace.

Having provided a thorough context, I then proceeded with an examination of the relationships between the *taga-isla* and the elements in chapter four. As the title suggests, ‘The realm of the elements: harmonious conflict and conflicted harmony’, I probed the

domain of the elements as well as their relationships with one another. Hence, this chapter looks into the nature, movements and peculiarities of the various winds that prevail on the island. Consequently, it examines the structure, relationships and patterns of the winds and their effects on the lives of the people on the island. Moreover, it brings to the fore how these relationships are deeply embedded and suffused with their consciousness and way of life. Through this, chapter four probes the fundamental feature of the *taga-isla's* cognition, underlining the importance of the mind's parsing of the physical reality over reality itself. In this regard, this chapter also highlights how the parsing of the physical reality influences and shapes their dispositions, actions, strategies and agencies.

On account of the discussions in chapter four, the subsequent chapter, with a title of 'Forewarned is forearmed: conversing with the elements and *bagyo's* fellowship with the great winds', delves into the views, concepts, perceptions and the peculiar knowledge of the *taga-isla* in grappling with *sama ng panahon*, *kalamidad* and *sakuna*- the local concepts that correspond to the mainstream concept of natural hazards. In this light, chapter five looks into the inhabitants' ways of construing their surroundings in view of ensuing natural hazards and how strategies are formulated based on these interpretations. Accordingly, this chapter begins with an examination of the said local concepts and then proceeds with the populace's strategies in dealing with natural hazards using local knowledge of winds and *bagyo*. In other words, it investigates the interplay between the behaviors of the *taga-isla* and the elements and how this interplay impacts the formulation of strategies and mechanisms for grappling with natural hazards.

Taking its cue from the preceding chapter, chapter six, which is entitled 'Anticipating the future: re-presenting the not-yet in the now through conversation with nonhuman life forms', looks into the relationship between the *taga-isla* and nonhuman beings such as animals, plants and trees. Accordingly, it analyzes trans-species interaction, underlining the substantial function of these life forms in the performance and flow of everyday life of the inhabitants. In this regard, it zeroes in on the behaviors of these nonhuman life forms and on their essentiality in the *taga-isla's* way of dealing with natural hazards. In addition, it explores how they incorporate the 'agency' of nonhuman life forms into their own dispositions as a means of grappling with natural phenomena. On this account, this chapter paves the way for the discussions on nonhuman agency and local cosmology and thought in the succeeding chapter.

As indicated above, the previous chapter serves as a launching pad for the discussions in the following chapter. In this light, chapter seven, which is entitled ‘Worlds beyond the human: communication, representation and agency in other nonhuman life forms’, explores an unconventional way of conceiving ourselves by extending qualities that define humanity to nonhuman life forms. Hence, it examines the worlds beyond the human and the life forms that inhabit them vis-à-vis us and our world. In addition, it presents through ethnography how nonhuman life forms may come to know things on their own and analyzes how this capability is vitally important in understanding the relationship of the inhabitants and nonhuman species. Taking this into account, this chapter probes trans-species conversations and their significance in the performance of the *taga-isla*’s everyday life particularly in matters pertaining to natural hazards. Consequently, it looks into the ability of nonhuman species to use representation and possess a sense of purpose and future. In this light, it brings to the fore the idea that agency exists in the world beyond the human and is exercised by other nonhuman life forms as well.

Finally, the results of my research study are presented in the last chapter. In the conclusion, I brought to the fore the idea of understanding ourselves better as human beings by moving beyond the conventions that define who and what we are. I underlined the significance of exploring species and realms that extend beyond the human in order to grasp more sensibly what it really means to be human. I did this by showcasing the way of life of the *taga-isla* and the essentiality of their relationship with nonhumans in the fulfillment of their lives. Accordingly, this chapter gives prominence to the merit of valorizing local knowledge and calls for the reappraisal of the value of local cosmology and thought vis-à-vis Western thought. In this regard, it highlights the indispensability of local knowledge and cognition in the realization of the *taga-isla*’s way of life especially in matters pertaining to natural hazards.



Picture 1.4. The participants of the ethnographic workshop that I conducted in Barangay Sapang where I also did my fieldwork. Photo: Angelito Nunag (4 March 2017).



Picture 1.5. After a session, the focus group discussion participants in Barangay Janosa strike a pose for posterity. Photo: Angelito Nunag (6 September 2015).

CHAPTER II

STUDY AREA, RESEARCH COLLABORATORS AND METHODOLOGIES

In any study undertaken by a researcher, the circumstances surrounding the execution of the research are of the essence, as only through these that the research can be fully understood. It is, therefore, imperative to lay down the conditions upon which it is conducted, taking into consideration the study area vis-à-vis the greater geographical area upon which it is situated, paying attention to the state of affairs of its inhabitants, and describing the methods in the collection of materials and data. In doing ethnographic research, it is indispensable to tackle the backdrops upon which the study area and the research collaborators are set and to give an account of the conditions under which ethnographic material is obtained.

Accordingly, this chapter tackles the contexts of the study area and its populace with whom I had the privilege to collaborate and describes the ethnographic methodologies I used in the gathering of data. It situates Talim Island within the towns of Binangonan and Cardona in Rizal province, and within the lake of Bay (more popularly known as Laguna de Bay, also as Laguna Lake) and its surrounding provinces where it is geographically, economically and socially connected; and looks into the state of affairs of its inhabitants. In addition, it lays down the conditions under which the ethnographic materials were collected and observations were made. In this regard, the chapter begins with a discussion on Talim Island vis-à-vis Laguna de Bay and the municipalities of Binangonan and Cardona that have jurisdiction over it. After which, the chapter proceeds with a comprehensive discussion on the methodology, highlighting the circumstances under which the research was done. On that account, it zeroes in on my actual experiences in the research site, underlining my tribulations on the island as I embarked on my journey to grasp the native's point of view.

It is important to describe the methodology used in conducting the research study, outline the different strategies employed and explain how each one came out to be. In his work titled *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, Bronislaw Malinowski underlines the importance of describing the methods used in the collecting of the ethnographic material ([1922] 1961). He emphasizes the indispensability of describing the conditions under which the observations were made and information collected. For him, the only ethnographic sources that are of unquestionable scientific value are the ones 'in which we can clearly draw the line between, on the one hand, the results of direct observation and of native statements

and interpretations, and on the other, the inferences of the author based on his common sense and psychological insight' ([1922] 1961:13).

In the light of this, the section on methodology accounts my experiences in doing my ethnographic fieldwork from the time I set foot on the island, make the first contact with the *taga-isla*, be treated with indifference and suspicion, establish rapport, strategize and adapt to a particular circumstance, modify the approaches I use, until the moment I leave the island with a heavy but happy heart, feeling that somehow I have finally been accepted and embraced by the people of Talim Island as one of their own. It recounts my tribulations, the different stages that I have to go through, the processes that I need to endure and the changes that I must embrace. Consequently, it describes the different strategies that I used for a particular condition and how each one came to be. It records my failures and successes in the field as I labor to capture the elusive native point of view, which I believe is only achieved if willingly given by the natives themselves by accepting the ethnographer as their own kind. Such a feat is only realized by subjecting oneself to the processes illustrated above.

2.1. Situating the study area and research collaborators

Any area that is a subject of a research study has to be situated within a greater area where it is located and connected geographically, socially and economically in order to see the circumstances that might influence it. Providing a context, hence, is essential to come up with proper grounds with which to view the study area, giving us, in turn, a sound and deeper understanding of it. In view of this, it is but fitting to tackle Talim Island in relation to the lake and the provinces encircling it, and to the nearby Metro Manila as the island is linked to these places socially and economically.

In this regard, the following discussion focuses on the island vis-à-vis the lake and the municipalities of Binangonan and Cardona. It begins with the description of the biophysical features of Laguna de Bay, situating the island in the process in the wider context of the towns surrounding the lake and of the Metropolitan Manila. Undeniably, the lake links the island with the outside 'world' and vice-versa. The discussion then zeroes in on the municipalities of Binangonan and Cardona in Rizal province and sets the island in the restricted context of the towns administering it, putting it in place politically and geographically. A discussion of the island itself then follows, underlining the etymology and geo-socio-political features.

After which the specific study sites where the research was conducted are tackled, highlighting the factors that influenced their selection. Finally, the discussion ends with a description of the socio-economic conditions of the people. Accordingly, the current state of affairs of the *taga-isla* is explored, paying attention to the sorry state of the basic services in the community. Moreover, their main livelihoods are looked into vis-à-vis the technological, economical and geographical changes brought about by these livelihoods.

2.1.1. Laguna de Bay, the municipalities of Binangonan and Cardona and Talim Island

Talim Island, though geographically isolated, is politically, economically and socially connected to Metro Manila and the provinces surrounding Laguna Lake. This link is facilitated by the essential role of the lake in the political, economic and social life of the communities in and around it. As the main source of livelihood, there is no doubt that the lake permeates the daily life and consciousness of the *taga-isla*. Their catch is brought to the metropolis and nearby towns; creating a social and, more importantly, economic link between the island and these localities. Accordingly, the lake plays a major role in the execution and framing of their everyday life as evidenced by their daily routines, dispositions and beliefs.

2.1.1.a. *Laguna de Bay*

Named after Bay, a town in the province of Laguna, Laguna de Bay¹, also known as Laguna Lake, is the largest and most important lake among the 216 lakes in the Philippines, with a surface area of 900 km² when it is at its average highest elevation of 12.50 meters. Conversely, the area is reduced to 760 km² when it is at its average lowest elevation of 10.50 meters. It is the third-largest freshwater lake in Southeast Asia covering almost one-half of the 190,000 hectares total area of all existing lakes in the Philippines (LLDA 2016; Santos-Borja and Nepomuceno 2006). Such vastness accounts for the *taga-isla*'s, especially among elders', perception and regard to the lake as *laot* or *dagat*, roughly translated as open sea and sea respectively (Nunag fieldnotes 2017). Such characteristic of the lake has always been outstanding that even in the accounts of European travelers during Spanish colonization the immense size of the lake was noted. Dr. Jean Mallat, a French physician-author who thrice voyaged the Philippines in the early 19th century observed that 'The water of Laguna de Bay,

¹ Laguna de Bay, which translates to Lake of Bay (pronounced as Ba.i [bai]), is often erroneously called Laguna de Bay (bei), mispronouncing the word Bay as bay, meaning a broad inlet of the sea, akin to Manila Bay, where the land curves inwards. Such mistake can be attributed to its proximity to Manila Bay. Laguna de Bay, however, is a lake, not a bay in this regard.

that because of its vast expanse we have also called the *Bay Sea*' (underscoring mine) (Mallat 1846:116).

Laguna de Bay is bordered by the Sierra Madre mountain ranges on the northeast, the Caliraya volcanic plateau on the east, mountains of Laguna and Batangas including Mt. Banahaw and Mt. Makiling on the south and southeast (LLDA 2016). Notwithstanding its huge size, it is one of the shallowest, with an average depth of 2.5 meters. It has a total water volume of 3.2 billion cubic meters (3.2 km³) with a shoreline of 220 kilometers that outlines three distinct bays; namely the West Bay, Central Bay and East Bay that merge towards the south. Talim Island separates the West and East Bays. Meanwhile, a fourth bay, called South Bay, is referred to along the southwestern towns of Laguna province (LLDA 2016; Santos-Borja and Nepomuceno 2006).

Its watershed comprises sixty-six local government units (LGUs) that are grouped into five provinces, forty-nine municipalities and twelve cities, and has an area of 2,920 km² excluding the lake itself (Santos-Borja and Nepomuceno 2006). It extends over the provinces of Rizal and Laguna, the large portion of the National Capital Region (NCR) and parts of the provinces of Cavite, Batangas and Quezon. There are about 100 rivers and streams that drain into the lake, twenty-two of which are considered significant river systems. There is only one outlet though, the Napindan Channel that drains the lake waters to Manila Bay through the Pasig River. In 1982 the Napindan Hydraulic Control Structure (HCS) was built to control the outflow to Manila Bay and the backflow of saline water and pollution from the Pasig River (LLDA 2016; Santos-Borja and Nepomuceno 2006). Such initiative of the government was met with hostility by the fisherfolk, arguing that the controlled backflow of saline water would hamper the growth of the fish, which in turn would result in low harvest and economic deprivation (T. Arambulo, personal communication, June 24, 2017).

The apprehension of the fisherfolk is not without a basis. During the backflow of the Pasig River, the lake water turns brackish, resulting in high chloride concentration. The normal chloride concentration ranges between 250-350 mg/L, however, it shoots up to 4,000 mg/L at sustained Pasig River backflows. This phenomenon is favored by the fisherfolk because 'higher salinity improves the lake's transparency by the flocculating effect of saline water on the suspended colloidal particles in the water column. Subsequently, an abundance of phytoplankton follows' (Santos-Borja and Nepomuceno 2006: 226). Meanwhile, the pH balance of the lake depends on the season. During summer, it is usually 10 but drops to 7.6 when cool months come; the average, however, is 8.5. In terms

It is during this time that the Pasig River becomes a tributary. On the other hand, the lake climbs to its maximum level between September and November and then drops to the lowest level in May or June by an average of 1.7 meters (LLDA 2016; Santos-Borja and Nepomuceno 2006).

2.1.1.b. *The municipalities of Binangonan and Cardona in Rizal Province*

The municipality of Binangonan in Rizal province derived its name from the Tagalog word *binangonan*, which literally means ‘a place where something or someone has risen’ (Jocano *et al.* 1976:17; Municipality of Binangonan Official Website [MBOW] n.d.). It lies between the foothills of Sierra Madre Mountain and the northeastern part of Laguna de Bay, and bounded by Angono on the north, Cardona on the east, Morong and Teresa on the northeast and by Laguna de Bay on the southeast (MBOW n.d.). It is approximately thirty-seven kilometers away from Manila, twenty-four kilometers away from Pasig and fifteen kilometers away from the seat of government of Rizal province (Jocano *et al.* 1976; MBOW n.d.). It has a total land area of 7, 270 hectares, which is divided into the mainland and Talim Island with a land area of 5, 820.55 hectares and 1, 449.45 hectares respectively. It is composed of a total of forty *barangays*, twenty-three of which belong to the mainland while seventeen go with the island (MBOW n.d.). The etymology of the names of all the *barangays* from Tayuman to Talim, except for Janosa, indicates their existence prior to Spanish colonization as evidenced by their Tagalog moniker. The commerce and industry in the municipality revolve around steel fabrication, fishing, *balut* (a boiled fertilized duck egg) and *tinapa* (smoked fish) making and bamboo handicrafts such as sala sets, beds, stools, huts and cottages (MBOW n.d.). In the 1970s, however, agriculture was the main livelihood in the municipality where both sides of the national road were planted with rice. The extent of the farming was great that ‘one side of the cultivated area extends to the northeastern hills; on the opposite side, the rice fields hug the shoreline of Binangonan’ (Jocano *et al.* 1976: 17).

The municipality of Cardona, on the one hand, is located along the northern shores of Laguna de Bay and about forty-two kilometers east southeast of Manila. It is bounded by Morong on the north, Binangonan on the west and Laguna de Bay on the south and east (Jocano *et al.* 1976; Municipality of Cardona Official Website [MCOW] n.d.). Unlike Binangonan, Cardona derived its name from the Spanish term *caldo*, which means native rice broth. It has a total land area of 1,927.32 hectares and comprises a total of 18 *barangays*, eleven of which are on the mainland while seven are on the island (MCOW n.d.). Due to its

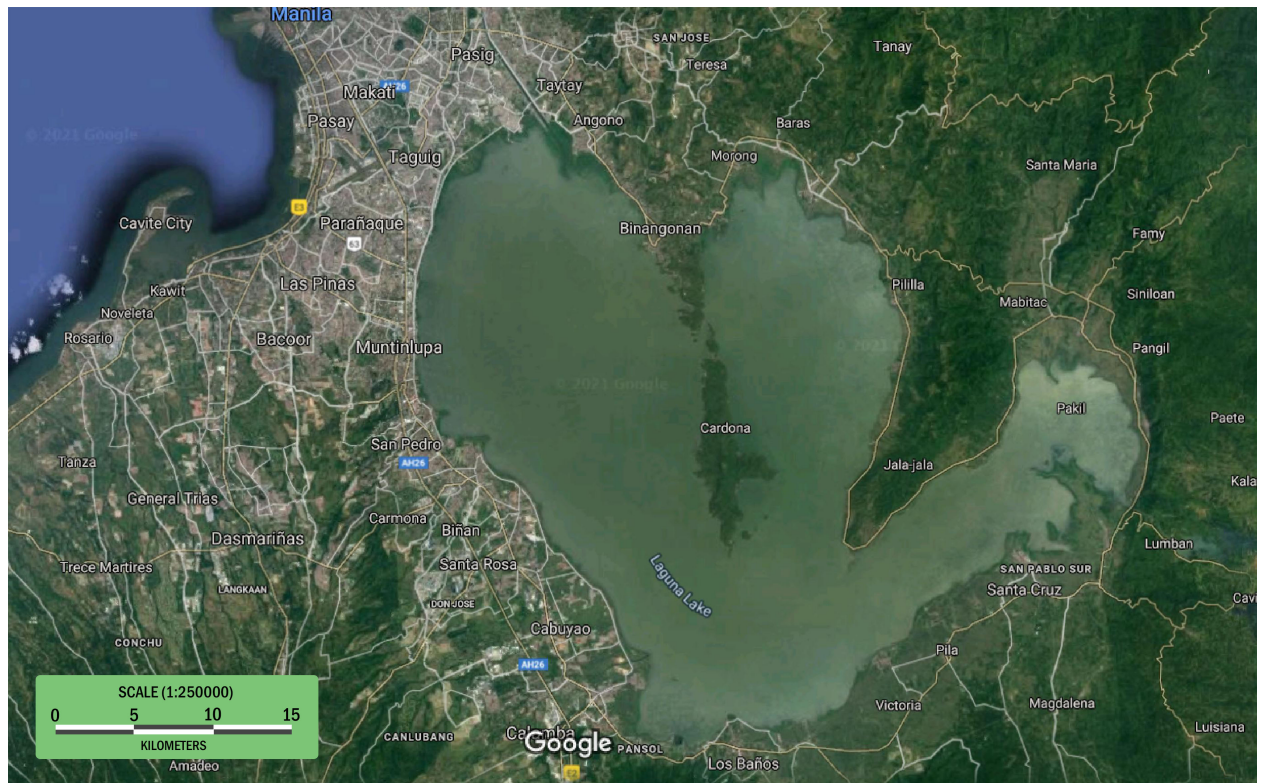
rough and uneven topography farming is discouraged (Jocano *et al.* 1976), compelling the residents to turn to the lake for their livelihood. As such, Cardona is basically a fishing community where the majority of its inhabitants rely solely on fishing as their main source of livelihood. As of 2009, about 1,052.92 hectares of the municipality's lake waters are occupied by fish pens and cages where *bangus* (milkfish), tilapia and bighead carp are cultured and produced (MCOW n.d.).

2.1.1.c. *Talim Island*

Talim is an island in the middle of Laguna de Bay that is under the jurisdiction of two municipalities in the province of Rizal; namely Binangonan and Cardona. It is the largest and most populated of the nine islands within the lake that separates the West and Central Bays (Santos-Borja and Nepomuceno 2006). Owing to its dagger-like shape, the island was named Talim, the Tagalog term for a blade. It is located southeast of Manila, the country's capital, and about an hour's drive from the metropolis via Binangonan. It is separated from the mainland (Binangonan) by Diablo Pass or Navotas Strait (Office of the Municipal Planning and Coordinator, Municipality of Binangonan [OMPC] n.d.), and can be reached through a thirty to forty-minute ferry ride from the port of the said municipality. It has a low-elevation range covered with bamboos, the highest point of which (Mount Tagapo or *Bundok ng Susong Dalaga*²) is 438 meters in elevation. Below, big fish pens owned by foreigners and Manila-based businessmen as well as small fish cages owned by the well-off *taga-isla* surround the island (Nunag fieldnotes 2017). Moreover, it comprises the following islets-Pulong Ithan, Bunga, Malahi and Pulong Gitna.

Socio-politically, it is composed of twenty-four *barangays*, seventeen of which are under the authority of the local government of Binangonan, while the remaining seven are administered by the municipality of Cardona (OMPC n.d.). Each *barangay* is situated along the shoreline with hills rising up behind it. These communities used to be geographically isolated from one another due to natural barriers but with the construction of the road, which the residents call 'highway', in recent years they are now connected to one another. Still, some *barangays* especially those in the south of the island are isolated as this 'highway' is inaccessible to them (Nunag fieldnotes 2017).

² *Susong Dalaga* means maiden's bosom. It was named as such due to the shape of its peak that resembles the breast of a young woman. However, according to the *taga-isla* it was renamed Mount Tagapo by a Belgian missionary who found the term offending to sensibilities. They had it differently though. For them, the old name symbolizes innocence, virginity and youthfulness typical of them and their place.

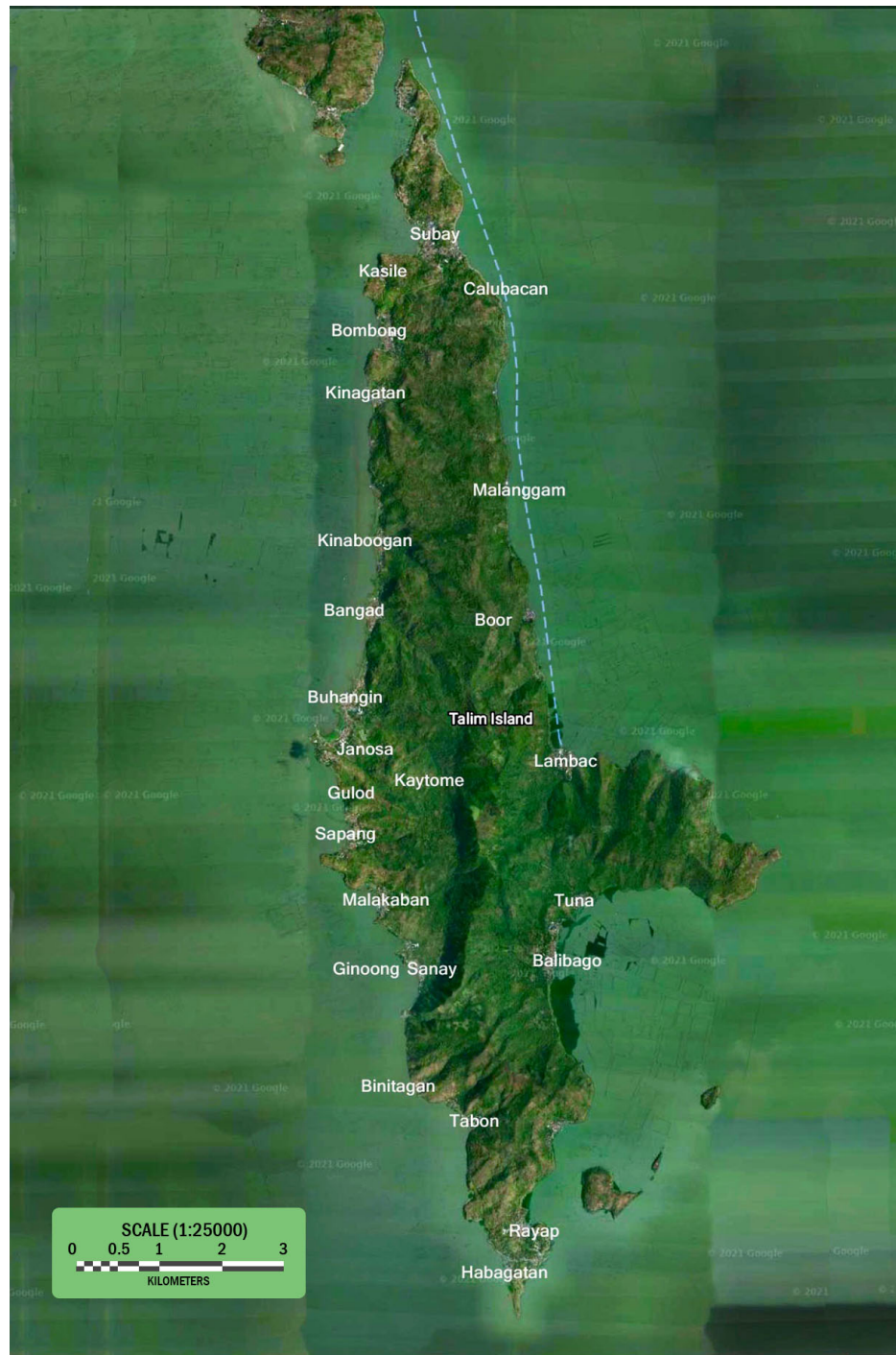


Map 2.2. Map showing Talim Island in the middle of Laguna de Bay (Laguna Lake) vis-à-vis the surrounding provinces and the metropolis. Source: maps.google.com. Map modified and scaled by Julia Giezl Nunag.

2.1.2. Study sites

The focus of my study is, nonetheless, just Binangonan, the western side of the island, specifically the three *barangays*; namely Bangad, Janosa and Sapang. All the coastal *barangays* belonging to Binangonan, however, are physically isolated from one another due to natural barriers, allowing each one to evolve its peculiarity. This isolation has prevailed because of the poor network of roads on the island. Out of the seventeen *barangays*, only six (from Bangad to Buhangin to Janosa to Kaytome to Gulod to Sapang) have concrete roads connecting each other. The rest, despite the presence of concrete roads in their communities, are only accessible on foot (OMPC n.d.).

The selection of *barangays* Bangad, Janosa and Sapang as the sites of my study is prompted by various pertinent factors. Geographically, the three *barangays* are relatively close to one another, located in the middle part of the island, and connected physically through the concrete road that zigzags the very heart of these localities. Economically, they all rely on fishing in the open water or *pamamanti*, a technique using gill net technology or *panti* (the stress is on the second syllable, pan.ti'), and on aquaculture as the primary source of livelihood. In addition, each one has an alternate subsistence that supplements fishing



Map 2.3. A close-up map of the island showcasing all the barangays on both Binangonan (left) and Cardona (right) sides. Source: earth.google.com. Map modified and scaled by Julia Giezl Nunag.

especially in times of ‘nagdamot ang dagat’, ‘the sea turned mean’. Sapang and Janosa are engaged in bamboo furniture making while Bangad is involved in producing *kaing* or woven bamboo baskets, and bamboo sticks for barbecue. Further, their distinct characteristics have also influenced my choice. In terms of land area, they are three of the biggest barangays: Janosa with a land area of 174. 3314 hectares, Sapang with 112. 0725 hectares and Bangad with 109. 5081 hectares. Corollary, Janosa is perceived as one of the wealthiest barangays, whereas, Sapang is acknowledged as progressive due to its thriving fishing and cottage industries, while Bangad is viewed as one of the impoverished (Nunag fieldnotes 2017).

2.1.3. Socio-economic profile

The social and economic conditions on these barangays are reflective of the situations on the whole island. Just like the sorry state of the road, other lifelines are no different at all. Most of the *barangays* do not have adequate water supply as they rely only upon artesian wells. Worse, there is not enough well for every community. There are also no doctors and hospitals on this side of the island, prompting the *taga-isla* to just make fun of their plight: ‘*Dito pag inatake ka, patay ka!*’ ‘Here, if you encounter an emergency, you are good as dead!’ (Nunag fieldnotes 2017). Fortunately for *Barangay* Sapang, volunteer doctors from Europe visit time and again through the efforts of a foreign Catholic organization based in the community. Health centers are neither reliable because they lack medical personnel and supplies (OMPC n.d.). The lone lying-in clinic in barangay Gulod is a testimony to this plight. Meanwhile, the presence of electricity is offset by a poor telecommunication system; there is no landline and the signal for cellular phones is intermittent. Access to education is also limited. Although nearly all *barangays* have public elementary schools, there are only two public secondary schools on this side of the island; the biggest of these is Janosa High School.

There are two main livelihoods here, fishing and cottage industry. The former is done in two ways: open water fishing with the use of gill net technology and aquaculture. Both of these have altered the manner in which fishing is carried out. The introduction of gill net technology has replaced the traditional technique that made use of local materials such as bamboo nets. The proliferation of aquaculture, on the one hand, has limited the fisherfolk within the confines of their fish cages and compelled them to limit the fish species to the ones that easily yield profit. When conducting open water fishing, the fisherfolk travel great distances to look for better fishing areas. After finding the ideal fishing grounds, the fishers deploy their gill nets before heading back home. Late in the afternoon, they return to tend to

their nets before retrieving them at dawn and then head to the port to sell their catch. On the other hand, the fish cages are tended for a longer period, usually six months, before harvesting them for profit.



Picture 2.1. Even before the first light, a *mamanti* (fisherfolk) attends to his *panti'* (gill nets) in the hope of a good catch. Photo: Angelito Nunag (06 September 2017).

The latter, meanwhile, comprises the manufacture of bamboo furniture, cages for fighting cocks and barbecue sticks, which they peddle in the nearby towns. This industry involves every member of the household, the occupation where women are mainly involved. It serves as an alternate livelihood for the fisherfolk who while away time by making furniture as they wait for the time to come to tend their nets. During the times that the lake turns mean, 'nagdamot ang dagat', it becomes the primary source of income for the *taga-isla*.

There is one subsidiary livelihood, though, employed by those who reside on the mountain. These inhabitants subsist by consuming and selling fruits harvested from the fruit-bearing trees that they either planted or happened to grow in their land. Others, on the one

hand, manage to maintain a small plantation of either banana or cassava (*balingoy*) to augment their income. Interestingly, the plantations are by-products of the changes in weather conditions, which in turn, led to the disappearance of rice fields on the island, and of the proliferation of aquaculture in the lake.

Ultimately, their two main subsistence strategies necessitate the cultivation of bamboo all over the island. This activity is responsible for the radical transformation of the landscape as well as the lake. Consequently, the whole island has practically turned into a bamboo forest as this species colonized the hills and the mountain through aggressive human planting, replacing and eradicating the plants and trees that are endemic to the island. The lake scene is no different as it mirrors the landscape. The proliferation of the aquaculture industry precipitates the construction of fish cages and pens in the lake whose main material is bamboo. A great number of these have resulted in the littering of bamboos in the lake, standing like silts in the water.

The ultimate effects, however, of all these changes- introduction of new fishing technology, the proliferation of aquaculture, thriving of cottage industry, massive planting of bamboos and conversion of rice fields into banana or cassava plantations- are reflected in the metamorphosis of the community into three distinct spheres, each one having its own social, economic and cultural distinctions. Consequently, there is an area in the mountain that is distinguished by the plantations and is populated by farmers. In the middle, there is the section where the cottage industry is thriving, and furniture makers dominate. The coastal segment, meanwhile, is associated with fishing and aquaculture and is inhabited by the fisherfolk. The demarcation, nonetheless, is not fixed and restricted as each one overlaps with one another.



Picture 2.2. The hills that are covered with bamboos stand against the background of Mt. Tagapo. Photo: Angelito Nunag (07 July 2017).

The Main Livelihoods of the *Taga-isla*

Pamamanti (Open water fishing)



Picture 2.3. All by his lonesome, a *mamanti*'s life is a sweet sacrifice for his family. He leaves his family at three o'clock in the morning to tend his *panti* and comes back at eight o'clock to offer his earnings to his loved ones. Photo: Angelito Nunag (6 September 2017).

Aquaculture (Fish cages)



Picture 2.4. A son helps his father in harvesting fingerlings from their fish cage, an endeavor that requires familial bond and cooperation to ensure its success. Photo: Angelito Nunag (17 June 2017).

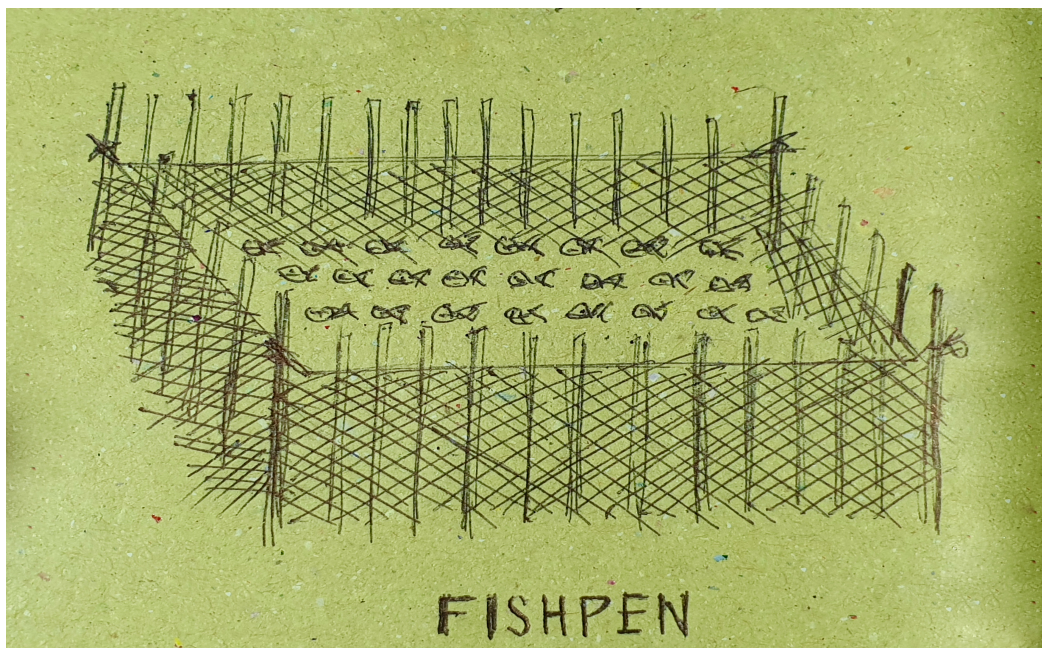
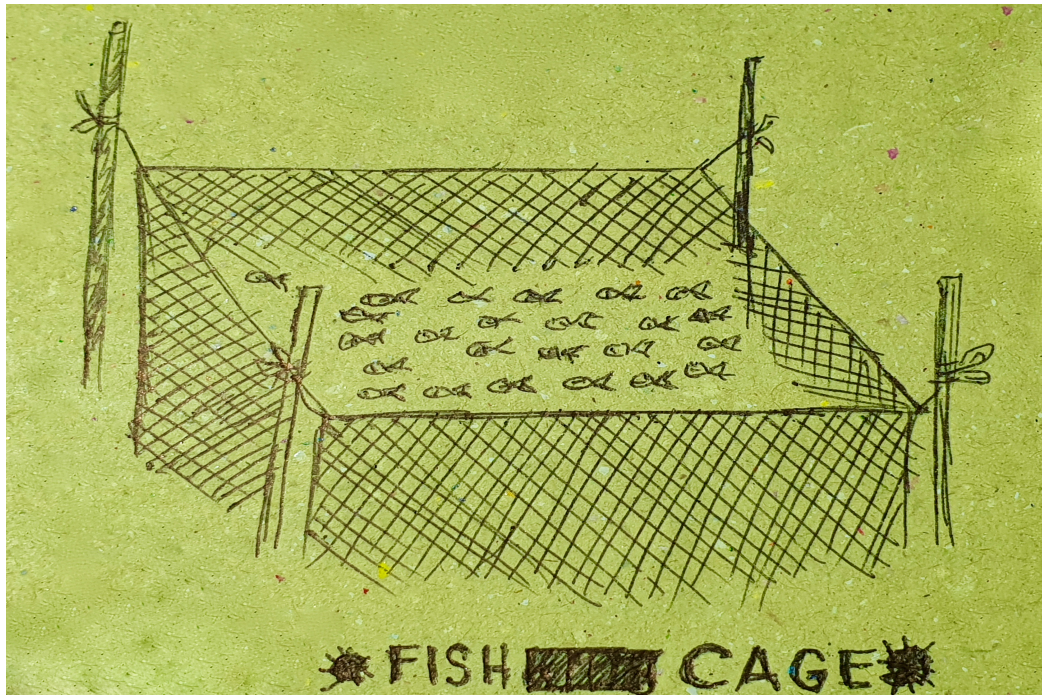


Illustration 2.1 Illustrations of a fish cage and a fish pen. Note the difference in the number of posts used in securing the nets. The former requires a smaller number of posts compared to the latter, indicating a huge discrepancy in size (the area of a cage ranges from 75m² to one hectare while a pen's area ranges from 5 hectares [for medium players] to 25 hectares [for big players]). A typical *taga-isla* can only own a cage as the pens are only for the *mayayaman*, wealthy. Illustration: Nazario Antonil (10 January 2017).

Cottage Industry (Bamboo Furniture Making)



Picture 2.5. Bamboo furniture making has been a dependable source of income by the *taga-isla*, keeping them afloat especially when *nagdamot ang dagat*, the sea turned mean. Photo: Angelito Nunag (22 April 2017).



Picture 2.6. Women are actively involved in bamboo furniture making. The cottage industry thrives on Talim Island as an alternate livelihood. Photo: Angelito Nunag (07 July 2017).

2.2. Methodology

Before I embark on my fieldwork on Talim Island, I have heard a colleague commenting that it would not be as difficult for me as it is for others who have done ethnography in a totally strange place where people speak a different language from theirs because I speak and understand the native tongue of my informants. I wish there is truth to that. I wish his words are reflective of what is really in store for me on the island for that would have spared me of my, in the words of Malinowski, tribulations.

From the moment I set foot on the island, however, it immediately came to me that my wish would just remain a wish. I realized right away that speaking the language of the *taga-isla* did not guarantee a walk in the park. I knew there and then that I would not be spared of the afflictions accompanying fieldwork, just as I had wished for in the beginning. And so, in February 2015, the day of reckoning has finally come.

2.2.1. Ethnographic fieldwork

2.2.1.a. The Invisible Visible Anthropologist

Armed with the ethnographic methodologies learned in the classroom, I embarked on my fieldwork on the island in February 2015. In the beginning, I was determined to use all the techniques I learned to come up with a scientific description of the *taga-isla* and their culture. My mindset was simply that employing these ethnographic approaches in the field, as learned in the classroom, would yield an emic perspective. Besides, I spoke and understood their language, so said my colleague. As I went about my daily life on the island, however, I learned that following these techniques to the letter was simply not enough, not appropriate at times, impractical and even ineffective. It was a learning process again as I carefully and tediously applied, twisted, modified and even circumvented a particular ethnographic technique in order to fit certain circumstances and eventually come away feeling accomplished that I was able to grasp the native point of view.

On the first day that I set foot on the island, the first thing I realized was that speaking their language did not put me in a better position. I fathomed out that such privilege was a not ticket to their world, giving me the right to mess around with their affairs. It immediately came to me that I was an intruder and they wasted no time in letting me feel that I was an outsider and that I did not belong. Certainly, I spoke in the vernacular but every time I started a conversation I was met with indifference, and one by one, they slipped away. Those who managed to stay for a while cunningly made me feel of their suspicion to every word I said.

Wherever I went I could feel the look in their eyes literally pierced my skin, but swiftly and wittingly shifted away from looking at me the moment I caught them. In their parlance, they were ‘mainit ang tingin’, roughly translated as ‘a keen look’, which meant they were closely keeping me under surveillance, examining every detail of me, every move and every intention intently behind my back. And so, despite closely observing me in private, they made sure that I felt I did not belong in their world in public. It was, on the one hand, as if I was not there as they went about their everyday life, but on the other hand, I occupied a critical space in their exclusive and private lives, talking about me in secret. It was their means of not letting their guard slip, a defensive posture that they adopted to protect themselves from intruders like me. It was their genius that I could not help but admire.

And so, I went about my daily life on the island. They, on the one hand, tackled their everyday affairs oblivious to my presence. It was during these times that I felt I was in tune with the great anthropologist who did his fieldwork in Bali, Indonesia and felt he was a nonperson, specter and invisible man (Geertz [1973] 2000). Yet, unlike this anthropologist, I was not just invisible. This was because I was also simultaneously being watched keenly in secret. While on the island, I assumed a persona that was born out of their behavior towards me; I was the invisible visible anthropologist.

2.2.1.b. The Filipino Foreigner

In January 2017, I went back to the island to conduct ethnographic workshops in *barangays* Janosa and Bangad. I was accompanied by two Belgian anthropologists, one of which was my adviser for my doctoral dissertation. Though they were used to seeing white people on the island - Europeans, especially Belgians had taken root in *barangay* Sapang through a catholic organization called San Damiano - the presence of my companions still caught the discerning eyes of the inhabitants. While fixing the venue for the workshop, some of them cautiously approached me and inquired about the event. I maximized the opportunity to establish a good rapport with them and answered politely in the vernacular. My answer came as a complete surprise for they were not expecting to hear me speaking their language. One of the youths inquired, ‘Bakit ka nagsasalita ng Tagalog?’ ‘Why do you speak Tagalog?’ Similarly, his question took me by surprise. I was not expecting him or the group to have mistaken me for a foreigner. I replied, ‘Eh kasi Pilipino naman ako.’ ‘It is because I am Filipino.’ A middle-aged woman in the group quipped, ‘Oo nga, Pilipino naman siya.’

‘Indeed, he is a Filipino.’ But she was also quick to interject, ‘Pero bakit nga siya nagta-Tagalog?’ ‘But why does he really speak Tagalog?’ And then they left me in astonishment.

When the workshop session for that day ended, I made an effort to rekindle my conversation with the said group. Though I was anxious to know what compelled them to regard me as such, a matter that would certainly interest any anthropologist, I saw to it that they would not be intimidated in my probing. I had to strategize, modify and come up with a novel approach befitting the situation. It would be futile to wear my academic hat before this equally curious group who was also eager to probe me. I felt that applying to the letter the ethnographic techniques I learned in the classroom would be pointless in this instance for they had already seen me as someone of stature by leading and facilitating the workshop. Consequently, I had to remove my academic hat, leave the pen and notebook behind, assume a different role and adopt a different methodology. Before them, I had to level the playing field by projecting as naïve as possible and showing my eagerness and sincerity to learn from them. What better way to do this than to subject myself to their *kwentuhan*, a simple and casual chat? Soon I learned that *kwentuhan* was an effective strategy for it was devoid of academic pretense. The *kwentuhan* was an exercise, a performance that allowed everyone involved to loosen up and release inhibitions by putting everybody on equal footing. Through this, everybody became both the teased and the teaser who hurled jokes on everyone at will, a good way of establishing rapport and building trust and camaraderie.

And so, my probing began. I inquired if my association with the Belgians led to their thinking that I was also one. The youth who previously asked me the question promptly replied, ‘Certainly not.’ He added that, in agreement with the others, I certainly did not look like my Belgian companions. My features were, according to them, undeniably Filipino. Their answer perplexed me further and compelled me to dig deeper. So, I asked them why they were so surprised to hear me speak Tagalog. I inquired, ‘Is a Filipino not supposed to speak in the vernacular?’ They told me that my looks were indeed Filipino, but I was a different kind of Filipino. They explained that grey hair for someone as young as me was uncharacteristically Filipino. I was a middle-aged man, old enough to be their father and to possess grey, but many, in the past, had said that I did not look my age. In fact, the middle-aged woman in the group did not even suspect that we were of the same age. And so, they thought I was really younger than what I should really be. I did not bother to reveal my age for I was so engrossed with their ideas. Oblivious to my real age, they expounded that Filipinos as young as me possessed certain traits, one of which was black hair. I realized that

for them, people were categorized in a certain and fixed way. So strict was this classification that a slight deviation would mean an aberration. Hence, I was a Filipino, but, according to them, a Filipino foreigner. Their explanation was both enlightening and rewarding for an ethnographer like me doing his stuff in the field. At that moment I felt I was able to break into their consciousness, giving me a vantage point of their world. A good starting point to achieving my objective of grasping the ‘native’s point of view, his relation to life ... *his* vision of *his* world’ (Malinowski [1922] 1961: 24).

2.2.1.c. *The Fugitive or Police Asset?*

On 16 March 2017, I started to live in Barangay Sapang to conduct six-month fieldwork that lasted until 18 September 2017. Though I had frequented the island in the past two years doing focus group discussions and workshops, I was not spared the ‘Ethnographer’s tribulations’ (Malinowski [1922] 1961) on my first days. It brought back the same harrowing experiences of the day I set foot on the island. I was the invisible visible anthropologist all over again. I was a Filipino foreigner who did not belong. As I roamed the community trying to touch base with the *taga-isla*, I was ignored and met with indifference. This is not to say, however, that they were rude, ill-mannered and insolent. Make no mistake, the *taga-isla* were, by all means, the opposite. I fully understood that it was just a defensive posture to protect themselves from intruders like me. And so, I was dealt with as if I was not there, unreal, ‘a cloud or a gust of wind’ (Geertz [1973] 2000: 497). Wherever I went I still felt the look in their eyes literally pierced my skin. Paranoia set in. I was so anxious thinking that they were talking behind my back.

It was the height of the war on drugs of the Duterte administration when I settled in the community. It reached my knowledge that I was suspected of either a fugitive or a police asset. At that moment, I felt the scrutiny towards me intensified. Consequently, I became more cautious in my moves and was compelled to strategize. Immediately after that, I frequented the *inuman*³ or liquor drinking sessions of those whom I thought most suspicious of me. It was a painstaking process because I had to expose myself to imminent danger, fearing that too much liquor would drive them wild and vent their ill-feeling on me. After numerous sessions, they finally spoke about their suspicion of me. A middle-aged man, but older than me, whom they called *koronel* (colonel), opened up the matter. It must have been

³ *Inuman*, from the Tagalog word *inom*, which means to drink. The *taga-isla* engage in *inuman* or liquor drinking session to loosen up after a day’s work.

the effects of too much drink, he put his arm over my shoulder and delivered his piece. He introduced himself as a military colonel. He said that he had already done a background check on me and I passed. He bragged that he went around the community, asking everyone if there was an instance that I had shown bad manners. Upon learning that there was none, he concluded that I was 'clean', and so there was no way that I could be a fugitive or a police asset. I was baffled by his explanation because, to my mind, the politeness could never ascertain if one was a fugitive or a police asset. The colonel's reasoning left me perplexed for days until the ethnographer's magic came.

2.2.1.d. The Ethnographer's Magic and Magic Moment

The ethnographer's magic, according to Malinowski, is the means by which the ethnographer is able to 'evoke the real spirit of the natives, the true picture of tribal life' (1922:14). It entails, however, systematic application of rules of common sense and well-known scientific principles. In the field, it is what every ethnographer wants to possess. But like in any magical show, the possession of exceptional talent, though it is the most important requisite, needs perfect timing to execute a flawless performance. Such timing is, by itself, magical for it allows the skill to be executed in an efficient manner. In the field, this point in time or the so-called ethnographer's 'magic moment' (Geertz [1973] 2000) may or may not come. It is a moment when the whole village, in the words of Geertz, opened up before the ethnographer and suddenly finds himself literally 'in' ([1973] 2000). To some, it never comes at all.

I was so fortunate to have been given this magic moment. And it was not just a single moment, but a series of moments that, to my mind, the next one was needed to validate the previous one. Each one was a vital part of a complex whole where failure to accomplish one single part would compromise its entirety. It was not because they were hard to please but rather it was a way of sustaining and proving my 'realness' as a human being in order to deserve admittance into their world. I remembered one of my collaborators telling me, 'Tunay kang tao.' 'You are a real human being.' For them, there are many entities. A being in the human form may not necessarily be a human, hence, one has to prove his 'realness' as a human being to be admitted into their domain.

When I conducted an ethnographic workshop on 21 to 25 February 2017 in *Barangay* Sapang, one of the participants was a furniture maker who used to be a teacher on the island. Our meeting was the start of a good relationship that was to last beyond my stay on the

island. He and his household became my hosts, friends, companions and family on the island. Professionally, he also became one of my best informants. He housed me in his vacant brother's house located on top of the hill, overlooking the lake and community. It was a perfect and strategic place where I could easily observe the metamorphosis of the village from the moment the village life began to stir until the time darkness blanketed the whole community. I devoted my first days on the island waking up early to see how the fishers did their trade. Every morning before the first light, I went to the *pritil* or port to observe and establish rapport, though, most of the time I was ignored as they went about their activities as if I was not there. One day I was able to convince one fisherman to join him in attending to his fish cage. On our way, I could still feel his distrust of me, warning me constantly that there was nothing worth my time in the lake. In spite of his discouragement I was able to force my will and the next thing we knew, we were on our way back to the port, all wet, dirty and stinky. Upon getting ashore, the people were surprised to see me in such a 'sorry state'. They knew I was a faculty in the university and they could not believe that someone of stature would humiliate himself. For them, there was nothing wrong with a local fisher getting wet, dirty and stinky for that was the norm. But to see a professor in such condition was indeed a sorry sight for that was an aberration. An aberration, which to me was very welcome because it produced empathy towards me and initiated a moment when they began to see the 'realness' in me. As for me, it also instituted the arrival of my ethnographer's magic moment- the first of many, and, indeed, it was magical!

The next day I noticed that I was already visible to them. The woman watching over her *sari-sari* store or kiosk greeted me and asked if I did not sustain skin irritation. The *sari-sari* store was one of the focal sites in the community where they while the time away- chatting, gossiping, helping one another and strategizing. As the crowd grew thicker, I also grew tired of answering each one who posed the same question all over again upon arriving. Nonetheless, I knew at that moment that I was already given an entry into their exclusive world, a realm extremely difficult for outsiders to penetrate. Soon, the second moment came when I accompanied my host to deliver furniture in the nearby province of Laguna. As we hauled the items in the boat, they stared at me in disbelief, perhaps wondering if I could endure such a physically exhausting task. They marveled if I had what it takes to do the job. Understandably, they saw an aberration in what I was doing. But this aberration produced the same effects as the first one and paved the way for a deeper and broader sight of my 'realness'. Gradually, I permeated through their range of topics for chats and gossips. Before

long, the talk about me became run-of-the-mill, and my story was reduced to a quotidian tale of any man on the island. The daily sight of me put an end to their curiosity, interest and guarded moves. I ceased to be an alarming component of their daily life and reverted into invisibility. This time, however, I was invisible not because I was unwanted and unwelcome in their world, but because I ceased to exist in their eyes for I was absorbed into their quotidian village life.

Accordingly, I accompanied the fisherfolk as he tended his fishing, brought his catch to the market and went home to his family with his income. I joined the furniture maker as he created his crafts from the time he gathered his materials to fashioning them into a work of art to offering it to his clients. I thrust myself into their family life, journeying with them through ups and downs. I partook in their hustle and bustle, laughing, gossiping, intriguing and quarreling. I celebrated with them in times of merrymaking and stood beside them in mourning. It is my firm hope that through my study the marginalized will be viewed through the same lens that we view ourselves. I wish that my study would illuminate our understanding of the marginal, hoping that in the process we would be able to cast light upon understanding our very selves. If these are realized, my study will undoubtedly be a worthwhile undertaking for indeed, we have learned and gained something from the people of Talim Island.

2.2.1.e. Interviews

My participant observation was augmented by the interviews that I conducted which were divided into formal and informal. The former comprises key informant interviews (KIIs) of select individuals in the community. The selection was based on their knowledge, experience and length of stay on the island. The KIIs were mostly done in the homes of the select interviewees during their most convenient time. I tried as much as possible to interview both genders in order to obtain and corroborate different perspectives. In *Barangay Bangad*, I interviewed, for instance, *Nanay Ori*, an eighty-two-year-old widow whose age and experience put her in the best position to annotate the changes on the island. The discussion proved fruitful as she passionately shared her experiences, though emotional at times, during which I had to stop probing. Similarly, I interviewed the old folk in *Barangay Sapang* whose age and experiences made them undeniably knowledgeable on the island. *Nanay Gare*, the seventy-five-year-old mother of my host, was also more than willing to share her story but memory seemed to fail her.

I also did a talk with her husband *Tatay Pedro* who was three years older than her. Unfortunately, the interview did not work well as he was suffering from an illness that put our discussions go round in circles. In *Barangay Janosa*, I talked to residents past their middle age. The seventy-three-year-old *Tatay Nazario* even volunteered to sketch some of the characters in his story. On the one hand, the sixty-eight-year-old *Tatay Severo* could not contain his enthusiasm that resulted in an almost nonstop talking, denying me the opportunity to probe at times.

During my six-month stay in *Barangay Sapang*, my host *Kuya Nats* and his wife, *Ate Evelyn* proved to be two of my best informants. Almost the same age as me, the couple provided me with vital information. During my interview with *Ate Evelyn*, I noticed apprehensions on topics concerning woman and wife matters. I noted these moments and made sure to shed light on these in my discussion with *Kuya Nats* by circumventing these topics. I also observed the same apprehension from the female teenagers that I interviewed. I remembered Kim giving me timid answers, worse, no answer at all every so often. In such situations, I found myself helpless.

In addition, the KIIs were supplemented by informal interviews that normally happen on the streets, at the kiosks and basketball court. Unlike KIIs, these were not planned as they normally occur at random. The same successes and failures were also encountered in the informal interviews.

2.2.1.f. Focus Group Discussions

Focus group discussions (FGDs) were also organized in three *barangays* in three different periods: *Barangay Bangad* in April 2015, *Barangay Janosa* in September 2015, and *Barangay Sapang* in June 2017, to reinforce my data gathering. Akin to the ethnographic workshop, the FGDs were attended by select individuals but conducted in just one day. The selection of the participants was based on age, gender, occupation and availability. These criteria were considered in order to come up with different perspectives from various sectors in society and different generations so as to address the generational gap. The FGDs were usually done in the schools and *barangay* halls. Each one lasted at least seven hours with breaks in between. Food was provided for the participants as well as an honorarium to compensate for the time that they should have spent in their respective works (see appendices for participants' profiles).

In the FGD proper, the participants were given the freedom to express their minds. In



Picture 2.7. It takes skill to stack up the huge furniture in the *lampitaw*, a tiny boat. Photo: Angelito Nunag (3 June 2017).



Picture 2.8. On our way to a client's house in the nearby town to deliver the bamboo bed frame. Photo: Angelito Nunag (3 June 2017).

the beginning, though, I introduced certain topics that they used to start the ball rolling. With permission and minimal intervention, I recorded everything that transpired.

2.2.1.g. Ethnographic workshop

The very objective of ethnography is to capture the native point of view. To this end, the ethnographer labors painstakingly to come up with an accurate description of the culture of the natives as said, done and lived by them. In the pursuit of this goal, I also adopted a technique called ethnographic workshop. The workshop was designed not only to generate data but also to communicate and transmit local knowledge between generations, hence, closing generational gaps. The said approach had already been employed by the proponents of the Académie de Recherche et d'Enseignement supérieur- Commission de la Coopération au Développement's (ARES-CCD) project in the Philippines. In doing a study among the Mangyans in Mindoro, Frederic Laugrand, a Canadian anthropologist, came up with rich data on their social, political, economic and ideological aspects. Consequently, these data were contained in a published book authored by the informants themselves. The book titled *Diya, lupang ipinagkatiwala sa amin: Ang mga Mangyan Alangan ng Siapo sa Mindoro, Pilipinas at ang misyon ng mga madre ng MIC*, showcases a verbatim account of the workshop. It is a compilation of raw ethnographic data captured in the book for the consumption of the public.

Akin to FGD, the workshop was a gathering of select participants, more or less ten, from the community. The selection was also based on age, gender, occupation and availability. Similarly, the rationale behind this was to have a representation of the various sectors in the community and to address generational gaps. In contrast, the ethnographic workshops were conducted on five to seven consecutive days, from morning until the afternoon with breaks in between. The participants were also provided food and an honorarium to compensate for their absence in their work.

The ethnographic workshop was a free-flowing discussion among the participants designed to elicit local knowledge and experiences as said, shared and lived by themselves. It was a forum arbitrated, owned and authored by no less than the *taga-isla* themselves as they were given full authority and independence to discuss to each other anything that they wished to tackle. Accordingly, they were given the freedom to speak their minds during each session, reminding them at the onset that there was no right or wrong answer. As for my participation and presence in the workshop, I underlined in the beginning that the workshop was theirs and so I would just have a minimal intervention as much as possible, throwing questions at times

to clarify certain issues and to rekindle the discussion whenever there was a lull in the conversation. In addition, I made it a point that my presence would be felt as I recorded (audio and video) everything that transpired. This endeavor nevertheless was done discreetly upon their permission. With regards to the objectives of the study, I outlined at the onset the thrust of my work. Accordingly, I introduced certain topics pertinent to my research and encouraged them to tackle these, though they were not limited, confined and compelled to discuss these topics.

In view of this, two ethnographic workshops were conducted in three *barangays* on two different occasions. In January 2017 the first one was held at *Barangay* Bangad and attended by the combined residents of *barangays* Bangad and Janosa. In February, another one was organized for the constituents of *Barangay* Sapang. Both workshops were done in the *barangay* halls. The ten participants in the first workshop comprised five males and five females whose ages ranged from thirty-nine to seventy-four. All of them were housewives, retired teachers and fishers. On the one hand, the second workshop was also attended by ten participants divided into three males and seven females whose ages ranged from twenty-two to sixty-nine. Among the participants were the *barangay* captain, fish-ball vendor, furniture maker, sewer, sales clerk and housewife (see tables 2.1 and 2.2 for the participants' profiles).

Table 2.1. Ethnographic Workshop Participants in Barangays Bangad and Janosa, January 2017.

Barangays Bangad and Janosa Workshop, 9-13 January 2017, Barangay Bangad Hall		
Name	Age	Occupation
1. Noemih M. Letran	39	Housewife
2. Jenilyn L. Bolante	34	Housewife
3. Carmelita G. Wenner	68	Retired teacher
4. Melinda C. Doblada	49	Housewife
5. Carmenia M. Matematico	74	Retired teacher
6. Noel C. Añis	48	Fisher
7. James M. Matematico	50	Barangay employee
8. Pablo A. Chicote	59	Former Barangay Captain
9. Nazario Antonil	60	Fisher
10. Danilo R. Cequeña	58	Fisher

Table 2.2 Ethnographic Workshop Participants in Barangay Sapang, February 2017.

Barangay Sapang Workshop, 21-25 February 2017, Barangay Sapang Hall		
Name	Age	Occupation
1. Joevilo D. Celoza	58	Barangay Captain
2. Rommel A. Erejer	22	Freelancer
3. Janine B. Mesa	24	Salesclerk
4. Jennifer M. Mesa	43	Vendor
5. Sherly S. Mesa	41	Trader of bamboo furniture
6. Janeth B. Añain	33	Sewer
7. Carol Deciar	33	Sewer
8. Rosie V. Arambulo	47	Furniture maker
9. Hermogena B. Silayan	69	Housewife
10. Renato B. Cerda	47	Furniture maker

Interestingly, the ethnographic workshop did not only generate invaluable data but also spurred intrigues and controversies among the populace and even stirred political turmoil in the community. As soon as the news of the participants receiving honorarium spread, the inhabitants began to express interest in the workshop. Talks about the selection process and the ones selected permeated the community's *usap-usapan*, or the word on the street. In barangay Sapang, the barangay captain was accused of politicking by allegedly favoring the ones in his camps to the exclusion of those belonging to the rival camp. The issue of honorarium also impacted my presence in the community. Consequently, I was viewed as a well-off man with no qualms about giving away money to the community. I also felt the reputation ascribed to me as someone whom the people could depend upon in times of crisis, someone who brought dole to the unfortunate ones.

It was not like they were only after the money, hence, they started to throw interest in the workshop. Make no mistake about it, they were, by all means, very much willing to share their knowledge even without compensation. It was just that the petty honorarium that I offered was perceived as 'malaking tulong' (a big boost) to their meager earnings, though in actuality, it was just a just compensation for their absence in their work. Accordingly, they had shown in the workshop proper that indeed money was not an issue as they genuinely and willingly shared their knowledge and experiences. The real issue, however, was their humility, as they felt unworthy of the workshop. In the beginning, they always told me that 'I

am just a fisher,’ ‘I did not finish my education,’ ‘I am just a *taga-isla*’, etc. Against this valuation of themselves, my presence as a college faculty and the workshop as an intellectual exercise were viewed as intimidating. Because of this, the first two days of the workshop were full of apprehensions on their part that I could sense their efforts of not letting their guard slip so as not to make unwise remarks. Nonetheless, as soon as the workshop progressed, such drawback was overcome.

2.2.3. Primary and Secondary data

To further augment the data gathering, library works were also done. Accordingly, I frequented the libraries of the Laguna Lake Development Authority (LLDA), the University of the Philippines (UP), the National Library and the Municipal Library of Binangonan. As a result, pertinent documents were obtained from these libraries. The LLDA, for instance, contains annual reports dating back to the 1970s, laws, policies, articles and theses on Laguna lake fisheries. The UP, on the one hand, is rich in journal collection as well as books that are imperative to the study. In particular, interesting and relevant newspaper articles from the 1980s to 2000s covering topics such as aquaculture, lake ecology and flooding abound the library.



Picture 2.9. Select participants of the ethnographic workshop at Barangay Sapang braced themselves for the morning session. Photo: Angelito Nunag (29 January 2017).

CHAPTER III

TALIM ISLAND AND THE *TAGA-ISLA*, THE PEOPLE FROM THE ISLAND: AN HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In the light of the discussions in the preceding chapter, this chapter, as the title suggests, tackles the history of the island and the peculiarity of its inhabitants. In chapter two, the backdrops upon which the study area and the research collaborators are set, and the conditions under which the ethnographic material is obtained, are laid down in order to provide the reader with the proper context of this research study. To give further context, chapter three provides a comprehensive historical background of the island and an explanation of the distinction of its inhabitants relative to the residents of the Tagalog region.

Accordingly, the chapter begins with an extensive discussion on the history of Talim Island from the colonial period to contemporary times. It accounts the distinct historical experiences of the *taga-isla* from the time of Spanish colonization in the 16th century, to American rule at the turn of the 20th century, to Japanese occupation from 1942- 45, to post-colonial to the present. Pre-history is also discussed yet briefly due to the lack of available sources. The discussion then proceeds to the *taga-isla* themselves, underlining their particularity vis-à-vis the Tagalog populace in the region. In this regard, the discussion begins with a description of the Tagalog people in general so as to situate them in the broader context. It then zooms in on their distinction, underscoring the variations in their spoken language. Aside from this, it underscores their distinct way of life opposite the kind of living of the mainlanders and the city people of Manila. Finally, the chapter ends with the effects of the ‘outside world’ not only on their lives but also on the landscape of the island.

3.1. Talim Island’s volcanic origin

There is hardly any literature, materials and documents on a credible and comprehensive pre-history and history of Talim Island. This dearth of sources compels one to just settle on the scanty available materials in reconstructing its pre-history and history. Accordingly, there is only a handful of work, in-depth or otherwise, done on the pre-history of the island. One of which is the study made by the Global Volcanism Program (GVP) of the Smithsonian Institute that asserts that Talim Island, a stratovolcano, was formed by the pre-caldera Pleistocene volcanism (2013). It also posits that the Laguna caldera, which constitutes the middle lake-filled basin of Laguna de Bay, may have been formed during at least two major explosive eruptions about one million and 27,000 to 29,000 years ago (GVP

2013). In a study published in 1983, Wolfe and Self also postulate that the caldera coincides with the middle lobe of the Laguna de Bay.

Accordingly, the shallow craters at the southern end of the island form the southwest rim of the caldera. These maars of young but unknown age were believed to have been formed during the post-caldera volcanism (GVP 2013). The largest of which spans three kilometers (1.9 miles), surrounding the barangays Balibago and Tuna. The presence of these undated maars attests to the volcanic activities on the island in the past. In addition, the existence of hot springs in *barangays* Ginoong Sanay, Tabon and Binitagan (Office of the Municipal Planning and Coordinator, Municipality of Binangonan [OMPC] n.d.) proves the island's volcanic history. Nowadays, however, this volcanic past has faded into oblivion as stories of the island's enchanted origin overshadow it, associating the hot springs with the abodes of the enchanted beings such as *diwatas* or goddesses (Nunag fieldnotes 2017).

3.2. The island during the Spanish colonization

With regards to the history of Talim Island and its people, historical records are undeniably wanting. Understandably, even the towns of Binangonan and Cardona to which it belongs are also hardly found in the archival sources. In fact, it is only the towns of Morong, Antipolo, Cainta and Taytay in the present-day Rizal province that were mentioned in the early documents during the Spanish colonization of the country in the sixteenth century. In 1571, Juan de Salcedo was tasked to put the people of Cainta and Taytay under Spanish rule at the expense of the lives of the local people:

Whilst the Colonel was executing this commission, Juan de Salcedo was sent to reduce the people of Cainta and Taytay, two small towns high up the river Pasig, which had refused to acknowledge the Spanish authority and had strengthened their position by some fortifications covering their towns. He carried Cainta by assault, with the loss of only two killed and five wounded, but with great slaughter on the part of the Indians, upon hearing which, the inhabitants of Taytay immediately surrendered (Zuñiga vol.1 [1803] 1814: 122).

John Foreman echoed this event in his book and noted that the peoples of Taytay and Cainta submitted to Salcedo on 15 August 1571 (1906). In 1578 Fray Juan de Plasencia converted the residents in the lake area to Catholicism and founded the towns of Morong, Antipolo and Taytay (Perez 1926; Gomez Platero 1880). Meanwhile, the earliest mention of Talim Island

was in 1572 in the account of Fray Juan de Medina that was written in 1630. The island was mentioned only in passing as Medina described the lake of Bay:

The father provincial settled religious in Laguna de Bay, which is another lake not less remarkable than the one that we have just described. Its water is fresh, and it is the largest lake known (in the island)...It has islets in the middle, some larger than others. It is exceedingly stormy, for, as the water has but little density, it is aroused and disturbed with but little wind, to the danger of those upon it ([1893] 1904: 304-305).

Nevertheless, Talim Island, prior to Spanish colonization, was part of the ancient kingdom of Pila ruled by a great *datu*, a local chief, named *Gat Salian Maguinto*. Along with the island, the kingdom comprised the present towns of Morong, Baras, Tanay and Jala-jala (Santiago 2010). In 1609, Antonio Morga, in his work *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, also made mention of the island in passing and noted the absence of inhabitants, but the abundance of the game:

There is a fresh-water lake in the island of Luzon, five leguas from Manila, which contains a quantity of fish...It is called La Laguna (Bay Lake). It is thirty leguas in circumference, and has an uninhabited island in its middle, where game abounds (560-561).

Dr. Mallat in 1846 also recorded that ‘The surroundings of the lake are very rich in game of all kinds, and the lake itself is covered with wild ducks’ (1846:117). He also underscored that the ‘island of Tanin is inhabited by a species of bats of enormous size’ (1846:117).

In his annotation of Morga’s work, Jose Rizal, the Philippines’ national hero indicated that the island Morga was talking about was Talim. In 1812, Don Pasqual de Sta. Ana of Pasig, the only Filipino *indio* hacendero at that time, bought Talim Island, one of the haciendas of the Spanish king in the Philippines, for 353 pesos, 4 *reales* and 6 *granos* (Santiago 2002). Don Pasqual acquired the royal hacienda with the proviso that he would convert the estate into a cattle ranch in accordance with the *composicion*, a procedure ‘whereby the government sold unworked public or royal lands at a low price in exchange for their settlement and agricultural development’ (2002:28). On 20 October 1812, the island-estate was awarded to him through a decree issued by the governor and superintendent general subdelegate of the Royal Hacienda. Four years after, on 19 December 1816, King Fernando VII confirmed the sale through a royal order (2002).

Aside from the works cited above, early mentions of Talim Island were recorded in the writings of Rizal himself. In his letter dated 8 May 1882, Rizal turned nostalgic as the boat where he was aboard passed through some mountains on its way to Singapore, which reminded him of Talim Island:

Formaban al Sudoeste una Hermosa vista para nosotros que hace dias no habiamos visto tierra. Una larga cadena de islas formando una especie de cordillera montañosa me hacia recordar la isla de Talim con el Susong Dalaga de mi provincia (Rizal 1960: 26).

They formed to Southwest a beautiful sight for us who days ago had not seen land. A long chain of islands forms a kind of mountain range that made me remember the island of Talim with the Susong Dalaga of my province (the translation was done through the internet facility Google translate).

Two years later, he again remembered the island as he was traveling in Utah in the United States of America, comparing the ‘mountains in the middle of the lake like the islands of Talim in Laguna de Bay’ (Russell and Rodriguez 1923: 369).

The fondness of Rizal for Talim Island was indeed undeniable as it was mentioned several times in his two novels: *Noli me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*. The island had always been part of his description of picturesque Laguna de Bay:

At that moment the steamer crossed the bar and the panorama spread out before their eyes was so truly magnificent that all were impressed. In front extended the beautiful lake bordered by green shores and blue mountains, like a huge mirror, framed in emeralds and sapphires, reflecting the sky in its glass. On the right were spread out the low shores, forming bays with graceful curves, and dim there in the distance the crags of Sungay, while in the background rose Makiling, imposing and majestic, crowned with fleecy clouds. On the left lay Talim Island with its curious sweep of hills. A fresh breeze rippled over the wide plain of water ([1891] 1997: 32).

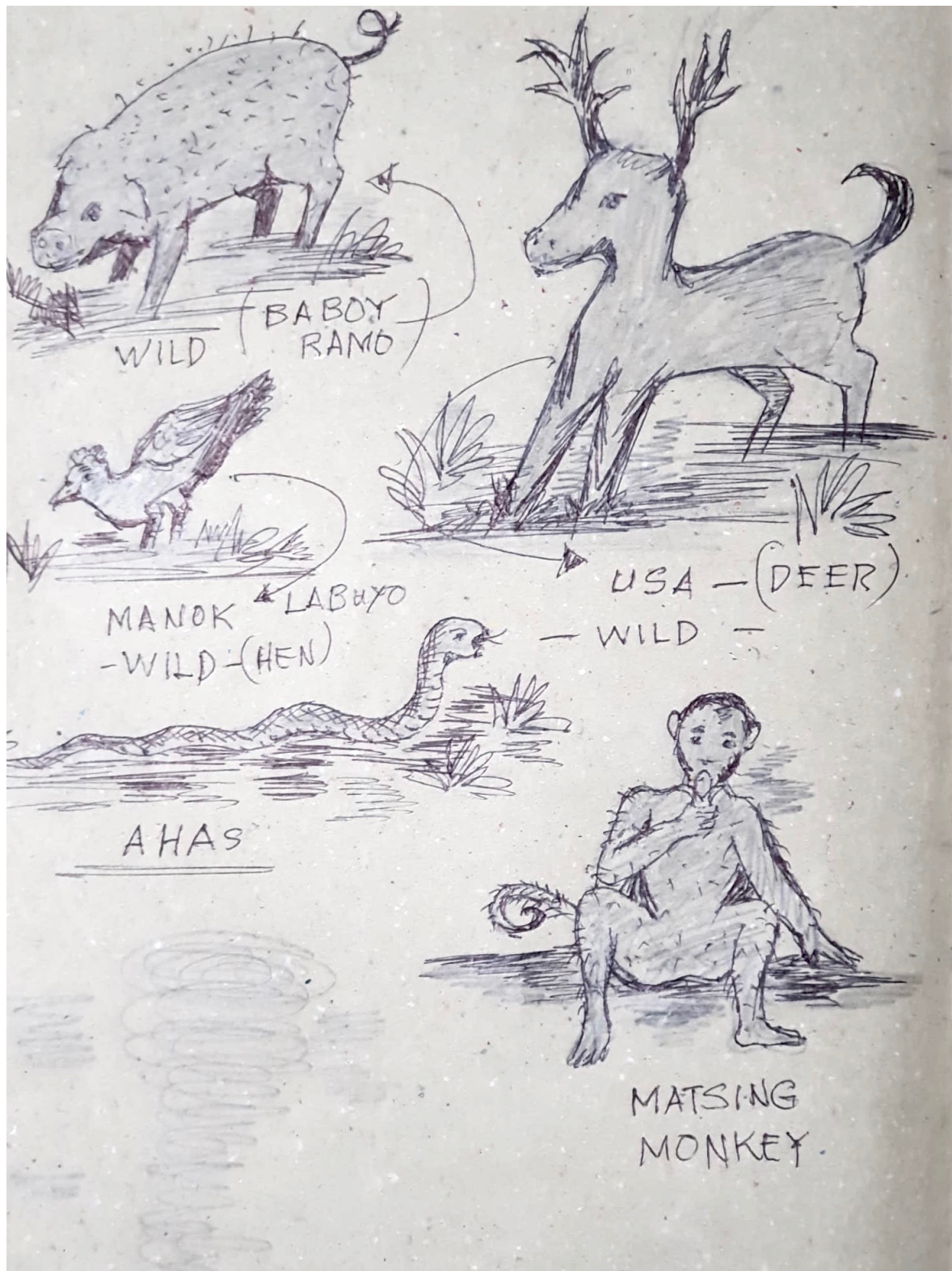


Illustration 3.1. In the ethnographic workshop conducted in January 2017, one of the participants remembers the game that used to abound on the island: *baboy ramo* (wild boar), *usa* (deer), *manok labuyo* (wild chicken), etc. Illustration: Nazario Antonil (10 January 2017).

The open balcony admitted the fresh, pure breeze and revealed the lake, whose waters murmured sweetly around the base of the edifice, as if rendering homage. On the right, at a distance, appeared Talim Island, a deep blue in the midst of the lake, while almost in front lay the green and deserted islet of Kalamba, in the shape of a half-moon ([1891] 1997: 84-85).

During the nineteenth century, especially the latter part, Talim Island had a reputation as a haven for *tulisanes* or outlaws. Such viewpoint is captured in Rizal's chapter in *Noli me Tangere* entitled 'Chase on the Lake', which tackles how Elias, a *tulisan* in the eyes of the Spaniards, gave his all to reach the island so as to save Ibarra, the protagonist:

Gradually, he changed the course of his banka, rowing toward Binangonan. To his great surprise he noticed that the boat also changed the course, while a voice called to him. Elias stopped rowing and reflected. The shore was still far away and they would soon be within range of the rifles on the police boat...He gazed at his robust arms and, adopting the only course left, began to row with all his might toward Talim Island just as the sun was rising ([1887] 2011: 676).

In the sequel, *El Filibusterismo*, Rizal mentioned *Kinabutasan* (present-day Navotas), a strait that separates the island from the mainland, as the place where Ibarra was thought to have been killed by the Spanish authorities:

According to the officer who conducted the pursuit, Ibarra, upon finding himself surrounded, jumped out of this banka there near the Kinabutasan and swimming under the water, covered all that distance of more than two miles, saluted by bullets every time that he raised his head to breathe ([1891] 1997: 32).

This infamous image that was attached to the lake and the island by the authorities during Spanish colonial times was noted by the French physician-author Mallat:

The lake is very rich in fish and supplies daily fish market (*sic*) Manila; its edges are inhabited by crocodiles, among which there are huge ones...it is especially in the Quinabutasan Strait they are the most numerous. Moreover, crocodiles are not the only animals malfaisants found on the lake; he (*sic*) is infested (*sic*) canoes mounted with thieves (1846: 117).



Picture 3.1. The link between Rizal and the island has persisted until the present times, as local religious sects venerating the national hero as a god still exist on the island. The photo shows me and my students inside the chapel of the Rizalists. Photo: Angelito Nunag (20 May 2018).

It would seem, however, that the island remained uninhabitable until the eighteenth century, for the mention of people living on the island only appeared in the chronicles of the travelers in the nineteenth century. In 1803, Joaquin Martinez de Zuñiga, a friar and chronicler, observed that the island in the middle of Laguna de Bay ‘holds out a refuge to some Indian families’ ([1803] 1814: 232). He also underlined their livelihood and vigilant stance to protect their domain and liberty:

They live by fishing, and preserve their liberty by prohibiting the approach of strangers to their asylum (Zuñiga vol.2 1803/1814: 232).

Such observation was corroborated by Fedor Jagor, a German ethnologist and explorer who traveled in the Philippines in the years 1859 to 1860. He pointed out that it was still underpopulated but dominated by forest and undergrowth. During this time, crocodiles populated the lake, as Mount Susong Dalaga stood tall in the center:

On my return I paid a visit to the island of Talim, which, with the exception of a clearing occupied by a few miserable huts, is uninhabited and thickly overgrown with forest and undergrowth. In the center of the island is the Soson-Dalaga (maiden's bosom), a dolerite hill with a beautifully formed crest. Upon the shore I found four eggs containing young crocodiles. When I broke the shells the little reptiles made off (Jagor 1875: 178-179).



View of Jalajala, from the Island of Talim.

Illustration 3.2. A mid-nineteenth century illustration of Talim Island showing the forest that used to dominate the landscape. Taken from Jagor's *Travels in the Philippines*, 1875.

As indicated above, Dr. Mallat also noted large numbers of these animals in the lake that 'sometimes pursues bathers to the shore' (1846:70). Equally bold were the people who 'are not afraid to dive until the bottom of the water to attack the caiman; they carry, of a hand, of sharp weapon and, on the other hand, a wooden stick hard, pointed at both ends' (1846:70).

Meanwhile, the inhabitants who lived in the 'few miserable huts', noted Jagor, were fishermen who sold fish to travelers. He also underlined the lake waters that were rich in sand-mussels, which served as a food resource for the inhabitants:

Off the island of Talim, in the great lake of Bay, my boatmen bought for a few *cuartos* several dozens of fish quite twelve inches long; and those which they couldn't eat were split open, open salted, and dried by a few hours' exposure to the heat of the sun on the roof of the boat. When the fishermen had parted with their contemplated

breakfast, they stooped down and filled their cooking-vessels with sand-mussels, first throwing away the dead ones from the bottom of the shallow water (1875: 114).



The Island of Talim, with the Soson-Dalaga mountain, seen from Majajjai.

Illustration 3.3. Another mid-nineteenth century illustration of Talim Island showing Bundok ng Susong Dalaga (Mt. Tagapo) as seen from Majayjay, Laguna. Taken from Jagor's *Travels in the Philippines*, 1875.

3.2.1. The peopling of the island

The above discussions hint about the peopling of the island prior to and during the Spanish colonization. It can be inferred that the early settlers came from the neighboring towns of Morong, Baras, Tanay and Jala-jala as these territories comprised the ancient kingdom of Pila of which Talim Island was a part. It can be surmised that they were the original inhabitants of the island whom the European travelers saw at the turn of the 19th century. Though part of an ancient organized dominion and just a stone's throw away from the mainland territories, it would seem that the island was not appealing to migrants until the 1800s, as chronicles of the early travelers noted the absence of inhabitants in the 17th century and remained uninhabitable until the next one hundred years. Based on the existing literature, the pioneers started migrating to the island at the end of the 18th century, hence, the presence of people here only appeared in the accounts of the foreign voyagers during the start of the succeeding century.

In 1803, the first migrants started in insignificant quantity as the island offered refuge only to some families. In 1812, it can be deduced that the population slightly grew in number after the purchase of Don Pasqual. This can be attributed to the proviso attached to the sale that the island had to be occupied and undergo agricultural development. The realization of this condition indeed necessitated the occupation of the island, although, it remained

underpopulated until the mid-19th century. The progress of establishing a settlement seemed slow as the foreign travelers at the end of the said century noted only a ‘few miserable huts’ on the island.

Furthermore, it can also be conjectured that the next set of occupants did not come from the towns that used to constitute the pre-colonial kingdom of Pila. This is because the new owner of the island, Don Pasqual de Sta. Ana, came from Pasig. It can be inferred further that the newcomers from Pasig merged with the early settlers from the towns of Morong, Baras, Tanay and Jala-jala, forming a new way of life typical of island living. This new way of life was an amalgamation of migrants’ customs, traditions, habits, values, understandings, beliefs, perceptions and skills brought into the island and harmonized and indigenized into a distinct way of life on the island by this mixture of settlers who would later assume an identity of *taga-isla*.

3.3. Sufferings and terrors at the hands of the Americans and Japanese

During the American colonization at the turn of the twentieth century, the Americans seemed to discount the agricultural value of Talim Island because they viewed it as ‘a mountainous island of no agricultural importance’ (Foreman 1906: 89). However, the association of the island with outlaws had been bolstered during this period as the new colonizers established a military prison in Malahi, an islet at the southern tip of Talim. This notion could have been amplified further as the Americans made it a point to fire three shots from a cannon to signal the escape of a prisoner, and then offered a thirty-dollar reward for the capture of the escapee (Foreman 1906).

Nonetheless, during the early years of American colonization, the island served an important role in the development of the city of Manila and the neighboring provinces. Prior to the establishment of the Commonwealth government in 1935, the quarrying on the island was the source of the ‘stones most frequently used in the nearby towns and Manila’ (Salonga 1934:12). The island, however, had witnessed environmental degradation as its famed quarry stone was obtained through ‘dynamite blasting and machinery crushing’ (1934:16). Meanwhile, it was also during this period that a school in barangay Janosa was established through the initiative of Julio Antiporda, the town mayor of Binangonan from 1928-1936 (MBOW n.d.).

It was not only the island that was suffering from degradation during this time, as the lake ecosystem and biodiversity began to sustain destruction from snail fishing and duck

raising in Laguna de Bay. The thriving duck industry, which required snails as the primary feed for ducks, triggered excessive harvesting of snails more than the lake could afford in 1937, projecting their population to diminish, ‘almost reaching the zero point, that rehabilitation of this species is impossible’ (Arriola and Villaluz 1939: 178). The overharvesting was brought about by the introduction of *kaladkad*, a new snail-fishing gear, which in turn, led not only to the depletion of the snail population but also to other fish and plant species. As the *kaladkad* was towed by boat it scraped off everything along its way at the bottom of the lake, destroying juvenile fish as well as plants that served as their shelter (Arriola and Villaluz 1939).

When World War II reached the Philippines in 1941, Talim Island had once again served as a refuge for the *taga-isla* from the atrocities. However, as soon as the Japanese occupied the country, garrisons were established on the island. Oral tradition has it that garrisons were set up in different barangays on the island (Focus Group Discussion [FGD] April 2015). In barangay Bangad, a house near the slope where an Acacia tree used to stand was converted into a Japanese garrison. It was here where they were subjected to various means of torture such as water cure:

Merong garison. Sa may taas ng bahay namin. Iilan-ilan pa lang ang bahay nun. Sa bahay doon sa may taas, sa may punong Acacia...Binibitin ng pasalungat ang tao, awang-awa ako...kitang-kita ko talaga yun noong bata pa ako...tatlong araw hindi pinakain ang tao, may tumitimbuwang na sa gutom.

There was a garrison. It was above our house. The houses back then were only a few. The house was located on the slopes, near the Acacia tree...People were hung upside down, I felt terribly sorry. I really saw when I was a child...people were starved for three days, some collapsed from hunger (Rufino, FGD, April 25, 2105).

Yung bahay nga ginawang garison, doon nagtigil ang mga Hapon. Doon sa may Acacia binibitin ang tao. Tapos paiinum ng tubig at bubugbugin pa. Dito sa may eskwelahan inipon ang mga tao...mula Bombong, Kinagatan, Buhangin. Nakaharap ang machine gun sa mga tao sa daan.

That house was indeed converted into a garrison; it was there where the Japanese stayed. It was in the Acacia tree that people were hung. Then they were forced to take lots of water, after which, they were beaten up...It was

here in the school where people from Bombong, Kinagatan and Buhangin were confined. The machine gun was aimed at the people on the street (Ador, FGD, April 25, 2105).

Stories about them being ordered to dig their own graves before getting killed also abound. One of the participants in the focus group discussion recalled how her father told her stories of his ordeal. She narrated how her father escaped death at the hands of the Japanese:

Noong una siya daw ay papatayin na. Dito naghuhukay na, eh ang tatay ko ay maboka, kinausap nang kinausap yung Hapon, maski hindi sila nagkakaintindihan. Pinakawalan siya.

At first, he was about to be killed. He was digging his grave here. But my father was very articulate. He kept on talking with the Japanese even though they did not understand each other. Eventually, he was released (Carmelita, FGD, April 25, 2105).

Another participant corroborated this story by sharing his father's tale. According to him, luck bailed his father out:

Ang tatay ko biktima din ng Hapon. Muntik na din siyang mapatay. Naging maswerte lang daw siya dahil nakaumang na siya dun sa hinukay nila.

My father was also a victim of the Japanese. He was almost killed. According to him, he just got lucky as he was all set for the grave, which he, himself, dug (Ruben, FGD, April 25, 2105).

Others, however, were not that lucky, 'may mga pinatay dito, apat yun na naghukay ng sarili nilang libingan', 'some were killed here, there were four who dug their own graves' (Carmelita, FGD, April 25, 2105). Women, on the one hand, were raped by the Japanese. (Oria, personal communication, March 10, 2015). Consequently, the female *taga-isla* employed various ingenious means to avert sexual assault. They exerted efforts to look undesirable in the eyes of the colonizers:

Ang mga babae naman, magaganda ang babae sa Bangad. Pag dumadating ang mga Hapon, sila ay nagpapahid ng mga uling...nagpapapangit, uling pinapahid. Ang mga damit, nagsusuot sila ng mga sirasira para hindi sila magustuhan dahil sa ibang lugar may mga ginahasa talaga ng Hapon. Yun ang kwento nila.

The women, meanwhile, the women in Bangad were beautiful. Whenever the Japanese arrived, they applied charcoal (to their face)...to look ugly...they applied charcoal. Their clothes, they wore clothes that were in tatters so that they would look undesirable; that was because the Japanese raped women in other places. That was what we have been told (Carmelita FGD, April 25, 2105).

In addition, narratives about Japanese loot that was either sunk in the lake or hidden in the mountain are commonplace. The story about a Japanese ship carrying treasure that sank at the southern tip of the island (Ruben FGD, April 25, 2105) has permeated the island folklore. Others claim that a golden cow and chains were dug after years of being buried in the hills of Malanggam, Boor and Subay (Pastor FGD, April 25, 2105). Such stories precipitated treasure hunting on the island leaving its mountains perforated at present.

3.4. Post-war island transformation

3.4.1. Emergence of new important fish species and proliferation of aquaculture industries

After the war, the island and its people began experiencing radical transformation. This was reflected in the island and lake ecologies, livelihood, technology and demography. In the 1960s *ayungin* or silver perch (*Leiopotherapon plumbeus*) and *biya* or white goby (*Glossobius giurus*) replaced *dalag* or mudfish (*Channa melasoma*) and *kanduli* or catfish (*Arius manilensis*) as the important species in the lake, comprising 65 percent and 25 percent of the total fish catch respectively (Mercene 1987; Saguin 2013). This was indeed a drastic change as *dalag* and *kanduli* were regarded with greater importance relative to *biya*, *ayungin*, *talilong* (*Mugil spp.*), *buanbuan* (*Megalops cyprinoides*) and *hito* (*Clarias batrachus*) thirty years ago. Vicente Aldaba of the Bureau of Science in Manila noted that these species were treated with lesser importance in the 1930s (1931). During this period (the 1930s) considerable quantities of these fishes, shrimps (*Palaemonidae* and *Atyidae*) and snails were caught and consumed both as human food and duck feed (Aldaba 1931a). Quantity-wise, it was *kanduli* that was deemed most important, as it was most abundant and available all year round (Aldaba 1931b). In the middle of the 1970s, however, it became scarce and *biya* took its place as the dominant species (Jocano and Veloro 1976).

The lake ecology further changed with the introduction of aquaculture in the late 1960s. During this time a new species was introduced in the lake for cultivation, and the construction of fish pens began. Fish culture in pens formally commenced after the Laguna



Picture 3.2. Treasure hunting activities on the island left an open pit at the summit of Mt. Tagapo (*Susong Dalaga*). Photo: Angelito Nunag (09 June 2017).

Lake Development Authority proved the viability of cultivating milkfish (*Chanos chanos*) for commercial use in 1970, and thereafter, pens proliferated in the lake (Dela Cruz 1982, 1997; Israel 2007, 2008). Just three years after, the number of pens that mushroomed was staggering- a total of 993 structures ranging from less than one hectare to greater than 100 hectares, covering a total area of 4,802 hectares popped up in the lake (Nicolas and Librero 1977; Dela Cruz 1982; Davies et al. 1986). In 1980, this area almost doubled in size, covering about 7,000 hectares with estimated annual produce of 25,000 to 30,000 tons of milkfish valued at approximately 200 to 250 million pesos (Dela Cruz 1982).

Intended to uplift the plight of the fisherfolk, this initiative, however, failed to live up to its promise during its inception. The progress was not felt by the fisherfolk as these large pens were usually owned by wealthy outsiders and corporations. In fact, from their view, it brought more damage than benefit as the pens occupied their traditional fishing grounds (FGD April, September 2015, June 2017; EW January, February 2017; Kuya Tek and Kuya

Nats, personal communication, multiple interviews in 2017; Nunag fieldnotes 2017). In view of this, the LLDA in 1976 taught the technology to the fishers through the Laguna de Bay Fishpen Development Program that aimed to give a limit of 10-hectare pen per fisher within a total area of 2,500 hectares (LLDA 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981). This too, however, failed, thus, LLDA resorted to cage aquaculture which was a more viable option as a cage was smaller, less expensive and easier to manage compared to pens (Garcia and Medina 1987; Tabbu et al. 1986; Kuya Tek, Kuya Tamoy and Kuya Buli, personal communication, multiple interviews in 2017).

Meanwhile, the disappearance of rice fields and terraces attests to the transformation that the island underwent in recent years. On the Binangonan side of the island where this study was conducted, agriculture was still a central part of the *taga-isla's* livelihood alongside fishing prior and up to the 1970s. During this period, rice fields lined the shore while the mountain showcased the rice terraces:

Noong araw ay puro tayo bukid dyan sa
kaingin...palayan hanggang tabing-dagat...talagang
kitang-kita mo, ang gaganda, bakat-bakat na ang pilapil sa
bundok.

Back then, we had lots of rice fields in the
mountain...rice fields through the shore...you can really
see, so beautiful, the traces of rice paddies (Ruben FGD,
April 25, 2105).

Dati po yang parang sa tabing-dagat ay palayan. Ito
pong bundok makikita ninyo parang hagdang palayan.

In the past, the field near the shore was a rice paddy.
In the mountain, you could see rice terraces of sorts
(Kapitan Pablo, personal communication, September 25,
2015).

The eventual success of fish culture in the 1970s specifically cage aquaculture effected a change in their disposition that resulted in the dwindling of agriculture in the following decade (FGD April, September 2015, June 2017; EW January, February 2017; Kuya Tek and Kuya Nats, personal communication, multiple interviews in 2017). As they shifted their attention from land to lake, the island's ecology was greatly altered. Rice terraces were converted into banana plantations by those who still practiced minimal farming. Accordingly, low-maintenance crops that yielded profit easily such as *balingoy* or cassava and banana

replaced rice. In addition, the booming aquaculture industry prompted the massive cultivation of bamboos in the mountains. Bamboos were sought-after by the fish pen owners as these were the primary materials in the construction of pens. This further changed the mountain ecology as bamboos supplanted plants and fruit-bearing trees:

Noong 1980s lang marami pang puno dito sa bundok- mangga, bayabas, santol, sampalok, langka. Ngayon halos wala na, puro kawayan na lang.

In the 1980s there were still many trees here in the mountain- mango, guava, cotton fruit, tamarind, jackfruit. Nowadays, you hardly see one; it is all bamboos everywhere (Kuya Tek personal communication, multiple interviews in 2017).

The changes in the land and lake ecologies precipitated a sea change in the livelihood of the *taga-isla*. In the 1960s they subsisted on farming and fishing. The produce, which was comprised of cultivated rice and harvested fruits from the mountains and in the neighborhood, was peddled in the community. Similarly, the fish harvest was sold in the vicinity and the nearby towns. Duck farming was also a source of livelihood during this period, which was made viable by the abundance of snails in the lake that were used as duck feed (Nanay Minay personal communication, multiple interviews in 2017; Joeven March 17, 2017; Nunag fieldnotes 2017). In the late 1960s, cottage industry such as *kaing* (woven bamboo basket) making thrived on the island (Benny, personal communication January 12, 2017).

The success of aquaculture in the 1970s lured them into focusing more on the lake for subsistence. In lieu of this, the proliferation of fish pens owned by the businessmen and corporations in Manila was countered by the sprouting of fish cages owned and maintained by the inhabitants. In the following decade, agriculture was only practiced minimally as the lake became the primary source of income:

Unang-una po, halos ang kabuhayan ng mga tao dito, pag hindi dagat, bundok. Yan ang kauna-unahang pinagkakakitaan ng mga tao noong araw, bundok. Halos ang mga tao dyan na nakatira, yung mga matatanda...ngayon hindi na nagtatanim, madalang na umahon sa bundok...dagat na ang pangunahing pinagkakakitaan ngayon.

First of all, the livelihood of most of the people here, if not the lake, is the mountain. It is in the mountain

where the people in the past got their main source of income. Almost everyone lived in the mountain, especially the old folk...nowadays, they do not farm anymore...they hardly go to the mountain...it is the lake that is the primary livelihood now (Kapitan Pablo FGD September 6, 2015).

The lake provided them opportunities for both aquaculture and open water fishing. They relied on the latter for their daily sustenance, as the former's earnings were seasonal. During this time new cottage industries flourished and served as an alternative livelihood in times of low fish harvest or 'nagdamot ang dagat' (the sea turned mean) in the local parlance (Ed Silayan personal communication, multiple interviews in 2017). Bamboo furniture making became a reliable and alternate source of income since the 1980s and continued until the present, replacing *kaing* making.

3.4.2. Technological metamorphosis

All the above-mentioned changes, in turn, engendered technological transformation. In the 1960s traditional farming implements such as the *lagumbahan* (traditional irrigation equipment) and *pabakal* (improvised pickaxe) were still a common sight (FGD April, September 2015, June 2017; EW January, February 2017; Nunag fieldnotes 2017). In fishing, *armadahan* or *layag* (sailboat) still dominated the lake despite the advent of motorboats in the 1920s. Old-fashioned fishing gears such as the *danlay* (fishnet made of bamboo) were the main implements utilized by the *mangingisdang layag* or fisherfolk who used sailboat for fishing (Kuya Tamoy and Kuya Tek personal communication, multiple interviews in 2107). With the proliferation of fish pens in the 1970s, all these traditional gears



Picture 3.3. A bird's eye view of the fish pens and cages that litter the lake. Photo: Angelito Nunag (9 June 2017).



Picture 3.4. A close-up view of the fish cages from Mt. Tagapo. Photo: Angelito Nunag (9 June 2017).

slowly vanished. Fisherfolk found it impractical to fish with *armadahan* as the pens began to litter the lake, which obstructed the fishing lanes. In the 1980s motorboat and gill net finally supplanted *layag* and *danlay*. The total dominance of aquaculture and the profitability of open water fishing over farming signaled the shift in their preference, which in turn, led to the disappearance of the *lagumbahan* and *pabakal*:

Mga 1976 nga yun. Dati ang mga mamamanti dito layag lang ang gamit. Pero unti-unti nawala na ang mga yun noong umusbong ang fish pen at cage. Hindi na pwedeng maglayag baka kasi sumabit sila sa mga pen. Kasabay din pag-usbong ng mga pen at cage, umusbong ang mga nylon fish net at bangkang de motor at napalitan ang danlay at layag. Noong 1980s tuluyan ng dumami ang pen at cage. Naging hudyat ito para tuluyan ng matuon ang atensyon ng mga tao sa lawa.

It was around 1976. The fisherfolk only used sailboats. But this slowly disappeared as fish pens and cages sprouted. The sail was rendered inutile as it might end up getting hooked in the pen. As pens and cages sprouted, so were the gill nets and motorboats, which supplanted *danlay* and *layag*. In the 1980s pens and cages totally grew in number. This served as a signal for the people to fully focus their attention on the lake (Kuya Tamoy and Kuya Tek personal communication, multiple interviews in 2107).

3.4.3. Utilizing the knowledge of the elements

Prior to the introduction of motorized watercraft in the 1920s, the *taga-isla* relied solely on wind for their mobility and fishing activities. During this time, the physical presence of the wind powered the *armadahan* or *layag* which ferried them to the mainland and nearby towns and carried the fisherfolk to their fishing grounds. The older generations are still fond of remembering the days when the *armadahan* or *layag* ruled the lake and boldly traversed its cage-and-pen-free waters, harnessing the power of the wind and riding in its majestic presence.

It was not only the physical uses of the wind that mattered at that time. The intricate body of local knowledge about the wind was at the core of their lives, shaping the conduct of their everyday life. In the absence of radios and televisions where the so-called modern scientific forecast could be obtained, they heavily leaned on their knowledge of the winds. Back in the days, my old informants recall, they would observe the behavior, movement,



Illustration 3.4. The *lagumbahan* or traditional irrigation equipment made from bamboo vanished as the *taga-isla* abandoned farming. Illustration by Nazario Antonil, EW January 2017.

strength and direction of the wind before proceeding with their journey. A slight change in the wind's temperament sealed their journey's fate. Similarly, the fishers' activities were extremely dependent on the volatility of the elements, serving as a weather forecasting system with which they frame their course of action. The appearance of a particular wind and the expression of its idiosyncrasies dictated if it was appropriate to carry out fishing or if it was unsafe to go out in the open water:

Doon lang sila nakabase. Tinitingnan nila ang kilos at galaw ng hangin. Kapag humihilaga na, nagiging mas maingat sa pagpalaot dahil nagsisimula na ang pagsama ng panahon. Kapag umihip na ang Hilaga, walang pumapalaot dahil tatangayin sila ng malakas na hangin. Naghahanda na lang sila at nagseseraga ng bahay. Pagkatapos ng bagyo, wala munang pumapalaot hangga't hindi pa umihip ang Timog. Kapag humahabagat naman wala ring pumapalaot dahil delikado.

It is only in (the wind) that they (old folk) are based. They observe the behaviors and actions of the wind. If *Hilaga* makes its presence felt, they become more cautious of getting in the water because the weather begins to turn bad. If *Hilaga* blows, no one dares fish in

the open water for they will be carried away by strong winds. They just prepare and brace their houses with *serga*. After the typhoon has passed nobody goes out fishing until after *Timog* blows. On the one hand, if the weather turns *Habagat* (the *Habagat* referred to here is more of the thunderstorm), no one also goes out fishing because it is dangerous (Ed, personal communication, multiple interviews in 2017).

The proliferation of radio and television units on the island afforded the *taga-isla* easy access to the modern scientific weather forecast. This technological progress was preceded by the advent of the motorboat in the 1920s which finally supplanted the sailboat in the 1980s. It is expected therefore that such reliance on the local knowledge of winds for weather prediction would dwindle in view of these developments. It bears mentioning that in spite of their dependence on motorized boats for transportation, this knowledge still plays a major role in their mobility. The boat captain and his crew are always keen on the temperament of the wind in their daily operations, taking into account its movement, strength and direction to ensure a safe journey. For their part, the fisherfolk still observe this body of knowledge in the conduct of their work. The information obtained from modern means of forecasting is bolstered by their own prediction gathered from the application of their knowledge of the elements. To date, in spite of the proliferation and incorporation of modern scientific forecasting in their affairs, the *taga-isla* particularly the fishers are more reliant in the utilization of their local knowledge than in the employment of knowledge obtained from inanimate objects and computer models of modern weather forecasting in the performance of their everyday life.

3.4.4. Demographical sea change

A profound change was also manifested in demography. During the period 1950s to 1960s, the population was remarkably low, and houses were few and distant from one another. In the following decade, an increase in population was noted in conjunction with the burgeoning of fish pens. Such increase was partly attributed to the influx of outsiders who worked as caretakers in pens (FGD April, September 2105; Kuya Tek personal communication, multiple interviews in 2107; Kuya Nats personal communication, multiple interviews in 2107). A middle-aged *taga-isla* underlined:

Noong mga bata pa kami madalang pa ang bahay
dyan sa Lambak. Ang mga bahay noon ay gawa sa kahoy
at kawayan at magkakalayo.

When we were young the houses in Lambak were few. The houses then were made of wood and bamboo and were far away from each other (Kuya Nats personal communication, multiple interviews in 2107).

The disappearance of rice fields starting with the 1980s was also associated with the ballooning of population during this decade (EW January, February 2017). In the succeeding decades, the population explosion was evident resulting in the shortage of residential space. During this period, the island witnessed the occupation even of its shoreline as the inhabitants constructed their houses near the water. A former barangay captain of Janosa who served in the early 2000s noted this event:

Nagsimula noong hindi pa ko kapitan. Nagsimula na yung pagdating ng bahay kasi nga ang tao dito ay sobrang dami na, pati tabing-tubig ay tinatayuan na ng bahay. Pero hindi sila squatter kasi kanila yun, may titulo ang lupa doon. Kanya-kanya yung mga tinatayo kasi wala na silang mapagtayuan ng bahay eh.

It started when I was not yet a barangay captain. That was when houses were constructed because the population ballooned, houses were constructed even along the shoreline. But they were not squatters because they owned the land; they had titles. One by one the houses were built because there was no more available space (Kapitan Pablo, personal communication, September 25, 2015).

In 2010 the number of households on the Binangonan side of the island was 5,228 of which 301, 521 and 410 belonged to barangays Bangad, Janosa and Sapang respectively, the sites of this research study. In 2015, the total population on this side shot up to a startling 27,005. Of this entirety, Bangad had 1,563, Janosa had 2,917 and Sapang had 2,265. In 2020 the number of households is projected at 6,070 with an estimated increase of 16 percent for each of the said barangays (Bangad, 349; Janosa, 605; Sapang, 476). With regards to the population, it is forecasted to grow at 35,648 with an estimated increase of 25 percent for the three barangays cited. Accordingly, Bangad's population is projected at 1,948; Janosa's at 3,637 and Sapang's at 2,824 (OMPC n.d.). Such projection makes the present-day Talim Island way far from the 1960s' Talim Island with 'few and distant houses'. Indeed, the changes that the island has undergone through the years make the 19th century Talim Island, depicted as uninhabited in the chronicles, a thing of the past.



Picture 3.5. An old photograph of Sitio Lambak in barangay Sapang shows a ‘few and distant houses’ even in the 1970s. Photo courtesy of Pablito Bolante and Renato Cerda (circa 1970).



Picture 3.6. The present-day photo of Sitio Lambak in Barangay Sapang shows no trace of the ‘few and distant houses’ of the past. Photo: Renato Cerda (26 February 2021).

3.5. The ‘people from the river’ of Central and South Luzon and the nation Tagala

Prior to Spanish colonization in the 16th century, the Philippines was occupied by different ethnic groups that formed the different nations within the country (Zuñiga vol.1 [1803] 1814). The ‘nation Tagala, inhabiting many towns and mud villages, governed by petty chiefs’ (Zuñiga vol.1 [1803] 1814: 23-24) occupied the southern part of Luzon Island, one of the three major islands in the country from which Talim Island belongs. This nation was distinct from the other nations found north of Luzon such as Pampanga, Zambales, Pangasinan, Ilocos and Cagayan, wherein each had ‘a distinct community, with a distinct language, or dialect of the same language, and was distributed in mud villages, having no king...to govern them; but in lieu of that a number of petty chiefs, or rajahs, whose authority scarcely extended over fifty or an hundred families’ (Zuñiga vol.1 [1803] 1814: 24). The nation Tagala was peopled by the ‘taga-ilog’, or people from the river, which afterward was corrupted into the name Tagalog. The Tagalogs populated only the lands from the south shore of Laguna de Bay southwards, chiefly the provinces of Batangas, Laguna and Rizal, including the district of Manila and the province of Bulacan in Central Luzon (Foreman 1906; Zuñiga vol.1 [1803] 1814).

The Tagalogs built their settlements on the shores of the sea and between rivers and creeks. Here they sowed rice, tended palm trees, nipa and banana groves and other trees, and possessed fishing and sailing implements. Their houses were set upon stakes and columns high above the ground. They had small rooms and low roofs and were made of wood and bamboos. The lower part of the house was not inhabited because ‘they raise their fowls and cattle there, and because of the damp and heat of the earth, and the many rats... and because, as their houses are generally built on the sea shore, or on the banks of rivers and creeks, the waters bathe the lower part’ (Morga [1609] 1907: 590). These settlements were ruled by the chiefs or *datus* who exercised authority over their subjects and assisted them in their interests and necessities. The people were stratified into chiefs, possessing the upper stratum; *timaguas* or commoners, occupying the middle level; and slaves, constituting the lower class (Morga [1609] 1907).

The Tagalogs were distinguished by their attitude. Observations made at the start of the 20th century underlined the distinction of the Tagalogs from other ethnic groups. In 1906 John Foreman noted how they ‘have made progress in civilization and good manners than the Visayas of Panay and Negros’ (476). Furthermore, he underscored their curious attitude and hospitality:

The Tagalog differs vastly from his southern brother in his true nature, which is more pliant, whilst he is by instinct cheerfully and disinterestedly hospitable. Invariably a European wayfarer in a Tagalog village is invited by one or another of the principal residents to lodge at his house as a free guest, for to offer payment would give offence...The Tagalog host lends his guest horses or vehicles to go about the neighbourhood, takes him round to the houses of his friends, accompanies him to any feast which may be celebrated at the time of his visit...He is remarkably inquisitive, and will ask all sorts of question about one's private affairs, but that is of no consequence, he is not intrusive...Speaking of the Tagalog as a host, pure and simple, he is generally the most genial man one could hope to meet (Foreman 1906: 476-477).

3.5.1. Absence of homogeneity

Nevertheless, the Tagalogs are not a homogeneous ethnic group. Members who hailed from different Tagalog provinces have always been keen on the peculiarity of one locality. Besides culture, the differences are evidenced by the variations in their spoken language. Accordingly, a Tagalog from Manila can easily distinguish a Tagalog from Rizal province due to the differences in their speech. In view of this, the Tagalog language comprises different but mutually intelligible dialects, which are named based on the province in which they are spoken. Hence, there exist Tagalog Aurora, Tagalog Bataan, Tagalog Batangas, Tagalog Bulacan, Tagalog Cavite, Tagalog Laguna, Tagalog Marinduque, Tagalog Mindoro, Tagalog Nueva Ecija, Tagalog Quezon and Tagalog Manila (Peneyra 2003).

Due to its own set of unique lexical items compared with other varieties, Tagalog Rizal is a separate dialect of Tagalog in its own right (Paz 1994). Nevertheless, Tagalog Rizal is neither a homogeneous dialect. Each town in Rizal province has a different variety of Tagalog Rizal. Such differences are attributed to the existence of relic areas in the province. Relic areas are places that have not been reached nor affected by linguistic innovations. Accordingly, Rizal province comprises two relic areas with the towns of Teresa, Morong, Cardona and Baras constituting the first one, while Taytay comprising the second one (Paz 1994).

As part of Rizal province, Tagalog Rizal is spoken on Talim Island. On that account, the *taga-isla* are by no means similar to other Tagalog-speaking people especially the ones in Manila. The glaring differences between Rizal and Manila varieties are hard to miss. The *taga-isla's* dialect is distinct from Tagalog Manila due to the presence of glottal stop at the

start of the ultimate syllable in a lexical root, which is lacking in the latter (e.g. ngayon [now] = *ŋaj.ʔon*; katawan [body] = *ka.taw.ʔan*; gabi [night] = *gab.ʔi*; etc.) (Nunag fieldnotes 2017). In addition, their speech is distinguished by the use of the word ‘ay’ as an interjection, as in the sentence, ‘Galing lang kami kagabi dun ay!’ ‘We have just been there last night!’ Furthermore, it would be impossible to miss the intensifiers ‘apa’ and ‘bang’ in their sentences when one converses with them: ‘Apa, bang galing!’ ‘So great!’ (Nunag fieldnotes 2017). Such peculiarities, more often than not, lead to others making fun of them:

Madalas nga po ay napagtatawanan kami sa Laguna
kapag naririnig nila magsalita kami ng ganyan.

Often, when we are in Laguna, people laugh every
time they hear us speak the way we speak (Ate Evelyn,
personal communication, May 10, 2017).

It is noteworthy that even on the island uniformity in the spoken dialect is lacking among the inhabitants. One knows from which barangay another one comes from just by hearing the latter’s intonation, glottal stop, interjection, intensifier, etc. Each barangay possesses a distinct variety of Tagalog Rizal that serves as an identification of its inhabitants:

Dito sa isla, bawat barangay ay may kanya-kanyang
salita. Sa punto at salita pa lang, alam mo na kung taga-
Bangad yun, o taga-Buhangin o taga-Janosa.

Here on the island, each barangay has its own dialect.
Through mere intonation and words, you can discern
whether one hails from Bangad, Buhangin or Janosa
(Rainier, personal communication March 17, 2017).

3.5.2. Never a ‘tanga-isla’ (dumb islander), but a better off ‘taga-isla’ (from the island)

In terms of their relationships with the inhabitants of the mainland (Binangonan proper) and other neighboring towns in Laguna and the city of Manila, they still experience misconceptions and disdains - convictions that were especially strong in the past. In the 1970s the island was still relatively isolated due to limited mobility and lack of telecommunication. During this period they seldom had the opportunity to go to the mainland except when doing trade. The youth spent most of their tender years practically isolated on the island as they hardly visited the mainland. This lack of contact between them and mainlanders led to two opposing flawed views. Consequently, misconceptions about the former as backward, ignorant, impoverished and inferior dominated the minds of the latter. In contrast, the former held the latter in high regard, ascribing qualities that reflected the

opposite view of themselves. These outlooks paved the way for their branding as ‘tanga-isla’ or ‘dumb islander’ by the mainlanders, a brand that had stuck for a long time (Ate Evelyn, personal communication, multiple interviews in 2017; Kuya Nats personal communication, multiple interviews in 2017; FGD April, September 2015, June 2017; EW January, February 2017). ‘Tanga-isla’ is a derivative of the term ‘taga-isla’ where the affix ‘taga’ means ‘from’, hence, ‘tanga-isla’ means people who come from the island. The mainlanders changed the affix ‘taga’ into ‘tanga’ (dumb) to assert their superiority over them.

In contrast, the inhabitants of Talim Island take pride in calling themselves ‘taga-isla’ as this term reflects their peculiar and better way of life. The people from the island, or ‘taga-isla’, boast of the simplicity, tranquility and easiness of island life as opposed to the complicated and worrisome life on the mainland. They are proud to have retained their old customs and good manners, which they believe are no longer present among the mainlanders and inhabitants of Manila:

Dito ang mga tao natutulog nang nakabukas ang pinto pero walang nawawala na kahit ano. Natutulog sila sa labas ng bahay pero walang nangyayaring masama sa kanila. Sa bayan yan o sa Maynila, ubos ang gamit nila at saka may saksak na sila sa katawan.

Here, people sleep with their doors open, yet nothing is stolen from them. They sleep outside their homes yet no evil comes to them. Do it on the mainland or in Manila, you will lose all your belongings and end up with stab wounds (EW February 2017).

During my six-month fieldwork in Barangay Sapang, I observed that such habit was a commonplace. As I wandered in the middle of the night, I saw them sleeping peacefully outside their homes, oblivious to the outside world. The barangay captain who had become a good friend even dared me to do the same and bragged that nothing bad would happen to me. The confidence stemmed from low criminality on the island, something that they were really proud of.

In addition, they are content with the strong sense of community that prevails through the island, a condition that always bails them out in times of crisis. To their minds, this peculiar state of affairs advantages them over the mainlanders and city people whose relationships are defined by individualism:

Dito hindi ka magugutom. Kung wala kang ulam, bibigyan ka ng kapit-bahay mo. Kung wala kang kanin, punta ka isa mo pang kapit-bahay. Makakakain ka na.

Hindi ka papalya ng kain dito. Hindi katulad sa bayan o Maynila, kanya-kanya ang tao dun, walang pakialamanan.

You will not starve here. If you do not have a dish, a neighbor will provide it. If you do not have rice, you go to another neighbor. Then you will be able to eat. You will never skip a meal here. Unlike in town or Manila, people are on their own, to each his own (FGD April, September 2015, June 2017; EW January, February 2017).



Picture 3.7. It is not uncommon to see the *taga-isla* sharing their food with one another, a trait that they always take great pride in. Photo: Angelito Nunag (21 October 2018).

3.5.3. Apprehensive of developments

With the advent of passenger motorboats on the island in the 1980s and cellular phones, the Internet and social media in the 1990s and 2000s, the people from Talim Island experienced an influx of knowledge from the outside world, and vice-versa. They finally enjoyed the privilege of free movement, traveling to and fro between the island and nearby towns and cities. Although the youth still spent their tender years on the island, they were nevertheless exposed to the outside world unlike their parents during their younger days, frequenting the mainland and the city more than the number of times their parents did. Nowadays, young and adults alike possess cellular phones and own Facebook accounts, broadcasting to the world even the minutest eventualities in their lives. Even the island itself has experienced a facelift as cellular towers sprouted in different barangays (Nunag fieldnotes 2107).

As these developments link the island to the outside world, perceptions are also changed both on the part of the *taga-isla* and outsiders. Consequently, the former take satisfaction in whatever advantages they have, as well as whatever island life has, over the mainlanders and city people and urban life. It is common to hear them priding themselves on the fact that on the island, ‘walang squatter dito’ ‘there are no squatters here’ (Nunag fieldnotes 2017; FGD April, September 2015, June 2017; EW January, February 2017). The latter, on the one hand, are dumbfounded to learn the existence of concrete houses on the island. Such astonishment is further reinforced by the high costs of material and labor for house construction: the cost of a bag of cement, for example, triples due to boat fare, hauling fee (from the mainland port to the boat; from the boat to the island port; and from the island port to the house), etc. This leads to teasing that ‘mayaman ang mga taga-isla’ ‘the *taga-isla* are well off’, supplanting the pun ‘tanga-isla’. All the comforts that development has to offer notwithstanding, they are apprehensive, as they fear that development might erode the customs and manners that define who they are as ‘taga-isla’ and shelter them from evils that come along with it.

Indeed, they have all the reasons in the world to be apprehensive. More than the destruction of their identity and protection from the evils of development, however, the erosion of their customs poses an even graver danger. Their culture has always been at the core of their adaptability and resiliency. Their ideas, beliefs and practices are embedded in their way of life and encapsulated in their local knowledge; their use of it has allowed them to persist through time. The destruction of their customs, traditions and local knowledge, hence,

translates to the undermining of their ability for survival. That the application of their local knowledge in their everyday life made them resilient, proves the essentiality of local knowledge in the performance and fulfillment of their life. The succeeding chapter tackles just that and underlines exactly how local knowledge plays a vital role in the functioning and discharging of a peculiar and dynamically tailored island life.



Picture 3.8. This cellular tower of one of the major telecom companies in the Philippines was being constructed just behind the house where I stayed during my fieldwork on Talim Island in 2017. Photo: Angelito Nunag (25 May 2017).

CHAPTER IV

THE REALM OF THE ELEMENTS: HARMONIOUS CONFLICT AND CONFLICTED HARMONY

The elements play a central and essential role in the lives of the *taga-isla* as their livelihood is greatly affected and dependent on the occurrences of the various winds that frequent the island on a regular basis following a complex pattern. It is not surprising, therefore, that they are keen on the nature, movements and idiosyncrasies of the elements. Accordingly, they have evolved a system containing the structure, relationships and patterns of the winds that aids them in their day-to-day interaction with the elements. For them, the winds come in various forms and names that embody particular characteristics and traits. These attributes exhibit opposing qualities that define the relationships between the elements. Consequently, these traits constitute the structure of an elaborate wind system, which, in turn, contains the various relationships between the elements.

This chapter probes these relationships within the realm of the elements and underlines how deeply embedded and suffused they are with the consciousness and way of life of the *taga-isla*. It looks into the structure that governs these relationships and brings to the fore the essentiality of the mind's parsing of the physical realms of the elements in the lives of the inhabitants, which in turn, reflects and governs the way they live their lives. In addition, it investigates deeply and comprehensively the structure, relationships and patterns of the elements so as to show how such mind parsing influences and shapes the dispositions, actions, strategies and agencies of the *taga-isla*.

In this light, this chapter utilizes the ideas of Levi-Strauss that put a premium on the underlying patterns of human thought rather than on the categories themselves, in conversation with Descolas' analogism ontology that zeroes in on the discontinuity of physicality and interiority of all the entities in the world. Using their conceptual lenses, I labored to uncover the fundamental patterns of the *taga-isla's* thought and brought to the surface the basic feature, relationships, structure and system of their cognition. Moreover, I endeavored to put continuity between the singularities in their world by establishing connections or resemblances, to use Descola's words, weaving them into a canvass of affinities and attractions making the fragmented world intelligible and tolerable.

4.1. Major winds' appellations and characteristics

In one of the focus group discussions held on the island on September 6, 2015, Tatay Severo, a sixty-eight-year-old retired fisher, underlined the various winds that gust through the island from different directions:

Kung kayo ay sasakay ng bangka at aabutin kayo ng hangin sa Navotas, maano kayo sa hangin dun, kung saan-saan nanggagaling.

If you ride on a boat and by chance, you are caught in winds at the Navotas area, you will be overwhelmed by them; they come from all directions.

Certainly, the strong presence of the various kinds of winds that blow over the island all year-round permeates through their consciousness. Because of this, the elements are given individual names and distinguished from one another by distinct characteristics. In general, the winds are classified according to direction, strength, movement and significance.

Some winds are categorized as major while others are minor. Still, they are grouped as either blowing from the east or the west. In this regard, *Hilaga*, *Timog*, *Habagat* and *Amihan* are viewed as the major winds that prevail over the island in a cyclical pattern throughout the year. *Hilaga*, the *taga-isla*'s word for north, is the strong winds that flurry from the northwestern side of the island from the direction of Binangonan in Rizal province and Pasig River in Metro Manila, hence, its namesake. It comes during the period September to November and is characterized by gusts of strong winds through the island in time for the *bagyuhan* season (typhoon season) (see next chapter for discussions on the seasons). It is so strong that the inhabitants dread its arrival and equate it with the advent of *masamang panahon* (bad weather), which may lead to *kalamidad* (calamity) (see next chapter for discussions on these concepts). Others simply dismiss *masamang panahon*, *bagyo* (typhoon) and *Hilaga* as one and the same due to their similar characteristics and the gravity of their after-effects. *Kapitan* Joeven, the fifty-eight-year-old barangay captain of Sapang where I conducted my fieldwork for six months, underlines that 'kapag may bagyo, Hilaga po yun,' 'if there is a typhoon, it is *Hilaga*' (EW February 2017). Tatay Severo holds a similar view, 'kapag po sumimoy ang hanging Hilaga, yun na po ang sinasabing kalamidad, ang pagsama ng panahon,' 'when Hilaga starts to blow, it is what is called calamity- the advent of bad weather' (FGD September 2015). The destruction that it inflicts on the populace is so great that it has left an indelible mark on their consciousness. Nanay Minay, sixty-nine years old and one of my best informants, cannot forget how the roof and walls of her house were blown

away by *Hilaga*, ‘malakas ang hangin, nilipad ang bubong at dingding namin,’ ‘the wind was strong; it blew away the roof and walls of our house (personal communication, multiple interviews in 2017; EW February 2017). Her fisher son, Ed, forty years old, underlines the fierceness of *Hilaga*, ‘mabagsik Prop., napuknat ang bubong namin,’ ‘it was fierce Professor, our roof was tossed up in the air’ (personal communication, multiple interviews in 2017).



Picture 4.1. The participants of the focus group discussion in 2015 discuss the elements that prevail over the island all year round. Photo: Angelito Nunag (6 September 2015).

Opposite *Hilaga* is *Timog*, the local term for the south where it derived its name. Accordingly, the latter is the strong winds that blow from the southeastern side of the island from the direction of Jala-jala in Rizal province. Akin to *Hilaga*, *Timog* is also associated with *bagyo*, hence, it is usually observed and experienced from September to November. It is noteworthy that *Hilaga* and *Timog* are related to the life cycle of *bagyo*, representing the latter’s advent and demise respectively (see next chapter for a detailed discussion). This relation is brought about by the great intensity of the said winds that reflects that of *bagyo*. Although both are regarded as strong winds, *Timog* is deemed nonetheless as stronger than *Hilaga*, earning the epithet ‘the King of Winds’. For the *taga-isla*, there is a strong basis for

such a title. The arrival of *Timog* is marked by the flurries of strong winds accompanied by an intense sound that reverberates around the island. Kuya Nats, my host and one of my best informants, observes:

Humuhugong Prop! Biglang bubulusok ng todo,
napakalakas. Malakas na hangin lang, walang ulan!

The wind is roaring Professor! Then all of a sudden,
it comes charging in full force, it is so strong. It is only
strong winds without rains (personal communication,
multiple interviews in 2107)!

As *Timog* passes by, it uproots bamboos and trees and tosses houses up in the air. It is for this reason that fisherfolk refrain from fishing during this period; otherwise, it would be unimaginable where one would land when blown away by *Timog*:

Tumutumba ang mga puno at kawayan. Kapag
tumimog na, pumalaot na, pero kapag hindi pa, huwag,
dahil hindi mo alam kung saan ka pupulutin!

Trees and bamboos fall down. After *Timog* has
passed, you can go out fishing, but, if not yet, do not fish,
because you will never know where you will land when
Timog blows you away (Kuya Buli, personal
communication March 29, 2017)!

In addition to *Hilaga* and *Timog*, the monsoons *Habagat* and *Amihan* also comprise the group of major winds. *Habagat* is the prevailing wind on the island between June and August, blowing from the western side and bringing rain all over the place. Similarly, it is characterized by strong winds that can haul up houses made up of light materials. Because of its strength and the rain it brings, *Habagat* is likened to *bagyo*, thereby causing great apprehension and fear among the *taga-isla*. In view of this, it is typified by the swelling of the lake and huge waves that crash down onto the shore. Ed underscores its peculiar traits, ‘Sa Habagat naman, tumataas ang tubig; parang bagyo pag humabagat, ang alon may kasamang ulan. Pinagsamang hangin at taas ng tubig.’ ‘During Habagat, the water in the lake rises; it feels like *bagyo* when *Habagat* blows, the waves are accompanied by rain. It is a combination of wind and a rise in water level’ (personal communication, multiple interviews in 2107). In the focus group discussion held in Barangay Janosa in September 2015, the participants also noted the same observation, ‘kalahating tao ang taas ng alon,’ ‘the height of the huge waves is about half the height of an individual.’ Nevertheless, *Habagat* is viewed as a little bit weaker relative to *Hilaga*.

Habagat has three variants, one of which is categorized as a major wind by the *taga-isla*. Because of its strength and potential to inflict great damage, *Habagat Maynila* is perceived as one of the dominant winds. As the namesake suggests, it is a strong wind that gusts from the northwestern part of the island in the direction of the city of Manila. Aside from its notable strength, it is distinguished by the cold wind it brings. During its arrival they experience a strong rush of wind accompanied by heavy downpours, prompting them to associate it with *bagyo*, ‘parang bagyo talaga’, ‘it is really like a *bagyo*’ (Kuya Buli, personal communication March 29, 2017; Ed personal communication, multiple interviews in 2107; Nunag fieldnotes 2017; FGD April, September 2015, June 2017; EW January, February 2017). As a result, they perceive *Habagat Maynila* as the start of the *bagyuhan* season. They believe that *Habagat Maynila* brings typhoon on the island, ‘yan po ang nagdadala ng bagyo’, ‘it is the one that brings typhoon’ (FGD April, September 2015, June 2017; EW January, February 2017). In the interviews that I conducted they were one in saying that ‘yan talaga ang simula ng bagyuhan’, ‘this is really the start of typhoon season’.



Illustration 4.1. An illustration of the destructive wind that gusts through the island by one of the participants in the ethnographic workshop, highlighting the house that was tossed up in the air and shattered into pieces. Illustration: Nazario Antonil (10 January 2017).

On the one hand, *Amihan* is considered the antithesis of *Habagat*. The former is the prevailing wind on the island during the period October to March, blowing from the eastern side in the direction of Cardona town in Rizal province. In contrast, *Amihan* is marked by the absence of rain during its season, thereby equating it with fair weather. Because of this, the inhabitants of the island associate it with the notion of ‘peace’ as they are relieved from the

destruction that *Habagat* brings. Kuya Tamoy, a seasoned fisher on the island, observes the idiosyncrasies of *Amihan*:

Ang Amihan, malakas din ito. Kaya lang tuloy-tuloy, walang tigil. Tuluy-tuloy ng dalawang linggo o mahigit pa.

Amihan is also strong. But, it is continuous; it does not stop. It blows continuously for two weeks or more (Interview 2017).

This observation is corroborated by Nanay Carmenia, a seventy-three-year-old retired teacher, who underlines the incessant blows of *Amihan*, ‘walang patid ang ihip ng hangin’, ‘the wind blows without a pause’ (FGD September 2015). Nevertheless, *Amihan* is deemed weaker compared to *Habagat*.

Similarly, *Amihan* has three different forms but only one is considered a major wind. Due to the strong rush of wind that it brings, *Amihan Mura* (the young *Amihan*) is deemed as a dominant wind. It blows from the northeastern part of the island in the direction of Tanay and Cardona towns in Rizal province and heralds the start of the *Amihan* season. Consequently, it also signals the termination of *Habagat* and *bagyuhan* season, paving the way for the ensuing relatively destruction-free period.

Table 4.1. Major elements and their location of origin

ELEMENTS	LOCATIONS
Hilaga	The northern part of the island, from Pasig City
Timog	The southern part of the island, from Jala-jala, Rizal Province
Habagat	The western side of the island
Habagat Maynila (variant of Habagat)	The northwestern side of the island, from Manila City
Amihan	Eastern side of the island
Amihan Mura (variant of Amihan)	The northeastern side of the island, from Cardona, Rizal Province

4.2. Minor winds' appellations and characteristics

A probe on the minor winds' being shows that they are also the major winds in terms of their significance on the lives of the *taga-isla*; only that they differ in some respect relative to the major winds discussed above. The minor winds are comprised of *Habagat Sungay*, *Habagat Manuwid*, *Amihan Magulang* (the elder *Amihan*), *Amihan Manuwid*, *Salatan* and *Sabalas*. They are the other forms or versions of *Habagat* and *Amihan*, although they possess characteristics that are antithetical to those of the latter two. Accordingly, *Habagat Sungay* is a variant of *Habagat* that blows from the southwestern side of the island in the direction of the town of Calamba in Laguna province. It is characterized by weaker wind relative to *Habagat Maynila*. As the latter's counterpart, it maintains an inverse relation with the latter. Hence, it signals the end of the *bagyuhan* season, a function opposite to that of *Habagat Maynila*. Meanwhile, *Habagat Manuwid* is also a variation of *Habagat*. However, it is marked by the prevalence of an even weaker wind blowing through the island for the majority of the *Habagat* season. It is the wind that gusts directly from the western side and follows a straight course towards the island. This peculiar trait earned *Habagat Manuwid* its name- *manuwid* from the root *tuwid*, which means straight. Further, *Habagat Manuwid* is considered as 'ordinary' or 'neutral' wind due to its relatively safer blows and its prevalence most of the time during this period.

On the one hand, *Amihan Magulang* and *Amihan Manuwid* are the variants of monsoon *Amihan*. The former gusts from the southeastern side of the island in the direction of the town of Sta. Cruz in Laguna province. Compared to *Amihan Mura*, *Amihan Magulang* brings weaker wind; hence, it is considered as the antithesis of *Amihan Mura*. In this regard, *Amihan Magulang* performs the function opposite to *Amihan Mura*, which is to conclude the *Amihan* season and give way to the stronger *Habagat*. Most fisherfolks on the island are no stranger to this knowledge:

Ang Amihan Mura ay higit na malakas sa Amihan Magulang. Si Mura nagmumula sa hilaga samantalang si Magulang ay sa timog. Si Mura ang mag-uumpisa ng Amihan at matatapos naman kay Magulang. Magkabaligtaran sila.

Amihan Mura is stronger than *Amihan Magulang*. The former emanates from the north while the latter from the south. *Amihan* season commences with the former and ends with the latter. They are opposite to one another (Kuya Tamoy, Kuya Buli, Ed and Kuya Tek, personal communication, multiple interviews in 2017).

The latter, meanwhile, is the wind that puffs directly from the eastern side of the island in the direction of Jalajala town in Rizal province. It is typified by an even weaker wind that dominates the majority of the *Amihan* season. Similar to *Habagat Manuwid*, it follows a straight course as it blows through the island, hence, its namesake. In addition, it is also regarded as ‘ordinary’ or ‘neutral’ wind because of its relatively calmer blows that prevail most of the time during this season.

Aside from these, *Salatan* and *Sabalas* are also deemed as the other forms of *Habagat* and *Amihan* respectively. Accordingly, the former gusts from the southwestern part of the island in the direction of Mayondon, Los Baños in Laguna province. It is characterized by puffs of wind that feel warm as they touch the body, ‘mainit sa pakiramdam’ ‘feels warm’ (Kuya Tamoy, personal communication, multiple interviews in 2017). In contrast, the latter blows from the northeastern side of the island in the direction of Morong town in Rizal province. It is marked by flurries of wind that feel cold upon touching the body, ‘Malamig ho ang simoy nya. Ang hatid ng hangin ay malamig’. ‘Its breeze is cold. It brings cold breeze’ (FGD April, September 2015, June 2017; EW January, February 2017). For the *taga-isla*, *Salatan* and *Sabalas* counterpoise one another, ‘magkasalubungan’, meaning, each one cancels out each other. Furthermore, the two are also associated with *Timog* and *Hilaga* respectively; hence, *Salatan* is connected to the demise of *bagyo* while *Sabalas* is linked with its advent:

Ang sabalas parang Habagat Maynila rin. Unti-unting lumalakas, pagkatapos, kalahating oras lang nandyan na ang bagyo.

Sabalas is like *Habagat Maynila*. Gradually, it becomes stronger, and then, within half an hour, *bagyo* is already on its way (FGD April, September 2015, June 2017; EW January, February 2017).

Table 4.2. Minor elements and their location of origin

ELEMENTS	LOCATIONS
Habagat Sungay (variant of Habagat)	Southwestern part of the island, from Calamba, Laguna Province
Habagat Manuwid (variant of Habagat)	Western part of the island, from Sta. Rosa,

	Laguna Province
Amihan Magulang (variant of Amihan)	The southeastern side of the island, from Sta. Cruz, Laguna Province
Salatan	Southwestern side of the island, from Mayondon, Los Baños, Laguna Province
Sabalas	The northeastern side of the island, from Morong, Rizal Province

4.3. The Winds' relationships, structure and system⁴

‘Sa karanasan namin na yan, alam na alam namin ang hangin.’ ‘With our experience, we are no strangers to wind (FGD April, September 2015, June 2017; EW January, February 2017).’ It is not hard to find one on the island, especially among fisherfolk, who does not possess the confidence to claim familiarity with the winds. For the people whose lives have been spent on the island interacting with the elements on a daily basis, being conversant with the physical/natural environment comes naturally. Being well versed in winds, hence, has become an intrinsic component of their existence, reflecting and permeating through their consciousness and affecting and molding the performance of their lives. Their nomenclature for the elements shows not only their mastery but also their thought that produces this body of names. It is, therefore, imperative to probe their cognition and uncover and unravel their patterns of thought.

4.3.1. *Magkasalubungan*: Binary relationships between the elements

On the surface, the relationships between the elements exhibit binary oppositions: major versus minor; *Habagat* as opposed to *Amihan*; *Timog* against *Hilaga*; strong in contrast to weak; etc. The relationships between the elements emanate from two essential factors, which I shall call: ‘domain of the physical’ and ‘domain of thought’. The former is called as such because it is through the physical characteristics, particularly strength, that the

⁴ The discussions here draw inspiration from Levi-Strauss’ ideas of binary opposition. Accordingly, it highlights the importance of mind’s parsing of reality over reality itself. Thus, it underlines the underlying patterns of human thought that produce categories of the physical world, rather than the ways people categorize their world.

relationships between the elements are defined. On the other hand, the latter is dubbed as such because the relationships are born of the ideas conceived by the *taga-isla* regarding the corollary effects of the physical attributes of the elements. In view of this, there exists a relation of interdependence between the two domains wherein the domain of thought constitutes dynamic incorporation of the domain of the physical.

4.3.1.a. Binary relationships engendered by the ‘domain of the physical’

The binary relationships in this domain are influenced by several factors such as location, season, frequency, realm and more importantly, strength. Accordingly, the major winds are antithetical to the minor ones. In this regard, *Habagat Maynila* is the reverse of *Habagat Sungay* while *Amihan Mura* is the contrast of *Amihan Magulang*. Moreover, both *Habagat Maynila* and *Amihan Mura* are deemed as the stronger winds, emanating from the northern part of the island. As their antitheses, *Habagat Sungay* and *Amihan Magulang* are regarded as the weaker elements coming from the southern part of the island. In this regard, the first two are inversely related to the second pair wherein the former are characterized by dominance while the latter are marked by inferiority. Further, the north is the location where strong winds emerge whereas the south is the site where weak winds emanate. The following figures (Figures 4.1 and 4.2) show these relationships between the elements.

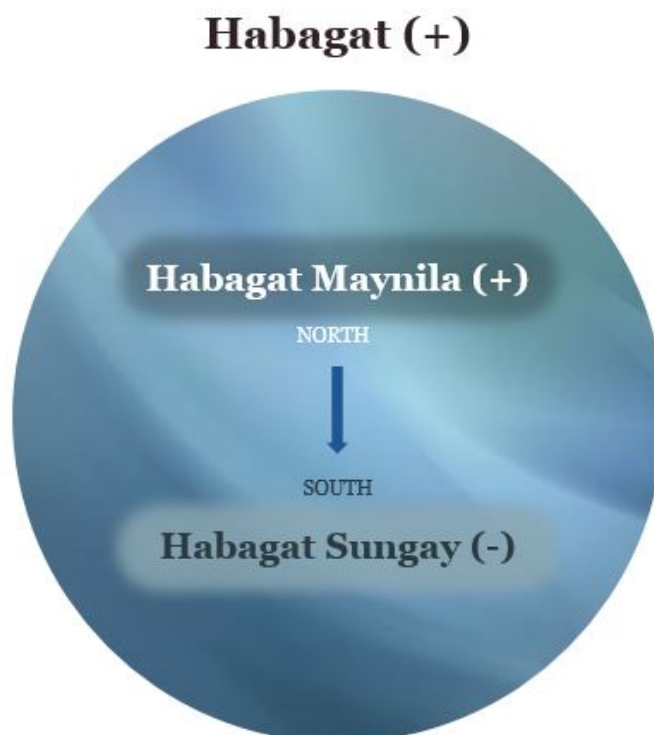


Figure 4.1. The binary opposition among the variants of Habagat. The sign + indicates superiority while the sign – indicates inferiority. Schema done by Julia Giezl Nunag.

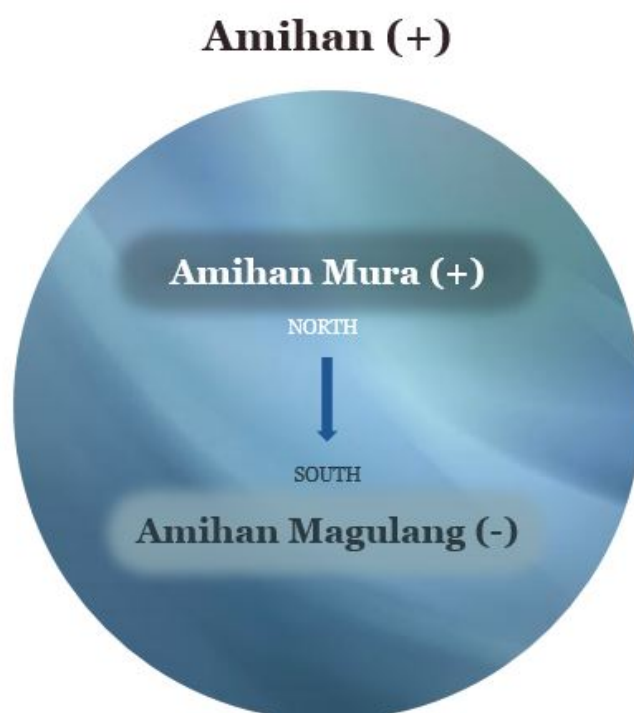


Figure 4.2. The binary opposition among the variants of Amihan. The sign + indicates superiority while the sign – indicates inferiority. Schema done by Julia Giezl Nunag.

It is not only the elements within the same realm that express binary contrasts. Even between the two different realms of *Habagat* and *Amihan*, such opposition is articulated (refer to Figure 4.3). Accordingly, the former is the inverse of the latter such that the former represents strength while the latter exemplifies weakness. In terms of season and frequency, both *Habagat* and *Amihan* have their own contending period of prevalence and are characterized by two contrasting peculiar wind blows. Hence, the *Habagat* period is associated with the wet season characterized by the presence and prevalence of rain. In view of this, *Habagat Maynila* represents the birth of the said period while *Habagat Sungay* denotes the demise. Throughout *Habagat's* reign, the wind blows have to be intermittent. In contrast, the *Amihan* period is linked to the dry season marked by the absence of rain. Consequently, *Amihan Mura* corresponds to the start of the said period while *Amihan Magulang* stands for the end. With regards to wind blows, in the time of *Amihan's* incumbency they have to be continuous:

Pag tag-habagat, pabugso-bugso lang ang hangin, hindi panay-panay ang simoy. Hindi katulad ng tag-amihan, tuloy-tuloy ito, minsan dalawa o mahigit pang linggo.

During *Habagat* season, the wind blows sporadically; the breeze is not continuing. Unlike during *Amihan* season, the wind blows uninterrupted, sometimes, for a week or more (Kuya Tamoy and Kuya Tek, personal communication, multiple interviews in 2017).

Consequently, the inverse relation is also expressed between the variants of each realm: *Habagat Maynila* and *Amihan Mura*, and *Habagat Sungay* and *Amihan Magulang* (see Figure 3). In this respect, the elements of the first pair, though belonging to the same location, are opposed to one another in terms of strength and realm. Hence, *Habagat Maynila* is deemed as the strong wind relative to *Amihan Mura*, which is regarded as the weak wind. Similarly, the elements of the second pair, though belonging to the same location, are also inversely related based on the same criteria. Accordingly, *Habagat Sungay* is the dominant wind relative to *Amihan Magulang* in which the former personifies strength while the latter typifies weakness.

In the same manner, *Habagat Manuwid* is the antithesis of *Amihan Manuwid*. Accordingly, the former's west wind is counterpoised by the latter's east wind. Furthermore, being part of the *Habagat* sphere, the former is deemed as the stronger wind relative to the latter, which belongs to the realm of *Amihan*. In terms of location, the west is associated with the strong wind while the east is with the weak wind.

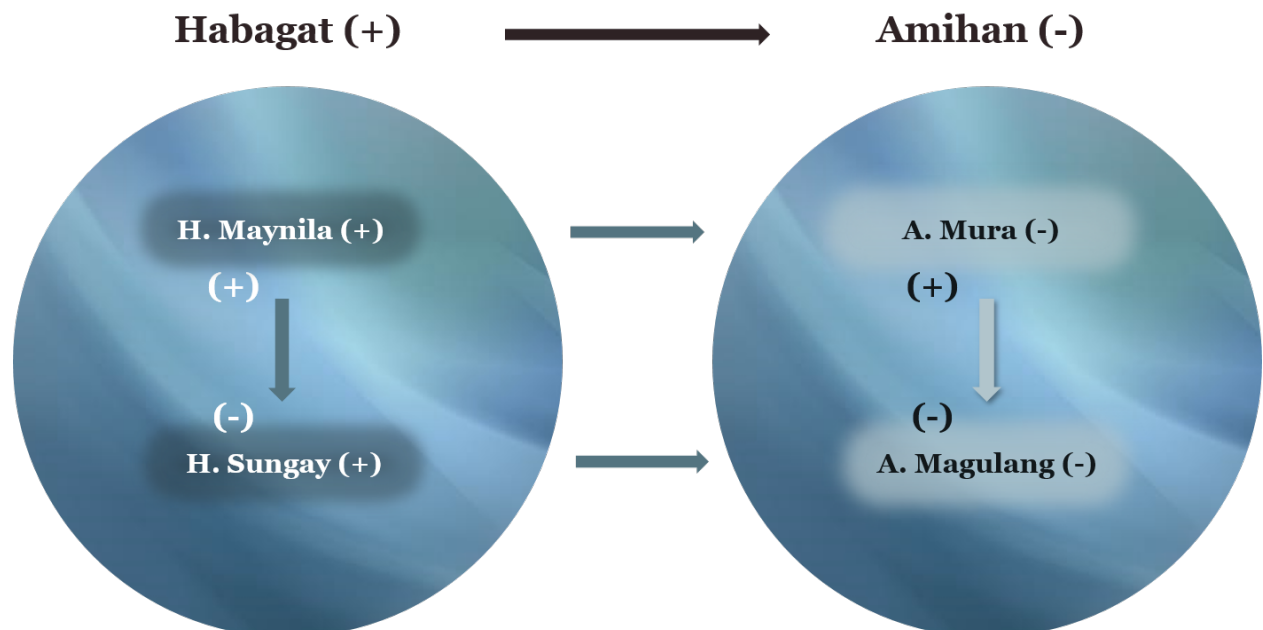


Figure 4.3. The binary opposition between two different realms and their variants. The sign + indicates superiority while the sign – indicates inferiority. Schema done by Julia Giezl Nunag.

Furthermore, other elements that are related to but are not directly belonging either to the realm of *Habagat* or to the sphere of *Amihan*, also express binary opposition. In this regard, the so-called transitional elements, namely *Salatan* and *Sabalas*, are inversely related to one another. As such, the former is linked to the realm of *Habagat* and characterized by a warm breeze. It is recognized as an interlude between *Habagat* and *Amihan* seasons following the demise of *Habagat Sungay*. Consequently, it marks, on the one hand, the end of the *Habagat* season, and, on the other, the start of the *Amihan* period. Moreover, it is associated with *Timog*, hence, it is considered as the strong wind relative to *Sabalas*. On the contrary, the latter is linked to the realm of *Amihan* and marked by a cool breeze. It is regarded as an interlude between *Amihan* and *Habagat* following the end of *Amihan Magulang*. Accordingly, it indicates, on the one hand, the demise of the *Amihan* season, and, on the other, the advent of the *Habagat* period. In addition, it is linked to *Hilaga*, thus, regarded as the weak wind relative to *Salatan*. Similarly, the so-called great winds also exhibit binary contrast (see Figure 4.4). In view of this, *Timog* is antithetical to *Hilaga*. The former, dubbed as the alpha wind, is undeniably the stronger wind relative to the latter, which is obviously the weaker one.



Picture 4.2. Rough waves are a typical scene as the Habagat season prevails over the island. Photo: Angelito Nunag (12 September 2017).

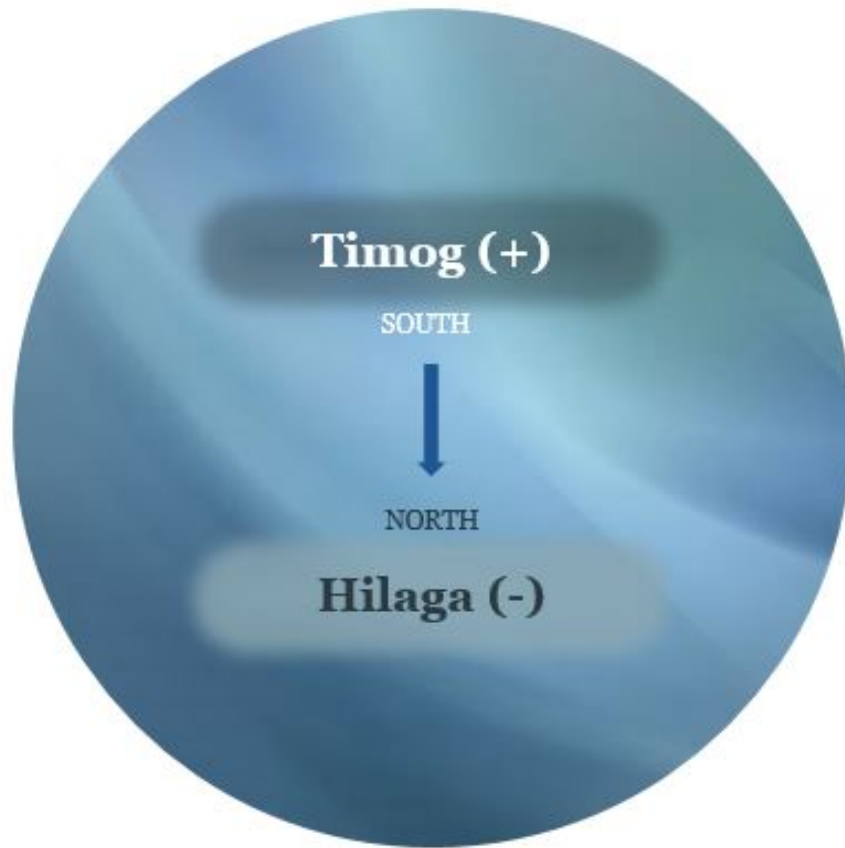


Figure 4.4. The binary opposition between the great winds Timog and Hilaga. The sign + indicates superiority while the sign – indicates inferiority. Note the inverse location. Schema done by Julia Giezl Nunag.

It should be noted, however, that in terms of location the relationships between *Salatan* and *Sabalas* and *Timog* and *Hilaga* present the opposite of the point raised in the preceding discussion. In this relationship, the south becomes the place where the strong element emerges while the north turns out to be the site where the weak element emanates. The reasons for such disjunction should be obvious. The two pairs do not belong to either realm of *Habagat* or *Amihan*. More importantly, the realms of *Timog* and *Hilaga* constitute the reverse condition of *Habagat* and *Amihan*.

At this juncture, it bears mentioning that both the realms of *Habagat* and *Amihan* comprise a condition or situation that can be considered as ‘normal’. This is because these monsoons prevail over the island in alternating fashion all year round, resulting in familiarity among the *taga-isla*. This day-to-day interaction with these elements, hence, has become part of the normal course of lives on the island. In addition, this sense of normalcy has to do with the absence of destruction typical of the *bagyuhan* or typhoon season. Conversely, the realms

of *Timog* and *Hilaga* are regarded as a condition or situation of ‘abnormality’ due to their association with the *bagyuhan* season. This view stems from the interruption of the ‘normal’ condition brought about by the occurrence of a typhoon. Accordingly, this condition of ‘abnormality’ has been attributed to the presence of destruction during this period. This explains the disjunction mentioned above as the situation of normalcy during this time is reversed. Hence, the advent of a new situation entails a new set of the order of things.

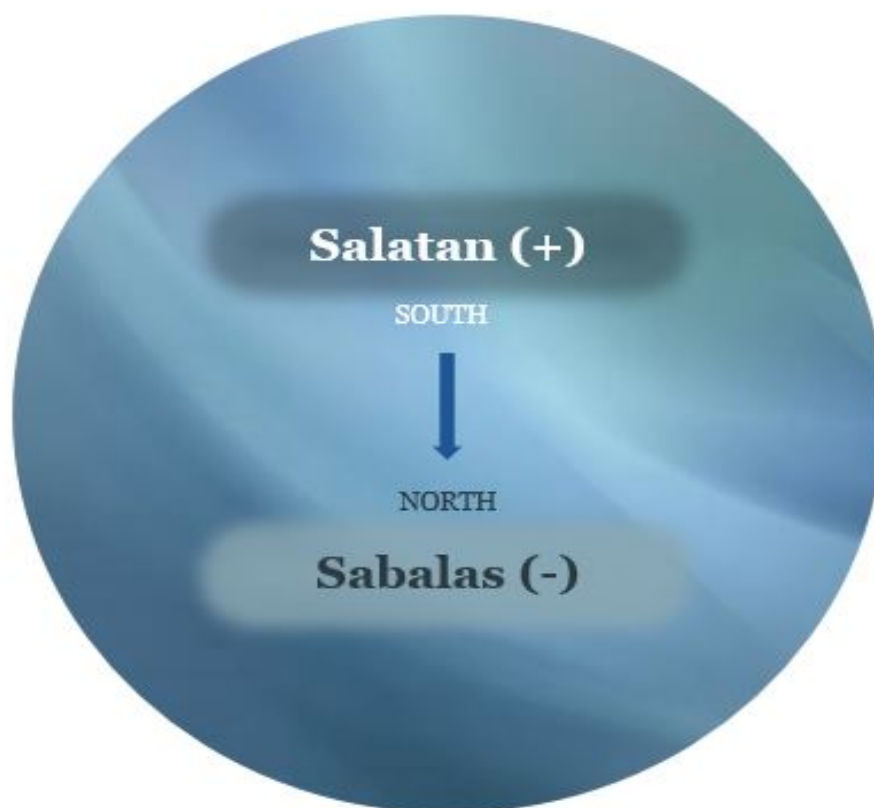


Figure 4.5. The binary opposition between Salatan and Sabalas. The sign + indicates superiority while the sign – indicates inferiority. Note the inverse location. Schema done by Julia Giezl Nunag.

4.3.1.b. The binary relationships emanating from the ‘domain of thought’

The binary relationships in the domain of thought are the relationships that exist and are constructed in the minds of the *taga-isla*. These relationships are born of how their understanding structures and makes sense of the existence of the physical elements and their correlation with one another. In view of this, these relationships are drawn from their experience of the elements which is structured by their intuition and reasoning.

Based on the above discussions, the strong elements possess positive attributes in terms of strength relative to the weak ones. The former assert dominance over the latter, hence, the latter are viewed negatively relative to the former, ‘ang Habagat ay talagang malakas, ang Amihan mahina lang’, ‘*Habagat* is really strong, *Amihan* is just weak’. Consequently, the former represent and exercise authority over the latter. In contrast, the latter bear inferiority and are, therefore, subjected to the power of the former. Such perception is commonplace among the populace:

Kapag ang hangin ay tumimog na, titigil na po ang bagyo. Kumbaga, yan ang sumasaway sa hangin at bagyo. Totoo po yun! Kahit po tingnan ninyo kapag bumagyo at sumimoy na po ang timog, tapos na po ang bagyo.

If *Timog* appears, the typhoon stops. It is like *Timog* is rebuking the wind and typhoon. That is true! Even if you observe, whenever there is a typhoon and *Timog* appears, that means the typhoon is already done (FGD April, September 2015, June 2017).

Kahit po gano kalakas ang bagyo, kapag sumimoy na ang *Timog*, titigil na po ang bagyo. Para pong winawalis niya ang masasamang hangin.

No matter how strong a typhoon is, if *Timog* starts to blow, the typhoon stops. It is as if *Timog* is sweeping away the bad winds (EW January, February 2017).

Kailangan po natin ang hanging *Timog* sapagkat kung wala po ang *Timog*, ang hanging *Hilaga* ay hindi na po magwawakas. Ang *Timog* ay ginawang pangangasawa ng *Hilaga* upang yan ay sawatain.

We need the *Timog* wind because if it does not exist, then the *Hilaga* wind will never end. *Timog* is there to assert control over *Hilaga* so that the latter can be rebuked (Severo, personal communication, September 14, 2015).

In the light of this, a stronger wind is always deemed with favor relative to the weaker one. Accordingly, *Timog*, being the stronger element, exercises authority over *Hilaga*, being the weaker element. In contrast, the latter submits itself to the power of the former. This principle applies to all of the relationships within the same realms: *Habagat Maynila* (stronger wind) and *Habagat Sungay* (weaker wind); *Amihan Mura* (stronger wind) and *Amihan Magulang* (weaker wind); and *Salatan* (stronger wind) and *Sabalas* (weaker wind). Similarly, such proposition is also applicable to all the relationships between two different

realms: *Habagat Maynila* (stronger wind) and *Amihan Mura* (weaker wind); *Habagat Sungay* (stronger wind) and *Amihan Magulang* (weaker wind); and *Habagat Manuwid* (stronger wind) and *Amihan Manuwid* (weaker wind).

These relationships in the ‘domain of the physical’ are dynamically integrated into the ‘domain of thought’. In this regard, each element is perceived based on its potential effects on their lives. Such perception, on the one hand, emanates from their experience of the elements, which in turn, is organized and made sense by their understanding and reasoning. Accordingly, *Habagat Maynila*, although perceived with a favorable attribute, is associated with the advent of a typhoon. Consequently, it is deduced as an embodiment of chaos and disorder. On the contrary, *Habagat Sungay*, notwithstanding its negative attribute, is linked to the end of bad weather and the start of fair weather. In this light, it is perceived as a personification of peace and order (see figure 4.6):

Ang Habagat Maynila, yun po ang nagdadala ng bagyo. Yan ho ay babala na may padating na bagyo.

Habagat Maynila is the one that brings typhoons. It is a warning about an imminent typhoon (FGD April, September 2015, June 2017).

Ang Habagay Sungay senyales ng pagtatapos ng Habagat. Senyales din to na tapos na ang bagyuhan.

Habagat Sungay signals the end of Habagat season. It is also a sign of the conclusion of the typhoon season (Kuya Buli personal communication March 29, 2017).

In the same fashion, *Amihan Mura*, despite the favorable trait ascribed to it, is tied with a difficult life. Conversely, *Amihan Magulang*, despite the unfavorable attribute attached to it, is identified with the betterment of life condition (see figure 4.6):

Kapag sumimoy na ang *Amihan Mura* ay mas mahirap na ang buhay kasi simula na ang Amihan. Panay-panay na ang hangin kaya mas mahirap mamanti, kaya mas konti ang kita. Kapag naman sumimoy na ang Amihan Magulang, pawala na ang Amihan, kaya maigi na uli mamanti. Lalaki na ang kita.

If *Amihan Mura* starts to blow, life becomes even harder because it signals the commencement of *Amihan* season. The wind blows incessantly, hence, it is much more difficult to fish, resulting in little income. But when *Amihan Magulang* begins to gust, the *Amihan* season starts to wane, hence, fishing becomes better. Our income

increases (Kuya Tamoy and Kuya Tek, personal communication, multiple interviews in 2017).

Normal Condition (+)

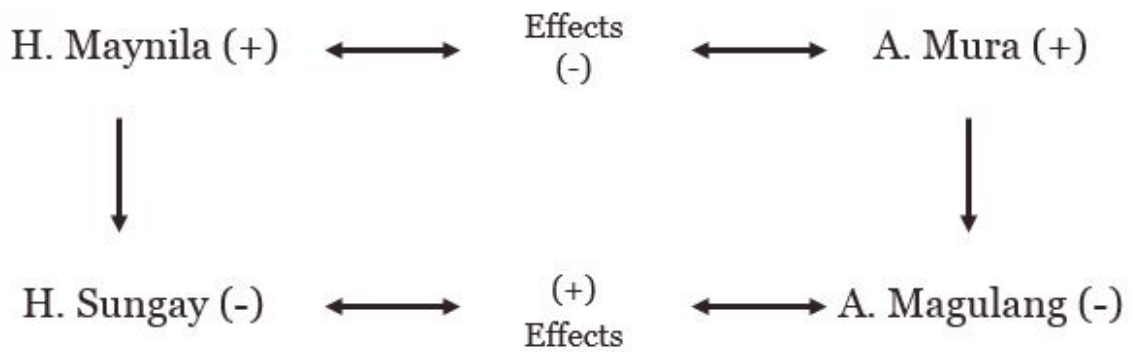


Figure 4.6. The binary oppositions between the elements and their effects. Among the elements, the sign + indicates superiority while the sign – indicates inferiority. Among the effects, the sign + indicates order while the sign – indicates disorder. Normal condition bears the sign + which indicates an absence of destruction typical of *bagyuhan* season. Schema done by Julia Giezl Nunag.



Picture 4.3. The calm waters of the lake are associated with the advent of *Amihan Magulang*, a time when fishing becomes favorable. Photo: Angelito Nunag (4 September 2015).

Meanwhile, outside the realms of *Habagat* and *Amihan* where the situation reverses, the relationships are also reversed. Consequently, an element ascribed with the favorable physical trait is also deemed with favorable discernment. On the one hand, an element assigned with the unfavorable physical trait is also regarded with unfavorable perception. In this regard, *Salatan*, being associated with the end of *Habagat* season, on the one hand, and with the start of the *Amihan* period, on the other, is perceived as the embodiment of peace, order, betterment of life and return to normalcy. Its association with *Timog* further bolsters this perception. Conversely, *Sabalas*, being linked to the demise of *Amihan* season, on the one hand, and to the advent of the *Habagat* period, on the other, is viewed in a bad light. Accordingly, it is ascertained as the representation of chaos, disorder, deterioration of life and absence of normalcy:

Ang Salatan ay senyales ng pagtatapos ng Habagat at pasimula ng Amihan. Nangangahulugan ito ng pagbuti ng panahon at pagkawala ng masamang panahon.

Salatan signals the end of the Habagat season and the start of the Amihan period. Its appearance means improvement of weather and the disappearance of bad weather (Kuya Tamoy personal communication, multiple interviews in 2017).

Ang Sabalas naman ay babala na may darating na bagyo. Ang hatid ay malamig na hangin sa katawan ng tao. Tapos mararamdaman mo unti-unti lumalakas yun. Kalahating oras lamang, andyan na ang bagyo. Ito ay pasimula ng kalamidad at pagkawasak ng mga bahay at fish cage.

Sabalas, on the one hand, warns of an imminent typhoon. It brings a cool breeze as it touches the body. After which you will feel that it grows stronger. Within half an hour only, the typhoon is on its way. This is the start of calamity and the destruction of our houses and fish cages (FGD April, September 2015, June 2017).

Since *Timog* and *Hilaga* realms are antithetical to that of *Habagat's* and *Amihan's*, the same proposition can be observed. Hence, *Timog*, the strongest wind, is also perceived as the embodiment of peace, order, betterment of life and return to normalcy. Its authority to discipline and bring back order in the elemental cosmos engenders and reinforces this cognizance. On the contrary, *Hilaga*, the weak wind relative to *Timog*, is adjudged as the representation of chaos, disorder, deterioration of life and absence of normalcy:

Hanggang hindi tumitimog, may bagyo pa. Pag tumimog na, ayon na, titigil na ang bagyo. Masasaya na ang mga tao, panakbo na sa laot. Panahon na para humuli ng bangus.

As long as *Timog* does not appear, the typhoon continues. But if it does, then the typhoon stops. During this time, the people are joyful; they rush to the lake to fish. It is now time to catch milkfish (FGD April, September 2015, June 2017).

May biyaya sa panahong ito. Kasi pagdaan ni Timog tapos na ang bagyo at susunod na ang bangusan. Unahan na sa paglaot ang mga tao. Sa ganitong panahon, ang mga mamamanti ay kumikita ng labing-lima hanggang dalawampung libong piso sa loob ng tatlong araw. Karamihan na bahay ay napapaayos at gumaganda pa kesa dati.

There is a blessing during this time. It is because after Timog has passed, the typhoon is also done. What comes next is the milkfish season. People race each other through the lake. During this period, the fishers earn fifteen to twenty thousand pesos in three days. Most of us are able to fix our houses and, in turn, they get better than the old ones (Ate Emma personal communication, multiple interviews in 2017).

Kapag pa sumimoy ang hanging Hilaga, yun na po ang sinasabing kalamidad, ang pagsama ng panahon. Ang Timog ay ginawang pangangasawa ng Hilaga upang yan ay sawatain ang pagdudulot niya ng disgrasya at kalamidad sa ating bansa.

If *Hilaga* begins to blow, that is what you call calamity, the advent of bad weather. *Timog* is there to assert control over *Hilaga* in order to avert the harm and calamity that it can cause to our country (Severo, personal communication September 15, 2015).

Abnormal Condition (-)

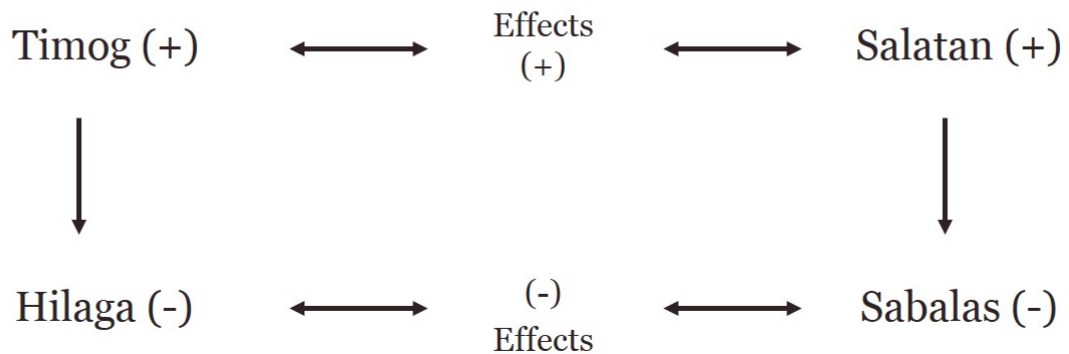


Figure 4.7. The binary oppositions between the elements and their effects in an abnormal condition. Among the elements, the sign + indicates superiority while the sign – indicates inferiority. Among the effects, the sign + indicates order while the sign – indicates disorder. Abnormal condition bears the sign – which indicates the presence of destruction typical of the *bagyuhan* season. Schema done by Julia Giezl Nunag.

Based on the preceding discussions, the relationships in the ‘domain of thought’ can be summed up in the following manner: in a ‘normal’ condition, an element endowed with a positive physical trait has a negative effect while an element endowed with negative physical trait has a positive effect; whereas, in an ‘abnormal’ condition an element endowed with positive physical trait has a positive effect while an element endowed with negative physical trait has a negative effect. It is through this fashion that the *taga-isla*’s thought works. These patterns reflect the fundamental feature of their cognition that structures and regulates their daily lives.

4.3.2. The elaborate system of the elements

In view of the foregoing, the system of elements is composed of two domains: ‘domain of the physical’ and ‘domain of thought’. The ‘domain of the physical’ constitutes relationships that are drawn from the interactions of the elements themselves based on their physical characteristics. It accounts how a relationship between the elements is defined through their inverse correlation. These relationships are relative to a particular context, but nonetheless, observe a fundamental pattern of binary opposition: strong as opposed to weak.

Within the same realm, the elements display such dynamics, hence, *Habagat Maynila* is inversely related to *Habagat Sungay* and *Amihan Mura* is antithetical to *Amihan Magulang*. Similarly, such a principle operates between the realms. Accordingly, *Habagat* is

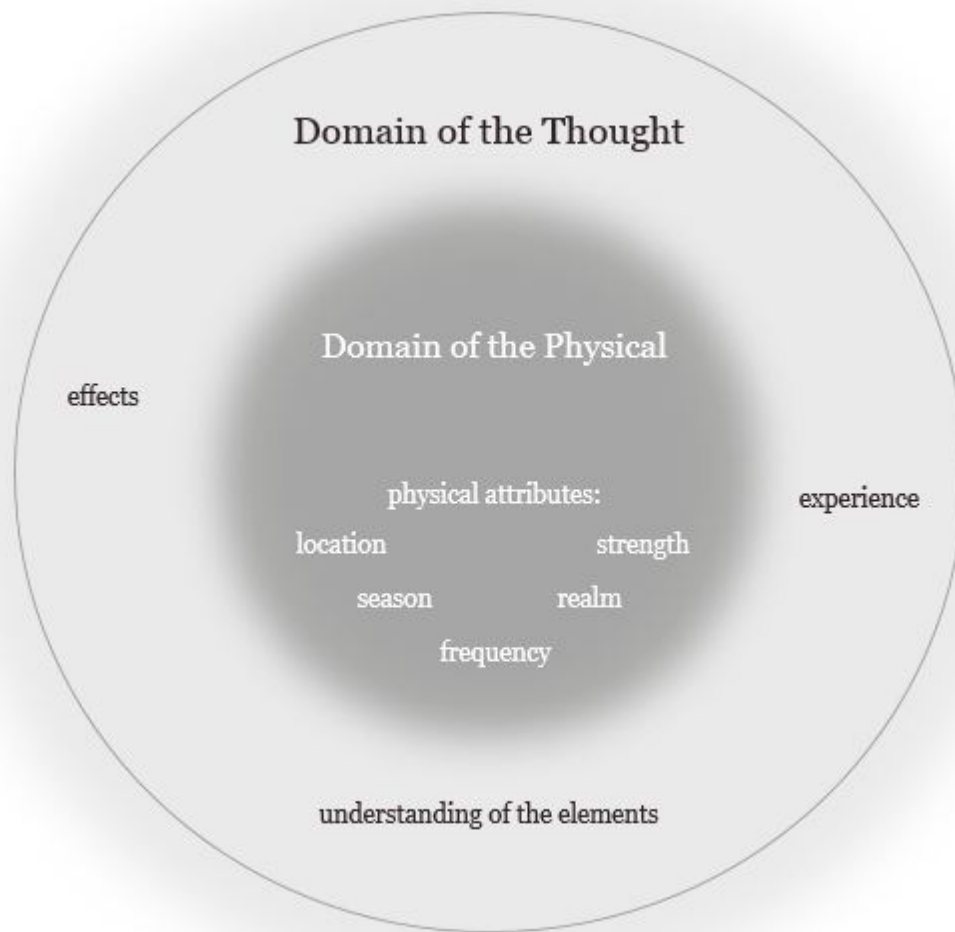


Figure 4.8. The domain of thought and the domain of the physical where the relationships in the latter are dynamically integrated into the latter. Schema done by Julia Giezl Nunag.

inversely related to *Amihan*, representing superiority and inferiority respectively. In view of this, the elements of each realm display the same relationship between themselves. Thus, *Habagat Maynila* is inversely related to *Amihan Mura* and *Habagat Sungay* is the opposite of *Amihan Magulang*. It should be noted that although *Amihan Mura* is considered a dominant element (therefore, it should be viewed as an element endowed with the positive physical trait), but because of the workings of the said principle it is deemed as a minor element relative to an even stronger element. Hence, in this regard, *Amihan Mura* possesses a negatively viewed physical trait. In the same manner, *Habagat Sungay* which is considered a

minor element (therefore, it should be viewed as an element endowed with the inferior physical trait) is now deemed as a stronger element relative to an even weaker one.

This proposition also operates within the relationships between the other elements outside the realms of *Habagat* and *Amihan*. In this regard, *Salatan* is inversely related to *Sabalas* as much as *Timog* is antithetical to *Hilaga*. In the light of this, the relation between *Habagat* and *Amihan* is to the relation between *Salatan* and *Sabalas*, which is also to the relation between *Timog* and *Hilaga*. Moreover, it can be deduced that for every dominant force there is a corresponding inferior force.

Meanwhile, the ‘domain of thought’ constitutes relationships that are born of the ideas conceived by the *taga-isla* regarding the corollary effects of the physical attributes of the elements and their association with one another. Accordingly, these relationships are drawn from their experience of the elements, which is structured by their understanding. Similarly, it also accounts how a relationship between the elements is defined through their inverse correlation. Furthermore, these relationships are also context-based, but nonetheless, they follow a fundamental pattern of binary opposition.

In this regard, the normal condition, as exemplified by the prevalence of the realms of *Habagat* and *Amihan*, is contrasted with the abnormal condition, as typified by the presence of *Hilaga*, *Timog* and *bagyo*. These contexts are also marked by two contending criteria: absence and presence of destruction. Accordingly, in a ‘normal’ condition, an element endowed with a positive physical trait has a negative effect while an element endowed with a negative physical trait has a positive effect; whereas, in an ‘abnormal’ condition an element endowed with a positive physical trait has a positive effect while an element endowed with a negative physical trait has a negative effect. It can be deduced from this that in a positive (normal) situation the relationships between the elements and their effects constitute two pairs of inversely related factors pitted against each other: 1.) positive and negative; versus 2.) negative and positive. In contrast, in a negative (abnormal) situation the relationships between the elements and their effects constitute two pairs of similar factors set against each other: 1.) positive and positive; versus 2.) negative and negative.



Picture 4.4. The *taga-isla* crowd a boat during the annual *Pagoda Festival*, a fluvial parade in honor of Sto. Domingo in August. Knowing the fundamental features of their cognition is essential in understanding their way of life. Photo: Angelito Nunag (3August 2015).

It has been underlined in the preceding discussions that there exists a relationship of interdependence between the two domains wherein the ‘domain of thought’ constitutes the incorporation of the ‘domain of the physical’. In this light, the above-mentioned patterns reflect the fundamental feature of the *taga-isla*’s cognition that structures and regulates their daily lives. This basic feature of cognition, however, is embedded in the complex structure and system of the elemental cosmos. Accordingly, this structure is based upon six elements (*Habagat, Amihan, Salatan, Sabalas, Hilaga and Timog*), which are linked by a pair of correlative oppositions, where, in a positive condition there exist two pairs of inversely related relationships pitted against each other; and in a reversed condition, there exist two pairs of similar relationship set against one another.

In view of the foregoing, it is clear that the mind’s parsing of the physical realms of the elements is essential in understanding the way of life of the *taga-isla*. Through this, one will be equipped with a proper lens with which to probe their dispositions, actions, strategies and agencies. The application of this approach will be illustrated in the following chapters.

4.4. The fragmented but continuous world

The pronouncement of Tatay Severo at the beginning of this chapter is directed to me and all the non-*taga-isla* who live outside their world. Indeed, I was always overwhelmed, amazed and alienated whenever I heard the fishers talk about the elements that came around time and time again during my stay on the island: ‘parang Habagat Maynila yun ah, dapat ay samsamin na ang pantí’, ‘that felt like *Habagat Maynila*, the gill nets should now be retrieved’; ‘umiihip na ang Amihan Magulang, iigi na ulit ang pamamanti’, ‘*Amihan Magulang* is now blowing, fishing is going to get better.’

The variety of winds dazzled me for each one came as a differentiated element vis-à-vis other elements. I was alienated for they appeared before me as singularities, all of which are isolated, incoherent and disconnected, and thus are meaningless, unintelligible and intolerable. From my vantage point, this was a fragmented world by virtue of its disconnected components, lacking coherence and wanting connection. But I was, by all means, not a *taga-isla*. I was not privy to how they approach the world and perceive and interpret reality. I was ignorant of their ontological perspective with which they put continuity in the elements of their world that are separated by discontinuity.

Certainly, theirs is not a fragmented world lacking coherence. Descola’s analogism ontology provides a tool with which to tread this peculiar world towards a better understanding. Analogism, Descola asserts, is ‘predicated on the idea that all the entities in the world are fragmented into a multiplicity of essences, forms and substances separated by minute intervals, often ordered along a graded scale’ (Descola 2005:7). Given the multiplicity of elements and that most of them are singularities, this ontology recombines their initial contrasts into a dense network of analogies where their intrinsic properties are linked together. Consequently, the fragmented world becomes intelligible and tolerable by putting coherence through correspondences between each of these disparate objects.

Here, we find wisdom in Levi-Strauss’ idea about the fundamental pattern of human thought. Levi-Strauss underscored the importance of looking into the underlying patterns of human cognition that produce categories that humans use to make sense of the world (1969, 2000). These underlying patterns correlate with Descola’s idea of correspondences that guide the patterning of the disjointed world to make it connected. It bears to mention that the former also put a premium on contrasting elements, positing that the fundamental pattern of human thought utilizes binary opposition.

Analogism recognizes discontinuities in all the components of the world and seeks to put continuity by weaving these differentiated elements into a canvass of affinities and attractions (Descola 2005). This brings to mind Levi-Strauss contention about the importance of decoding the structure so that the significance of the basic feature of human cognition is exposed (1969, 2000). Accordingly, this structure is the one that weaves the connections between the objects in the world through binary contrasts, thus, implying, as the post-structuralist critics contend, hierarchy. Moreover, in this framework, the opposites are interdependent where no one can exist without the other. Meanwhile, in an analogic system, the classes of beings live in a collective that is divided into interdependent constitutive units which are structured based on a logic of segmentary nesting and are ordered hierarchically. This hierarchy is observed within each segment and is reverberated within each subset of each segment. It is also characterized by contrasts and defined by reciprocal positions. The collective, on the one hand, is a way in which humans and nonhumans are assembled in a network of specific relations. (Descola 2005).

It is thus fitting that the relation between the *taga-isla* and the elements is approached through the combined lenses of structuralism and analogism ontology. Employing analogism (along with structuralism discussed above), the seemingly meaningless, unintelligible and intolerable fragmented world of the *taga-isla* becomes continuous by establishing connections and resemblances between the disparate entities, making it meaningful, intelligible and tolerable. Accordingly, the winds that are singularities and thus are separated by discontinuities are joined by affinities, rendering them comprehensible in the incoherent world. The winds are assembled in constitutions (similar to Descola's notion of collectives) which are comprised of interdependent and hierarchically ordered parts. By the constitution, I mean a make-up where entities are linked or connected through a mesh of distinct and sensible qualities and equivalence.

In this light, *Habagat* is not just *Habagat* anymore, *Amihan* is not just *Amihan*, *Timog* is not just *Timog*, *Hilaga* is not just *Hilaga* and so on and so forth, existing on their own, all of which are differentiated and singularities, but rather, existing in continuity with one another through correspondences or resemblances that are cleverly sought out, which in turn, create an illusion of exteriority. In the analogic constitution of the elements, the elements are in continuity to one another in terms of physical, spatial, domanical, temporal and cognitional qualities. Thus, *Habagat* is linked with *Amihan* according to strength wherein the former is the stronger element relative to the latter while the latter is the weaker one compared to the

former. As such, *Habagat* exercises authority over *Amihan* as the latter submits itself to the power of the former. In the same fashion, *Timog*, the superior element, dominates over *Hilaga*, the inferior element, and asserts supremacy over the latter as the latter yields to the dominance of the former. Spatially, the west is associated with power, dominance, control and authority while the east is identified with weakness, subservience and impotence, as *Habagat* and *Amihan* hail from these directions respectively.

Regarding realm, the analogic constitution of *Habagat* is superior to the constitution of *Amihan*, hence their variants are also ordered hierarchically. *Habagat Maynila* thus dominates over *Amihan Mura* by virtue of the former being the stronger wind while the latter the weaker one. It follows that *Habagat Sungay*, being the stronger element, prevails over *Amihan Magulang*, as it manifests a contrasting attribute. Similarly, *Habagat Manuwid* has the upper hand over *Amihan Manuwid* because of its superior quality to the latter. Even within the same constitution, the hierarchical order is manifested within each element, delineating parts that exhibit the same unequal relations as the overarching analogic constitution. Accordingly, *Habagat Maynila* predominates over *Habagat Sungay* since the former possesses superior strength relative to the latter even though the latter is stronger than other elements from other constitutions. In the same manner, *Amihan Mura* reigns over *Amihan Magulang* as they are characterized as strong and weak respectively although the former is weaker than the other elements from other constitutions.

This arrangement illustrates Descola's idea about the analogic collectives that are, according to him, 'they all have in common...that their parts are ordered hierarchically, if only at a symbolic level,' and that they are always 'divided into interdependent constitutive units which are structured according to a logic of segmentary nesting' (2005:12). Indeed, the analogic constitutions that I have referred to above comprise components that exhibit hierarchical relations. In addition, they are divided into interdependent parts that follow a logic of segmentary nesting; hence, the components of the analogic constitution of *Amihan* are segmentary nested with one another, which in turn, are also nested with the components of the constitution of *Habagat* that are themselves, also segmentary nested with one another. Furthermore, hierarchy is expressed in each component, affirming Descola's assertion that it is 'often redoubled within each segment' (2005:12). In the preceding discussions on the structure of the *taga-isla's* cognition, such organization is also observed as the relationships in the domain of the physical are dynamically incorporated in the domain of thought.

Concerning the realm, it bears mentioning that the analogic constitutions of the elements are also in continuity to one another in terms of the prevailing conditions with which the elements are nested. In the so-called normal condition, the above-mentioned correspondences between the constitutions of *Habagat* and *Amihan* are observed. On the other hand, in the abnormal condition where circumstances are reversed, certain relations are also reversed. Here, *Timog*, the king of the winds, rules over *Hilaga* by virtue of its superior strength compared to the latter, notwithstanding that the latter is relatively superior to *Habagat* and *Amihan* and their variants. Spatially, in the normal condition, it is the north that prevails over the south, as the stronger winds (*Habagat Maynila* and *Amihan Mura*) emanate from the north while the weaker ones (*Habagat Sungay* and *Amihan Magulang*) come from the south. In contrast, it is the south that dominates over the north in the abnormal condition because *Timog* hails from the south while *Hilaga* blows from the north.

In view of this, the analogic constitution of *Habagat* is linked to the constitution of *Amihan*, which in turn, are also connected to the constitutions of *Timog* and *Hilaga* that are, themselves, linked to one another. These correspondences form an overarching analogic constitution where the particular constitutions of the elements comprise its interdependent components. In structuralism, the notion of ‘unity of opposites’ offers parallelism in which the contrasting elements are dependent on one another where no one can exist without the other. It is through this overarching constitution that these segments find their meaning and purpose, making them totally dependent on it. Thus, an element, say, *Habagat*, is meaningless and unintelligible outside this constitution with which it belongs and forms part of its creation. As such, *Habagat*, being a heteronomous segment, acquires its meaning vis-à-vis other segments within this constitution that they created together. Descola underlines this point:

The segments of an analogic collective are thus thoroughly heteronomical (*sic*) in that they only acquire a meaning and a function by reference to the autonomous whole that they jointly form (2005:13).

Descola’s point, on the one hand, bears some semblance to Levi-Strauss’ idea about the basic feature of human cognition that must be viewed as one relationship within a system, while the system must be perceived in its entirety to comprehend its structure (Levi-Strauss 1969, 2000).

In terms of temporal quality, *Habagat* is associated with the wet season in contrast to *Amihan* which is linked to the dry season. Meanwhile, *Timog* and *Hilaga*, though both are

connected to the wet season, mark the start and end of *bagyo* respectively. With regard to cognitional consideration, the stronger winds are equated with negativity whereas the weaker ones are identified with positivity in a normal condition. Thus, *Habagat Maynila* is deduced as an embodiment of chaos and disorder while *Habagat Sungay* is perceived as a personification of peace and order. Similarly, *Amihan Mura* is connected to difficult life while *Amihan Magulang* is to the betterment of life condition. On the contrary, the stronger wind in an abnormal condition is associated with positivity whereas the weaker element is identified with negativity. Hence, *Timog* is regarded as an embodiment of peace, order, betterment of life and return to normalcy while *Hilaga* is deemed as a representation of chaos, disorder, deterioration of life and absence of normalcy.

In recapitulation, the analogic constitutions of the winds comprise components that are ordered hierarchically and in relation to themselves. This hierarchy is characterized by contrasts and determined by reciprocal positions. In the world of the *taga-isla* various winds exist as differentiated and singularities, appearing as isolated, incoherent and in discontinuity to one another and turning the world into a fragmented, intolerable and unintelligible sphere. The *taga-isla*, however, put coherence into this fragmented world by establishing connections or resemblances or correspondences between the elements, transforming it into a continuous, tolerable and intelligible world.

CHAPTER V

FOREWARNED IS FOREARMED: CONVERSING WITH THE ELEMENTS AND BAGYO'S FELLOWSHIP WITH THE GREAT WINDS

In the 1980s, farming activities on the island especially in the mountain and along the shore started to dwindle, prompting the *taga-isla* to abandon their farms and shift their whole attention to the lake (FGD April, September 2015, June 2017; EW January, February 2017; Kuya Tek and Kuya Nats, personal communication, multiple interviews in 2017). This shift entails a whole new system of knowledge and a novel way of life in order to overcome the ensuing challenges. Embedded in this new system is the materiality and essentiality of conversing with the elements and *masamang panahon* (hydrometeorological hazards) in particular *bagyo*, underlining the integral role of the elements and natural hazards in the performance of their lives. In view of this, this chapter underlines the views, concepts, perceptions and the peculiar knowledge of the inhabitants of Talim Island in grappling with *sama ng panahon*, *kalamidad* and *sakuna*- local concepts that correspond to the mainstream concepts of natural hazards. In addition, it brings to the fore how these intricate concepts are conceived and utilized to their advantage. Moreover, it showcases their complex system and interpretation of their surroundings and the way they address their needs for physical survival, social order and meaning.

In the light of this, the chapter begins with the discussions on the local concepts of *sama ng panahon*, *kalamidad*, *sakuna* and *trahedya*. After which, it zeroes in on their strategies in dealing with the said processes using the local knowledge of winds. This part is followed by the discussions on the local knowledge of *bagyo* (the equivalent of typhoon, tropical storm and tropical cyclone) that they also employ in grappling with hazards. As a whole, the chapter underlines the importance of conversing with the physical environment and natural phenomena in dealing with natural hazards. By *conversation*, I mean constant interaction and intimate relationship with natural surroundings over a long period of time, leading to the acquisition and accumulation of skills, beliefs, perceptions and understandings of the physical world through day-to-day practice and experience. Accordingly, this chapter underscores the value of being keen and perceptive to the behaviors, movements, patterns and idiosyncrasies of the elements in coming up with strategies and mechanisms with which to grapple with natural hazards. In this regard, it emphasizes the importance of local knowledge, it being the repository of the aforementioned skills, beliefs and understandings. Moreover, it highlights the significance of understanding the fundamental features of their cognition in

comprehending them and their peculiar way of life. In view of this, it asserts that through this approach the new insights about the peculiarity of the *taga-isla* do not only become easier to comprehend but, more importantly, they could steer us to a better understanding of ourselves. Lastly, it posits a new view on the concept of binary opposition as a means of looking into their way of life.

5.1. *Taga-isla's* idea of *sama ng panahon*, *kalamidad*, *sakuna* and *trahedya*

Destructive monsoon rains and typhoons are commonplace on Talim Island, wreaking havoc on the lives and properties of the inhabitants. In recent years, their plight has been aggravated, as they also have to grapple with the adverse effects of the burgeoning aquaculture industry in the lake and the proliferation of industrial factories in the surrounding metropolis and provinces that continuously pollute and alter the lake waters. This regular interaction with the so-called natural and anthropogenic hazards has evolved local concepts among the residents that they use in dealing with the said hazards.

A hazard, as defined by the United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Reduction (UNISDR), pertains to 'a dangerous phenomenon, substance, human activity or condition that may cause loss of life, injury or other health impacts, property damage, loss of livelihoods and services, social and economic disruption, or environmental damage' (2009:17). Accordingly, hazards are either of natural or anthropogenic origin, arising from geological, meteorological, hydrological, oceanic, biological, and technological sources. In view of this, the ones of natural origin experienced on Talim Island are categorized as a hydrometeorological hazard, a process or phenomenon of atmospheric, hydrological or oceanographic nature that may cause damage and death (UNISDR 2009).

Interestingly, the *taga-isla* have devised local terms to grapple with the aforementioned hazards. It is noteworthy, however, that their terminologies are more impact-centered and effect-oriented. More importantly, these terminologies contain essential features of their cognition, making a distinction between the entity, the act or process and its aftermath. Hence, from their perspective, atmospheric or hydrological phenomena such as typhoons, thunderstorms, monsoon rains, tornados and coastal storm surges are, though potentially dangerous, detached from such potential until and unless they come into contact with their world, resulting in loss of life and damage to property in the process. Accordingly, all the hydrometeorological phenomena that they experience are captured and lumped together in the phrase *sama ng panahon* (Kuya Tek and Kuya Nats personal communication,

multiple interviews in 2107; Nunag fieldnotes 2017; FGD April, September 2015, June 2017; EW January, February 2017), that can be roughly translated as ‘bad weather’, which connotes hazard. Although such translation does not really encapsulate the essence of the phrase according to how they would make sense of it. The lumping together of these phenomena in the phrase *sama ng panahon* underlines their view that typhoons, thunderstorms, monsoon rains, tornados and coastal storm surges are ‘entities’- natural occurrences per se. As such, they have their own ‘nature’ that they articulate ‘naturally’, thus, the *sama ng panahon* is expected to possess dangerous attributes because these are inherent to it. The phrases *gawa ng kalikasan* and *galing sa kalikasan*, literally translated as ‘made/done by nature’ and ‘came from nature’ respectively, further shed light on the inhabitants’ reasoning. For them, these phrases essentially mean ‘it is the way it is’. Accordingly, anything that is *gawa ng kalikasan* or *galing sa kalikasan* is an articulation of the inherent attributes of nature, in short, a manifestation of ‘nature’s nature’. This explains why they have learned to come to terms with the above-mentioned phenomena by adopting a passive attitude towards these occurrences, accepting the fact that it is the way it is.

In view of the foregoing, the phrase *sama ng panahon* refers to the weather entities with inherent bad temper or ‘nature’. Therefore, the hydrometeorological phenomena per se, are not perceived as hazards by the *taga-isla*, for these are what they really are. From their vantage point, the articulation of one’s nature is but normal since this is just an expression of that being’s inherent qualities, the same goes with the said phenomena. In this regard, *sama ng panahon* is an ‘entity’ that is characterized by relatively strong wind speed, darkening of skies, locally known as *kulimlim*, rainfall, etc. Accordingly, *sama ng panahon* is comprised of *bagyo* (typhoon), *unos* (thunderstorm), *kulimlim* (darkening of skies) and *buhawi* (waterspout). For this reason, a typhoon, for example, cannot be considered a hazard until such time it makes contact with their world and wreaks havoc on people and properties. Consequently, they distinguish and separate the entity per se from the process or act of expressing its nature and the ill effects of its inherent attributes.

The repertoire of local terminologies further elucidates the *taga-isla*’s view. As indicated above, the *sama ng panahon* per se is not considered a hazard for it is just a weather entity with an inherent ‘bad temper or nature’. It only becomes a hazard when its dangerous potential is unleashed on humans and their properties. During this time, however, the *sama*



Picture 5.1. The occurrence of *masamang panahon* can easily disrupt normalcy on the island. The photo shows the aftermath of a thunderstorm, causing floods in Barangay Sapang. Photo: Angelito Nunag (12 September 2017).

ng panahon is transformed into a *kalamidad*⁵ from their perspective, emphasizing, on the one hand, the act, process or event by which destruction is carried out and de-emphasizing, on the other hand, the entity per se. In view of this, *kalamidad* is regarded as the event or process by which the inherent destructive force of *sama ng panahon* is unleashed upon humans, their properties and environment (Kuya Tek and Kuya Nats personal communication, multiple interviews in 2107; Nunag fieldnotes 2017; FGD April, September 2015, June 2017; EW January, February 2017). Clearly, the *taga-isla*'s distinction between the entity (*sama ng panahon*) and the act, event or process (*kalamidad*) offers an invaluable insight as to how hazard is framed and conceived in the local context and conditions.

In addition, the inhabitants are also keen on the difference between the said act, event or process and the after-effects of *kalamidad*. For them, the aftermath is regarded as *sakuna*, bringing to the fore, on the one hand, the consequences of *kalamidad*, and downplaying, on the other hand, the *kalamidad* itself. During this period, they shift their attention to the outcome rather than to the aforementioned act or process, underscoring the gravity of destruction. This is because the concept of *sakuna* is anchored to the grave effects of *kalamidad*, and anything less or trivial is not deemed as one. For an after-effect to be considered as *sakuna* it has to have great impacts; and when this condition is satisfied *sakuna* is regarded as *trahedya*⁶, connoting the tragic condition of the victims.

⁵ *Kalamidad* comes from the Spanish *calamidad* which means disaster or great misfortune that causes serious damage to people, property, etc. Due to more three hundred years of Spanish colonization, the Filipino language comprises loanwords from the Spanish language. Although the meaning of the Spanish *calamidad* is close to the Filipino *kalamidad*, the striking difference between the two words is hard to miss. In this regard, the former does not make any distinctions between the entity, process and the after-effects as all these are lump together in the given definition. In contrast, the latter, from the perspective of the *taga-isla*, is delineated from the entity per se, leading, on the one hand, to the emphasis on the process, and on the other, to the de-emphasis of the entity.

⁶ *Trahedya* is also a Spanish loanword. It is derived from *tragedia* which means an unfortunate or sad event. Although the two are close in meaning, they are distinct from one another in terms of usage of the *taga-isla* of the word *trahedya*. For them, the essence of *trahedya* goes beyond the event per se toward the gravity of its after-effects. *Trahedya*, in this sense, pertains to its great impacts resulting in the tragic conditions of the victims. It follows then, from their view, that an unfortunate or sad event does not necessarily mean nor guarantee grave effects and tragic conditions; hence, *tragedia* can never mean *trahedya*. For an unfortunate or sad event to become *trahedya*, it has to have the two mentioned elements.



Picture 5.2. A strong *unos* batters the fish cages. The unleashing of the inherent ‘nature of nature’ is regarded as *kalamidad* by the *taga-isla*, distinguishing the process from the entity-*sama ng panahon*. Photo: Angelito Nunag (07 June 2017).

The preceding discussion underlines the *taga-isla*’s complex and impact-centered and effect-oriented local concepts on hazards, or more specifically, hydrometeorological hazards. Certainly, the existing and mainstream concepts on hazards as exemplified by the UNISDR definition are not fit to the local context and conditions of the inhabitants of Talim Island. It would be beneficial and more practical, therefore, to look into the local concepts in order to properly address the issue of hazards and their ensuing after-effects at the local level. Undoubtedly, the lessons learned will prove to be invaluable in coming up with better policies on disaster risk reduction and mitigation.

5.2. Of tensions and contradictions

It bears mentioning that they observe nature’s nature in the course of their dealing with hydrometeorological phenomena, letting the natural world take its course. Such a view necessitates the existence of a separate and distinct domain where nature and its phenomena can express and realize their ‘nature’. This way of thinking prompts the *taga-isla* to adopt a seemingly passive stance and unresisting submission to the dispositions of the physical

environment and phenomena, accepting everything that the latter throw at them for ‘it is the way it is’. Yet, side by side with this thought, they assert themselves on nature itself. They subvert nature’s nature by continuously playing an active role in altering their natural surroundings and effecting a change in the ecosystem and biodiversity.

Bamboo is an essential commodity on the island, it being the main material in the thriving cottage industry and the construction of fish cages and small pens. Dictated by economic impulse they engage in aggressive and massive planting of bamboos, radically transforming the landscape in the process, and converting, in turn, the hills and mountain into a virtual bamboo forest. Thus, against the backdrop of their belief in letting nature run its course (‘it is the way it is’), they have a big hand in the disappearance of wildlife and native plants and trees on the island.

Aside from this, the population growth compelled them to encroach upon nature’s domain by occupying the shore zones. The mushrooming of houses along the shoreline resulted in the destruction of its vegetation, and in consequence, created a domino effect in terms of a viable aquatic ecosystem. The disappearance of plants (on the land as well as the submerged ones) along the lakeshore compromised water quality, as it was polluted by runoffs from the households. As a result, the capability of the fishes to reproduce is hampered in such a habitat, which in turn, affects fishing activities and fish production, which in turn again, greatly impact their economic capacities.

It is not only on land that they make their presence felt on the domain of the natural world. In the lake, they also have a big hand in transforming its ecosystem and biodiversity. Similar to bamboo planting, they actively engage in the aquaculture industry, saturating the lake with small pens and fish cages. Consequently, the rubbish (i.e. bamboos and nets) from old and dilapidated pens and cages as well as the feces of fishes, uneaten feeds and remains of decaying plants that accumulate at the bottom contribute to the shallowing of the lake. In addition, all of these are instrumental in polluting further the lake water resulting in lower fish productivity. Meanwhile, the introduction of new species engenders a decline in the population of native species, as the former compete with the latter for food, habitat and space. During the times I joined my fisher informants in fishing, they frequently lamented the dwindling population of white goby (*biya*) (*Glossobius giurus*) and silver perch (*ayungin*) (*Leiopotherapon plumbeus*) and the extinction of *talilong* (*Mugil spp.*) and *buanbuan* (*Megalops cyprinoides*).

The dissonance between their view and behavior as reflected in their passive and yet active approaches underlines tensions within them. In this light, they get to grips with these tensions and maintain consistency in their beliefs and behaviors by adopting a different frame of mind. The overrunning of the hills and mountains by bamboos at the expense of the natural vegetation is seen not so much in terms of the disappearance of wildlife and native plants, but rather, in terms of geographical and economic security. Oblivious to the fact that even the natural vegetation serves as a defense against soil erosions and rapid runoff during heavy rains, they are resolved that bamboos are responsible for preventing soil erosion and blocking rapid runoff in times of heavy showers. More importantly, bamboo is their staple so to speak, as it comprises the essential material in their livelihood both on land and in water. It is not uncommon to hear them proclaim that bamboo brings food to the table.

Although aware of the ill effects of occupying the shore zones, they are convinced that it is better than squatting for they own the land and that they are better off compared to the informal settlers in the city and mainland. Similarly, despite the harmful effects of extensive aquaculture, they believe that cages are their lifelines, bailing them out time and time again. I remember *Kuya Tek* explaining to me that the cages are their banks in the water in the same manner that people in the city have their banks on land where money is kept. He underlined that he only needs a boat (akin to an ATM [automated teller machine] card), and then proceeds to his cage (similar to an ATM), lifts it (equivalent to inserting the card into the machine), unlocks it (akin to entering your personal identification number or PIN) and finally, harvests the fish (analogous to withdrawing cash). He further stressed that it was here where he gets money to provide for his family, ‘dito ako kumukuha ng para sa ikabubuhay ng pamilya ko’, and send his children to school, ‘*pati pampaaral sa mga anak ko*’.

In view of the foregoing, it is imperative to look into contradictions as objects of ethnographic analysis, zeroing in on inconsistent beliefs and behaviors, ambivalent statements and internal conflicts among the actors. Coupled with local concepts of hazards, these tensions provide an avenue with which to better grasp natural hazards and their effects at the local level. Such an approach, without a doubt, will bring about more sensible understandings, policies and strategies on disaster risk reduction and mitigation.

5.3. Dealing with *sama ng panahon*, *kalamidad* and *sakuna* using local knowledge of winds

There is no denying the essential role of the elements and *masamang panahon* in the affairs of the people. Indeed, the winds are at the core of our existence for they do not only

give shape and direction to our lives but are also creatively powerful in their own right (Ingold 2005, 2007). Fluxes, as Ingold calls the wind, permeate our being and it is here where life is borne (2007).

On Talim Island the influence and impact of wind and weather both in the affairs of people and state are evident. Typhoons and floods are intrinsic to the implementation and realization of both state improvement projects and aquaculture producer practices (Saguin 2016). The enforcement of the Laguna de Bay Fishery Zoning and Management Plan (ZOMAP), a long-term solution to the pen sprawl problem, was made possible partly due to the occurrence of a series of typhoons in 1994 and 1995, while practices and strategies of aquaculture producers were constantly shaped by typhoons and floods (2016).

If hydrometeorological hazards are intrinsic to the affairs even of the government and aquaculture producers who are mostly neither *taga-isla* nor residents of the island, how much more to the affairs of the *taga-isla* who are in constant and direct interaction with the elements and *masamang panahon*? Living in a place surrounded by water, visited by *sama ng panahon* frequently and dominated by occurrences of various winds all year-round, the essentiality and materiality of the elements and *masamang panahon* in their affairs, thus, are undeniable. The following comments of my informant illustrate how the elements shape their lives and permeate their being:

Tinitingnan po namin ang kapaligiran ng ating mundo, ang kalangitan, ano ba ang sitwasyon, buwan, araw...ang kalamidad pong sinasabi tulad ng bagyo, tumitingin po kami sa langit. Amin pong tinitingan, ano po ba ang tinatakbo ng hangin. Ito po ba ay magdudulot ng kasamaan sa bansa?

We observe the (physical) surroundings of our world, the skies, what the situation is, the moon, the sun...the hazards that we talk about like *bagyo*, we look at the skies. We look at the skies, what is the movement of the wind? Will it bring misfortune to our country? (Severo, personal communication, September 14, 2015)

Accordingly, the inhabitants of Talim Island have adapted their lives to the whims of the lake and elements. They are compelled to be keen and perceptive to the behaviors, movements, patterns and idiosyncrasies of their natural surroundings, noting even the slight changes as they occur. Such discerning attitude among them is brought about by their continuous interaction with the lake and elements as they go about their daily lives.

This brings to mind Ingold's idea about the open world. He argues that what makes the open sphere of sky and earth a habitable environment is not because it is furnished with objects. This furnished world, according to him, is like a stage set where there is absolutely nothing going on until the stage is set and everything is made ready. This world, Ingold contends, is:

...a world brought indoors and reconstructed within a dedicated, enclosed space. As in a stage set, hills are placed on the ground, while stars, clouds, and the sun and moon are hung from the sky. In this *as if* world hills do not rise, nor do fires burn...nor do the sun, moon, and stars shine or the clouds billow. They may be made to look as though they do, but the appearance is an illusion (2007: S28).

In contrast, he maintains that an open world is a world of formative and transformative processes- a world that is continually coming into being around the people inhabiting it (Ingold 2005, 2007). He posits that 'to inhabit the open world is to be immersed in the fluxes of the medium: in sunshine, rain and wind' (2007: S30). In order to understand how people can inhabit it, one has to look into the dynamic processes of world-formation in which both the perceivers and the phenomena they perceive are immersed. It through commingling with the world that is in an ongoing formation that people become inhabitants of this open world (2007). Ingold asserts:

It is in this sense that creatures live *in* the land and not *on* it. There could be no life in a world where medium and substance do not mix...Wherever there is life and habitation, the interfacial separation of substance and medium is disrupted to give way to mutual permeability and binding (Ingold 2007:S33).

Following Ingold, the keenness of the *taga-isla* to the behaviors, movements and idiosyncrasies of the elements, hence, is a by-product of their experience of inhabiting this open world, of being immersed - together with the phenomena that they perceive - in the world that is in continuous formation. Their continuous interaction with the elements as they go about their daily lives, and in the process creating in them a discerning attitude with which to relate with the elements, is their way of making it through a world-in-becoming as inhabitants. Thus, in seeing *masamang panahon* forming and retreating on the horizon and in feeling *Habagat*, *Amihan*, *Timog* and *Hilaga* blowing over the island, the *taga-isla* are able to experience inhabiting the world.

This living *in* the world that gives rise to their perceptiveness to the behaviors of the elements, in turn, shapes their approach in grappling with *sama ng panahon*, *kalamidad* and *sakuna*. Consequently, they are able to come up with effective and sensible strategies and mechanisms in coming to terms with hydrometeorological phenomena, which are cached in their body of local knowledge. In this light, the succeeding discussions zero in on these approaches and techniques that are drawn from their local knowledge of winds, which in turn, is derived from immersion in a world that is continually coming into being.

5.3.1. Five seasons and two sub-seasons of great winds in a year

By living in a world-in-becoming, the *taga-isla* have devised distinct views and organizations of their world. Since the lake and the elements dominate their realm, it is understandable that they occupy a major role in their lives. Undeniably, the lake is the source of life for them as they heavily rely on it for provisions and livelihood. It is not, therefore, surprising that fishing is their primary occupation. As fishers, their economic activity is greatly affected by the winds and *masamang panahon*, both of which impact their fishing. Certainly, the wind shapes their lives for its power can damage their fish pens and cages. Consequently, the fishers have become keen on the vital role that wind plays in their livelihood, prompting them to come up with a classification of the seasons according to their idiosyncrasies. Seasons here are defined as:

...the periods that the year is divided into, each of which is characterized by specific natural conditions or phenomena; these conditions and phenomena are usually, but not always, atmospheric. Taken together, the season 'fill up' the year with at most brief inter-seasonal periods. Seasons can vary in length (Orlove 2003).

In a case study of adaptation and folklife in San Antonio, a fishing community in the town of Bay in the province of Laguna, Filipino anthropologist Felipe Landa Jocano (1976) has noted the same perception of the winds and classification of the seasons among the inhabitants of the said community. In his book, he underlines the fisher folk's classification of the seasons according to the strength, movements and direction of winds. Accordingly, he notes and describes four seasons a year according to the perspective of the fishermen; namely 'tag-amihan (strong north wind) from November to February; mahinang amihan (weak north wind) from March to June; habagatan (west wind) from June to September; and bagyuhan (typhoon season) from September to October' (1976:52).

It must be noted, however, that San Antonio is a coastal community in Laguna province along the shore of the lake, while Talim Island is composed of fishing communities located in the middle of the same lake. Despite the proximity of the two localities, differences in perception between the mainlanders and *taga-isla* are inescapable to a discerning mind. Such disjunction brings to mind the idea of ‘situated knowledge’ (Haraway 1998) which underlines the importance of understanding knowledge within a context. The incongruity, hence, can be attributed to the fact that the latter’s knowledge is a situated one- it is shaped and influenced by local contexts and conditions.

One glaring discrepancy is the way seasons are conceived and perceived among the inhabitants of the said localities. For the *taga-isla*, seasons are classified according to two criteria: 1.) Winds - based on their strength, movements and direction; and 2.) Rains - in relation to the amount of rainfall and number of rainy days. Because of this, there exist five seasons and two sub-seasons of great winds in the realm of the inhabitants of the island; namely *tag-amihan*, *salatan*, *tag-ulan*, *tag-habagat*, and *bagyuhan*; and *tag-hilaga* and *tag-timog* (Kuya Tek, Kuya Nats and Ed, personal communication, multiple interviews in 2107; Nunag fieldnotes 2017; FGD April, September 2015, June 2017; EW January, February 2017).

Tag-amihan is a season characterized by the prevalence of the wind called *Amihan*, a strong wind blowing from the east from October to March. In September, however, *Amihan* already makes its presence felt by blowing intermittently, which the inhabitants regard as ‘nag-aamihan na’, ‘*Amihan* is on its way’. During this period, *Amihan* prevails over the island and blows incessantly from the Cardona side, the eastern side of the island. In addition, this season also features the appearance of *Amihang mura*, the wind that gusts from the northeastern side of the island, and *Amihang magulang*, the wind that blows from the southeastern side. In spite of its characteristics, *tag-amihan* is deemed as a destruction-free season relative to *tag-habagat*, allowing continuous fishing activities although during the advent of *Amihang mura* fishing is much harder due to the incessant strong wind blows that it brings. Kuya Tamoy and Kuya Tek, two of my key informants and seasoned fishers note the hardship that fishing entails during the presence of *Amihan mura*:

Mas mahirap mangisda kapag Amihang mura dahil tuloy-tuloy ang ihip ng malakas na hangin. Mas mahirap kontrolin ang bangka at iahon ang panti. Mas mabigat ito at masakit sa kamay.

Fishing is harder during the advent of *Amihang Mura* because of its constant strong wind blows. The boat is much harder to steer and the gill nets are grueling to retrieve. They are heavier, causing pain in the hand (Kuya Tamoy and Kuya Tek, personal communication, July 3, 2017).



Picture 5.3. The proliferation of fish cages in the lake makes life harder for the fisher as they impede mobility; such hard life becomes even more difficult as *Amihang mura* asserts itself over the island. Photo: Jom Jayo (29 December 2020).

As *tag-amihan* wanes, *salatan* begins to manifest itself. *Salatan* is marked by wind gusting from the western side of the island in the direction of Calamba, a town in Laguna province. It is considered as an interlude between *tag-amihan* and *tag-habagat* and usually prevails from April to May. In addition, it is distinguished for its relatively weak wind, giving the fishers the best time to fish, as they are relieved of worries emanating from strong winds. *Salatan* is also adjudged as a transition to the wet season, providing them the opportunity to strategize and alter their way of life to gear up for rainy days.

In May, the first showers are beginning to fall. During this time, *salatan* overlaps with the *tag-ulan* season that persists until July. Although the two happen at the same time, in the eyes of the *taga-isla* they are clearly delineated and visibly separated. This is because from

this moment on the criterion for the classification of season shifts to rainfall. Accordingly, *tag-ulan* (rainy or wet season) is characterized by rainfall ranging from the mild shower to heavy downpours. Since *salatan* and *tag-ulan* occur simultaneously during this time, the island is subjected to mild wind blows with rains while the *taga-isla* endure cold and wet weather.



Picture 5.4. The fisherfolk maximize the advent of the *Salatan* season as its winds are most favorable for fishing. Photo: Angelito Nunag (3 May 2017).

As the *tag-ulan* season progresses, the wind transitions into *habagat*, thereby, ushering in the *tag-habagat* season, overlapping with *tag-ulan* too. Nonetheless, the two are distinguished from one another as the criterion for the classification of season shifts back to the wind. This period, *tag-habagat*, is typified by the appearance of *Habagat*, a very strong wind that blows from the west during the period June to August. As early as May, however, *Habagat* makes its presence felt by gusting sporadically, prompting the *taga-isla* to assert that ‘naghahabagat na’ ‘Habagat is on its way’. In terms of strength, *Habagat* is stronger than *Amihan*, strong enough to haul up a house made up of light materials. Since *tag-habagat* occurs simultaneously with *tag-ulan*, the island experiences strong winds accompanied by severe rains, lightning and thunder. *Habagat* further intensifies the effects of rain causing some of the residents to have it mistaken for a typhoon. Consequently, *tag-habagat* is

associated with a typhoon-like season. In view of this, the advent of *tag-habagat* signals the arrival of the *bagyuhan* season in the coming days. Such dynamics are captured in their observation, ‘pag tag-habagat na, papunta na sa bagyuhan kasi mag-uuulan na’, ‘if *habagat* already prevails, *bagyuhan* season is on the way soon because of the prevalence of rains during this time’ (Kuya Buli, Kuya Tamoy, Kuya Nats and Kuya Tek Interview, personal communication, multiple interviews in 2107; Nunag fieldnotes 2017).

The *bagyuhan* season comes between September and November during which *bagyo* batters the island with strong winds and heavy rains. Throughout this time, *bagyo* is a common sight as well as dark skies and gloomy surroundings. Aside from these, the disorder is commonplace as typified by damages in property and alteration of the way of life. During this period, the criteria for the classification of the season are both wind and rain. These criteria have to do with the occurrence of two sub-seasons of great winds: *tag-hilaga* and *tag-timog*; and with the specific pattern observed throughout this period. This pattern is denoted by a prelude of gusting strong and fierce winds (*Hilaga*) followed by the pounding of heavy downpours accompanied by strong winds (*bagyo*) and then a conclusion of the even stronger winds (*Timog*) (Kuya Tek and Kuya Nats personal communication, multiple interviews in 2107; Nunag fieldnotes 2017; FGD April, September 2015, June 2017; EW January, February 2017).

Sub seasons, meanwhile, refer to the episodes within a particular season that possess characteristics that are distinct from the prevailing season within which they are found, but nonetheless, form part of the complete characteristics of the season. This means that sub-seasons are part of the season and are stages of that season. Thus, *tag-hilaga* and *tag-timog* cannot occur during any season other than *bagyuhan*.

Tag-hilaga, as the term suggests, is associated with the arrival of *Hilaga*. Akin to *Habagat*, *Hilaga* is also characterized by strong and fierce winds, instilling fear in the minds of the *taga-isla*. During this period, they brace their houses by tying them to posts or trees. Although it is a phase of the *bagyuhan* season, it is clearly distinguished from the latter due to physical attributes and the temporal gap between them. *Hilaga* is purely strong winds compared to *bagyo* which is both strong winds and rains. Moreover, the former preludes the latter, providing a lull. For them, *Hilaga* has to come first, as if laying the path for *bagyo*, before the latter can even show up, making the former a requisite for its arrival. From the perspective of the seasoned fishers, ‘doon nagmumula ang bagyo’, ‘typhoon emanates from it’ (Ed and Kuya Buli, personal communication, multiple interviews, 2107). Meanwhile, this

link to *bagyo* makes *Hilaga* distinct from *Habagat*.

On the other hand, *tag-timog* is linked to the advent of *Timog*. It is characterized by winds that are even bolder and fiercer than that of *Hilaga*. Although it is an episode within the *bagyuhan* season, it is also visibly marked off from the latter due to the physical attribute and temporal gap between them. Akin to *Hilaga*, it is purely strong winds. It is, however, preceded by a lull after the demise of *bagyo*, paving the way for its grand entrance. *Tag-timog* is a necessary condition to finally terminate the *bagyuhan* season and herald the new one. In their minds, it is a prerequisite for the return of order because without it there will only be continuous disorder.

5.3.2. *Habagat* and *Amihan*, the two contending but complementing forces

Akin to the seasonal prevailing winds in the whole Philippine archipelago, *Habagat* and *Amihan* are also the monsoons that predominate Talim Island. It is through these major winds of sorts, given the existence of many variants of winds on the island, that the *taga-isla* organize and frame their views about the cycle, behaviors, movements, patterns and idiosyncrasies of the elements and, in the process, about their way of life as well. Consequently, they use these perceptions to deal with *sama ng panahon*, *sakuna* and *trahedya*, altering their way of life to mitigate their effects.

For them, winds come in a cycle of alternating *Habagat* and *Amihan*, indicating a dichotomy between unrest and tranquility, chaos and order, weak and strong, darkness and light, etc. As indicated above, *Habagat* brings strong and aggressive winds and is associated with a typhoon-like season that brings destruction. In contrast, *Amihan* is seen as weaker and is linked with tranquility and order. In their minds, the existence of *Habagat* is necessary to the existence of *Amihan* and vice-versa. Each one is there to counter and, at the same time, complement one another so as to maintain balance and order (Nunag fieldnotes 2017; FGD April, September 2015, June 2017; EW January, February 2017). Such dynamics have proved to be beneficial in coming to terms with these phenomena.

In this regard, the advent of *Habagat* is viewed as the coming of bad weather and *bagyuhan* season. During this time, it is common to hear them saying, ‘If *Habagat* starts to blow, that is what you call bad weather; it is the start of calamity. If *Habagat* appears, it means typhoon’ (FGD April, September 2015, June 2017; EW January, February 2017). In

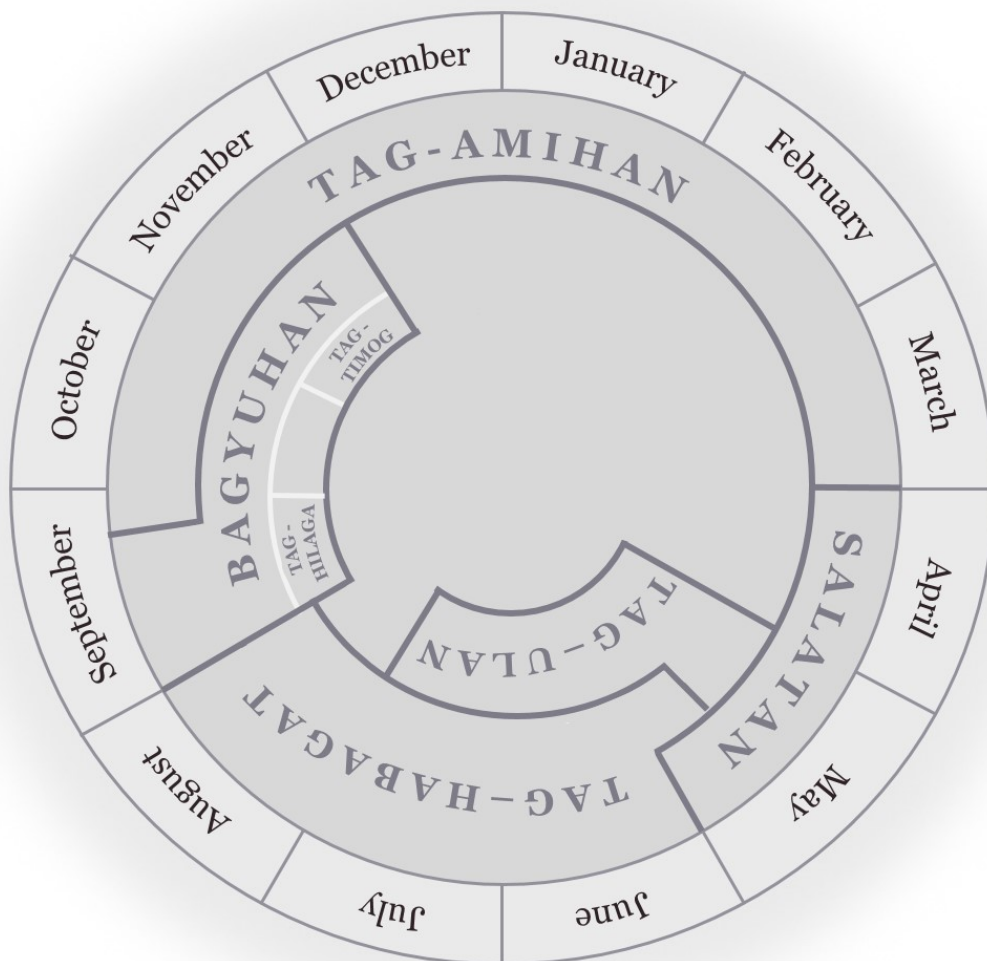


Figure 5.1. In the *taga-isla*'s world, the year is divided into five seasons and two sub seasons that are marked by particular weather patterns. Schema done by Julia Giezl Nunag.

particular, the fisherfolk liken the arrival of *Habagat* to typhoon, ‘parang bagyo’ ‘like a typhoon’, due to the winds and rains that it brings (Ed, personal communication, multiple interviews in 2017). It must be noted, however, that the appearance of *Habagat* coincides with the *tag-ulan* season, intensifying the effects of rain in the process. This observation that emanates from their interaction and relationship with nature equips them with the knowledge that is invaluable in dealing with *sama ng panahon*, *kalamidad* and *trahedya*. As a result, they are forewarned; hence, forearmed against the repercussions of natural hazards. Consequently, they are able to devise in advance the appropriate mechanisms to mitigate the ensuing disaster. Hence, as soon as the first blows of *Habagat* are felt, they start to brace their houses using local techniques such as *serga* and *bangkis*. The former is a process of making a shelter sturdy by fastening the whole house with a strong rope (nylon or hemp) tied to a post or tree. Meanwhile, the latter is a variation of the former wherein only the roof is secured by tying it to a post or tree. Curiously, this practice is also noted among the peoples of Catanduanes, an island province in the Bicol region. The Catandunganons use a local technique called *banting*- the four corners of the house are tied down with huge ropes to pegs driven into the ground to counter strong winds (Sarmiento 2011).



Picture 5.5. A house that is reinforced by a *serga* is commonplace on the island. Photo: Angelito Nunag (01 August 2015).

The *taga-isla's* intimate relationship with their physical environment and hydrometeorological phenomena made possible by their interaction and 'conversation' with their surroundings over the years, has produced an intricate body of local knowledge that works to their advantage. Consequently, they have come up with a system of understanding and dealing with the complexities of their natural surroundings, taking into account even the slight changes in the latter's behaviors, movements and patterns. Hence, they are able to distinguish variants of winds based on fine distinctions and peculiarities.

In this regard, *Habagat* comes in various forms, each having its own peculiar characteristics. *Habagat Maynila*, for one, is a monsoon that gusts from the northwestern part of the island in the direction of Manila city, hence, its namesake. It is distinct for its cold wind, warning the populace of imminent heavy rains. There is also *Habagat Manuwid* that blows from the west in the direction of Sta. Rosa, a town in Laguna province. As its name suggests, *manuwid* from the root *tuwid* which means straight is peculiar for its blow that follows a straight course towards the island. Moreover, there is also *Habagat Sungay* that blusters from the southwestern part of the island in the direction of Calamba, another town in Laguna province. Typical of the *Habagat* wind, *Sungay* is characterized by strong gusts of wind. Nevertheless, *Habagat Manuwid* and *Habagat Sungay* do not bring heavy downpours as what *Habagat Maynila* brings (Kuya Buli, personal communication, March 29, 2017; Ed personal communication, multiple interviews in 2107; Nunag fieldnotes 2017; FGD April, September 2015, June 2017; EW January, February 2017).

This keen knowledge about their physical surroundings advantages them by being forewarned, which enables them to frame effective strategies in grappling with *masamang panahon*. Thus, as soon as *Habagat Maynila* blows, the *mamanti* (open water fishers) rush to the lake to gather their *panti* (gill nets) to save them from getting lost or destroyed. After which they refrain from fishing until such time that *Habagat Maynila* has passed. Ed, one of my best collaborators, who is both a *mamanti* and a cage owner underlines his approach during this time:

Kapag umihip na ang Habagat Maynila, dali-dali kaming pumapalaot para samsamin ang mga panti. Baka kasi abutan ang mga ito ng bagyo sa laot. Mawawala ang mga ito o kaya ay masisira. Pagkatapos noon ay pumapagilid kami.

When *Habagat Maynila* starts to blow, we rush to the lake to gather our gill nets. We are apprehensive that the storm might catch them. They will either get lost or

destroyed. After which, we come ashore (for safety)
(personal communication, August 10, 2017).

As for his cage, he applies the same vigilance, securing it by tying it to *tarungkal* or bamboo pins once *Habagat Maynila* blows:

Dali-dali din kaming pumapalaot para itali ang cage
sa mga tarungkal para hindi ito tangayin ng malakas na
hangin.

We also rush to the lake to tie the cage to the pins so
that it will not be swept away by strong winds (personal
communication, August 10, 2017).

Such attitude of the fishers is understandable because *panti* (gill nets) and fish cage nets are a great deal of investment, comprising the bulk of the costs. Hence, saving the nets is at the top of the fishers' list.

Meanwhile, *Amihan* also comes in three forms: *Magulang* (elderly), *Mura* (young) and *Manuwid*. Being the antithesis of *Habagat*, however, the advent of *Amihan* is seen as the reign of fair weather. Hence, despite the relatively strong winds that it brings, *Amihan* is equated with tranquility and good times. This view stems from the inhabitants' observation and comparison of the after-effects of *Habagat* and *Amihan*. Accordingly, the latter is regarded as a necessary condition to the alternating cycle of chaos and order to put order back in the system by countering the tendencies of the former. As such, *Amihang Mura* is the counterpart of *Habagat Maynila*. In this regard, *Amihang Mura* blows from the northeastern part of the island in the direction of Tanay, a municipality in the province of Rizal. Its appearance signals the arrival of *Amihan* season, thereby, ending the chaotic and dreaded *Habagat* season. On the one hand, *Amihang Magulang* gusts from the southeastern part in the direction of Sta. Cruz, a town in Laguna province. *Amihang Magulang* is the antithesis of *Habagat Sungay*. In contrast to *Amihang Mura*, *Amihang Magulang* indicates the conclusion of *Amihan* season and, therefore, the commencement of the *Habagat* season. *Amihang Manuwid*, on the other hand, is the opposite of *Habagat Manuwid*. The former gusts from the eastern side of the island in the direction of Jalajala, a town in Rizal province. Similar to *Habagat Manuwid*, it derived its name from its distinct blow that follows a straight course towards the island.

Without a doubt, the intricate body of local knowledge brought about by the *taga-isla*'s intimate relationship with their physical environment, which in turn is a result of their interaction and 'conversation' with their surroundings over the years, has enabled them to



Picture 5.6. My informant from Barangay Bangad shows a *tarungkal* to me. The *tarungkal*(s) are buried at the bottom of the lake and the branches of the bamboo are the ones responsible for keeping the cages in place amidst strong winds. Photo: Angelito Nunag (21 April 2017).

grapple with the adverse effects of *sama ng panahon*, *sakuna* and *trahedya*. By being conversant with the elements and their environment, they are able to devise mechanisms of dealing and understanding the intricacies of natural surroundings, taking into account even the slight changes in their behaviors, movements and patterns. Undeniably, the knowledge of the peculiarities of the elements does not only mean being keen on the minute changes in the atmosphere. More importantly, it precipitates the formulation of the right strategies that enable them to act promptly and accordingly. Certainly, such cognition of the surroundings advantages them by being two steps ahead in disaster prediction, response and mitigation.

5.3.3. Seeing and feeling the weather

Perceptual cognition is an intrinsic part of the *taga-isla's* weather forecasting system. Seeing and feeling the weather are the core of their mode of conversing with the elements and *masamang panahon*, bringing to the fore the bodily senses as salient means with which to experience, understand and predict meteorological conditions. Using senses of sight and touch, they are keen even on the slight changes in the movement, direction, strength and behavior of the winds, utilizing these observations in forecasting *mabuti* or *masamang panahon*, thereby, forearming them with vital information with which to frame their livelihood strategies and risk mitigation schemes.

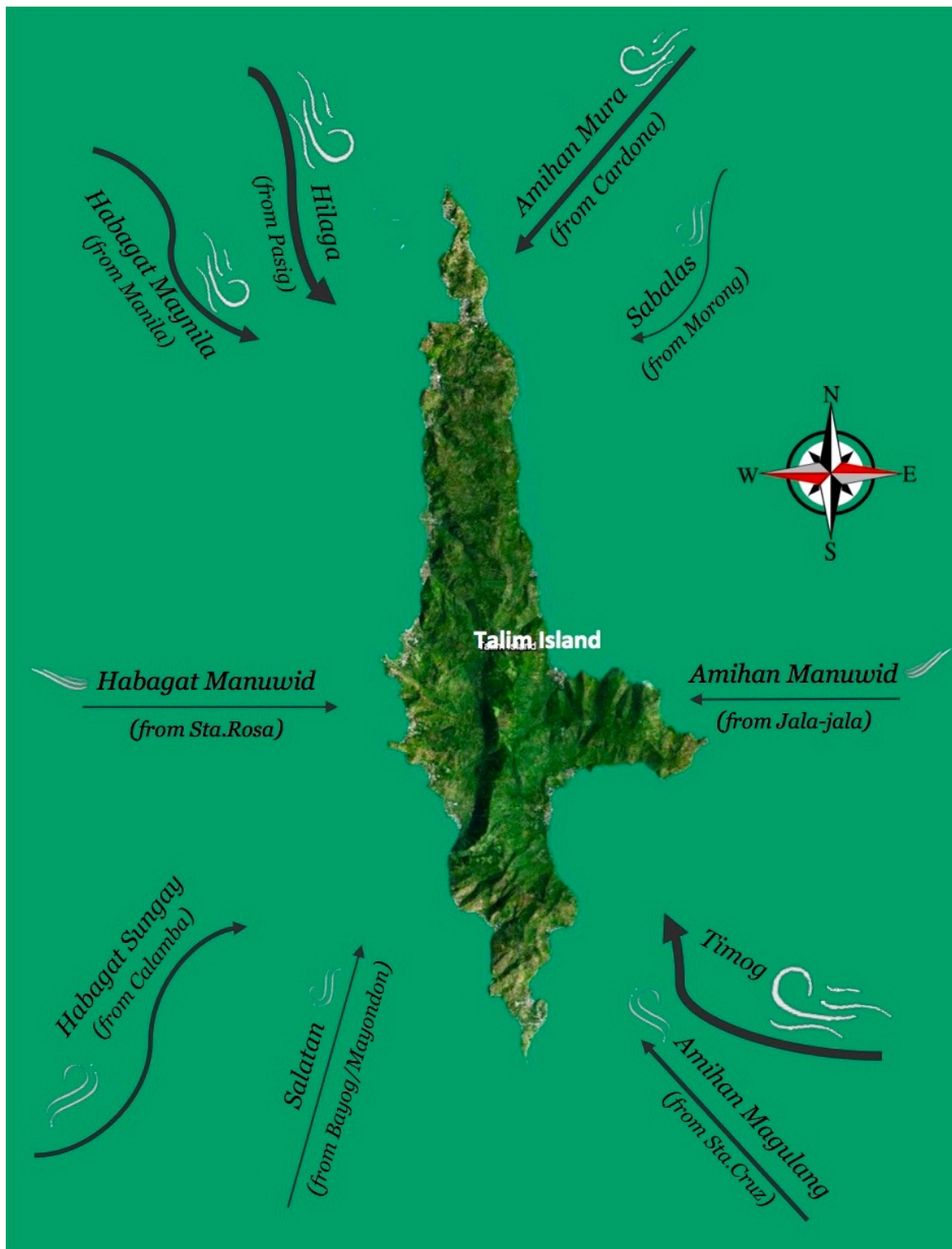
In spite of the prevalence of the so-called modern scientific forecasts easily obtainable through radio and television, still, they depend heavily on their perceptual observation of the physical environment in predicting the weather. The tactile experience of the wind *Sabalas*, for example, warns them of imminent *masamang panahon*. As soon as the distinct chill in the air brought about by *Sabalas* is felt in the body, ‘ang hatid ng hangin sa katawan ay malamig’, ‘the wind sends chills to the body’; they proclaim the arrival of the typhoon, ‘kalahating oras lang, nandyan na ang bagyo,’ ‘within thirty minutes, the typhoon is already on the way’. In contrast, *Salatan* brings warm air, ‘mainit sa pakiramdam,’ ‘it feels warm to the body’, and, therefore, signals the advent of *mabuting panahon* and the demise of *masamang panahon*.

The use of tangible environmental indicators is also present among the farmers of Burkina Faso in the Sahel-Sudan region. They believe that the intensity and duration of rainfall correlate with the duration and intensity of cold and hot temperatures during the earlier and later periods of the dry season (Roncoli, Ingram and Kirshen2002; Roncoli *et al.* 2003). A well-defined transition between the two periods is linked with a favorable season,

while an unclear shift in temperature is regarded as a bad sign (Roncoli *et al.* 2003). The farmers believe that intense cold during the cold-dry season (late November to early February) corresponds to abundant rainfall in the following season. During the hot-dry period (late February to early May), intensely hot temperatures also presage abundant rainfall (Roncoli, Ingram and Kirshen 2002). Interestingly, the dynamics of binary oppositions as well as the notion of aberration (see next chapter for a comprehensive discussion), is also existent in their system of weather forecasting. For instance, cool temperatures in April, when they should be hot, are deemed to be a bad sign (2002). Meanwhile, in Batanes, the northernmost province in the Philippines, the Ivatans observe the temperature of the wind to foretell the temper of the sea (Uy and Shaw 2008). This knowledge of the wind merged with their mastery of the sea spare them from meeting with an accident at sea.

In Sarawak, Malaysia, the Kenyah Badeng integrates the sense of touch with smell in dealing with winds. When Badeng farmers feel the warm winds on their skin, they are forewarned of the drought period that lays ahead (Garay-Barayazarra and Puri 2011). The Southwest winds, on the one hand, are associated with ‘strong forest-like scent that includes the smell of wild animals...scented fish-ponds and ‘earthy’ smell in the air’ (2011: 25). In Catanduanes, the Catandunganons combine the sense of touch with smell in predicting typhoons. Old folk note the temperature and foul smell of the wind and practice sniffing the air to forecast storms (Sarmiento 2011). They associate the humid temperature (*anangaang*), together with the ‘fishy smell’ in the air caused by the ripples on the sea even without wind blows (*guduk*) and stinky bubbles on the surface of the stagnant pond (*tamaw*), with the coming of typhoon (2011).

It bears mentioning that this tactile experience of the elements arises not just from our ability to touch but also from our commingling with the world that we inhabit (Ingold 2005, 2007). We feel the wind because we are able to penetrate through it in the same manner that it penetrates through us. It is a certain kind of symbiosis, to use Merleau-Ponty’s words, a certain way the world ‘has of invading us and certain ways we have of meeting this invasion’ (2005:370). Accordingly, the *taga-isla*’s ability to predict the weather by feeling the wind arises from their active participation in the world that continuously comes into being. In this sense, weather prediction proceeds from their immersion in the dynamic processes of world-in-formation, from becoming inhabitants of the open world by being immersed in the incessant movement of the wind and weather. In short, weather prediction stems not from their inability to touch the wind but rather from their propensity to, as Ingold put it, ‘touch *in*



Map 5.1. A map of Talim Island showcasing the various winds that prevail over it all year-round. Map modified by Julia Giezl Nunag.

the wind' (2005, 2007).

Aside from the tactile experience of the wind, the *taga-isla* also utilize visual perception of natural surroundings. For example, they note the visual characteristics of clouds in grappling with the weather. If cloud formations look like *kaliskis ng buwaya* (crocodile scales) then *mabuting panahon* is guaranteed. It bears mentioning that such analogy involves a water-dwelling animal, reflecting their water-dominated world. In addition, they also pay attention to the interaction between the clouds and natural landform and fuse it with the visual characteristics of the former. An old aphorism 'nagkumot ang bundok', 'the mountain has blanketed', captures the essence of this interaction. Thus, thick dark clouds blanketing the summit of Mt. Tagapo presage the coming of *masamang panahon*. Moreover, they are also keen on the relationship of the movement of the clouds with the movement of the lake waters. If the *panginoren*, a phenomenon characterized by rapid movements of the clouds, occurs and the lake water below is calm- *kalma, tining or patag ang dagat* (literally, the lake water is flat and there are no visible waves), then heavy wind blows are expected (Kuya Tamoy and Kuya Nats, personal communication, multiple interviews in 2017).

This forecasting method is also employed by the fisher inhabitants of Malalison Island in Antique province in the Western Visayas. For them, dark clouds meeting the sunset at the horizon as well as small flashes of light along the seashore at nighttime indicate bad weather the following day (Siar, Ortega and Babol 1993). In addition, they also take notice of the interaction between the clouds and the mountain. For them, if clouds cover Mt. Madja-as from Pucio Point all the way to its southern range, bad weather is sure to come (1993). Meanwhile, among the rural communities of eastern Terai of Nepal and Chitral district of Pakistan, the colors of the water and clouds are also deployed to anticipate floods (Dekens 2008).

With regard to the winds, they combine the perceived physical attributes of the elements with spatial characteristics. In normal conditions, meaning, the *bagyuhan* season is not around, the stronger winds (*Habagat Maynila* and *Amihan Mura*) emanate from the north, while the weaker winds (*Habagat Sungay* and *Amihan Magulang*) come from the south. In 'abnormal condition' where the *bagyuhan* season prevails, the situation reverses, thus, the stronger wind (*Timog*) occurs in the south while the relatively weaker element (*Hilaga*) takes place in the north. With respect to east and west, the former is associated with the weaker wind (*Amihan*) while the latter is linked with the stronger one (*Habagat*).

Similarly, the Kenyah Badeng are also keen on the visual and spatial characteristics of the clouds and winds, underscoring the shape, size, color and location of the former and the variants and locations of the latter (Garay-Barayazarra and Puri 2011). Meanwhile, among the Euro-American cultures, weather lore is still an important part of their way of life to date and is used as a forecasting method by farmers and shepherds (Strauss 2003). In Leukerbad, Switzerland, the *Bauernregeln* or farmer's rules or weather proverbs that are based on observable phenomena often reflect accurate knowledge of frequently experienced weather patterns. These rules comprise appraisals of 'humidity ('Thunderstorms follow humid weather'); cloud types (mare's tails or mackerel skies); or wind patterns ('When the north wind blows in June, storms tend to be late')' (2003: 50). In coastal Bangladesh, the inhabitants predict forthcoming natural hazards when the sky turns gloomy and the wind blows from the south (Howell 2003).



Picture 5.7. The *kaliskis ng buwaya* that hovers above *Bundok ng Susong Dalaga* (Mt. Tagapo) is indicative of *mabuting panahon* in the coming days. Photo: Angelito Nunag (20 February 2017).

In the Sahel region, several pastoralists pay attention to the strength and direction of the winds during the dry season and at the start of the rainy season (Roncoli, Ingram and Kirshen2002; Roncoli *et al.* 2003). The farmers, on the one hand, interpret the strong but not destructive eastward winds and hot but not scorching temperatures at the beginning of the rainy season as a sign of a regular and favorable seasonal rainfall (Roncoli, Ingram and Kirshen2002). Similarly, the Ivatans utilize wind directions to anticipate bad weather conditions at sea. The *idaud* or north wind is usually harsh and the *avayat* or west wind is typically unsettled, thus, their appearance indicates a hostile sea (Uy and Shaw 2008). The Catandunganons, on the one hand, use a system of wind directions to come to terms with typhoons (Sarmiento 2011). They differentiate ‘six directionalities that vary, either as definite points or as ranges of degrees of location, depending upon their salience in reckoning weather in general and typhoon in particular’ (2011: 74).

Similar to the point raised above, the visual experience of the elements emanates from the *taga-isla*’s commingling with the world-in-becoming that they inhabit. They experience the sky and weather not because they perceive them but rather they see *in* them. In the same fashion that they touch *in* the wind, they see *in* the sky and weather (Ingold 2005, 2007). Thus, their ability to predict weather comes from taking part in the dynamic processes of world formation. By being inhabitants and at the same time participants in the world’s perpetual formation, they are able to anticipate the weather.

5.4. Dealing with *sama ng panahon*, *kalamidad* and *sakuna* using local knowledge of *bagyo*

Besides winds, the *taga-isla* have also developed a complex knowledge base that is influenced by their perception of *bagyo*. Similarly, this elaborate knowledge is born of their interaction and relationship with the natural surroundings and hydrometeorological phenomena over a long period of time. This perception of *bagyo* is made possible by seeing *in* the weather as inhabitants of the world in continuous formation. The interaction and relationship with the natural world and its phenomena, on the one hand, are shaped by commingling with this world as they feel in the wind and see in the weather. Through this, they are able to establish a relationship with the elements and weather with which they use to frame the right strategies in coming to terms with hydrometeorological phenomena. In this light, the following discussions zoom in on these approaches and techniques using local knowledge of *bagyo*, underscoring their seeing and feeling in the world-in-becoming.

5.4.1. *Hilaga, Bagyo* and *Timog*: The fellowship of great winds and the cycle of chaos and order

Among all the *sama ng panahon*, it is *bagyo* and its fellowship with the great winds, *Hilaga* and *Timog*, that the *taga-isla* are most petrified of. Typhoon, tropical storm or tropical cyclone is a localized and very intense low-pressure wind system. It forms over tropical oceans and has winds of hurricane force. Such definition is no different from the inhabitants' perception of *bagyo*. For them, *bagyo* is a phenomenon characterized by strong winds and heavy rains that usually last for three or more consecutive days. During this period, it transforms the surroundings into darkness as the sun disappears behind dark clouds (Nunag fieldnotes 2017; FGD April, September 2015, June 2017; EW January, February 2017). Truly, a perfect illustration of the *sama ng panahon* as the atmosphere's bad temper or 'nature' is expressed, prevailing over the *mabuting panahon*, the atmosphere's expression of its good nature. As *bagyo* unleashes its fury on the island (a process called *kalamidad*, see above discussions), destruction follows (referred to as *sakuna* by the *taga-isla*, see above discussions). Accordingly, *sakuna* reveals chaotic aftermath: bewildered *taga-isla*, ravaged houses and blown away fish cages and pens. Ate Emma, one of my key informants, underlines the plight of the people whose houses were blown away by gusting winds, 'kaawa-awa ang mga bahay na hindi konkreto at matibay ang bubong', 'how pitiful are the those whose houses are not made of concrete and roofs that are not firm' (personal communication, July 4, 2017). Kuya Tek, Ate Emma's husband and one of my best informants, shares the harrowing condition of the fisherfolk caught in the middle of *bagyo* while fishing:

Anim na oras kaming paikot-ikot sa lawa dahil di namin makita ang daan pauwi dahil sa dilim ng paligid. Wala kang makikita. Nung makita namin na sobrang dilim na at malalakas ang hangin, umuwi na kami pero wala talaga kaming makita. Yung mga palatandaan naming tulad ng bundok at kubo sa lawa ay hindi mo na makita. Napunta kami sa mas malayo pa sa kung saan kami nagmula. Mag-aalas tres na ng madaling-araw nang makauwi kami.

We wandered in the lake, went round in circles for six hours because we did not see the way back home due to the darkness of the surroundings. It was zero visibility. When we noticed the prevalence of darkness and the gusting of strong winds, we decided to go back home but we could not see anything. We could not see our markers such as the mountain and the fishers' huts in the lake. We ended up farther from where we were when we decided to head back home. It was already three in the morning when

we reached our home (personal communication, July 3, 2017).

Such recognition of *bagyo* is brought about by seeing in the weather, feeling in the wind and hearing in the rains. By seeing in the weather they were able to distinguish an ambiance that was overrun by *bagyo* because things and other entities began to look differently. Consequently, the clear blue sky was replaced by dark gloomy clouds, the green mountain and the bamboo-covered hills became somber and lifeless, the lake, too, turned dull matching the clouds above, and the horizon was transformed into a blank canvass of grey that vanished the fish pens, cages and buildings in the metropolis. By feeling in the wind, they became aware of the angry strong winds, forcing their way into the island. Meanwhile, in hearing in the rain, they became conscious of condensed moistures that fell hard from the atmosphere and pounded their roofs. Considering all these, it makes sense how they conceived *bagyo* as associated with dark surroundings, strong winds and heavy rains.

The arrival of *bagyo*, nevertheless, does not come without a warning. Its fellowship with the great winds; namely *Hilaga* and *Timog*, serves that purpose. In the minds of the *taga-isla*, the fellowship is a cycle of the advent, onslaught and demise of *bagyo*. Consequently, the appearance of *Hilaga* is equated with the advent of *bagyo*. For them, it is through *Hilaga* that *bagyo* makes its way in advance, ‘doon nagmumula ang bagyo’ ‘it is through it that bagyo is initiated’ (Kuya Buli, Kuya Tamoy, Kuya Tek, personal communication, multiple interviews in 2107). *Hilaga* is a strong wind, as strong as *Habagat*, which blows from the northwestern part of the island in the direction of Binangonan, a town in Rizal province. Its sheer strength makes them link it with *bagyo*, which possesses the same characteristic. In this regard, the emergence of *Hilaga* serves as an early warning, prompting them to brace themselves for imminent danger. They recall that in the past the old folk would yell at the first instance of *Hilaga*, ‘Magbangkis na kayo! Magserga na! May bagyong malakas!’ ‘Brace your houses! Employ the *bangkis* and *serga*! A strong typhoon is on the way!’ (Kuya Tek, Kuya Nats, personal communication, multiple interviews in 2107; Nunag fieldnotes 2017; FGD April, September 2015, June 2017; EW January, February 2017). This observation drawn from their interaction with their surroundings throughout the years has never failed them. Such knowledge has become commonplace that *Hilaga* and *bagyo* are regarded as one, ‘pag bumabakbak ang bagyo, Hilaga yun’ ‘if *bagyo* pounds, that is Hilaga’ (Kuya Buli, personal communication, March 29, 2017; Kuya Nats, personal communication, multiple interviews in 2107).



Picture 5.8. During the onslaught of bagyo, normalcy is momentarily halted as disorder prevails over the island. Fishing boats are moored to the shore and bamboos for the cottage industry are safely secured to the coast as livelihood is also put on hold. Photo: Angelito Nunag (5 July 2017).

As soon as *Hilaga* is done, the onslaught of *bagyo* ensues. They observe that ‘after thirty minutes the typhoon is already here’ (Severo, personal communication, September 14, 2015; FGD April, September 2015, June 2017; EW January, February 2017). During this period, chaos prevails over the island. The initial destruction brought about by *Hilaga* will be further aggravated by the assault of *bagyo*. Nevertheless, they have come to terms with the adverse effects of *bagyo* with the belief that everything is just part of the process: the alternating cycle of chaos and order. In turn, it is expected that after the onslaught of *bagyo*, comes its demise. Its end, however, must come in the hands of even stronger wind, *Timog*. The *taga-isla* are keen on this cycle:

Sa panahon ng bagyo, hihilaga muna, tapos babakbak ang bagyo, pagkatapos, kakalma, tapos, hihirit ang Timog, tapos, tapos na ang bagyo.

During typhoon season, *Hilaga* will manifest first, then the onslaught of *bagyo* will follow, after which, a

short interlude of calmness, then, Timog will strike, after that, the bagyo ends (Kuya Buli, Kuya Tek and Kuya Nats, personal communication, multiple interviews in 2017; Nunag fieldnotes 2017; FGD April, September 2015, June 2017; EW January, February 2017).

Timog is the wind that gusts from the southern part of the island. It is the strong wind that follows the demise of *bagyo*, thereby, giving the impression that his arrival means the end of the *sama ng panahon (bagyo)*, *kalamidad* and *sakuna*, ‘If the *Timog* wind arrives, the typhoon stops’ (Nunag fieldnotes 2017; FGD April, September 2015, June 2017; EW January, February 2017). Accordingly, *Timog* is perceived as the strongest and most powerful among the winds, branding it as the ‘King of Winds’. In this regard, the arrival of *Timog* serves as a sign of the forthcoming *mabuting panahon*. In essence, it signals the return of order and peace after chaos and destruction. From the vantage point of the inhabitants, *Timog* disciplines all the winds to restore order in the atmosphere. Without it there will be continuous calamities as *Hilaga* and *bagyo* will be uncontrollable, wreaking havoc on the island. Hence, its presence is essential to tame and counter the tendencies of these two forces. Not surprisingly, the arrival of *Timog* is also preceded by an interlude of calmness as if paving the way for its grandiose entrance:

Basta bumagyo at humilaga, kakalma muna, kalmang-kalma, tapos biglang bubulusok todo, napakalakas, hangin lang, Timog, ito ang magtatapos ng bagyo.

After the prevalence of *hilaga* and *bagyo*, a short interlude of calmness follows, a very calm interlude, then a very strong wind, *Timog*, will strike in full force, this will end the *bagyo* (Kuya Buli, Ed and Kuya Nats, personal communication, multiple interviews in 2017; FGD April, September 2015, June 2017; EW January, February 2017).

After the exit of *Timog*, the order immediately follows. For the *taga-isla*, it is the perfect opportunity to fix their lives as the onslaught of *bagyo* also brought good fortune. During this time, the lake abounds with the catch as milkfish (*bangus*) escaped the ravaged fish pens owned by wealthy businessmen. As a result, the fisherfolk earn an average of fifteen to twenty thousand pesos in three days, enough money to rebuild and improve their devastated houses. So profitable that this ensuing period is called as ‘panahon ng bangusan’ ‘season of milkfish’:

Pagkatapos ng bagyo, panahon na ng ‘bangusan’. Sa ganitong panahon, kumikita ang mga mamamanti ng labing-lima hanggang dalawampung libong piso sa loob ng tatlong araw. Ang mga tao nakakapagpaayos ng bahay. Karamihan napapaganda ang kanilang bahay dulot ng bangusan.

After the onslaught of *bagyo*, the season of milkfish follows. During this period, the fishers earn fifteen to twenty thousand pesos in three days. The people are able to rebuild their houses. The majority of them improve their shelters due to the earnings brought about by the season (Kuya Buli, Ed, Kuya Nats, personal communication, multiple interviews in 2107; FGD April, September 2015, June 2017; EW January, February 2017).



Picture 5.9. Some fisherfolk are able to improve their houses from being made up of light materials to concrete due to the fortune offered by the aftermath of the typhoon. Photo: Angelito Nunag (5 April 2017).

Undeniably, the *bangusan* event is a concrete illustration of the above-mentioned cycle since order supersedes chaos. In fact, they view the chaos brought about by the onslaught of *bagyo* as an opportunity for improvement, hence, the order in chaos. Indeed, the arrival of *Timog* serves as a sign that they utilize to organize the course of action that they need to take after the passage of *bagyo*. This explains the formulation of a new lexeme *pagtitimog* from the root *timog*, which means the advent of *mabuting panahon*. Certainly, *pagtitimog* is not just a time of good weather but also of an ensuing good life offered by the opportunities with the passing of *bagyo*. (Kuya Tek, Kuya Nats and Kiya Tamoy, personal communication, multiple interviews in 2107; Nunag fieldnotes 2017; FGD April, September 2015, June 2017; EW January, February 2017).

5.5. Forewarned is forearmed: local knowledge and the importance of being abreast of the natural surroundings

In view of the foregoing, it is undeniable that being conversant with the physical environment one can deal properly with the adverse effects of natural hazards. Accordingly, being conversant is also synonymous with being immersed in the world-in-becoming, actively participating in the world's perpetual formation. The inhabitants of Talim Island have shown the importance of maintaining a good relationship with one's natural surroundings and of commingling with the world as inhabitants and not as, to use Ingold's words, exhabitants. As their case illustrated, it is imperative to be keen and perceptive to the behaviors, movements, patterns and idiosyncrasies of the elements by being one with them, seeing in the weather, feeling in the wind and hearing in the rain. Through this, they are able to evolve strategies and mechanisms with which to grapple with natural hazards. These strategies and mechanisms are contained in the intricate body of local knowledge born of their intimate relationship with their physical environment over the years. This relationship and body of knowledge enable them to come up with an effective and practical system of dealing with and understanding natural hazards. As a result, they are able to act promptly and accordingly, employing the right game plan to mitigate the after-effects of natural hazards. Indeed, such a relationship and cognition of the surroundings advantage the *taga-isla* by being two steps ahead in disaster prediction, response and mitigation- forewarned is forearmed!

This approach has kept them to stay afloat through time, making them resilient by evolving a peculiar way of life that allowed them to rise above every obstacle posed by the



Picture 5.10. During *bangusan*, a fisher catches tons of milkfish, earning as much as P20,000 in three days. Photo: John Cerda (31 October 2020).

destructive nature of natural hazards. The essence of this approach, however, lies in their cognition, which structures and regulates their daily lives. Understanding the fundamental features of this cognition, hence, is key to comprehending the *taga-isla*, their strategies and their distinct way of life. Through this, the basic features of their cognition are brought to the fore, laying the appropriate grounds for analysis and the proper way of looking at them. In view of this, the new insights gained that reflect the peculiarity of the inhabitants do not only become easier to comprehend but also lead us to novel ideas that could, in turn, steer us to a better understanding of ourselves. Accordingly, a new outlook on the concept of binary opposition as exemplified by ideas such as ‘order in chaos’ and ‘presence of absence’ (all these will be explored further in the proceeding chapters) should be received as a welcome addition to the existing perspectives on anthropological studies.

Looking through the local lens in grappling with natural hazards is also of the essence. The *taga-isla*’s case offers invaluable insights as to how hazard is framed and conceived in the local context and conditions. More tellingly, it raises questions on some of the assumptions about the prevailing concepts of natural hazard. It exposes the flaws of the existing mainstream concepts, which are not fit to the local conditions of the people on the ground. It reminds us that it is beneficial and more practical to look into the local concepts to properly address the issue of hazards and their after-effects at the local level.

Lastly, the above discussions clearly indicate how the elements and weather are intimately connected to the *taga-isla*. By being one with the elements and the world-in-becoming, they are able to grapple with hydrometeorological phenomena or *masamang panahon*. Through this, they become capable of devising effective and sensible mechanisms and strategies with which to better their lives in relating with the physical world. These strategies and relationships, in turn, are stored in their body of local knowledge which, in this sense, is not just a repository of perceptions, beliefs, understandings and skills, but also of experiences of commingling in the world-in-becoming as inhabitants.

CHAPTER VI

ANTICIPATING THE FUTURE: RE-PRESENTING THE NOT-YET IN THE NOW THROUGH CONVERSATION WITH NONHUMAN LIFE FORMS

Nonhuman life forms, be they animals, plants and trees, either land, air or water-dwelling beings, play an important role in the lives of the *taga-isla*, especially among the older generations. Their essentiality permeates the basic aspects of the inhabitants' lives and forms part of the quotidian life. They serve a substantial function in the performance and flow of everyday life, which is realized by means of trans-species conversation. The *taga-isla* make use of this conversation to tackle natural hazards within which they are informed of the peculiar behaviors of these nonhuman life forms. These behaviors are then utilized to anticipate the future by re-presenting the not-yet in the now, thereby mitigating the effects of natural hazards.

In the light of this, this chapter probes this conversation and how the *taga-isla* put this to use to manage conflicts in their lives particularly in matters pertaining to natural hazards. In this regard, it zeroes in on the peculiar behaviors of these nonhuman life forms and their function in the inhabitants' approach to hydrometeorological phenomena. It looks into the principle behind both their and nonhuman life forms' mode of grappling with natural hazards, highlighting binary or dialectical thinking. Moreover, it brings to the fore the essentiality of incorporating nonhuman life forms' observed actions and behaviors into the *taga-isla's* own disposition in order to anticipate the future and come up with an appropriate course of action.

Trans-species conversation presupposes awareness and capacity to act independently in both parties involved in the conversation. Here, I postulate that consciousness and agency are possessed and employed also by nonhuman life forms. Accordingly, this chapter tackles consciousness and agency in nonhuman life forms in passing (as these matters will be discussed in detail in the succeeding chapter). In view of this, it illustrates how, from the perspective of the *taga-isla*, nonhuman life forms utilize consciousness and exercise agency in grappling with hydrometeorological phenomena.

6.1. Notion of presence and absence

Since destructive monsoon rains and tropical storms (*masamang panahon*) are constant on the island, the *taga-isla* have learned the value of conversing not just with the elements and hydrometeorological phenomena but also with nonhuman life forms in order to stave off ensuing destruction. This conversation with the latter has not only introduced them

into the curious realms and peculiarities of these life forms but also led them to realize that such peculiarities are these life forms' own way of interacting with the natural surroundings and phenomena⁶. In turn, they incorporate these other life forms' approaches into their own ways of dealing with the physical environment and hydrometeorological phenomena, which are contained in their intricate body of local knowledge and then passed down to the next generation.

Noise has been at the center of their system of dealing with the forces of nature. Its presence or absence is central in making sense of the awesome and seemingly incomprehensible phenomena and in reducing them into something manageable at their level and capability. This notion is encapsulated, for instance, in their practice of pounding any metal containers- pail, tub, drum, etc.- to create a loud noise sufficient enough to 'drive' a tornado away (Kuya Nats and Nanay Minay personal communication, multiple interviews in 2107; FGD April, September 2015, June 2017; EW January, February 2017). Such practice was especially common among the older generations:

Yung matatanda noong araw, para daw matigil ang buhawi, kumuha ka ng balde, batya, kakalampagin. Sinasabi nila na para maitaboy ang buhawi dahil sa ingay.

The old folk back in the days believed that in order to avert a tornado, you have to get a pail or a tub and then pound it. They say that noise drives the tornado away (Francisco FGD April 2105).

In the past, the elderly dealt with the flurry of strong winds by shouting at the top of their lungs in chorus, believing that the loud noise they created would weaken and dissolve the powerful winds, thereby averting any catastrophes. In the event of a typhoon, they hammered the casseroles as hard as they could to ward it off:

Noong araw, ang mga matatanda kapag lumalakas ang hangin sumisigaw nang sabay-sabay ng 'hoooooy!' Kinokontra nila ang lakas ng hangin. Sabay sa hangin, kinokontra nila ito.

In the past, whenever the wind began to get stronger the elderly shouted in unison, 'hoooooy!' They countered the strength of the wind. Simultaneous with the blow, they countered it (by shouting) (Rainier, personal communication, March 29, 2017).

⁶ The succeeding chapter explores the *agency* of these nonhuman life forms, such capacity is usually attributed only to humans.

For the *taga-isla*, nonetheless, such capacity is not exclusive to humans but rather extends to nonhumans as well. Hence, it is not hard for them to see such potentiality in other life forms and eventually to incorporate this nonhuman potentiality into their own disposition in order to better their lives and conditions before the onslaught of a natural hazard. Consequently, they take the crowing of a rooster in the middle of a storm as the rooster's own way of driving the typhoon away. They believe that indeed it is the case for they are resolved that if a rooster crows the typhoon has to stop, 'kahit nabagyo, kapag tumilaok ang manok, titigil ang bagyo,' 'even if there is an ongoing typhoon, if the rooster crows, then the typhoon will stop' (Domingo FGD September 2015). Hence, they take the crowing as a sign of the eventual demise of the storm:

Tulad po ng karanasan ko kahit noong ako ay bata pa, kahit nabagyo, kapag tumilaok ang manok, titigil ang bagyo. Oo, titilaok ang manok, kapag tumilaok ang manok, titigil ang bagyo. Kapag nagtitilaok ang manok, sinusubaybayan nila, pahupa na ang bagyo, titigil na ang bagyo.

Just like my experience when I was still young, even if there is a typhoon, if the rooster crows, then the typhoon stops. Yes, the rooster crows, and if it does, the typhoon stops. If the roosters begin to crow- they (roosters) keep track of the typhoon- at the time that it is subsiding, then the latter eventually stops (Domingo FGD September 2015).

Similarly, the croaking of frogs is viewed as the frog's means of fending off a *masamang panahon*. Thus, the croaking is associated with the end of the typhoon. The loud noise created by the frogs signals both the termination of a typhoon and the ensuing *mabuting panahon* (good weather). As soon as frogs croak, 'humuni na ang palaka', the typhoon is already gone, 'wala na ang bagyo' (Ana FGD September 2015). The croaking is remarkably noticeable as an army of frogs croaks in chorus, sending deafening waves of deep hoarse sound in the surrounding:

Sabay-sabay po sila, maiingay po talaga, halos hindi ninyo na maririnig ang usapan ng tao, ang lakas. Lalo dito sa bukid.

They are in unison, they are really noisy, you can hardly hear the conversation of people, the croaking is so loud. Especially here in the rice field (Ana FGD September 2015).

In view of the foregoing, the presence of noise means the end of *masamang panahon* or advent of good weather (*mabuting panahon*), while its absence indicates otherwise- the disappearance of good weather or prevalence of *masamang panahon*. In other words, the presence of noise necessitates the absence of *masamang panahon* while the absence of noise requires the presence of *masamang panahon*. This notion is illustrated by the actions and behaviors of the animals during the onslaught of a typhoon. At this point in time, silence prevails upon the animals, observing quietly the passing of a storm:

Kapag po panahon ng bagyuhan, wala kang maririnig na tilaok ng manok, parang ang manok ay nakatahimik lang. Ako po ay nasa farm dati eh, ng mga manok na panabong, nakatahimik lang. Kapag tumilaok na, paalis na ang bagyo.

During typhoon season, you will never hear roosters crowing, it seems that the roosters are in a state of quietude. I used to work on a farm where gamecocks are bred; they are just quiet (during a typhoon). If they crow, then the typhoon is set to leave (Reynaldo FGD September 2015).

Interestingly, the link between nonhuman life forms' behaviors, natural phenomena and noise is also observed among other Asian communities. It bears mentioning that such a link works in the opposite capacity where the presence of noise means the absence of good weather. In other words, the presence of noise necessitates the absence of fair weather; hence, it can be surmised that its absence requires the presence of good weather. It is also worth mentioning that the *taga-isla* subsist mainly on fishing and live in coastal areas while the tribal peoples of Rajasthan in India and Kenyah Badeng of Sarawak, Malaysia are all farmers and reside in farming villages. Hence, it can be conjectured that this marked difference has to do with the striking difference in their subsistence and habitation.

Among the tribal peoples of Rajasthan, the noise created by the frogs presages the onset of rainfall. From their view, when the frogs start to make a lot of noise, rain is on the horizon (Pareek and Trivedi 2011). They also link the cry of a specific bird to the coming of the rainy season. Similarly, the Kenyah Badeng farmers treat the croaking of frogs near the riverside as a sign of approaching rains. In addition, they also regard the unmistakable noise of chickens crowing under the longhouses as an indicator of forthcoming showers (Garay-Barayazarra and Puri 2011).

6.1.1 Windless breakage

It is not only among animals that such a concept is applied but also to other life forms as well such as trees and plants. In this case, the absence of wind, for instance, is viewed vis-à-vis the presence of a freak occurrence in trees and plants to mean an imminent natural hazard. They believe that if a branch of a tree breaks amidst fair weather without the presence of a significant wind blow, then *masamang panahon* is on its way. Any tree, whether big or small, that has met such fate announces the coming of *masamang panahon* in advance:

Sabi po ng matatanda, yun pong punong-kahoy bigla pong nababali, bumubuwal siya ng wala namang hangin, halimbawa po mangga, kaimito, ganun, at nabali ang sanga ng wala namang hangin, babala po ito na may darating na masamang panahon.

According to the elderly, a tree that suddenly breaks its branch and falls to the ground without any wind blow, for example, mango and star apple trees, and a branch breaks amidst the absence of wind blow, it is a sign of a forthcoming typhoon (Reynaldo FGD September 2015).

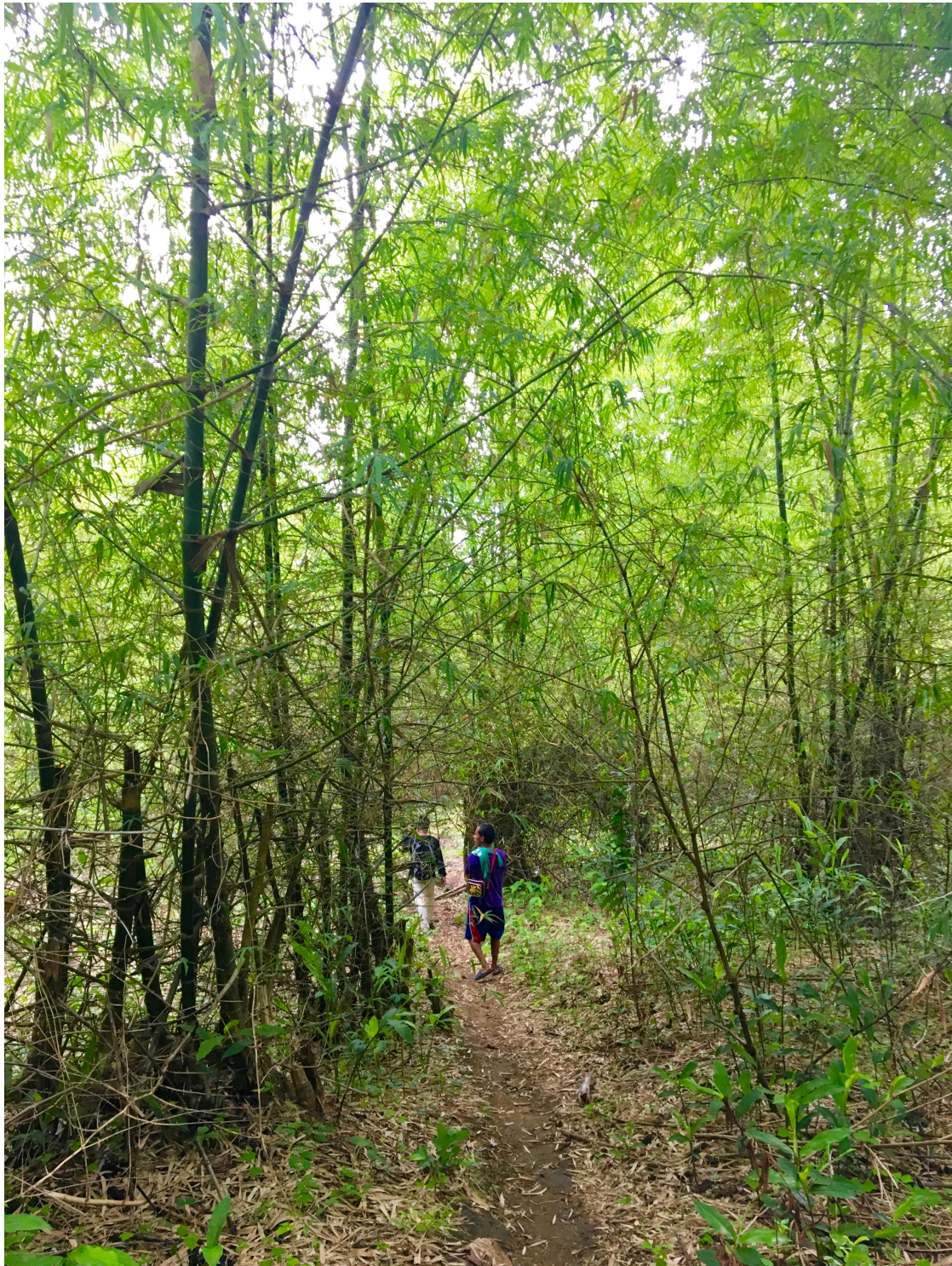
In Albay, a province in the Bicol region in Southeastern Luzon, a similar practice is also observed. Here, the falling off of banana leaves in the absence of wind blows indicates a typhoon on the horizon (Dalisay 2014). Meanwhile, in coastal Bangladesh, the bending of trees has to do with the occurrence of natural hazards (Howell 2003). In Sarawak, Malaysia, the Kenyah Badeng farmers associate the absence of winds during the day with the presence of rains either at night or the following morning (Garay-Barayazarra and Puri 2011).

The bamboos that abound the island also give the same warning. Accordingly, the breaking of bamboos amidst the absence of wind flurries warns of the coming of the typhoon. Based on their experiences, it only takes several days after such an incident occurred before a typhoon hits the island:

Noong araw, halimbawa, wala namang hangin at ang kawayan ay bigla namang nabali, yan po ay isang babala ng pagdating ng masamang panahon. Bibilang lang ng ilang araw at dadating na ang bagyo.

Back in the days, for example, a bamboo suddenly breaks without any wind blow; it is a sign of the coming of *masamang panahon*. It only takes few days and the typhoon will come (Quinciano FGD September 2015).

It follows then that the opposite of this condition conveys, on the one hand, the presence of *mabuting panahon*, and on the other, the absence of *masamang panahon*. Thus, even if strong winds blow through the island but the branches of trees remain unbroken, then the arrival of typhoons anytime soon shall not concern the *taga-isla*.



Picture 6.1. The breaking of bamboos despite the absence of wind blows is an omen of an imminent natural hazard. Photo: Angelito Nunag (9 June 2017).

6.2. From above, going down

Aside from the dialectics between absence and presence, they also use other forms of dialectics in coping with the natural hazards involving a conversation with other life forms. One of these is the dialectics between top and bottom, up and down, above and below, etc. Similarly, this process is linked to the aberrant behaviors of animals in view of hydrometeorological phenomena. It bears mentioning that such a link between the aberrant behavior of animals and the occurrence of natural hazards is also found in the forecasting practice of the residents of Legazpi City in Albay province. In view of an impending volcano eruption, the villagers observe wild boars (*baboy-damo*) and chickens scurry away from Mayon Volcano (Cerdena 2008). The sight of sprinting animals prompts them to evacuate to a safer place.

For the *taga-isla*, the occurrence of *masamang panahon* has to do with the departure from the usual or expected behavior of the animals. In this regard, aerial animals are expected to ‘dwell’ and move high above the ground, and in no way, are supposed to be ‘dwelling’ and moving down below or near the ground. In other words, aerial animals are beings of the atmosphere and their domain is high above the ground. Hence, birds flying at a very low altitude are an aberration and are taken to mean as a sign of forthcoming bad weather.

Accordingly, they believe that a sight of *kalangay-langayan* or *langay-langayan*, or swallows (*Hirundo tahitica*; *Hirundo striolata*) flying at a very low altitude, almost touching the ground, signals the coming of *masamang panahon*:

Kapag ang ibon na kalangay-langayan ay lumipad ng halos palaid-laid sa lupa, asahan na babagyo. Kapag po ang kalangay-langayan ay naglabasan, at nagliparan ng napakarami nang mababa, sigurado ang masamang panahon.

If the swallows fly as if touching the ground, expect the typhoon to come. If a flight of swallows appears and flies at a low altitude, then *masamang panahon* is certain (Quinciano and Carlito FGD September 2015; EW January, February 2017).

Their experiences never fail them that such sight guarantees the arrival of typhoon soon, ‘sa loob ng maghapon o kinabukasan’, ‘within the day or the day after’. In addition, thoughts of bad weather and the ensuing mishap immediately come to mind:

Ang kalangay-langayan pag nakikita namin, noong araw pa, na kapag lumitaw yan, ang nasa isip kaagad namin ay may darating na hindi magandang panahon na

magdudulot ng kapahamakan. Biglang lakas ng ulan, biglang lalakas ang hangin. Nagiging senyales, sabi nga ng matatanda noong araw, yan ang senyales na magkakaran tayo ng bagyo.

Whenever we see the swallows, even in the past, when they appear, the first thing that comes to mind is that there is forthcoming bad weather that will cause trouble. Heavy rains and strong wind blows suddenly appear. It serves as a sign, as the elderly would say back in the days, it is a sign that we will experience typhoons (Ruben FGD April 2015).

This view about the link between the aberrant animal behavior and natural hazard and the working of the dialectics between above and below can be surmised to be present also among other local and Asian communities. In Albay, a goose flying lower than the roofs of houses signals the coming of a flood (Dalisay 2014). In Vietnam, the oral tradition of the farmers of the An Hai community has it that if dragonflies fly a distance lower than 80 centimeters from the ground, then rain is coming soon (Huy and Shaw 2008). Meanwhile, this curious behavior of the swallows is also noted by the Kenyah Badeng. However, the sight of swallows flying low near the rice fields indicates the opposite. For the Badeng, this phenomenon signals the ‘right time to go back to their fields despite the appearance of unstoppable rain’ (Garay-Barayazarra and Puri 2011: 24-25).

Similarly, the *taga-isla* view the strange behavior of the *bakaw* or striated heron (*Butorides striatus*) as a sign of an imminent *masamang panahon*. As beings of the atmosphere, the striated herons are therefore presumed to ‘dwell’ in the higher domain, and conversely, are not expected to be visible in the lower sphere. Hence, if these aerial animals build their nest in the lower part of the crown of a tree, then *masamang panahon* is sure to come in the coming days. In contrast, if they construct their nest high above the tree crown, then good weather is guaranteed:

Kapag ang mga bakaw ay gumawa ng mababang pugad sa mga puno, sigurado ang masamang panahon sa mga susunod na araw. Pero kung ang mga ito ay gumawa ng mataas na pugad sa mga puno, sigurado din ang magandang panahon.

If the striated herons build their nests in the lower crown of a tree, *masamang panahon* is sure to come in the following days. But, if they construct their nests high above the tree crown, then good weather is also sure

(Kuya Tamoy, personal communication, multiple interviews in 2017).



Picture 6.2. A flight of *Kalangay-langayan* flying at a very low altitude indicates, for sure, an arrival of *masamang panahon*. Photo: Manilaoldtimer.net

Curiously, the same act of a bird generates the opposite meaning and interpretation among the herders of Burkina Faso in the Sahel-Sudan region. They believe that when nests of *koobaagi*, a quail-like bird, hang high on trees, rains will be heavy; when the nests hang low rains will be scarce (Roncoli, Ingram and Kirshen2002). It bears mentioning that the inhabitants of Burkina Faso are farmers, herders and pastoralists while the *taga-isla* subsist on fishing. Meanwhile, among the tribal communities of Rajasthan, the height of the bird's nests near rivers is used to predict floods (Pareek and Trivedi 2011).

6.3. From below, going up

If aberrations that emanated from above and then executed and consummated below convey the advent of *masamang panahon*, then the opposite must also be true. Indeed, the people of Talim Island also maintain that movements that should have been confined to the lower domain but performed and completed instead in the opposite sphere indicate the arrival of hazards, either natural or anthropogenic. Accordingly, animals that dwell in the water or live underground are expected to settle and roam around either in the water or below the ground, and in no way, are expected to be dwelling or moving on the ground. In short, aquatic and underground animals are beings of the underground and their domain is below the surface. That being the case, worms slithering on the ground and aquatic snails and fishes surfacing from the water are aberrations and are interpreted as signs of an impending hazard.

In view of this, the reddish-brown common earthworms' (*Lumbricus terrestris*) effort to surface and migrate to higher areas on land is taken as a sign of an imminent flood. The unusual act of the worms is equated with the rise in water level, 'umaahon ang bulate, lalaki ang tubig', 'the worms rise, the water level rises' (Carmenia FGD September 2015). The *taga-isla* believe that the slithering of the worms upwards indicates the rise in the water level:

Kapag ang bulate ay umahon, lalaki ang tubig. Kapag gumapang ito pataas, tataas ang tubig.

If the worm comes to the surface, the water will rise.
If it slithers upwards, the water will rise (Carmenia FGD September 2015).

Similarly, the *susong buwili*'s (*Jagora asperata*)- freshwater snail that has elongated spiral shell- effort to emerge from the water is deemed as an indicator of a *masamang panahon* on the horizon. The old folk have confidently relied on such aberrant behavior in the past, as this hardly failed in foretelling the coming of a typhoon:

Ang mga matatanda noong araw, hindi nagkakamali.
Isang tingin pa lang nila alam na. Kapag ang mga susong buwili ay umahon, sasabihin ng tatay ko, sasama ang panahon.

The elderly in the past were not mistaken. Just one glance and they already knew. If the snails came to the surface, my father would tell, the weather would get worse (Minay EW February 2017).

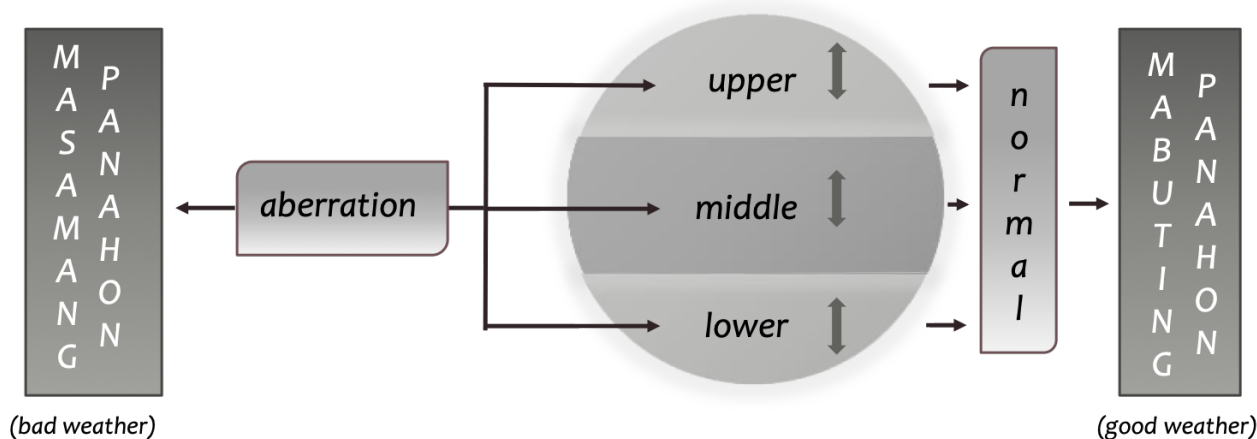


Figure 6.1. Aberration, *masamang panahon*, and the three domains in the world. The arrows on the left of the circle are continuous, indicating inter-domain movement. The up-down arrows inside the circle indicate domain-specific movement. Schema by Julia Giezl Nunag.

This strange animal behavior related to weather forecasting is also employed by the farmers of Kenyah Badeng who perceive the emergence of fish swimming near the surface of ponds as an omen of coming rains (Garay-Barayazarra and Puri 2011). Following the *taga-ista*'s cognitive process, the same principle can be inferred to be working here. The fish are beings of the water and they are supposed to dwell in the water, hence, their odd behavior can be construed as a sign of natural hazard.

In a similar fashion, the coming to the surface of *igat* or eel (*Anguilliformes*) signals the deterioration of the quality of the lake waters. Accordingly, the sight of eels surfacing forewarns the fisherfolk of the arrival of *masamang tubig* (polluted water) to the lake. This contaminated water is characterized by black water coming from the surrounding factories through the various rivers flowing into the lake. Nonetheless, the curious behavior and action of these fishes inform the fisherfolk of the advent of *masamang tubig* in advance:

Ang masamang tubig ay di po naman agad humahalo yun sa tubig ng lawa. Ito po ay may palatandaan naman kapag nariyan na ang masamang tubig, iyon pong isdang igat kapag lumutang na. Alam na ng mga mangingisda na may masamang tubig.

The polluted water does not immediately mix with the lake waters. The arrival of this water, nonetheless, has a sign, this is when the eels started to surface. The fisherfolk know (at that time) that the polluted water has arrived (Florencio FGD September 2015).

Meanwhile, the same thing can be said to terrestrial animals. As land dwellers, these animals are, therefore, presumed to dwell and move on the ground, and in no way are expected to be dwelling either in the water or above the ground. In this regard, terrestrial animals are beings of the ground and their domain is on the ground. Accordingly, the terrestrial snails (to differentiate them from the aquatic ones that also abound the lake) that glide their way to higher ground are an aberration and are construed as an omen of a natural hazard. Hence, the sight of *susong Hapon* (*Achatina fulica*) gliding its way on higher ground is regarded as a sign of an imminent flood. This unusual movement of the snails is linked to the rise in water level, ‘lalaki at lalalim ang tubig’, ‘the water (level) will rise and become deep’ (FGD April, September 2015, June 2017; EW January, February 2017):

Kapag nakita ng mga tao ang susong Hapon na gumagapang pataas, naku, hanggang dito magiging tubig. Nagiging palatandaan na lalaki daw ang tubig kapag ang susong Hapon ay umaakyat sa mga baitang at haligi ng bahay.

If people see the snails gliding upwards, oh, the water level will rise. It serves as a sign of the increase in water level if these snails glide up to stairs and columns of the houses (Carmelita FGD April 2015).

They believe that the distance above the ground that the snails are able to reach indicates the height of the rise in the water level, ‘Kung gano ang naakyat, ganun kataas ang tubig.’ ‘The height that they reach is also the level of water elevation’ (FGD April, September 2015, June 2017; EW January, February 2017). In addition, they regard the act of the snails ‘climbing’, whether up the bamboo stakes that abound the island or up the walls of the houses, as an indicator of a coming of flood. The conviction is strong among them that such occurrence leads to flooding, ‘nangyayari po, nangyayari’ ‘it happens, it happens.’

The association of animal’s aberrant behavior, domain-specific laws and dynamics of binary oppositions with the occurrence of natural hazards can be surmised to be in operation also in the forecasting method of the people in Bangladesh. Old folk in coastal areas proclaim that ants migrating to higher places or moving their eggs to trees presage flood (Howell 2003). Among the communities of Bolipara in the southeastern hilly region, ants are observed climbing the house and crossing the roads prior to the occurrence of heavy rains (Irfanullah and Motaleb 2011). Applying the *taga-isla*’s perception, ants, being creatures of the ground, are not expected to dwell above the ground, thus, their aberrant behavior is indicative of an impending natural hazard. The same thing can also be said to the forecasting practice of the



Picture 6.3. A snail glides its way up a bamboo pole during a heavy downpour on the island, as my informant calls my attention to its action. Photo: Angelito Nunag (12 September 2017).

Catandunganons. When they see a hen flying high some three meters above the ground for some distance, they proclaim the arrival of a typhoon in the coming days (Sarmiento 2011). The linking of the hen's act with the occurrence of natural hazards stems from this unusual behavior of the animal, underscoring the view that fowls are beings of the ground.

In the same way, the *palakang Kabakab* or bullfrogs' strange behavior of migrating to higher ground is seen as an omen of a forthcoming typhoon. For the *taga-isla*, the certainty of a typhoon is without a question as it arrives the soonest possible time after such act of the frogs, prompting them to think that animals are more able than humans in detecting any eventualities of natural hazards:

Naglalakad po ako isang hapon, yun pong palakang Kabakab na maliliit nagtatalunan sila sa daan papunta sa taas. Kinabukasan bumagyo, kaya sabi ko, parang mas na-detect pa ng hayup ang kalamidad kaysa tao.

I was walking one afternoon, then, I noticed the young bullfrogs jumping on the streets towards a higher level. On the following day, it stormed, hence, I said, animals were more able to detect calamity than humans (Reynaldo FGD April 2015).

6.4. The binary opposition in grappling with natural hazards through conversation with nonhuman life forms

The preceding discussions underline the basic principle behind the way the *taga-isla* grapple with natural hazards through conversation with other life forms. This principle is characterized by binary opposition, which is manifested between notions of *presence* and *absence*, and upper and lower domains. In the former, natural hazard is dealt with by the workings of binary opposition within the system. The inhabitants anticipate the future by the presence, operation and direct application of the concept of opposition in the fabric of their mechanisms in managing natural hazards. Hence, they deem the presence of noise to mean an absence of *masamang panahon* and vice versa, enabling them to re-present the absent future (the not-yet) in the present (the now), which in turn, enables them to devise appropriate strategies.

In contrast, in the latter, a natural hazard is tackled by the negation, violation and elimination of binary opposition in the system. Thus, they are keen on the aberrant behaviors of the animals which cancel opposition in the structure, resulting in the occurrence of *masamang panahon*. For them, nonhuman life forms are domain-bound, hence, beings of the atmosphere belong exclusively to the higher domain and are excluded in the lower sphere. Meanwhile, animals dwelling in and on the ground are restricted in the lower sphere and are prohibited from the higher domain. A violation of this order disrupts the current state of affairs in the system, hence, an aberration is equated with *masamang panahon*. In view of this, the arrival of *masamang panahon* is based on the elimination of binary opposition (an absence, an aberration) while its continuance (a presence) brings about *mabuting panahon*.

6.5. The union of opposition

The concept of binary opposition has always been characterized by dichotomous thinking where there is a division or contrast between two opposed or entirely different things, ideas, beings, etc. From this perspective, concepts are framed in terms of opposites such as sacred versus profane (Emile Durkheim), raw versus cooked (Levi-Strauss) nature versus culture, self versus other, male versus female, etc. These concepts, however, are

dependent on one another where no one can exist without the other (known as the *unity of opposites*). Post-structuralist critics particularly proponents of deconstruction, meanwhile, argue that binary opposition brings about dominance and hierarchy, privileging one side over the other. This view asserts that in binary opposition there is always ‘a violent hierarchy. One of the two terms controls the other...holds the superior position. To deconstruct the opposition is first...to overthrow [*renverser*] the hierarchy’ (Derrida 1997: lxxvi-vii).

The case of the *taga-isla* offers invaluable novel insights regarding both the concept of binary opposition and the concerns of poststructuralism. There is no doubt that the basic principle behind the way they grapple with natural hazard by means of nonhuman conversation exhibits binary opposition- presence and absence, above and below, and below and above. Their employment of the concept of binary opposition, however, differs significantly from the structuralist’s usage. For them, the opposition of two entirely different things is always acknowledged; nonetheless, despite their difference, they are one and the same. This is because their very difference is a requisite for the realization of their essences, which necessitates the presence of the inherent qualities of a thing *and* (I use the conjunction ‘and’ and not the preposition ‘versus’ precisely to underline my point that the *taga-isla*’s case offers invaluable new insights into the structuralist’s concept of binary opposition) the qualities that are not intrinsic to it (qualities that are absent to it but present to others).

Such a view is neither similar to the concept of ‘unity of oppositions’ because it goes beyond the relationship of interdependence of the elements to include the incorporation of other’s essences into one’s own essence to realize the latter’s meaningful essence. In other words, it is the ‘union of oppositions’ that renders a thing its ‘meaningful’ meaning in a system, where the essence of a thing rests not only on its own essence but also through amalgamation with others’ essences of which it is devoid of- which are dissimulated or absented, to use Derrida’s words- which must be taken altogether to grasp its ‘meaningful’ meaning. Thus, the ‘union of opposition’ can also be defined as ‘opposition of binary opposition’ because the qualities of which a thing is not, are intrinsic to its own essence, and as such these qualities are subsumed as an essential part of that thing. In short, the qualities that do not belong to it become an essential part of its being in the process. In this sense, the opposition is opposed, resolved or dissolved into the essence of the thing. This does not mean, however, that the binary opposition must be eliminated in the system because it is an essential component and eliminating it will not only render the system meaningless but will also result in the failure to recognize the elements’ essences, let alone grasp them.

In this regard, in the discourse on the essence or being of a thing, the case of the *taga-isla* shows that a presence of a thing requires an absence of another thing, and conversely, the absence of something necessitates the presence of another thing. Thus, for a thing to make sense or acquire its meaning, it has to be situated in a context where its negation forms part of its very essence, constituting its meaningful meaning in a complex whole in the process. In other words, its actuality or being is defined not only by what *it is* but also by what *it is not*. Hence, to draw the essence of something (whether an entity, concept, system, etc.) based only on what it possesses or embodies (I treat this as analogous to ‘presence’) without taking into account the things that it is not (analogous to ‘absence’), is to come up with just a superficial nature of that something, as this only represents a half of the whole.

Furthermore, their case also conveys that a ‘violent hierarchy’ is not always present in the binary opposition. Their state of affairs reveals that binary opposition does not privilege one side over the other. This is evidenced by their pronouncements that ‘*kailangan ni Habagat si Amihan, at si Amihan ni Habagat, walang Amihan kung walang Habagat, walang Habagat kung walang Amihan*,’ ‘*Habagat* needs *Amihan*, and *Amihan* needs *Habagat*, there is no *Amihan* without *Habagat*, and there is no *Habagat* without *Amihan*.’ Moreover, *Hilaga* is imperative to *Timog* as *Timog* is imperative to *Hilaga* in the conception of *bagyo* without prejudicing anyone of them. Such conception suggests that *mabuting panahon* (fair weather) is not always privileged over *bagyo* (a kind of *masamang panahon* or bad weather) as evidenced by their anticipation of the ensuing *bangusan* event after the latter’s passing. Thus, we understand their resiliency in this context for they view order in chaos and vice versa, incorporating one in the understanding of another (and vice versa) without privileging one side over the other- where chaos becomes an intrinsic component in grasping the essence of order, subsuming and uniting itself with the being of the latter and vice versa.

The above discussions somehow remind us of Derrida’s notion of *trace* or *differance*:

The (pure) trace is differance. It does not depend on any sensible plenitude, audible or visible, phonic or graphic. It is, on the contrary, the condition of such a plenitude. Although it *does not exist*, although it is never a *being-present* outside of all plenitude, its possibility is by rights anterior to all that one calls sign...This differance is therefore not more sensible than intelligible and it permits the articulation of signs among themselves within the same abstract order...or between two orders of expressions (1997:62-63).

For him, the sign is a structure of difference, thus, the possibility of thought arises not just from the question of being but also from the never-annulled difference from the ‘completely other’. This, according to him, is the curious ‘being’ of the sign: ‘half of it always ‘not there’, and the other half always ‘not that’ (1997:xvii). The trace or track of that other, which is forever absent and never to be found in its full being, determines the structure of the sign. Trace, hence, is the part played ‘by the radically other within the structure of difference that is the sign’ (1997:xvii). In other words, the being or essence of a thing emerges from differential relations with all the other things or elements in the system. Meaning, a thing (its ‘being’) is a thing because of all the other elements that are absent. Thus, the ‘present thing’ bears the trace of the absence of all other elements. Accordingly, the absence of all other elements (the radically other) is, in a sense, present too, though not straightforwardly present (for they are forever absent vis-à-vis the presence of a thing; half of it always ‘not there’) and their ‘being’ will never be complete on its own (other half always ‘not that’) for it has to emerge from its differential relation with the thing that is the subject of this discussion (the thing [the other] and the other element [the radically other]).

In this light, we can now understand the *taga-isla*’s notion of different yet similar. Following Derrida, the opposition of two entirely different things mentioned above refers to the ‘thing/entity’ and ‘radically other’ whose being or essence emerges from differential relations. Hence, the essence of a thing or entity necessitates the presence of its inherent qualities vis-à-vis the qualities that are not intrinsic to it (qualities of the radically other), which, though are present, are forever absent for they are not straightforwardly present; which when taken all altogether gives rise to a ‘meaningful’ meaning (I do not want to use the term ‘complete’ for I believe that the completeness of meaning is hard to achieve in view of the infinite incomplete meanings of the ‘radically other’ that can always be factored in) of the thing/entity. Thus, we also understand the notion of ‘union of oppositions’ for the essence of a thing requires both *what it is* and *what it is not*, where the opposition is ‘opposed’, ‘resolved’ or ‘dissolved’ in a sense to form part of the entity’s being or essence.

In this regard, *Amihan* is *Amihan* because it is both *Amihan* and not *Habagat*. In the same fashion, *Habagat* is *Habagat* because it is both *Habagat* and not *Amihan*. In other words, an element, say, *Amihan*, is *Amihan* because of the presence of all the qualities that are intrinsic to *Amihan* and of all other qualities, attributes or essence that are absent, meaning, present to *Habagat*. As such, the trace (qualities that are absent yet present because they are not straightforwardly present nor straightforwardly absent) precedes the thing/entity

(in this case, *Amihan*). Therefore, the essence of *Amihan* is to be understood in terms of both the weaker wind and fair weather *and* not the stronger wind and advent of rain (qualities of *Habagat* that are absented in the presence of *Amihan* (the half that is always ‘not that’), hence, they are present but not straightforwardly present (the half that is always ‘not there’)).

6.6. The ‘meaningful’ meaning in a complex whole/context

In view of the foregoing, in order to come up with ‘meaningful’ meaning (a sensible essence) of a thing/entity/being, it has to be viewed and situated in a system- a complex whole that is made complex through the incorporation of other systems to form a whole. By the same token, this whole can also be incorporated into other complex wholes to form a new (more complex) whole. This whole, then, is a context from which the essence of a thing takes place and is derived.

In the light of this, to fully comprehend the act of the animals (i.e. crowing and croaking) it has to be viewed vis-à-vis hydrometeorological phenomena and the inhabitants’ incorporation of it into their own disposition (see next chapter for a detailed discussion). Similarly, to make sense of the said phenomena, it has to be perceived vis-à-vis the act of the animals and the subsequent actions of the people. And finally, to grasp the essence of their reaction and counter-action (to animal’s act), it has to be adjudged vis-à-vis the animal’s act and the occurrence of *masamang panahon*. In this regard, the presence of noise as realized by the crowing and croaking of the animals achieves its meaningful meaning because of the absence of natural hazard. In contrast, the absence of noise renders the meaningful meaning of the presence of the natural hazard. On the one hand, the subsequent reaction and counter-action of the *taga-isla* derive their meaningful meaning in the presence and absence of something. Similarly, the strong wind blows acquire their meaningful meaning through the presence or absence of broken tree branches and *masamang panahon*. Meanwhile, the ensuing action and counter-action of the inhabitants find their meaningful meaning through the presence or absence of the strong winds, broken branches and *masamang panahon*.

On the other hand, the actions of the animals in a particular domain derive their meaningful meaning vis-à-vis the presence or absence of aberration and *masamang panahon*. In the same manner, the action and counter-action of the *taga-isla* acquire their meaningful meaning in view of the actions of the animals and the presence or absence of *masamang panahon*. In short, the meaningful meaning of each of the elements (act of the animal, presence of *masamang panahon* and act of the people) in the system is achieved within a

context where each meaning is realized through other meanings, which when taken in isolation from one another renders the very essence of the element meaningless.

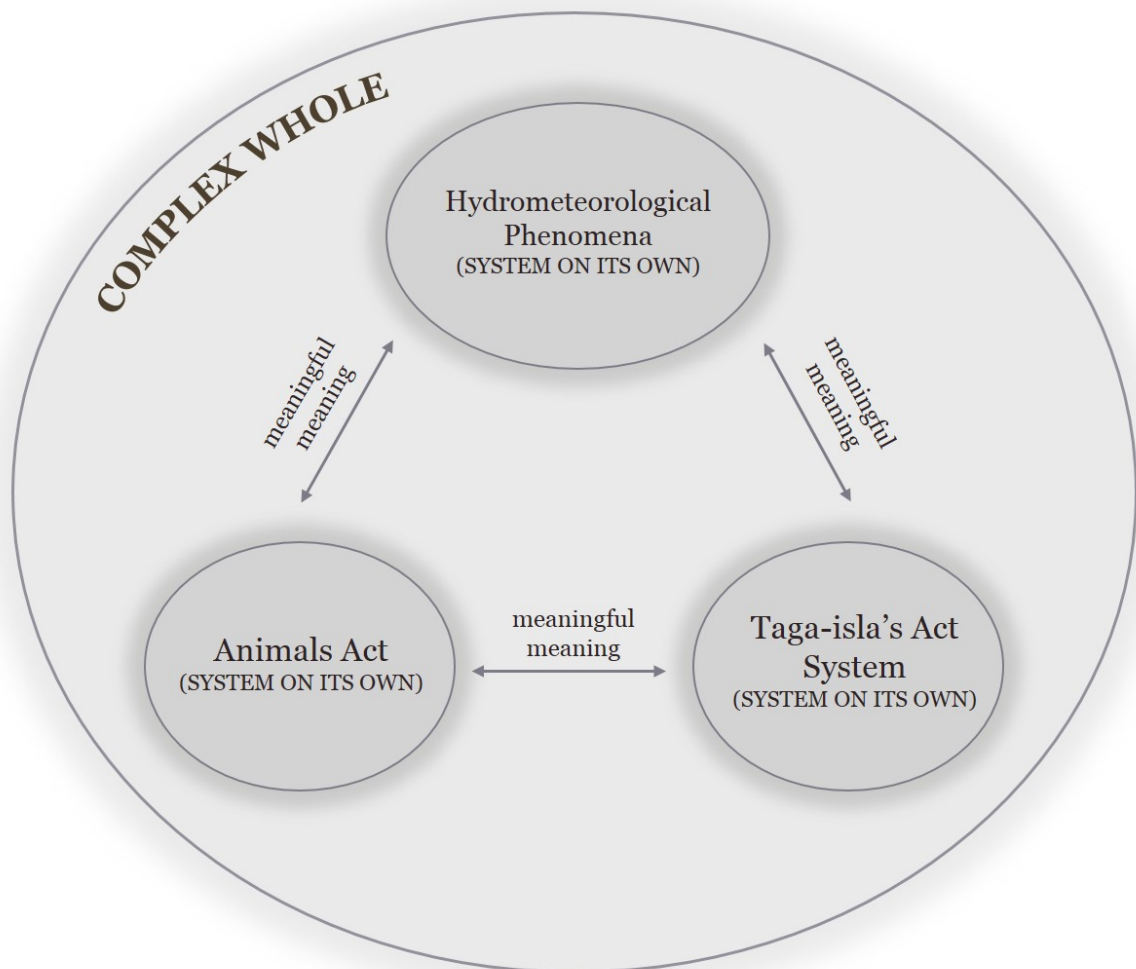


Figure 6.2. The meaningful meaning in a complex whole. Schema by Julia Giezl Nunag.

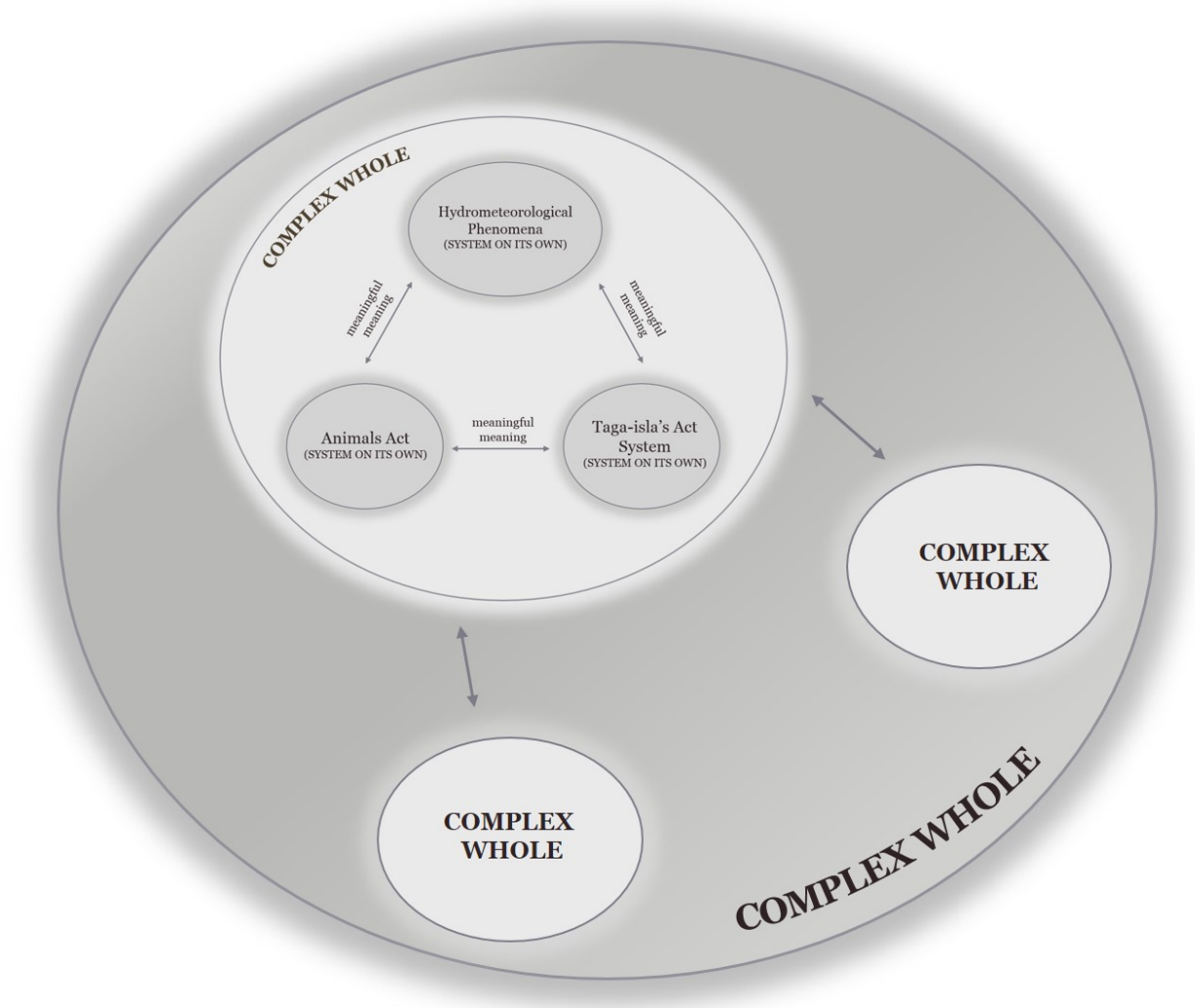


Figure 6.3. The complex whole is formed by the incorporation of other complex wholes. Schema by Julia Geizl Nunag.

6.7. Nonhuman life forms consciousness and agency

The *taga-isla's* conversation with nonhuman life forms suggests the presence of consciousness and agency among the latter. This dialogue presumes these capabilities to be present in nonhuman life forms as they function. In the eyes of the inhabitants, the rooster is conscious of its surroundings, watching intently (*sinusubaybayan*) every change in the environment, which in turn, prompts it to act accordingly. To make a distinction to the natural tendency of the rooster to crow at dawn (such capability is commonly regarded as instinct),

they underline the agency of the cock by emphasizing its capacity to crow independently on its own will at any given time amidst the storm to signal the latter's end:

Walang oras yan, basta bumabagyo, basta tumilaok ang manok, wala ang bagyo, titigil na ang bagyo.

The crowing has no specific time, whenever there is a typhoon, and the cock crows, the typhoon disappears, it stops (Domingo FGD September 2015).

The rooster's exercise of its agency as manifested in its 'monitoring or keeping track of the typhoon' (*sinusubaybayan ang bagyo*), is crucial in the exercise of their own agency as the former forms part of the successful and meaningful execution of the latter. As a result, they are keen on the actions and the changes in the behavior of the rooster, and any other life forms for that matter, in lieu of *masamang panahon*, as these influence their very actions in dealing with the same natural occurrence. Accordingly, as soon as the rooster crows, everyone is getting ready to get back to normalcy- the fisherfolk prepare their boats and fishing equipment, the furniture makers set their tools and materials, the mothers lead in fixing the houses, etc. (Nunag fieldnotes 2017; FGD April, September 2015, June 2017; EW January, February 2017).

Likewise, the croaking of frogs in the presence of *masamang panahon* is deemed as the animals' expression of agency. That this is indeed the case is evidenced by the fact that this is not an everyday occurrence. In fact, this eventuality happens only in the event of *bagyo*, occurring specifically during its demise. In addition, the croaking in the chorus does not have a designated time, sort of a natural clock akin to a cock's crowing at dawn. Instead, it takes place at the time of the demise of a typhoon, be it daytime or nighttime:

Basta po tumining na ang bagyo, humuhuni sila, kahit anong oras. Kahit hating-gabi basta humuni na ang palaka, sabihin ko sa yo, 'ah mawawala na ang bagyo, humuhuni na sila'.

As the typhoon begins to subside, they croak, whatever time it may be. Even at midnight, if they croak, I tell you, 'oh, the typhoon will soon end, they are already croaking' (FGD April, September 2015, June 2017; EW January, February 2017).

Accordingly, this act of the frogs prompts them to execute their own act, taking the former's action as a sign upon which they must also act. Hence, as soon as the croaking is heard, they take steps to bring back normalcy.



Picture 6.4. Normalcy is disrupted during *masamang panahon*, as fisherfolk have to refrain from fishing and secure their boats against its onslaught. Photo: Angelito Nunag (12 September 2017).

6.8. Other signs

Aside from what has been discussed above, conversation with plants was also utilized to anticipate the future by re-presenting it in the present, thereby, managing the adverse effects of *masamang panahon* well. In the lake, for instance, it is not only the behavior and movement of the animals that they utilize to act upon the future but also the plants' as well. Accordingly, the activity of water hyacinth (*Eichhornia crassipes*) has always been in their monitor, equating its littering in the lake as an omen of *masamang panahon*:

Kapag nagbasu-basura ang dagat ng hiwa-hiwalay,
pag dumungaw ako sa bintana namin at nakita ko yan,
naku, masukal ang dagat, sasama ang panahon.

If the water hyacinths have littered all over the lake,
and then I look out at the window and see the litter, oh,
the weather is going to get worse (Ana FGD September 2015).

Among the fisherfolk, this behavior of the water hyacinth signals the change in the cycle of the monsoon winds, which in turn, heralds the prevalence of *masamang panahon*. Such a phenomenon, hence, marks the arrival of the wind *Habagat Maynila* and the ensuing occurrence of a typhoon. This link of the water hyacinth with the advent of the monsoon *habagat* brings to the fore the underlying function of the latter- to tidy up the clutter and bring back order in the lake:

Ang trabaho ko po ay sa dagat, basta po ang water lily ay nagsabog, yan po ang palatandaan, mayron pong masamang panahon katulad po ng bagyo. Ang kasabihan ng matatanda ay wawalisin iyan. Ilang araw lang po iyon, magbabago ang takbo ng hangin. Pag nagpakita ang hanging Habagat Maynila ay bagyo na talaga yun. Darating talaga ang bagyo.

My work is in the lake, whenever the water lilies are scattered, that is a sign, that there will be *masamang panahon* such as typhoon. According to the elderly, these will be swept away (by the monsoon). After a few days, the flow of the monsoon will change. If Habagat Maynila appeared, then that, indeed, means typhoon. Typhoon will arrive certainly (Ramil FGD September 2015).

Their faith in the truthfulness of this prognosis is bolstered by the fact that it will not even take a week before an announcement on the radio or television is heard, ‘di magtatagal ang isang linggo, mayron nang mag-aanunsiyo na may bagyo,’ ‘it will not take a week, there will be an announcement of the arrival of the typhoon.’

On the other hand, the *balakbak* (*Isolepis maxima*) plant, a marshy herb that grows along the shore, serves as an indicator of the advancement of lake waters from the coast in times of *masamang panahon*. They believe that the place where *balakbak* grows marks the border of the advancing lake waters:

Tinuturo ng matatanda ang balakbak, lalaki ang tubig. Kapag doon tumubo, hanggang doon ang laki ng tubig.

The elderly point at the plant, (and assert) the water will rise. Wherever it grows, that is where the boundary of the advancing water (Minay EW February 2017).



Picture 6.5. The littering of water hyacinth in the lake though obstructs the way of the boat, clears the doubts of *taga-isla* about a forthcoming *masamang panahon*. Photo: Angelito Nunag (1 November 2015).

In the mountain, meanwhile, the flowers of the cogon grass (*Imperata cylindrica*) functions as an indicator of the shift in the monsoon winds. During the period October to November, the inflorescences or flower heads of these weeds are blown in the air, scattering all over the place. The flight of these flower heads, a phenomenon called ‘palipad buntot pusa’ ‘flight of cat’s tail’, named after a cat’s tail because they resemble it, marks the advent of the monsoon *Amihan* in place of *Habagat*:

May tinatawag ditong ‘palipad buntot pusa’ sa bundok. Ito yung mga bulaklak ng kogon. Kapag nagliparan na yan, senyales na ng pa-Amihan na.

We have here this saying ‘flight of cat’s tail’ happening in the mountain. These are the flowers of the cogon. If these are carried in the air, then it means the advent of *Amihan* (Kuya Buli, personal communication, March 29, 2017).

Even the mountain itself serves as a sort of ‘weather instrument’ that provides reliable information about atmospheric disturbances. This regard to the mountain is encapsulated in another aphorism ‘nagkumot ang bundok’ ‘the mountain has blanketed’ (T. Arambulo, personal communication, June 24, 2017). Such action and behavior of the mountain warn of the *masamang panahon* on the horizon. At this juncture, a footnote on this is worth the mention. On Sunday morning of 23 July 2017, I was approached by my collaborator on my way to the *barangay* hall and directed my attention towards the mountain. Eagerly, he made a telling observation and a bold prediction: ‘Professor, look, the mountain is blanketed in clouds. It will be rainy next week!’(Nunag fieldnotes 2017). I stared at the mountain and noticed the clouds hovering above its summit. After his remark I was equally eager and anxious, waiting for any eventuality. The following day heavy rains poured incessantly on the island. On Tuesday, it was all over the news that tropical storm *Gorio* (international name: Nesat) had entered the Philippine area of responsibility bringing rains to the northernmost parts of the country that lasted until the weekend. When tropical storm *Gorio* left, flooding in Luzon hit the news (Enano 2017; Gamil 2017; Wright 2017).



Picture 6.6. As cogon grass dominates the summit of *Bundok ng Susong Dalaga* (Mt. Tagapo), the ‘palipad buntot pusa’ is a sight to behold in October. Photo: Angelito Nunag (9 June 2017).

CHAPTER VII

WORLDS BEYOND THE HUMAN: COMMUNICATION, REPRESENTATION AND AGENCY IN OTHER NONHUMAN LIFE FORMS

Anthropology as a discipline has always focused on the study of humankind at all times and places (Haviland et al. 2011). Recent trends in the discipline, however, have shifted their attention away from humans towards nonhuman life forms. These trends have posited that a better understanding of humans can be achieved by means of going beyond the conventional human ways of conceiving ourselves. This means looking at other worlds that extend beyond the human through a lens that transcends the traditional and accepted way of looking at things. As such, these trends extend traits that have been confined in the exclusive domain of humankind for the longest time to the realm of other nonhuman life forms. Qualities that define humanity such as representation and agency, hence, have been postulated to be existent also among other nonhuman species.

In this light, these ontologies postulate the existence of nonhuman persons beside human persons. Accordingly, qualities such as agentivity, intentionality, animation and reflexivity are not exclusive privileges of humans for these are also accorded to objects, spirits and natural phenomena. In this regard, there exist animated forms of agentivity, relations and interactions between human and nonhuman persons. These ontologies assert that the relationship between human and nonhuman persons is one of mutual understanding and constant communication where each can become and transform into the other (Vivieros de Castro 1998; Descola 2006, 2013; Bird-David 1999).

In his work titled *How Forests Think, Toward an Anthropology Beyond the Human*, Eduardo Kohn brings to the fore the distinctive way of thinking of other nonhuman life forms that is based on iconic and indexical representations through which they perceive their worlds. He posits that understanding representational modalities beyond the symbolic- the one that is associated with and distinct to humans- can lead to a better grasp of human relations to nonhuman beings and allow us to perceive the world beyond the human that we inhabit (2013).

Accordingly, this chapter takes the path that Kohn dared to tread. Following Kohn, it presents through ethnography how nonhuman life forms may come to know things on their own. It explores how this unique way of thinking of nonhuman beings is essential in understanding the relationships between the *taga-isla* and nonhuman species. That being the

case, it asserts the existence of various kinds of signs in the world and illustrates the different kinds of representational modalities used by other forms of life. In addition, it probes how trans-species/transpersons conversations come to life through the utilization of these modalities within a semiotic chain, which in turn shed light on the relationships between them and nonhuman life forms.

Furthermore, it looks into the essentiality of these conversations in the performance of their everyday life particularly in matters pertaining to natural hazards. More importantly, this chapter puts forward the wholeness of meanings behind the physical actions of other nonhuman beings. As such, it brings to the fore the idea that certain qualities that have long defined humanity extend beyond the human- that agency, for instance, exists in the world beyond the human and is exercised by other nonhuman life forms as well.

7.1. Animals know

On one of those days when I went fishing with Ed, I just felt so anxious about our catch. We started our day before the first light and the sun was already above us scorching our skin, yet, we could count our catch with our fingers. In a time like this, I could not help but get worried and wish that a large school of fish got caught in our nets. The worry stemmed from the thought that we would go home empty-handed which, in turn, would be attributed to me as ‘*malas kasama*’, ‘a jinx’ in fishing. In view of my objective to grasp the real spirit of the *taga-isla*, to use Malinowski’s words, this was the last thing that I would want to happen, as this would prevent me from joining Ed again in fishing in the future.

Soon after noticing my uneasiness, Ed asked about my thoughts to which I replied, ‘*walang huli*,’ ‘there is no catch.’ Ed was quick to assuage my anxiety noting that there were days like this. And while waiting for the time to tend the nets, Ed took time to give a quick rundown on what was happening deep down the lake that led to the poor catch. According to him, the fishes were ‘*nandyan lang sa harap ng net, nakahinto sila*,’ ‘just in front of the net, at a standstill.’ His explanation baffled more than enlightened me. How could the fishes be just in front of the net? How could they avoid getting caught by ‘swimming motionlessly’? And could this even be possible, moving without motion? To all these queries, Ed had only this to say, ‘*alam nila yun*’ ‘they (fishes) know.’

Among the Koyukon Indians living in northern Alaska, such a frame of mind is not out of the ordinary. A Koyukon elder believes that ‘each animal knows way more than you do’ (Nelson 2009: 64). This statement encapsulates the relationship of many Native

American people to the natural world, underlining an all-embracing affinity for nonhuman life. The affinity and intimacy to the natural world enabled the Native Americans to not only learn *about* the animals but also *from* them (Nelson 2009). This, in turn, allowed successes in the performance and realization of their way of life.

Learning from nonhuman life forms advantages our own species as we become better adapted to the natural world by adopting their approaches that are better fitted to the community of nature. More importantly, learning from them implies the existence and practice of agency among nonhuman life forms because through their approaches we are being made aware of their conscious effort to conduct things on their own volition and out of thoughtful planning and strategy.

Ed's final answer conveyed two things to me. First, the unwavering faith Ed had to the fishes that, indeed, they know. There was no doubt in his mind that the fishes purposely avoided getting caught by swimming 'motionlessly' right in front of the nets. That it was a by-product of the conscious effort of the fishes to evade the gill nets by exercising their agency - asserting their capability to act independently and make their own free choices based on the situations at hand. Second, this firm confidence presupposes the existence of other-than-human worlds where other nonhuman life forms thrive. In addition, these worlds beyond the human, though different from the human world, are not entirely cut off from our world and exist independently in some separate domains. Conversely, the human world is connected with these worlds beyond the human, both of which constitute, in the process, the broader 'world' within which they are nested. Consequently, this broader world is the sensuous world that both humans and nonhuman life forms live and share- the world from which these human and other-than-human worlds come about and with which they stand in continuity, and within which they are embedded.

This brings to mind Eduardo Kohn's conceptual framework. In talking about semiotic modalities, Kohn underlines how the different modes- 'the iconic, the indexical, the symbolic- have their own unique properties at the same time that they stand in a relation of nested continuity to each other' (2013: 51). In regard to symbolic thought, he highlights how it is related to the other kinds of thought in the world with which it is continuous and from which it emerges (2013). This also reminds us of Descola's analogism ontology that underlines the plurality of elements and determinations in the world (2005). In this framework, 'all the entities in the world are fragmented into a multiplicity of essences, forms and substance separated by minute intervals, often ordered along a graded scale' (2005: 7). These entities

live in collectives that are fragmented into interdependent constitutive units characterized by hierarchy and segmentary nesting. In addition, this also calls to mind the idea of Ingold about the open world where humans and the phenomena in the world are immersed in its processes of perpetual formation. Here, humans relate with the phenomena not as objects but also as subjects and that both of them stand in continuity with one another and with the world-in-becoming (2005, 2007).



Picture 7.1 The sun was already out, yet, only a handful of fish was caught as Ed retrieved his gill nets. Photo: Angelito Nunag (6 September 2017).

In the light of this, it is not hard to understand Ed's last answer that indeed the fishes know. Neither it is difficult to comprehend his resolute confidence in them. Ed confidently knows that the fishes know because there exists a communication between him and the fishes. That the human and nonhuman worlds are connected, in continuity to each other and are nested within the broader world from which they emerge, allows communication to transpire between humans and nonhuman life forms. Moreover, both humans and nonhumans are active participants in the dynamic processes of continuous world formation, thus, making interspecies/interpersons not just possible but sensible. Kohn's ideas provide an explanation

as to how communication between humans and nonhuman life forms is possible and can happen. He underlines that the relationships between humans and animals are not completely circumscribed by the symbolic but are nonetheless semiotic. Accordingly, he posits that signs are not exclusive to humans and that not all signs that we transmit in communicating are symbols. These nonsymbolic signs that are shared by all forms of life, he emphasizes, are not context-dependent like human language. In addition, the semiotic modalities- iconic, indexical and symbolic-have a unidirectional relationship where ‘symbols depend on indices for their being and indices depend on icons’ (2013: 50; Peirce 1998a, 1998b).

Kohn’s ideas, however, prejudice nonhuman, nonsemiotic entities that are nonetheless vital to the *taga-isla*’s way of life, as they establish relationships not just with one another but also with the natural surroundings and phenomena particularly the elements and weather. There is no denying that the lake, the elements and the weather are at the core of their lives and that all of these are treated as ‘persons’ (and therefore with interiorities), hence, maintaining relationships with these nonhuman, nonsemiotic entities is of the essence, too, to maximize their lives. This assertion is illustrated in their expressions ‘nagdamot ang dagat’ ‘the lake (sea) has turned mean’, ‘nagkumot ang bundok’ ‘the mountain has blanketed’, ‘galit ang dagat’ ‘the lake (sea) is angry’ and ‘nag-uulian ang panahon’ ‘the weather has turned senile.’

Going back to Ed and the fish, it is but fitting to illustrate the circumstances from which his knowledge and firm faith in the fishes emerge and can be fully understood. In the multiple times that Ed lifted the gill nets to check if there was a catch, the nets yielded no fish. He took the absence of fish as a sign that the fishes had dealt with the gill nets that he deployed accordingly. It was to the fishes’ discretion that the gill nets came out empty-handed. The fishes had exercised their agency to avoid getting caught as evidenced by their orchestrated action, ‘nandyan lang sa harap ng net, nakahinto sila,’ ‘they are right in front of the net, swimming motionlessly’. On the other hand, the action of the fishes was prompted by the presence of the gill nets that was taken as a sign of something upon which they must act. In turn, Ed took the fishes’ action as a sign of something upon which he, himself, must also act. As a result, his own action was prompted by the fishes’ move upon which he must frame his future actions. In a situation such as this, Ed, like all the fisherfolk on the island, has to choose either ‘fight or flight’. Typical of the local fishers’ practice when faced with such a situation, Ed had the option to poke in the water to create disturbance in order to engender confusion among the fishes, which in turn would lead to a catch. Or he could opt to let the

fishes be and call it a day and come back some other time. On that day, Ed opted for the latter, but only for the time being.

7.2. Signs in the world

Extending agency beyond the human poses a valid and great challenge to the assertions that I laid out in this chapter. For we are used to thinking that agency is the exclusive privilege of humans and that thinking is restricted by us, and language. In view of this, I adopt Kohn's conceptual framework, which I think provides an equally valid and sound answer to this challenge. Kohn's framework is premised on the utilization of signs by all forms of life. Accordingly, he adopts Charles Pierce's view that there are various kinds of signs, and that various kinds of beings use them. Pierce contends that not all signs have language-like properties (Peirce 1998a, 1998b; Kohn 2013). In view of this, Kohn posits that signs are alive and have a life of their own and that they emerge, grow and have effects in the world:

In other words, signs are alive...It is alive insofar as it will come to be interpreted by a subsequent sign in a semiotic chain that extends into the possible future...Semiosis is the name for this living sign process through which one thought gives rise to another, which in turn gives rise to another, and so on, into the potential future (2013: 33).

Accordingly, he asserts that selves, human or nonhuman, simple or complex, are a product of semiosis and that they serve as starting points for new sign interpretation whose outcome will be a future self. This living semiosis, he adds, is immersed in the ecology of disparate emerging selves that are interrelated and interconnected.

Following Kohn, it is not difficult to digest that what transpired between Ed and the fishes entailed a trans-species communication and an exercise of agency of all the parties involved, human and nonhuman, that is encapsulated in a 'semiotic chain that extends into the possible future (2013:48).' Ed's deployment of gill nets in the lake outlines two possible futures- a bountiful catch or otherwise- either one becomes realized in his retrieval of the nets in time. The gill nets, in turn, are taken as a sign of something by the fishes upon which they must act. Consequently, this semiotic interpretation prompts an appropriate action thereby affecting and changing their lives- they avoided getting caught by 'swimming motionlessly right in front of the nets'. Such act of the fishes that is manifested in the empty gill nets, in turn, is taken as a sign of something by Ed upon which he must also act. Similarly, this

semiotic interpretation provokes in him a physical reaction that will also affect and change his life. As indicated above, Ed has two options: one, poke in the water, create confusion and yield a catch; and two, let the fishes be and go home empty-handed. On that occasion, Ed chose the latter and in effect, his life, and his family for that matter, changed for the time being. In the meantime, they had to make do of what they had to stay afloat.

The preceding discussion shows a highly mediated but continuous chain where agency is certainly exercised both by humans and nonhumans in a trans-species communication process. This uninterrupted chain proceeds swiftly from the human body and its actions to the eventualities in the world (e.g. the movement of the gill nets deep down the lake against the flow of the lake waters down below), and from these to the actuation of the fishes brought about by their semiotic interpretation of these eventualities, and from here to the counteraction of the human on the surface of the water that is prompted by the act of the fishes below (taken as a sign of something), and so on and so forth. In the light of this, Kohn underlines that this communication between human and nonhuman species reveals the living worldly nature of semiosis.

7.3. Analogic collectives and the world-in-becoming

Thinking through Kohn's ideas about signs in the world reminds me of Descola's analogic collectives and Ingold's open world. Analogic collectives as indicated above are divided into interdependent constitutive parts that are ordered hierarchically and structured according to the logic of segmentary nesting (Descola 2006). The segments of the analogic collectives can be likened to Kohn's sign. Similarly, these segments are immersed in an environment of differentiated entities, all of which are singularities, that are linked through analogic correspondences, 'giving birth', in turn, to a collective that has become meaningful through these correspondences or resemblances. Akin to signs that acquire their 'meaningful meaning' (see preceding chapter) through other signs (this is what Kohn refers to as living semiosis), the segments or singularities become intelligible by associating with each other through affinities and attractions. A segment thus is a sort of 'interpretant' for another segment that in turn becomes an 'interpretant' for another segment and so on and so forth, creating a collective in the process. In the same manner, a collective can become a sort of 'interpretant' for another collective and so on and so forth. Meanwhile, the characteristic of signs as being alive in the web of semiosis reflects the humans and phenomena that are immersed in a world-in-becoming whose relations are constantly born in their participation in

the continuous formation of the world. As the world goes through the dynamic processes of formation, new outlooks about the human and nonhuman entities are also born. These new outlooks are imperative to understanding the relations between humans and nonhumans.

In view of this, what transpired between Ed and the fishes cannot simply be dismissed as semiotic products. It can also be interpreted as a meeting of singularities, of segments, of collectives and most importantly, of persons (see conclusion for a discussion on this) that stand in continuity to one another through commingling with the world-in-becoming. Moreover, it can also be viewed as a function of their being both inhabitants of the open world whose relations are also constantly being redefined through the dynamic processes of world formation.

7.4. Semiotic modalities

In the discussion of extending agency to all life forms, it is imperative to illustrate how other nonhuman species are capable of using signs, which in turn proves that other-than-human representation also exists in the world. In view of this, tackling semiotic modalities is of the essence. To start, it is fitting to invoke Pierce's idea of the sign as 'something which stands to somebody for something in some respect or capacity' (Kohn 2013: 29). Such definition brings to the fore some issues about the nature of the sign and the kinds of beings that use them. Accordingly, Pierce identifies three broad classes of signs: icons, indices and symbols (Peirce 1998, 1998a). Icons, according to him, are the kinds of signs of likeness, meaning they are like the objects they represent. If icons point to likeness, indices, in contrast, refer to something else. They are the kind of signs that are not the likeness of the objects they represent. Pierce underlines that 'unlike icons, which represent by virtue of the resemblances they share with objects, indices represent by virtue of real connections to them' (Kohn 2013:32; Peirce 1998a). Nevertheless, icons and indices serve as the foundation for all representation in the living world. On the one hand, a symbolic reference is a form of representation that is unique to humans. Symbols indirectly refer to their objects through other symbols with which they relate systemically, and they involve convention (Kohn 2103).



Picture 7.2. Our first catch- a goby fish (*biya*). Ed believes that fishes like the gobies avoid being caught by purposely swimming ‘motionlessly’ in front of the gill nets. Photo: Angelito Nunag (6 September 2017).

In addition, Pierce underlines some insights about semiotic modalities. Icons are the likeness of the objects they represent by virtue of not noticing the differences between the sign vehicle and the object. A sign is iconic if ‘it functions as an image when we fail to notice the differences between it and the event that it represents’ (Kohn 2013: 31; Peirce 1998a, 1998b). On the one hand, indices involve absence such that they compel their interpreters to link unfolding events to another potential one that is yet to occur. Kohn provides an illustration:

A monkey takes the moving perch, as a sign, to be connected to something else, for which it stands. It is connected to something dangerously different from her present sense of security. Maybe the branch...is going to break off. Maybe a jaguar is climbing up the tree... Something is about to happen, and she had better do

something about it. Indices provide information about such absent futures. They encourage us to make a connection between what is happening and what might potentially happen (2013: 33).

Furthermore, iconic and indexical modalities, the kinds of representational modalities shared by all life forms, are not context-dependent like symbolic modalities. This is because they do not function through a body of sign relations, a context for that matter, the way symbolic modalities do. In this regard, it is imperative to re-examine and re-evaluate our notion of representation. This means being keen on all those species in the world who use representation and what it is that we take as representation. Apart from these, Kohn adds that 'it also involves understanding how different kinds of representation work and how these different kinds of representation variously interact with each other' (Kohn 2013:41).

7.5. Conversations

In view of the foregoing, there is now a ground for extending agency beyond the human. This agency is encapsulated, manifested and exercised by means of other life forms' utilization of representation and the way in which this representation is utilized by them. The capability of other life forms to represent through iconic and indexical modalities coupled with our own ability to use representation by means of all semiotic modalities- iconic, indexical and symbolic- allow trans-species/transpersons communication to transpire. This kind of communication happens in a web of semiosis where the particular semiosis of humans forms just one kind of thread, and that of the nonhuman species another kind. It should be underlined, however, that the web of semiosis can only happen within the dynamic processes of world formation. This is because only in the comings and goings of the world that actions and counter-reactions of the inhabitants are continuously defined and redefined.

It is through this trans-species/transpersons communication that conversations between the *taga-isla* and other nonhuman species are created and framed, which in turn shed light on the formation of a peculiar relationship between them. The creation and framing of conversations, meanwhile, are shaped by the perpetual formation and transformation of the world with which both humans and nonhumans are inhabitants. Accordingly, I use the term conversation here to mean constant interaction and intimate relationship between them and other life forms, which are essential in executing, realizing and making sense of their way of life. The essentiality of these conversations in their lives is rooted in the fact that both human and nonhuman species do things for the sake of a future by re-presenting it in the present via

various semiotic modalities. This propensity of both human and nonhuman species intimates the existence of agency beyond the human, making the interactions more meaningful and sensible. Accordingly, being keen on these conversations makes them even more adaptable to their environment and peculiar circumstances.

One afternoon while planning for another fishing trip, this time with Kuya Tek and Kuya Tamoy, on the balcony of the house where I was lodged, the latter noticed the bird *bakaw*, striated heron (*Butorides striatus*), building its nest in a tree not far away. Kuya Tamoy particularly observed the unusual behavior of the bird of building its nest in the lower crown of the tree, which prompted him to assert that the coming days would not be ‘normal’. By this, he meant that the coming days would feature heavy downpours and the absence of the sun most of the time. In the ‘normal’ days, the normal behavior of the striated heron was to build its nest in the higher crown of the tree. This ‘abnormal’ behavior of the bird (an aberration) was taken by Kuya Tamoy as a sign of the forthcoming either *bagyo* (typhoon) or *habagat* (monsoon rain) upon which he framed his subsequent actions.

Consequently, Kuya Tek and Kuya Tamoy decided to call off our planned fishing in the following days. Instead of preparing the boats and gill nets and other fishing gears, they secured their boats ashore, brought them to higher ground and tied them to a firm post. They also took care of their nets and fishing gears while I was left alone on the balcony making sense of the connection and interaction between them and the bird. True enough, the succeeding days witnessed the heavy downpours on the island. On one of those rainy afternoons, we had the opportunity to chat once again while drinking coffee on the same balcony. This would have been just like the typical afternoon when they would come to my house and while their time away except that on that day I was so keen on exploring the said connection and interaction.

Over the course of our tête-a-tête, they said something that caught my attention. Kuya Tamoy underlined that events such as what I witnessed that afternoon played an important role in their lives to which Kuya Tek added that it was through such events that they were able to function better. These events made them fitter in executing, realizing and making sense of their way of living by being able to properly address the future that was brought into the present. Being one step ahead enabled them to devise appropriate actions that bail them out time and time again:

Malaki ang tulong sa amin ng pagsama sa aming buhay ng mga nangyayari sa aming paligid. Importante na naisasama ang mga kilos at gawi ng mga hayup at

halaman sa buhay namin kasi nakakagawa kami ng tamang hakbang bago pa man mangyari ang isang bagay.

Incorporating the eventualities in our surroundings is of great help in our lives. It is important to integrate the actions and behaviors of animals and plants in our lives as these enable us to devise the right step even before a thing happens (Kuya Tek and Kuya Tamoy, personal communication, July 3, 2107).

What they uttered made me realized the special relationship that exists between them and other life forms. Certainly, they are connected to one another through a web of semiosis where each species' semiosis comprises the thread from which conversations come to life. These conversations, in turn, become the means with which they not only frame and put meaning into their way of life but also make themselves resilient and adaptable. In addition, these conversations are also the very means wherein agency is manifested and exercised as both humans and nonhumans partake of the representation, purpose and future that are in the world. This is evidenced by the fact that both human and nonhuman species re-present the future in the present, which in turn results in the formulation of appropriate actions in the present with which to deal with this not-yet.

It bears mentioning that this special relationship is forged in the comings and goings of a world in constant formation, with both of them as participants and inhabitants. Accordingly, this web of semiosis is shaped not only by their ability to utilize semiotic modalities but also by their propensity to feel in the wind, hear in the rain and see in the weather, which in turn, influence their usage of semiotic modalities. Indeed, the way they would use and interpret signs depends on the way they feel, hear and see in the elements and weather, for the things (living and non-living) in the world are brought about by its comings and goings. Thus, as the elements blow and the weather changes, things appear differently. For instance, the hills and mountains that are vibrant and full of life on a sunny day are the same hills and mountains that are dark, gloomy and seemingly lifeless during *masamang panahon*. Indeed, the production and consumption of semiotic modalities both by humans and nonhumans are immersed in the world-in-becoming.



Picture 7.3. A view from my balcony shows a typical rainy afternoon in Barangay Sapang when the whole community was engulfed in dark clouds and heavy downpours. Photo: Angelito Nunag (12 September 2017).

The above discussions show conversations as a highly mediated but continuous chain that emanates from the dynamic processes of the world with which both the *taga-isla* and nonhuman persons are active participants and inhabitants. From here, it proceeds to a physical body (bird) and its actions (building a nest), which are undoubtedly brought about by ‘something’ that the bird took as a sign upon which it must act. That something arises from the comings and goings of the world in endless formation that the bird perceiving it appropriates. That something thus could be the change in the wind direction or the darkening of the skies that it associated with the coming of rains in the past, which it consciously recognized as distinctively different from its current circumstance. Certainly, something is about to happen and it must act accordingly by building its nest differently from the way it builds its nest during the times that are reflective of its present condition. And then from the actions of the bird to the equally physical reactions of the *taga-isla* that arise from their semiotic interpretation of these occurrences.

7.6. Trans-species/transpersons conversations and natural hazards

Let me go back to my experience one Sunday morning, 23 July 2017, when my informant directed my attention to the mountain on my way to the barangay hall. He is one of the few successful *taga-isla* who have completed university education and he is currently holding a supervisory position at the Department of Education in the locality. On that day, he was so enthusiastic to mark out the peculiar action and behavior of the mountain. He is also one of the few who belong to the middle-aged generation that is fortunate enough to still possess the knowledge of the preceding generations. For the older generations, the mountain is not just the dwelling place of the *diwatas* or goddesses, particularly *Mariang Makiling*, it also has a life of its own. This view underlines an ontological reality- the mountain, just like them, is a person that possesses properties akin to human beings. Hence, it is common among old ones to be keen on its actions and behaviors and regard these as vital in the performance of their lives.

On that particular day, my informant underlined the curious behavior of Mt. Tagapo. ‘Prop, tingnan mo!’ ‘Professor, look!’ He interjected, pointing at the top of the mountain. ‘Nagkumot ang bundok,’ ‘The mountain has blanketed (in clouds),’ he noted. Wasting no time, he declared that ‘uulan sa susunod na linggo!’ ‘It will be rainy next week!’ On Tuesday of the following week, a tropical storm named *Gorio* (international name: Nesat) entered the country and brought heavy rains, causing floods on the island of Luzon. On that day, heavy downpours battered Talim Island as I watched intently on the same balcony where my chats with my informants normally happened. From my view, overlooking the lake and the whole barangay, darkness engulfed the island and the mountain was nowhere to be seen, prompting me to think that perhaps the mountain was beyond my sight because it purposely buried itself beneath its blanket cover.

This eventuality illustrates two realities on the island: trans-species/transpersons conversations and natural hazards. Akin to what has been illustrated in the occurrences previously mentioned, trans-species/transpersons conversations are at the core of the *taga-isla*’s lives. There is no denying that they maintain communication and mutual understanding with other life forms in order to better and make their lives meaningful. Through these conversations, they are able to devise appropriate actions in the present as a means of dealing properly with the future by re-presenting the ‘not-yet’ in the ‘now’. Apart from these, natural hazards particularly typhoons and monsoon rains, are commonplace on the island. Throughout the year, they are subjected to four seasons and two sub seasons characterized by

various winds and rains (see chapter four). Accordingly, they experience regular rainfall ranging from mild showers to heavy downpours during *tag-ulan* (rainy season, from May to July), severe rains accompanied by strong winds, lightning and thunders during *tag-habagat* (monsoon season, from June to August), and tropical storms during *bagyuhan* (typhoon seasons, from September to October). It is in matters of natural hazards that conversations are of utmost importance in their lives.

7.6.1. Wholeness of meanings within the semiotic chain

In the light of this, the actions of nonhuman species and the counteractions of humans before an impending natural hazard have to be viewed as and within a conversation that is coming into life in the flow of time by virtue of the performance of these actions, which in turn, are born of the web of semiosis that is shaped by the comings and goings of the world-in-becoming. The actions of the animals, hence, are not isolated and separated from the counteractions of the *taga-isla* in an unfolding conversation as these do not only comprise one kind of thread in the semiosis web but also these actions realize their full meanings within the conversation. Accordingly, the crowing of the rooster in the middle of the storm (see chapter six) cannot be taken as just a noise created by a physical body. This is because treating it this way would not only mean denying the agency of other life forms but also depriving it of its complete sense within a conversation that emerged from the web of semiosis. In addition, treating it as a mere physical noise is tantamount to removing it outside this web, which would render its meaning incomplete if not invalid.

Instead, the crowing is the by-product of the rooster's take on the changes that it observes in the weather, which in turn are taken as a sign of something upon which it must act. Whether it is the change in the intensity of the rain or the strength of the wind, the rooster would iconically call to mind experiences of similar typhoons containing such change in the past. These past experiences, in turn, are linked with each other by another commonality, such as their simultaneity with the advent of good weather- say, an eventual appearance of clear skies or a stoppage of rain. Moreover, the rooster would iconically link these occurrences of good weather with one another. Consequently, the iconic associations of a change in a typhoon with another change in another typhoon, as well as the iconic associations of the advent of good weather with another advent of good weather, prompt the rooster to interpret these changes as a sign of the advent of good weather. As a result, the rooster acts through a loud physical noise- crowing.

In consequence, the *taga-isla* interpret this as a sign also of something upon which they must frame their subsequent actions. In this case, the crowing is taken as a representation of something positive though absent- the demise of the typhoon; hence, they begin to get back to normalcy. It is through this web of semiosis that the animal's action achieves its full meaning; therefore, it is through this that it must be viewed. The crowing then is by no means just a physical expression of a physical body but rather a mediated action brought about by a semiotic interpretation in a semiotic chain. This explains why they regard it as the rooster's way of monitoring or keeping track of the typhoon, *sinusubaybayan ang bagyo*. The crowing, hence, is an expression of the rooster's agency that is realized within a trans-species/transpersons conversation.

Viewing it from this perspective, their counter-actions acquire a logical basis and certainly not just based on 'primitive and childish mentality' and on irrational assumption. Evidently, these counteractions are brought about by actions that were thought of, emerging from the animal's observation and interpretation of a sign in the environment and its evaluation of the present circumstance vis-à-vis similar circumstances in the past. Their actions, therefore, are born of a complex process and thoughtful reasoning. On that account, it is incorrect to dismiss them as irrational actions, simply because the way they are obtained does not conform to the acknowledged rational and scientific approach typical of the Western thought or naturalism ontology. As illustrated above, they are, in fact, rational actions since they are based on thoughtful reasoning.

Akin to the actions of the rooster, the counter-actions of the *taga-isla* also form the other kind of thread in the semiotic web, and it is also through this web that these counter-actions acquire their full meanings. The actions carried out by them in preparation for the resumption of normalcy taken at face value would only give half their meaning and just focus on the physical actions per se- e.g. tending of the gill nets, boats and other fishing gears. In the process, these actions are deprived of their full and more sensible meanings as these are just reduced to mere physical activities performed by a physical body. Accordingly, these have to be viewed relative to the actions of other life forms within the web of semiosis. The *taga-isla's* actions then transcend their restrictive evaluation as mere physical actions as these become products of semiotic interpretation in the semiotic chain. As such, these actions are not just physical activities but rather sign products, representations of the absent future (the eventual advent of good weather) and finally, an expression of agency.



Picture 7.4. In times of rain only the hills are seen as *Mt. Tagapo* (*Bundok ng Susong Dalaga*) buries itself beneath the clouds. Photo: Angelito Nunag (25 July 2017).

It is imperative, hence, to view the actions of human and other nonhuman species within the web of semiosis as this does not only offer the full meanings of these actions but also provides us the opportunity to see the layers of meanings that give these actions the completeness of their meanings. Consequently, the crowing of the rooster cannot be regarded as simply a physical noise, but rather a thoughtful and mediated action (hence, an expression of agency) representing an absent future- the eventual advent of good weather. The crowing then acquires a new meaning beyond the physical act, as it becomes an indicator of the forthcoming good weather. It goes without saying then that the ensuing activities of the *taga-isla* are thoughtful and mediated actions representing the future in the present and are sign products. As inhabitants of the world, on the other hand, these sign products are first and

foremost products of the comings and goings of the world in formation as they are created as the world goes through the perpetual process of formation and transformation.

7.6.2. Agency beyond the human

Following the discourse, the croaking of frogs is not just the production of a deep hoarse sound by the said animals. More than this, it is a product of semiosis that is itself a product of the dynamic processes of a world that is constantly coming into being. It is the result of their interpretations of the changes in the environment- taken as a sign- before a natural hazard. Through iconic and indexical associations of similar experiences in the past, the frogs will come to learn to interpret the events in the surroundings (e.g. either a change in rain intensity or wind strength) as a sign of ensuing good weather. In view of this, there involves processes of thinking and careful consideration in the conception of interpretation by the frogs. That being the case, the croaking is a thoughtful and mediated action representing an absent future in the present- the eventual arrival of good weather. Accordingly, it is an expression of the frogs' agency emerging from the animals' distinctive way of thinking. That the unusual croaking of the frogs (it is very loud and permeating) is not an everyday occurrence and happens only in the event of *bagyo* particularly during its demise at any time of the day, indicates that it arises from the frog's agency brought about by its ability to use signs.

In addition, the croaking acquires a new meaning within the semiotic chain. Pierce coined the term 'interpretant' to refer to 'a new sign that interprets the way in which a prior sign relates to its object' (Kohn 2013: 33; Peirce 1998a). In other words, the interpretant is a subsequent sign that interprets a prior sign, which in turn will also be interpreted by another ensuing sign. The croaking, prompted by the frogs' reaction to the changes in the environment, comprises an interpretant of a prior sign of good weather. As interpretant, the *taga-isla* take the croaking as a sign of the subsequent advent of good weather. The croaking, hence, becomes an indicator of an absent future re-presented in the present.

Similarly, the act of the *kalangay-langayan* birds, or swallows (*Hirundo tahitica*; *Hirundo striolata*), to fly at a very low altitude, is by no means just a physical movement of the wings performed by the birds. It is a by-product of their interpretation of the events in their surroundings, which they take as a sign of something upon which they must act. It goes without saying then that this sign emanates from the ability of the bird to see in the weather

and feel in the wind. This interpretation emerges from their unique way of thinking that is based on iconic and indexical representations. Accordingly, the *kalangay-langayan*, by



Picture 7.5. The *taga-isla* take the actions of some animals as a sign of the forthcoming *mabuting panahon* such as shown in the photo where clear skies illuminate the summit of Mt. Tagapo. Photo: Angelito Nunag (9 June 2017).

means of iconic associations, will come to an interpretation that such events (it could be the darkening of skies, or cooling of air temperature, or strengthening of wind pressure et cetera) are a sign of the forthcoming *masamang panahon* (bad weather) to which they subsequently react by flying at a very low altitude. The act of the *kalangay-langayan*, hence, is more than just a physical movement but rather a thoughtful and mediated action re-presenting the not-yet in the now. In this regard, the act is an articulation of the birds' agency. Furthermore, the act- as an interpretant- will be interpreted by the *tag-isla* as a sign of the imminent *masamang panahon*. Akin to the croaking of the frogs, it acquires a new meaning as an indicator of an absent future re-presented in the present.

It follows then that the actions of the *bakaw* or striated heron, are not mere physical activities but rather semiotic products that are framed within a world that is continuously

coming into being. The building of a nest in the lower crown of the trees is an outcome of the bird's interpretation of the signs in its environment. Employing its distinctive way of thinking that is based on iconic and indexical representations, the *bakaw* will come to learn to interpret the changes or events (it could be the darkening of skies, or cooling of air temperature, or strengthening of wind pressure et cetera) in its surroundings as a sign of the prospective *masamang panahon*. Based on this interpretation, the bird will come up with appropriate action in order to address the possible future. Therefore, its act is thoughtful and mediated, representing the absent future in the present. Consequently, it is an expression of the bird's agency, which is based on iconic and indexical modalities. Moreover, the act, being an interpretant, will be adopted by the *taga-isla* as a sign of imminent bad weather, turning itself into an indicator of a possible future upon which subsequent actions will be formulated.

The same thing can be said to the actions of the reddish-brown common earthworms (*Lumbricus terrestris*), *susong buwili* or freshwater snail (*Jagora asperata*), *igat* or eel (*Anguilliformes*), *susong Hapon* or terrestrial snail (*Achatina fulica*) and *palakang Kabakab* or bullfrogs. The efforts of the earthworms, *susong buwili*, *igat*, *susong hapon* and *palakang Kabakab* to surface and migrate to higher areas on land prior to the arrival of a natural hazard cannot be dismissed as just physical actions devoid of the 'thinking' process. On the contrary, their actions are born of their distinctive way of thinking that is based on iconic and indexical representation. Through these modalities, these animals will come to learn to interpret events in the environment as a sign of something upon which they must act. From this interpretation, these animals will come up with fitting actions that address that 'something'.

Accordingly, the slithering of the earthworms upwards is not just a physical action performed by the animals but rather a semiotic product that is achieved through sign process in a world that is also undergoing a formative process. Hence, it is a mediated act that emerges from iconic and indexical associations of events or changes in the surroundings, past and present. An event (whether a change in the temperature of the soil or in its moisture content, et cetera) would prompt the worms to iconically relate it to experiences of similar events in the past. These past experiences, on the one hand, are connected to each other by other similarities such as their co-occurrence with the subsequent coming of *masamang panahon*, say, a forthcoming flood. Furthermore, the worms would iconically relate these occurrences of *masamang panahon* with one another. As a result, the iconic associations of a change in their surroundings with another change, as well as the iconic associations of the occurrence of *masamang panahon* with another occurrence of *masamang panahon*, would

prompt these animals to interpret these changes as a sign of the coming of bad weather. This interpretation is also based on indexical association as these unfolding events are linked to another potential one that is absent but is yet to occur. And from this interpretation, the worms would formulate appropriate actions; hence, the slithering upwards and the migration to higher ground.

In a similar fashion, the *susong buwili*'s act to come to the surface is also a product of semiosis occurring in a world-in-becoming, apart from it being just a physical motion. Through iconic and indexical associations the freshwater snail would link an event in its environment- say, a change in the water pressure- to past experiences of similar events; and then, these experiences with one another by means of co-occurrence of *masamang panahon*; and, finally, the occurrences of *masamang panahon* with each other. Accordingly, the *susong buwili* will interpret the event as a sign of *masamang panahon* to which it will devise an appropriate action as a response to this sign. Hence, the freshwater snail painstakingly emerges from the water- a mediated action in this respect. Following this line of thought, the surfacing of *igat* from the water, too, is by no means just a physical action. Rather, it is a thoughtful action that emerges from a semiotic process.

By the same token, such an approach is also reflective of the terrestrial animals' actions. It goes without saying then that the *susong Hapon*'s effort to glide its way on higher ground is more than a mere physical action produced by a physical body. In this respect, it is also a thoughtful and mediated action arising from a semiotic chain happening in a world that is unfolding. Likewise, by means of iconic and indexical associations the terrestrial snail would be able to interpret an event in its environment (e.g. a change in land's temperature, et cetera) as a sign of an imminent *masamang panahon*, leading to the formulation of an action that is thought about. Correspondingly, the *palakang Kabakab*'s migration to higher ground is also a thoughtful and mediated action. This is because such action comes from the frog's peculiar manner of thinking that is based on iconic and indexical modalities.

The actions of the animals cited, hence, are expressions of their agency. These actions, in turn, will be taken as a sign (an interpretant) of something by the *taga-isla*, upon which they must act. As such, these actions achieved a new meaning in a semiotic chain beyond their restrictive valuation as mere physical movements. As interpretants, they become indicators of imminent either *masamang panahon* (bad weather) or *mabuting panahon* (good weather). More than the bodily activities, these actions serve as a representation of the absent

future in the present. And through this (interpretant) they will exercise their own agency, formulating their subsequent actions appropriately in the process.

7.7. Perceiving signs and nonsemiotic, nonhuman entities

Employing semiotics in analyzing relations between humans and nonhumans indeed leads to a better grasp of ourselves, of nonhumans and of the physical surroundings that both of us inhabit. Through this, we reach a novel way of understanding our interactions with animals and plants that are undeniably intrinsic part of our lives. Semiotics, as Kohn has demonstrated, affords us the privilege to come closer to nonhumans by knowing how they really approach the world and communicate between life forms. Indeed, through semiotics, we come to establish a sensible and genuinely intimate relationship with nonhuman life forms.

Kohn's framework, nevertheless, is wanting in many respects. For one, signs or semiotic modalities that both humans and nonhumans use in communicating necessitate, first and foremost, perceiving. Perceiving, on the one hand, involves seeing, hearing, feeling and even smelling, especially when we are outdoors where most of our interactions with nonhumans transpire. Ingold provides an illustration when he talks about visual perception of the weather, underlining that our experience of the weather is invariably multisensory:

It is just as much as auditory, haptic and olfactory as it is visual; indeed in most practical circumstances these sensory modalities cooperate so closely that it is impossible to disentangle their respective contributions. Thus, we can normally see what the weather is like only because we can hear, feel and smell it too (2005: 97).

Ingold posits that in the open world to see, hear, feel and smell is to be immersed in the formative and transformative processes of the world. Hence, it is through commingling with the world that is continually coming into being that we see, hear, feel and smell. In this sense, our perception of reality thus is also in perpetual formation and transformation, eliciting varying realities in the flow of time.

Viewed from this perspective, semiotics calls for a context. The use of semiotic modalities as a means of transspecies/transpersons communication therefore must go beyond perceiving the world as an object of perception. If perceiving is commingling with the world-in-becoming, then the representations that both humans and nonhumans use must be drawn from the dynamic processes of world formation and not from the world per se as an object of our perception. In this regard, the semiotic modalities employed by both the *taga-isla* and

nonhumans in their conversations in matters pertaining to the elements and weather must be viewed as signs in the weather and not of the weather in order to come up with a sensible grasp of their relations with one another and with the world that they inhabit.



Picture 7.6. A fisher attends to his gill nets before the onslaught of *masamang panahon*. Through trans-species conversations, the *taga-isla* prevent such fate by being one step ahead. Photo: Angelito Nunag (24 July 2017).

Aside from this, Kohn's framework discounts nonsemiotic, nonhuman entities. On Talim Island, the lake, the mountain and the elements undeniably play a dominant part in the *taga-isla*'s everyday life. This is illustrated in their expressions 'nagdamot ang dagat' 'the lake (sea) has turned mean', 'nagkumot ang bundok' 'the mountain has blanketed', 'galit ang dagat' 'the lake (sea) is angry' and 'nag-uulian ang panahon' 'the weather has turned senile.' In this regard, employing Kohn's framework alone will not only render an inaccurate representation of their way of life but will also leave out the salient parts of their life and very being.

7.8. Recapitulation

The preceding discussions illustrate that the capability to 'know' extends beyond the human. That other kinds of beings are capable of knowing indicates that there are other kinds of knowing beyond the human way of knowing. Paying attention to this other kind of knowing may enable us to see the world as it really is - a world that comprises human and nonhuman worlds. Knowing these worlds beyond humans is essential not only because they stand in continuity with the human world, but also they provide us the opportunity to understand ourselves better as a species.

In addition, this knowledge of the other nonhuman worlds informs us that there exist other kinds of representations beyond the symbolic representation that is particular to human beings. Accordingly, the utilization of signs is not the exclusive privilege of humans, but rather, it is also the prerogative of other nonhuman life forms. It is through the other nonhuman species' usage of representational modalities (iconic and indexical) that a trans-species conversation comes to life, which in turn, is essential in the execution and realization of the *taga-isla's* way of life, especially in dealing with natural hazards.

More than this, however, it is through the utilization of semiotic modalities within the web of semiosis that the completeness of the meanings of the actions of both human and nonhuman species is realized. It must be noted, however, that the production and consumption of semiotic modalities must be drawn from the dynamic processes of world formation. Accordingly, these actions go beyond their restrictive valuation as mere physical motions by a physical body, but rather, these are products of semiosis. As such, they are thoughtful and mediated actions born of the other life forms' unique way of thinking that is based on iconic and indexical modalities. That other nonhuman life forms put to use semiotic modalities in the performance of their actions attests that notions of representation, purpose and future exist in the nonhuman world. On that account, agency can no longer remain in the exclusive domain of humans as it rightfully belongs, too, in the realm of other nonhuman life forms.

CONCLUSION

Anthropology as a discipline has always been centered on the study of human beings across time all over the globe. Its rigor has always been directed to the betterment and understanding of our species. Recent trends in the discipline, however, have shifted away from this objective to include the study of nonhuman species. On the surface, this new preoccupation seems to deviate from and defeat the purpose of the discipline's very fixation-humankind. Nonetheless, the focus on and inclusion of other nonhuman life forms in the novel studies have been employed in furtherance of a better understanding of our very own species. In the light of this, these studies bring to the fore the idea of understanding ourselves better as human beings by moving beyond the conventions that define who and what we are. This means exploring species and realms that extend beyond the human in order to grasp more sensibly what it really means to be human.

Closely related to this undertaking is the initiative to reappraise the value of indigenous knowledge and thought vis-à-vis the prevailing and dominant Western thought, which is characterized by naturalism- an ontology that posits a physical continuity and metaphysical discontinuity between human and nonhuman species. In other words, naturalists underline, on the one hand, the physical traits to draw the similarities between entities, and distinguish them, on the other, based on mental and spiritual characteristics (Descola 2006, 2013; Latour 2009). Descola describes this ontology as a discontinuity of interiorities and a material continuity. In the light of this, some anthropologists have called for the rethinking of indigenous thought as an equally valid ontology too. In connection to this, Vivieros de Castro, for instance, invokes the decolonization of thought, giving equal attention and importance to indigenous thought and knowledge in view of the dominance of Western ontology.

My dissertation serves the purpose. Its value and essence lie at the core of these new interests and initiatives in the discipline, situating its discourse on the interrelatedness and interconnectedness of human and nonhuman species and their respective worlds. In addition, it valorizes indigenous knowledge and thought as an equally valid perspective of looking at the cosmos. Accordingly, it underlines the great value and indispensability of indigenous thought and knowledge in the realization of the *taga-isla's* way of life, especially in matters pertaining to natural hazards. In view of this, my research study zeroes in on three major matters: one, human thought processes and their structure; two, valorization of indigenous knowledge or thought in dealing with natural phenomena and their destructive after-effects;

and three, local cosmology with an emphasis on the conscious intentionality and agency in nonhuman species and their implications to the better understanding of our own species. The arguments and findings that are laid out in this work were executed and formulated vis-à-vis other existing frameworks, studies, ideas and knowledge on the said matters. In this regard, the results elicit, on the one hand, new insights, and confirm, on the other hand, some of the existing knowledge. It is through these that my research study draws its significance and relevance before the scholarships that are painstakingly exploring and probing this new interest in anthropology, which is characterized by the inclusion of other nonhuman life forms and their worlds in the study and greater understanding of human species.

8.1. Foundational patterns of the *taga-isla*'s thought

In articulating his ideas, which later on were recognized as structuralism, Claude Levi-Strauss put forward the importance of looking into the underlying patterns of human thought that produce categories rather than focusing on how humans categorize their world. To this end, he postulated, following the linguistic model, that the fundamental pattern of human thought also utilizes binary oppositions (1969, 2000). For Levi-Strauss, it was imperative to decode the structure in such a way that the importance of the basic feature of human cognition is exposed. This basic feature, on the one hand, must be viewed as one relationship within a system; while the system, on the other hand, must be perceived in its entirety in order to comprehend its structure. Meanwhile, the underlying structure, he argued, is characterized by binary contrasts; hence, all human thought is structured by oppositions (1969, 2000). In this light, Levi-Strauss' ideas underlined the importance of the mind's parsing of physical reality over reality itself.

My dissertation illustrates this valuable insight. The case of Talim Island and its inhabitants attests that it is the mind's parsing of physical reality that is indeed important, rather than reality itself. This is evidenced by the essential role that such parsing of the mind plays in the performance and realization of the *taga-isla*'s way of life especially in dealing with natural hazards. It is through this that they are able to properly deal with these occurrences by coming up with appropriate measures to avert destructive backlash and by being one step ahead of any eventualities. Moreover, this has made them thoroughly versed in the elements, which in turn, has become an intrinsic component of their existence. Consequently, this knowledge is reflected and permeates through their consciousness, which in turn, serves as a basis on how the mind parses physical reality.

In the light of this, it is not the presence of the winds or the occurrence of atmospheric or hydrological phenomena per se, but rather it is their cognition of these elements and phenomena, that impacts their lives. Accordingly, they have evolved a system containing the relationships, patterns and structure of the winds, which is essential in the performance and realization of their way of life. As illustrated in chapter four, they perceive the winds in various forms and names that embody particular characteristics and traits. In their minds, these traits display opposing qualities that define the relationships between the elements. In addition, these traits constitute the structure of an elaborate wind system, which in turn, contains the various relationships between the winds.

This structure emerges from the relation of interdependence between the *domain of the physical* and the *domain of thought* where the latter constitutes the dynamic incorporation of the former. Accordingly, the binary contrast relationships engendered by the former are influenced by location, season, frequency, strength and realm while those of the latter are born of the ideas conceived by the *taga-isla* regarding the corollary effects of the physical attributes of the elements. These relationships in the *domain of thought* emerge from the way their understanding structures and makes sense of the existence of the physical elements and their correlation with one another. In view of this, the elements in the *domain of thought* are perceived based on their potential effects on the *taga-isla's* lives. It is noteworthy that context is essential in the conception of these relationships as new situation engenders new set of order of things. Accordingly, the laws governing these relationships in the 'normal condition' are reversed during 'abnormal condition'. In this regard, it makes perfect sense the presence of transitional winds, i.e. *Salatan* and *Sabalas*, and the peculiar relationships that they espoused in the complex system of the elements.

With regard to the laws, in the *domain of the physical* where the relationships are defined based on physical characteristics of the elements, the laws in both normal and abnormal conditions are expressed in the following patterns: elements with positive physical traits possess positive attributes (+,+), while elements with negative physical traits possess negative attributes (-,-). In the *domain of thought*, however, where relationships are born of the ideas conceived by the *taga-isla*, the laws in normal condition exhibit a different pattern: elements with positive physical traits have negative effects (+,-), while elements with negative physical traits have positive effects (-,+). In contrast, the laws in abnormal condition are expressed in the following manner: elements with positive physical traits have positive effects (+,+), while elements with negative physical traits have negative effects (-,-).

Accordingly, these patterns reflect the fundamental feature of the *taga-isla*'s cognition that structures and regulates their daily lives. It is through these that one can ascertain the workings of their thought.

In sum, the elaborate system of the elements that they have come up with is composed of two domains- physical and thought- which exhibit a relation of interdependence where the former is dynamically incorporated into the latter. These domains account how relationships between the elements are defined through their inverse correlation. The relationships, meanwhile, are relative to a particular context, but nonetheless, follow a fundamental pattern of binary opposition. On the other hand, the structure is based upon six elements: *Habagat*, *Amihan*, *Salatan*, *Sabalas*, *Hilaga* and *Timog*. Accordingly, the elements are linked by a pair of correlative opposition, wherein, in a positive condition (normal) there exist two pairs of inversely related relationships pitted against each other; and in a reversed condition (abnormal) there exist two pairs of similar relationships set against one another.

In view of this, the best way to approach the discourse on the resiliency of the *taga-isla* is by delving into the underlying patterns of their thought. This is because it is through the mind's parsing of the physical reality that they are able to deal properly with the destructive consequences of natural hazards by being able to devise appropriate countermeasures, enabling them to stay afloat through time. In connection with this, any discussions on their resiliency should begin with the said structure, as this is the proper unit with which to analyze and tackle their adaptability. Through this, better plans of action and more effective policies can be framed, suiting their peculiar way of life.

8.1.2. Complex whole: binary opposition and its opposition

While it is true that my dissertation shows the viability of Levi-Strauss' assertion about the preeminence of mind's parsing over reality itself, with regard to his other assertion that the fundamental patterns of human thought use binary contrasts, however, my research study suggests otherwise. The case of Talim Island and its inhabitants illustrates the incompleteness of the latter assertion such that the foundational pattern of their thought requires the incorporation of binary contrasts into a more complex pattern, thereby, forming the complete fundamental patterns of their cognition. In this regard, the binary contrasts only represent the first part of their thought process, comprising only half of the whole fundamental patterns of thought.

Their peculiar conditions show that their thought process begins with the recognition of binary contrasts. Nonetheless, these constitute by no means the fundamental patterns of their thought, as these comprise only the requisite portion to make a meaningful whole from which the underlying patterns of their consciousness can be properly drawn. In the light of this, the opposition between the elements is essential to the formation and framing of their understanding. Accordingly, they are keen on the contrasts between *Habagat* and *Amihan*, *Sabalas* and *Salatan*, and *Timog* and *Hilaga*; and between their manifestations such as *Habagat Maynila* and *Amihan Mura*, *Habagat Sungay* and *Amihan Magulang*, and *Habagat Manuwid* and *Amihan Manuwid*. So keen that even within the element itself such contradiction is observed: *Habagat Maynila* versus *Habagat Sungay* and *Amihan Mura* versus *Amihan Magulang*.

It is through this opposition that the inception of their thought occurs, but nevertheless, as indicated above, this does not necessarily constitute the complete underlying patterns of their brain structure and consciousness. This is because the binary oppositions are, although essential in the formation of thought, non-essential by themselves, as all there is just contradiction or antithesis between the elements. For them, the contrasts between the elements, say, *Habagat* and *Amihan*, are insignificant outside the complex whole where they belong and where they form the requisite first part of this entirety. In this regard, the binary oppositions by themselves simply refer to the disjunction between two different entities, no more, no less. Hence, for the binary contrasts to achieve their essence, they have to be situated within this whole, which in turn, informs them of their meanings.

On the one hand, the second half that completes this complex whole comprises the congruity of the contending elements. In other words, the second portion involves the ‘opposition of binary opposition’ wherein the opposition resolves itself into harmony. As such, the second part is characterized by the disappearance of opposition, as it (opposition) becomes part of harmony. This is illustrated by the way they perceive the elements vis-à-vis one another in view of their oppositions. In their minds, the existence of *Habagat* for instance is necessary to the existence of *Amihan* and vice-versa despite their contradiction. The essence and meaning of the elements, hence, are framed in relation to each other wherein each one is there to counter, and at the same time, complement one another so as to maintain balance and order. In short, the essence of *Habagat* is realized through the essence of *Amihan*, resulting in the negation of the opposition as it is viewed as an intrinsic component of the realization of the elements’ essences. In other words, the opposition then is perceived

as harmony instead of conflict because the latter now forms an essential part of a complex whole, which informs the elements of their full meanings.

In view of the foregoing, the complete meaning or essence of an element has to be framed vis-à-vis the binary opposition and its eventual dissolution or resolution in the process. Hence, the essence of *Habagat*, for instance, requires not only the qualities that are intrinsic to *Habagat* but also the attributes that are intrinsically not belonging to *Habagat*- in this sense, the qualities that are intrinsic to *Amihan*. Simply put, *Habagat* is much about what it is as it is about what it is not. Consequently, *Habagat* is much about strong winds, rains, typhoons and chaos as it is about relatively weaker winds, absence of rains, fair weather and peace/order that it comes to mark off. *Habagat*, hence, is the result of what it is not.

The continuous seasonal change guarantees the perpetual replacement of all the features that are particular to a specific element. Thence, the advent of *Habagat* season gets rid of weaker winds, fair weather and peace/order that could have been prevalent as the season is transitioning to a new one. What is left are the features that suit the new one (in this case *Habagat*) thanks to the many features that were eliminated or had become absent. It is through this absence that the full meaning of a particular element is being realized. In other words, the essence or meaning of an element is dependent not only on the things that it is about but also on the things that it is not. This explains why in the minds of the *taga-isla* the binary opposition disappears, as the elements need one another and their intrinsic nature of contrasts to realize their 'being'. As illustrated above, *Habagat* is much about the presence of strong winds, rains, typhoons and chaos, as it is about the opposition of all these features- the absence of weaker winds, fair weather, peace/order, etc. Viewed from this perspective, there is no denying that the binary opposition disappears or is resolved because a positive feature is also its negative counterpart.

In sum, the peculiar conditions of the inhabitants of Talim Island show that while their process of thinking uses binary contrasts, these do not constitute, nonetheless, the fundamental patterns of their thought. This is because the binary oppositions just represent the first requisite half of the whole complex process of their thinking; hence, these do not convey the entirety of the underlying patterns of their thought. The second half that completes this complex whole involves the 'opposition of the binary oppositions', which results in their resolution and dissolution into harmony. During this process, the opposition disappears because the positive features themselves are also their negative counterparts. In this light, the opposition becomes harmony itself because the conflict now forms part of the

complex whole through which the latter achieves its full meaning and essence. Therefore, the fundamental patterns of their thought cannot be simply characterized by binary oppositions alone, but rather, by their negation at the same time, as these comprise the complex whole, which in turn, mirrors the complete underlying patterns of their cognition.

Following this point, it is not hard to comprehend why they have persisted through time in the face of constant occurrence of natural hazards. The fundamental structure of their cognition provides us with valuable insight with regard to the potent means with which they properly deal such occurrences. This structure shows that they are able to overcome the adverse effects of natural hazards with the view that chaos is intrinsically opposed to order; yet, chaos is also part of the order at the same time, and vice-versa. In their minds, without chaos, order will be meaningless and can never be realized. In the same manner, order achieves its meaning and essence vis-à-vis chaos. This pattern is clearly illustrated in the way they tackle hydrometeorological phenomena in their everyday life. For them, in a positive condition (normal) there is a reversed relation between the elements (*Habagat*, which is the stronger element [+], is opposed to *Amihan*, the weaker element [-]; *Habagat*, as the stronger element, is viewed negatively, while *Amihan*, as the weaker one, is perceived positively) (see chapters IV and V). Hence, in a harmonious condition, there is disjunction or discord. In contrast, in a negative condition (abnormal), the above-mentioned reversed relation is reversed (*Salatan*, the stronger element [+] is opposed to *Sabalas*, the weaker element [-]; the former is viewed positively while the latter is negatively). Ergo, in a chaotic situation, there is harmony.

This explains why they have stayed afloat amid the constancy of natural hazards. Time and time again, they have embraced natural hazards, and chaos for that matter, as an intrinsic part of the order. The disorder has to occur for the order to happen, and disorder is meaningless without order and vice-versa. This has also come to mean that there is order in chaos, and chaos in order. This is evidenced by their reckoning of the onslaught of the typhoon as an opportunity for progress, an attitude that has permeated and influenced their way of life. The veracity of this assertion is captured in the lexemes *bangusan* and *pagtitimog* that underline two things: one, typhoon brings good fortune; and two, its aftermath is not just a time for the advent of good weather but also a time of an ensuing good life after the passing of a typhoon.

8.2. Valorizing indigenous knowledge and thought in dealing with natural hazards

As laid out in the discussions in the preceding chapters, there is no denying the indispensability of indigenous knowledge and thought in the performance of the way of life of the *taga-isla* especially in dealing with the hydrometeorological phenomena and their after-effects. Their local knowledge contains their views, concepts and perceptions that are drawn and formulated from their conversations with the elements, lake, and nonhuman life forms, eliciting distinct but equally valid and sound ideas in comparison with the prevailing and mainstream concepts of natural phenomena and their subsequent effects. In this regard, my study has shown the materiality of indigenous knowledge and thought in the effective grappling of these natural hazards at the level of local indigenous communities, underscoring the call for the decolonization of thought. This initiative has grave repercussions not only for the fulfillment of a genuine local's way of life devoid of mainstream (usually characterized by Western thought) concepts that are forcefully but subtly imposed through colonially-influenced mechanisms- i.e. education, politics, economics, etc., and for the valorization and preservation of local knowledge and thought; but also for the formulation of effective and fitting policies and frameworks with which to address the effects of natural hazards on the lives of the *taga-isla*.

The way of life of the *taga-isla* is a testimony to the essentiality of using indigenous knowledge and thought in managing atmospheric and hydrological phenomena and their destructive aftermaths. Their constant interaction with natural and even anthropogenic hazards has produced local concepts that made them resilient and agentive, taking an active role to mitigate the disasters brought about by these hazards. Their local terminologies encapsulate their distinct thought processes, which are utilized to formulate effective strategies for handling natural catastrophes. This explains why all the hydrometeorological phenomena such as typhoons, thunderstorms, monsoon rains, tornadoes, etc. are lumped together in the term *sama ng panahon* (bad weather). This lumping together brings to light their distinctive way of thinking, which is crucial to addressing natural hazards and coming up with effective and efficient strategies.

For the inhabitants of the island hydrometeorological phenomena are perceived as entities that have their own 'nature', which they articulate 'naturally'. In this regard, *sama ng panahon* is expected to possess dangerous attributes because these are inherent to it. Hence, from their point of view, there is nothing wrong with *sama ng panahon* because it is in its 'nature' to be naturally dangerous. This manner of looking at nature can be further

understood through the related phrases *gawa ng kalikasan* (made by nature) and *galing sa kalikasan* (came from nature). Anything that is *gawa ng kalikasan* or *galing sa kalikasan* is an articulation of the inherent attributes of nature, in short, ‘nature’s nature’. In other words, there is nothing wrong with *sama ng panahon* being dangerous because an articulation of nature’s nature is but natural.

This explains their resiliency and agency in grappling with the adverse effects of natural hazards. For them *sama ng panahon* is the weather entities with innate bad temper or ‘nature’, hence, atmospheric and hydrological phenomena per se are not perceived as hazards. This is because an articulation of one’s nature is but normal since this is just an expression of that being’s intrinsic qualities. Consequently, they have come to terms with the destruction brought about by these phenomena by developing an attitude of passiveness, accepting the fact that it is the way it is. Such an approach, nonetheless, does not diminish their agency, as it provides them an opportunity to reprogram and retool their way of life while embracing nature’s articulation of its nature. The exercise of agency is also evident in their acts to circumvent this passiveness. While acknowledging the nature of nature by letting it do its course, they subvert nature by continuously playing an active role in altering their natural surroundings and effecting a change in the ecosystem and biodiversity.

Meanwhile, a typhoon, for instance, becomes a hazard only if it coincides with the realm of humans, wreaking havoc on people and their properties in the process. This provides more important insights into their cognition. Viewed from their vantage point, an entity is separate from the process or act of expressing its nature; hence, it is unconnected to the ill effects of its inherent attributes. In the light of this, their thought process is keen on the distinction between the entity and the subsequent action produced by the articulation of its nature. For this reason, the transformation of *sama ng panahon* into *kalamidad* makes sense because of the emphasis on the act, process or event by which destruction is carried out, on the one hand, and the de-emphasis on the entity per se, on the other. In addition, they recognize the existence and separateness of the realms of human beings and nonhuman entities. Accordingly, natural hazards become hazards only if the articulation of their nature crosses over to the realm of humans.

The complete understanding of natural hazards, however, includes the distinction between the act and the aftermath where the emphasis shifts from the act to the outcome. This shift is concretized in the usage of the word *sakuna* in place of *kalamidad*, underlining the consequences and downplaying the cause. Nevertheless, *sakuna* is conceived based on the

gravity of the effects of *kalamidad*. Accordingly, an effect has to have a great impact for it to be regarded as a *sakuna*, which in this case is transmuted into *trahedya*, underscoring the tragic conditions of the victims. In contrast, anything less trivial is deemed as neither *sakuna* nor *trahedya*, bringing to the fore the idea that *sama ng panahon* (entity) is independent of the act with which its nature is articulated, and much more from the consequences brought about by the consummation of this act.

In view of the foregoing, the *taga-isla*'s conception of hazards is not consistent with the mainstream notion of hazards. The distinction between the entity, act and effect offers invaluable insights as to how hazard is framed and conceived in the local contexts and conditions. The indigenous knowledge and thought clearly illustrate how hazard is formulated in complex local-based processes and systems, containing concepts that reflect their cognition and understanding of their world. Therefore, the utilization at the local level of the mainstream and prevailing concepts about hazards, which are drawn from Western thought, proves to be an exercise in futility. In view of this, it would be more practical and beneficial to look into the local knowledge in order to properly address the issue of hazards and the ensuing after-effects at the local level.

8.2.1. *The taga-isla*'s cosmology

Indigenous cosmologies have found their way at the center of anthropological discourse once again as recent studies have directed their attention towards the rethinking of the value of these cosmologies in the better understanding of local communities in lieu of the dominance of Western thought. The recognition of the materiality of local worldview and belief system engenders a re-presentation of the local peoples as social groups capable of their own agency, power and history, rather than, as irrational, backward, passive, innocent victims, unable to cope with their environment and outside forces. This initiative is essential in coming up with a narrative that reveals far more about their experiences and histories than those of the outsiders who have written narratives for them.

In the light of this, the current studies and initiatives to understand the inhabitants of Talim Island, and the indigenous peoples of the country for that matter, given their denial of the materiality of indigenous cosmologies, reveal far more about the thinking, point of view, history and culture of the authors of these studies and initiatives than that of the indigenous peoples themselves with whom these studies have been done for. Devoid of an understanding reflective of the locals' true history and culture, the framing of policies, plans and activities

intended to uplift their plight is bound to fail. It is, therefore, imperative to rethink indigenous cosmology as an equally valid perspective with which to view the world opposite the dominant Western ontology.

The *taga-isla*'s constant interaction with the lake and the elements as they go about their daily lives engenders effective strategies and mechanisms with which to grapple with *sama ng panahon*. Without a doubt, the success of these strategies lies in the placement of their own cosmology at the center of the formulation of these strategies. Indeed, these local-cosmology-based mechanisms are deemed to succeed for they would result in community-and-culture-specific actions. Hence, it is imperative to bring to the fore their worldview and belief system. For them, there are four seasons and two sub seasons in a year, which are classified according to two criteria: winds and rains. A season is conceived, on the one hand, based on the strength, movements and direction of the former; and on the other, based on the amount of rainfall and number of days of the latter. Accordingly, the wind-based seasons are comprised of *tag-amihan*, *salatan*, *tag-habagat*, and *tag-hilaga*; while the rain-based seasons comprise *tag-ulan* and *bagyuhan*. However, *bagyuhan* is classified according to both wind and rain.

In view of this, *tag-amihan* is perceived as the prevalence of strong winds from the eastern part of the island named *Amihan*, while *salatan* is conceived as the widespread presence of weak winds from the western side. Meanwhile, *tag-habagat* is recognized as the pervasiveness of winds stronger than *Amihan* from the western side called *Habagat*, whereas *tag-hilaga* is identified as the dominance of strong winds akin to *Habagat* emanating from the northwest known as *Hilaga*. Moreover, both are characterized by rains and associated with *bagyuhan*. On the other hand, *tag-ulan* is recognized as the prevalence of rains ranging from the mild shower to heavy downpours for a period of three months, while *bagyuhan* is a season of pervasive heavy rains accompanied by strong winds that are experienced for two months. In addition, the criteria for the classification of the latter include both the winds and rains, underlining the inevitable coexistence of two realms.

In this connection, *Habagat* and *Amihan* are two opposing entities within the realm of the winds, while *Hilaga* and *Timog* are two contrasting forces linked with *bagyo* (typhoon). For this reason, the last two elements are closely associated with the realm of the rains, which is in itself is opposed to the realm of the wind. The relationships between these elements indicate a dichotomy between unrest and tranquility, chaos and order, weak and strong, and darkness and light. Nevertheless, there is an inevitable coexistence between each of the

realms and of the entities such that the full essence of, say, *Habagat* is realized vis-à-vis *Amihan* and vice-versa. Without these dynamics the realms and elements are meaningless. Viewed from this perspective, the opposition is dissolved to become part of the harmony, which in turn, is achieved through the performance of this opposition. In short, the *taga-isla*'s cosmology is typified by various opposing entities and realms that are connected to one another by relationships that are governed by oppositions that dissolve to form the harmony; which in turn, is consummated through oppositions. In other words, opposition and harmony are in continuity with one another and whose essences are realized through one another.

8.2.1.a. Human and nonhuman world

Things work differently in the world populated by human and nonhuman life forms. The *taga-isla* conceived this world as having three distinct domains -lower, middle and upper- where each one is inhabited by particular beings whose behaviors are confined to the domain-specific laws. These domains are strictly delineated from one another and are governed by oppositions. Hence, upper domain dwellers are expected to dwell and move in the higher sphere and are barred from roaming around other domains. The same applies to all the dwellers of other domains. Accordingly, beings of the atmosphere, say birds, are expected to display normal behavior by dwelling high above the ground. On that account, the act of flying at a low altitude is regarded as an aberrant behavior of the birds. An infringement of the rules as expressed through an aberrant behavior is deemed as a disruption to order, which is characterized by oppositions.

Consequently, this infringement is interpreted as a sign of an imminent hazard. In this connection, the curious behavior of *kalangay-langayan* or swallows to fly at low altitude, and of *bakaw* or striated heron to build a nest in the lower crown of a tree; the slithering of the worms on the ground; the surfacing of *igat* or eel and *susong buwili* or freshwater snail; and the migration of *susong Hapon* or terrestrial snail and *palakang Kabakab* or bullfrog to higher ground, are all perceived as aberrations; hence they are construed as omens of natural hazards. This approach involving trans-species interaction and intimate relationship between human and nonhuman species has advantaged the *taga-isla* in dealing with natural hazards by being two steps advance. In turn, this proves the indispensability of indigenous worldview and belief system in the proper grappling of hazards at the level of the community.

Meanwhile, it is not only through the dialectics between top and bottom, up and down, above and below, etc. that they conceived their world. Their notions about the way the

world works also include the dialectics between presence and absence. Similarly, the dynamics between the concepts of presence and absence are central in making sense of the awesome and incomprehensible natural phenomena. Through these, they are able to reduce these phenomena into something manageable, resulting in appropriate measures in dealing with natural hazards. They believe that things in the world acquire their essence based not only on what they possess or embody (analogous to *presence*) but also on what they are not (analogous to *absence*). In other words, a thing is both what it is and what it is not. Hence, the presence of a thing requires the absence of another thing; and conversely, the absence of something necessitates the presence of another thing.

This is the rationale behind their treatment of some animals' behaviors. Accordingly, the crowing of a rooster and the croaking of frogs in the middle of a storm are taken to mean as the termination of bad weather (*masamang panahon*). This interpretation stems from their belief that if the presence of noise means the end of *masamang panahon* or advent of good weather (*mabuting panahon*), then its absence indicates the opposite- disappearance of good weather or prevalence of *masamang panahon*. Corollary, silence is observed among the animals during the onslaught of a typhoon. This explains the rationale behind their peculiar action of creating loud noise to avert natural phenomena, or vice-versa- their action is only projected into the animals' behavior.

In view of this, they conceive the world as consisting of parts that are intimately interconnected and intelligible only by reference to the whole. Accordingly, the act of the animals, the natural phenomena and their action are closely linked to one another, which when only taken together can the essence be fully grasped. On that account, the act of the animals acquires its essence vis-à-vis the presence of a natural hazard and its incorporation into the *taga-isla*'s own disposition. Similarly, the natural hazard is understood vis-à-vis the act of the animals and the subsequent action of the *taga-isla*. In the same manner, the essence of their act has to be deduced in relation to the animals' act and the occurrence of a natural hazard.

8.3. Worlds beyond the human

Viewing it from the perspective of the *taga-isla*, the world inhabited by both human and nonhuman species is composed of distinct worlds populated by particular life forms. In this connection, humans and nonhumans inhabit respective but interconnected worlds. In turn, these worlds constitute the broader world within which they are nested. In the

nonhuman worlds, nonhumans possess a distinctive way of thinking that they use to perceive their worlds. This capability to grasp the world indicates that nonhuman species just like humans are capable of performing thoughtful and mediated actions for the sake of a future. Following this view, the *taga-isla's* cosmology underlines the extension beyond the human of certain qualities that have long defined humanity. In this regard, their cosmology recognizes the exercise and existence of representation, agency and conscious intentionality among nonhuman life forms.

The attribution of representation to nonhuman beings allows trans-species conversations, which in turn, shed light on the relationships between them and nonhuman life forms. The capability of the latter to represent through iconic and indexical modalities coupled with our capacity to use representation by means of all semiotic modalities allow trans-species/transpersons communication to transpire. This communication happens in a web of semiosis where the semiosis of humans comprises just one kind of thread, and that of the nonhuman species another kind. As indicated above, the production and consumption of signs are immersed in the dynamic processes of a world that is continuously coming into being where both humans and nonhumans exist as inhabitants. Consequently, it is through this communication that conversations between them and nonhuman beings are created and framed. In turn, these conversations, which are comprised of interactions between them and other life forms, are essential in the performance, realization and making sense of their way of life.

Through the utilization of semiotic modalities within a semiotic chain both they and nonhuman beings are able not only to exercise their agencies but are also made aware of each other's being. This explains the reason behind their conviction that indeed the fishes know, meaning, the latter are aware of the existence of their 'self' within a particular setting. Consequently, such understanding of the fishes' being accounts for their belief that the fishes avoid getting caught by 'swimming motionlessly' - 'just in front of the net, at a standstill'. As part of semiosis, this act, hence, is an act done for the sake of a future by re-presenting it in the present. In this regard, their capacity for representation intimates that their action is deliberate, thoughtful and mediated. On that account, it is but proper to assert that nonhuman species possess and exercise agency.

In the light of this, the acts of *kalangay-langayan*, *bakaw*, *igat*, *susong buwili*, *susong Hapon*, *palakang Kabakab*, worms, and roosters transcend their meanings as mere physical acts by a physical body. Rather, these acts are thoughtful and mediated actions, hence, an

expression of agency- re-presenting an absent future in the present. Hence, the crowing of a rooster, for instance, is a by-product of its take on the changes that it consciously observes in the weather, which in turn, are taken as a sign of something upon which it must act. This interpretation emerges from its unique way of thinking that is based on semiotic representations. Through semiotic associations it interprets these as a sign of the advent of good weather, resulting in a mediated action, that is, crowing.

In turn, the *taga-isla* take the acts of the animals as a sign of either the presence or absence of natural hazards upon which they must act. Accordingly, these counteractions acquire a logical basis, as these are brought about by actions that were thought of, emerging from the animals' observation and interpretation of a sign in the environment through semiotic interpretation. In other words, their counteractions are born of a complex process and thoughtful reasoning. This is why they regard the animals' act, say a rooster's crowing, as its way of monitoring or keeping track of the typhoon- *sinusubaybayan ang bagyo*. It is, therefore, incorrect to dismiss these as irrational actions based on childish mentalities just because the way these are obtained does not conform to the so-called rational and scientific approach typical of Western thought.

In view of the foregoing, the actions of nonhuman species and the counter-actions of humans must be viewed as integrated and interconnected threads within the web of semiosis. This is imperative for this will not only render the fullness of meanings of these actions within trans-species/transpersons communication but will also provide an opportunity to see the layers of meanings that give these actions the completeness of their meanings. Hence, these actions are not just physical activities but rather sign products- representation of the absent future in the present- and expressions of agencies. In this connection, trans-species/transpersons conversations are undeniably at the core of the *taga-isla*'s lives, functioning as a means to better handle natural hazards. Through these, they are able to devise appropriate actions in the present as a means of dealing properly with the future by re-presenting the 'not-yet' in the 'now'.

In sum, the preceding discussions show that the capability 'to know' extends beyond the human. This assertion has great implications. First, aside from the human way of knowing, there are other kinds of knowing that exist in the world. This means that there exist other kinds of representations beyond the symbolic representation that is particular to human beings. Hence, humans do not have the exclusive privilege of sign utilization, as this is also the prerogative of the other nonhuman life forms. Second, trans-species/transpersons

conversation comes to life due to the utilization of representational or semiotic modalities within the semiotic web, which in turn, renders the completeness of the meanings of the actions of both human and nonhuman species. Signs, meanwhile, are drawn from the dynamic processes of a world in formation where both humans and nonhumans are participants and inhabitants. Third, the utilization of semiotic modalities of nonhuman beings in the performance of their actions proves that notions of representation, purpose and future exist in the nonhuman world. Therefore, agency can no longer remain in the exclusive domain of humans, as it rightfully belongs, too, in the realm of other nonhuman life forms. Finally, it is essential to know the existence of the worlds beyond the human because they stand in continuity with our own world. More importantly, they provide us the opportunity to understand ourselves better as a species.

8.4. *Taga-isla's* distinct ontology

In view of the foregoing, there is no denying the importance of local ontology as an equally valid ontology with which to view the world and its life forms beyond the assertions of naturalism- a kind of ontology that asserts that humans and other life forms are organisms governed by laws of biology and physics. Hence, it is fitting to recognize the importance of indigenous ontology in coming up with a narrative reflective of the locals' own history and culture. In this light, the local ontology of the inhabitants of Talim Island is worth looking at.

Similar to Descola's animism and Vivieros de Castro's perspectivism, the ontology of the *tag-isla* also attributes similar interiority to nonhuman entities. Descola and Vivieros de Castro's frameworks underline that nonhuman species are humans too, possessing a point of view of their own. Thus, belonging to the human species is not a requisite to be considered a 'person', 'nor is it necessary to be a plant or animal to be animated and to have agentivity...spirits and (some) objects are animated, have different grades of agentivity and intentionality (Halbmayer 2012:106).' Accordingly, nonhuman species are also perceived by the *taga-isla* as 'persons' in their own worlds where they partake of the representation, purpose and future that are in the broader world with which their worlds are nested. Nevertheless, the local ontology differs from Descola's and de Castro's in many respects. For one, the local ontology does not assert that nonhumans see themselves as humans just like what the standard animic regime and perspectivism assert. Second, the inversion of the points of view typical of de Castro's perspectivism is nonexistent in the local ontology.

In the case of Talim Island, the inhabitants see humans as humans, animals as animals and plants as plants. Nonetheless, both humans and nonhumans possess agency and partake of the representation, purpose and future, reflecting continuity and similarity of interiority. Accordingly, the inversion of points of view cannot occur, as nonhumans in their actual state are perceived as ‘persons’. As such, their physicalities are not clothing that can be donned or discarded; hence, a specific position and point of view cannot be imposed on each class of being because the physiological and perceptual constraints proper to a type of body are out of the discussion. Nonhumans in this respect see themselves as persons but not as humans; however, they are in continuity to humans because just like them, humans too, are persons.

In other words, animals are seen as animals in the flesh in the same manner that humans are perceived as humans in the flesh, but both of them are recognized as persons by virtue of having the same kind of interiority or soul, and yet, the former are unlike the latter because their bodies are different. This explains why nonhumans are viewed as persons but not as humans, and humans as persons but not as nonhumans. Moreover, the differences in physicality account for the variations in the expression and manifestation of interiority in every species. By this, I mean physiological differences as well as differences in affects, dispositions and capacities, where the latter are constrained by the former. Because of this, the body of each species becomes unique, which in turn, accounts for the perception of nonhumans as nonhumans and humans as humans, though both are persons.

This sheds light on the absence of metamorphosis in the ontology of the *taga-isla*, which is very unlikely in the animic systems where metamorphosis is an essential part as it provides an avenue for interactions between entities with different bodies. Hence, shamans and rituals specialists are not a requisite to be able to communicate with nonhuman species. The absence of metamorphosis, and shamans for that matter, is attributed to the fact that nonhumans in the flesh are perceived as persons possessing agencies. The *taga-isla* need not modify their position of observation through metamorphosis because it is not hampered by their original physicality. There is no need for them to approximate the point of view of nonhumans because nonhumans are viewed as persons in their actual state. This is why their ontology features a view where humans see themselves as humans, animals as animals, plants as plants, etc., all of which, however, are persons in their own actual state, yet, there is continuity of souls among them. Meanwhile, this similarity of interiority has to do with all the species’ capacity for agency as evidenced by their ability to use representation and possession of a sense of purpose and notions of the future.

With regard to the relationship between the *taga-isla* and the elements and lake, the latter are also deemed as persons. The abundance of aphorisms showing similar interiorities possessed by the elements and lake ('nagkumot ang bundok' 'the mountain has blanketed', 'galit ang dagat' 'the lake (sea) is angry' and 'nag-uulian ang panahon' 'the weather has turned senile.') supports this view. Accordingly, the winds that are singularities and thus are separated by discontinuities are joined by affinities, rendering them comprehensible in the incoherent world. In this regard, the winds are assembled in constitutions which are comprised of interdependent and hierarchically ordered parts. In the analogic constitution of the elements, the elements are in continuity to one another in terms of physical, spatial, domanial, temporal and cognitional qualities.

8.5. Limitations and recommendations

8.5.1. A more comprehensive scope

In spite of the extent and depth of my research study, there is still so much work to do and gaps to fill in. Although I have labored so much over the relationships between humans, the elements and animals, there is only minute attention or nothing at all given to plants and spirits. Undeniably, a more complete picture of the relationships between humans and nonhumans also includes an in-depth study of the relationships of humans, plants and spirits. Unfortunately, this concern comes with another problem. Talim Island comprises twenty-four coastal *barangays*, however, my study is just focused on three of them. Hence, it goes without saying that in order to fully grasp the entirety of the relationships between humans and nonhumans on the island, all twenty-four *barangays* must be included in the study.

8.5.2. Factoring in anthropogenic hazards

Another area that must be given attention to is anthropogenic hazards. Again, if the objective is to come up with a truly comprehensive understanding of the *taga-isla's* way of life especially with regard to dealing with hazards using their local knowledge, those of anthropogenic origin must also be factored in. There is no denying that local knowledge is at the core of their approaches to handling natural hazards, however, this can also be applied to managing anthropogenic ones. Furthermore, anthropogenic hazards, given their different nature, can impact the existing local knowledge in one way or another. Accordingly, this is another domain that is definitely worth exploring.

8.5.3. Impact of development and influx of outsiders' influences

Aside from these, the impact of development on their way of life also deserves a thorough investigation. During my fieldwork, I witnessed development drastically altered the physical, social and economic landscapes of the island. Inter-*barangay* roads were constructed, connecting communities that were once isolated from one another. Cellular towers were being put up, linking the island to the outside world while slowly detaching the *taga-isla* from one another, as they, especially the young ones, were preoccupied with their cellular phones and captivated by the Internet. Moreover, menial jobs in the mainland precipitated urban migration. On the other hand, the influx of outsiders on the island continued to offset their departure.

Certainly, all of these will have grave repercussions on their way of life. Without a doubt, their worldview and belief system will be altered to accommodate outside influences. In this regard, efforts must be taken to decolonize their thought by valorizing local knowledge and recognizing the importance of indigenous thought in coming up with a narrative reflective of their genuine history and culture. In turn, this will impact the formulation of policies and innovations aimed at uplifting their plight and that of marginalized communities.

To date, the government and non-governmental organizations use the bottom-up approach in alleviating the predicament of the said communities. Yet, such an effort does not come out fully successful. I believe that the reason for this is that the formulation of policies, despite the bottom-up approach, is still anchored, on the one hand, to the framework of Western thought, and on the other, to the view of the irrationality of indigenous thought. As a consequence, the formulated policies befit more the society of the policymakers and reveal far more about their own predicament than those of the local communities with which these policies have been drafted for. In other words, the policies that are being imposed upon the local communities are based upon the outsider's realities rather than indigenous realities.

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Participant Observation, Focus Group Discussions and Ethnographic Workshops

Ethnographic Workshop, Barangays Bangad and Janosa, Talim Island, January 9-13, 2017

Ethnographic Workshop, Barangay Sapang, Talim Island, February 21-25, 2017

Focus Group Discussion, Barangay Bangad, Talim Island, April 25, 2015

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APPENDIX A

Transcript of the Focus Group Discussion in Barangay Bangad on April 25, 2015

TALIM ISLAND WORKSHOP

Nestor Castro: Ako'y tubong Pasig. Nung pinanganak ako sa Pasig, ito ay parte pa ng Rizal, kapital kami ng Rizal. Ipaliwanag ko lang yung papel ko dito: ang pangunahin pong tagapagpadaloy ng talakayan natin ay si Lito kasi ito ay proyekto niya para sa kanyang pag-aaral. Ako ay narito po para subaybayan kung ano ang ginagawa niya, kung tama o mali, makapagbigay ng gabay kaya't... inoobserbahan ko lang, mabantayan ko po. Pero pana-panahon po papasok rin ako din ako sa mga... kung mayroong mga interesanteng napag-usapan tayo, aambag din ako ng aking opinyon. Yun lamang po, maraming salamat po.

Angelito Nunag: Nabanggit po kanina bago tayo simula yung meryenda. Huwag po kayong mag-alala at hinahanda na po natin yung meryenda. Habang hinihintay po natin yung meryenda, yung unang bahagi po siguro ay talakayin na natin. Siguro po ang unang tanong ko rito patungkol sa ating barangay ay, halimbawa po, gaano na kayo katagal naninirahan dito. Maaari pong sumagot kahit sino at wala pong problema rin kung halimbawa kapag katapos ng isa ay may reaksiyon yung isa, maaari po ring magging ganoon ang ano natin. Kung maaari rin po sana, bago sa simula ay banggitin yung ating pangalan para po, kasi i-rerecord natin yan, tapos isusulat po rin iyan, para po sa aming pagsulat, madali pong malaman kung kanino po nanggaling yung ideya na iyon o yung kaalaman na iyon. Kasi nga po, gaya nang nabanggit ko kanina, gagawan po natin, ilalathala po natin ito kung saan hindi po ito ibebenta. Tayo po ang makikinabang dito, ang bawat isa po sa atin, tapos yung komunidad gaya nang nabanggit ko at siyempre po, unibersidad at yung ilang mga interesadong organisasyon po na gustong mag-aral patungkol po dito sa atin, sa Talim o sa Bangad po. Sino po ba ang gustong magsimula patungkol dito? Gaano na po ba tayo katagal naninirahan dito? Or kung mas interesante po siguro, baka po maaari niyo kaming bigyan ng kaalaman, bakit po tinawag na Bangad ito. Bakit po ito tinawag na Bangad? Kasi po may nakita po ako ibang barangay, Amihanan—ang akin pong intindi doon, baka doon nanggagaling ang amihanan. Tapos mayroon naman, Habagatan—baka po dito nanggagaling ang Habagatan. Ang Bangad po, bakit po kaya ito natawag na Bangad? Mayroon po ba kayong kaalaman patungkol dito?

Fernando Francisco: Sir, ako po kasi si Fernando Francisco. Matagal na akong naninirahan dito simula noong ipanganak, pero tungkol po sa history ng Bangad medyo wala pa din kaming kaalaman kung bakit ito tinawag na Bangad. Pupunta sa kultura na yun eh. Kaya kung anong may maisabi na, yun nga po ganun nagisnan ko na lang po dito na talagang itong Bangad ay maganda, maayos, maaliwalas noong araw, noong panahon na ang buhay ay sabi nga ay matiwasay, maganda't maraming pagkain na nahuhuli sa karagatan. Hindi tulad ngayon pong panahon na aandap andap na po yung isda. Maraming salamat po, yun lang po, yun lang po.

Manuel Mercado (Ruben): Tungkol naman po sa ekwela, ako po si Manuel Mercado, UP teacher. Bale po sa records namin doon sa eskwelahan bagamat noong nakalipas. Ang pangalan pong Bangad ay nanggaling po sa salitang Banga, na lagayan ng tubig na sa mga pangyayari, sa palit palit, pasalin-salin po ng lahi ng mga pausap usap, may mga sinasabi na banga ng ginto, may banga ng dala ng babae na wala pong matibay na pruwaba tungkol po sa simula basta po naging, sa katagalan na po ng salitang bangad, ang salita pong banga ay naging Bangad.

Angelito Nunag: Siguro po kahit hindi na tayo tumatayo, para hindi na tayo...

Carmelita Wenner: Ako naman po si Carmelita Wenner, hindi po ako states side. Dito na ako pinanganak sa Bangad, taga--ako eh. Eh ngayon, ang aking alam naman diyan sa history ng Bangad kwento ng panahon ng Kastila. May naglalakad daw na mga babaeng may dalang banga, yun nga sinasabi ni Sir Ruben may dalang banga. Pero nung itinanong daw, kasi Kastila sila, tinanong yung mga tao, ano yang dala ninyo, anong lugar ito. Akala nila tinatanong kung anong dala, ayun pala, ang sagot nila banga. Ginawa na nila, ng mga kastila na Bangad, kaya yun ang pinaka-alam ko alamat ng Bangad. Kahawig nung kay Sir.

Angelito Nunag: Yung iba po, meron pa po bang---

Josie: Ayun din po, kay ninang, ganun din. Yung pangyayari na may nagtanong kung anong lugar ito, ang tinanong yung babae akala kung anong dala, ang tinatanong kung anong lugar. Eh ang sagot nung babaeng ngay dalang banga, banga at kaya naging Bangad.

Angelito Nunag: At nagpasalin-salin?

Josie: Opo, opo, yun po ang ano..

Angelito Nunag: Yung iba po ba, meron po bang ibang kaalaman patungkol dun o ganoon na din po nakagisnan niyo?

Group: Ganun na rin po, sir.

Nestor Castro: Eh yun pong ano, bakit tinawag na Talim yung isla?

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Dahil dito daw po sa isla, matatalim daw po ang mga tao. Sabi nila matatalim, matatalim tumingin, yun ang alam ko. Yun ang sinasabi, bakit kaya talim? Talim Island, kasi isang isla ito eh. Isang isla ang Talim Island, napakalawak, hinahati ng dalawang side, Binangonan side, Binangonan, Rizal atsaka Cardona, Rizal. Sa kabila po ng bundok, Cardona, Rizal yan. Ito naman Binangonan, Rizal mula po diyan sa Kasili hanggang Banaba, yun po ang alam ko. Marami pong barangay, labing-pito yata dito sa Binangonan side at doon sa Cardona side mga sampu siguro.

Angelito Nunag: So mga bente siete po ang mga barangay dito?

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Kaya sabing dito, masayadong ma-ano--- Kaya yung iba natatakot pumunta sa Talim Island, baka daw matatalim ang mga ano...

Angelito Nunag: Wala naman pong katotohanan yun?

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Wala naman po. Lahat naman po dito---

Angelito Nunag: Puro lahat po dito mababait?

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Mababait. Malayo po kami sa ano, sa mga krimen. Ang meron lang po dito, konting bugbugan, yung ambahan ng itak. Wala na po, yun lang po ang mga kaso dito. Walang patay, walang criminal. Ewan ko lang yung mga naligaw dito kung nakapatay na. Hindi po namin alam yan.

Angelito Nunag: Meron pa po ba?

Ricky Crisostomo: Ano po, sa narinig ko po sa mga usapan.

Angelito Nunag: Maari po bang banggitin muna ang pangalan?

Ricky Crisostomo: Ako po si Ricky Crisostomo. Sa mga narinig ko rin pong usapan, tinawag na Talim Island itong isla na 'to dahil ang korte nito mula sa simula ay hulig talim. Talim na yung parang kutsilyo po, ganun. Kaya po tinawag na Talim Island. Ang korte ng pulo niya, hugis itak.

Angelito Nunag: Kayo po?

Group: Tama po yun.

Angelito Nunag: Meron pa po ba tayong ibang naririnig? Kaalaman, patungkol sa bakit ito tinawag na Talim?

Group: Yun na po yun.

Angelito Nunag: Yun na po yun? Balikan ko po yung tanong ko kanina, kung kamusta po kayo, gaano na po kayo katagal naninirahan dito.

Fernando Francisco: Sir, ako po si Fernando Francisco. Paulit ulit na po nating pangalan. Ako nga po ay pinanganak dito nang since, 63 years na po akong naninirahan dito hanggang sa kasalukuyan. Kasalukuyan dito pa din po naghahanap buhay at naghahanap ng magiging pangalawang asawa.

Nestor Castro: So lahat po ng narito, dito pinanganak sa--- lahat pati mga bata?

Fernando Francisco: Sa edad ko pong ito, mas matanda pa sa akin.

Nestor Castro: Sina lolo?

Fernando Francisco: Dito po lahat galling, talaga pong taga dito.

Nestor Castro: Ano po tawag niyo ba sa--- Halimbawa po kaming mga taga Pasig, kami'y Pasigueno. Anong tawag sa tubong Talim o tubong Bangad?

Josie: Tubong Isla.

Fernando Francisco: Yun ang pang karamihan. Kung tawagin kami, mga taga-isla noong araw ay kung tawagin kami ay tanga isla. Pero sa ngayon po, pinagmamalaki naming na hindi kami tangang isla, kami taga isla, matatalino at maraming nakakapagalar hanggang sa ngayon ay maunlad at maganda naman po ang mga kinabuasan. Kaya hindi po totoong tanga sa isla. Yun po kasi ang naging tawag sa amin ng mga kabayanan dahil ang iniisp nila, itong isla ay ang mga bahay ay mga kubo, maliliit, kumbaga sa kamaynilaan parang iskwat ba. Pero ang katotohanan, ito ang aming mga lupa, sari sarili namin. Sa kasalukuyan nakakabili pa ng ibang ari-arian diyan sa kabayanan. Yun po.

Angelito Nunag: Nabanggit niyo po na nung kayo tumubo dito. Kamusta po baa ng tanim noong kabataan niyo kompara po sa kasalukuyang panahon?

Fernando Francisco: Kung yun po ang paguusapan natin, tungkol sa sitwasyon o kalagayan ng barangay itong Talim Island. Napakaganda po nito noong araw, makikita po ninyo ito, malayo pa mga puno ng niyog, ang makikita niyo. Tapos, may mga taniman ng mga palay na pinagkukunan ng mga mamamayan na pinakapagkain at mga pangulam po naman yun pong isda sa karagatan. Yun pong panahon yun, sabi nga po eh. Pag naghagis lang kayo ng isang bagay, may ulam na kayo. Ngayon po eh, ihinagis na yata yung buong lambat wala pa. Malaki na po ang pinagbago.

Manuel Mercado (Ruben): Tsaka po, sabi ni Kuya Francisco. Ang tatay ko po'y bisaya talaga at hindi po native dito. Pag hapon, may panahon na nangunguha kami ng kohol sa tabing dagat, ito'y aming ginagataan. Masarap po ang kohol sa tabing dagat habang umaalon siya dampot kami ng dampot. Nung mga panahon na ako'y nagbinata na, ang kohol pag kinain mo mapait na. Hindi kasing dati ng iyong kinakain na, Unang una may nawalang isda gaya ng Ginikan, Tambuong, meron pang magandang gurami na natira pero yung sa pagkain ng kohol, talagang hindi mo na makakain--- Ewan ko lang po ngayon kung pwede pa din, pero iba na ang lasa niya 'di kagaya noong araw na talagang masarap po ang lasa.

Angelito Nunag: Sir, meron po kaya kayong ideya kung bakit iba na yung lasa tapos nawala na yung ibang mga isda dito sa lawa?

Manuel Mercado (Ruben): Parang ang alam kong lang factors ay yung mga sanhi unang una, number one (Another man responses: basura)--- mga pabrika---

Fernando Francisco: Isa pa po sir, yun pong, hindi ko naman po inaano, pero yung minsan po nagiging sanhi ng pagkasira ng ating kapaligiran ay nasa atin na pong mamamayan. Walang pakundangan, nagtatapon ng mga waste na hindi dapat tinatapon sa kalsada, yung plastic. Kaya po ang... ng lawa ay nasisira nang nasisira. Ang mga isda, wala na silang nakakain dahil nga po naapektuhan din po ng karamihan mga factory diyan sa paligid na dito tumatapon ultimo mga waste. Kaya po para sa amin, sa sitwasyon po na mga taga rito na nagiging mabigat dahil po sa inaasahan ng tao dito sa barangay ay yung pong...

Angelito Nunag: ---walang pakundangan ngayon. Kamusta po ba noong panahon niyo?

Fernando Francisco: Kasi po noong araw, noong buhay pa ang aming magulang. Hindi ko po sila nakikitaan na nagaano na sa dagat dahil talagang iniipon nila yung mga dapat na dumi hindi nila--- sa karagatan. At lalo pa po noong araw, papel lang po ang ating ginagamit hind po siya nakakaapekto sa ating mga daluyan ng tulad po ng ilog. Eh ngayon po, ito na nga nauso na ang plastik na naging isang sanhi ng pagkasira ng pangisdaan ng mga mamamayan dito sa Bangad.

Angelito Nunag: Noong kabataan niyo po ba, laganap na din ang mga factory dito? Pabrika o hindi pa po ganun kadami?

Fernando Francisco: Hindi pa po ganun kadami mga factory noong araw na nakapaligid sa Bangad pero dito po sa Binangonan, wala naman factory noong araw dito... sa kasalukuyan parang wala akong alam dito na nagtayo ng factory. Diyan lang po sa parte na yan, Taguig... Kung dito lang po, wala talaga. Kaya po yan po ang isang epekto, malaking epekto dito sa mga naninirahan dito sa Tabin Island.

Angelito Nunag: Bago po natin pagusapan ng malaliman itong epekto, balikan ko po yung una kong tanong para naman po sa iba. Yung iba po, kamusta, gaano na po kayo katagal ditong naninirahan? Nanay?

Nestor Castro: Baka magandang tanungin ang pinakamatanda, siguro.

Angelito Nunag: Si tatay? Dominador (Female voice: Ruping)

Nestor Castro: 58 tsaka---

Fernando Francisco: Mga mahilig mamasyal sa Navotas.

Nestor Castro: Kayo po, tatay Ador, dito na kayo pinanganak? Maari niyo po bang ikwento kung anong kalagayan noong kabataan ninyo?

Ador: Yung uling noong kabataan ko, wala ditong naghahakot ng kahoy. Panay pananim yan, pagnagsasaka--- Diyan ako lumaki--- dagat naman diyan nakuha ng pangulam--- Hindi bumibili ng pagkain noon---

Angelito Nunag: Kamusta po tatay Ador? Marami na po bang kabahayan noong panahon na yun dito?

Ador: Madalang pa. Ang bahay dito baka wala pang singkwenta, bakaiente sinko lang.

Angelito Nunag: Beinte sinko lang po?

Ador: Oo, madalang ang bahay dito.

Angelito Nunag: Ibig mo sabihin, biente sinko pamilya dito o? Noong panahon po na yun, yung bente sinko na kabahayan na yun, bente sinko na pamilya po ba yun o halimbawa eh---

Ador: May mga naninirahan dito Bangad. Eh diyan wala pang daan diyan. Nito na lang dumami ang mga tao.

Angelito Nunag: Kailan po itong, napansin niyo po, kalian po ito dumami mga kalian po kaya na panahon ito?

Ador: 19 ano yata eh, 1950. Kumakapal yung bahay.

Angelito Nunag: Alam niyo po ba tatay kung saan nanggaling itong biglaang dumami. Saan po kaya galling itong mga taong ito?

Ador: Alam mo, kung ang taong magasawa ay dumadami ang anak. Parang may---

***Different people from the group: "May isa 10 ang anak" "Iba't iba ang nanay" "Mas masarap daw kasi dito"

Ador: Meron sa Manila, meron sa Quezon---

Angelito Nunag: Tay, kayo po? Ano po yung---

Rufino: ---paisa isa kundi dalawa. ---maliit pa ako nakakain pa ako sa hirap ng pinagdaanan, naranasan ko at ang hanap buhay ng magulang ko--- talagang tulong tulong kaming magkakapatid sa trabaho. Ayun mga manugang ko kami ay naghahakot ng kahoy, nagdadala siya ng kahoy diyan sa Pasig, kung saan saan siya napunta.

Angelito Nunag: Noong panahon niyo po eh konti lang din po ang kabahayan dito mga pamilya?

Rufino: Konti lang bahay dito talaga. Mga labing pito eh ngayon talagang makapal na ang tao, talagang... ang mga kabataan. Kaya--- ang tao.

Angelito Nunag: Ano yung nakikita niyong dahilan bakit kumapal na ang tao dito?

Rufino: Ha?

Angelito Nunag: Ano po and nakikita niyong dahilan, kayo po, bakit kumapal na ang tao?

Rufino: Ay marami nang nagasawang mga kabataan kaya madaling kumapal ang tao.

****Inaudible chatter from the group, exchanging ideas.**

Angelito Nunag: Yung mga kabataan po nagsipagasawan o gaya po ng nabanggit kanina nung mas nakababata nating kasama. Nagsipagsawahan ba sila sa labas nanggaling o dinala dito, paano po ba ito? Yung mga kabataan po ba kaya dumami yung ating populasyon dito at pamilya dahil shempre nanganak ng madami yung mga ---henerasyon, nagkasawaan na sila. Sila sila po ba o mas dumami ito dahil yung mga kabataan lumabas na lang tay nagmahal at inuwi na dito ang pamilya mula doon sa labas? Si ano po, ano pong pangalan natin?

Rufino: ---kaya po halos lahat ng nandito minsan gusting magasawa ng taga ibang lugar para sabi nila maiba naman daw yung itsura. Shempre namimili po sila ng gwapo, maganda dinadala nila dito.

Fernando Francisco: Against naman po yata dun.

Angelito Nunag: Sige po, sige po.

Fernando Francisco: Pag pinagusapan ang na yung magaganda, hindi po ako papaya na hindi magaganda yung mga taga dito sa Isla ng Bangad. Kaya po sila nagaasawa, minsan nagiging asawa yung. Kung minsan nga po aminin natin ang katotohanan parang nagiging minsan kalahi, kapinsan, parang tulad ko po ang naging asawa ko po. Sabi magpipinsan kayo, hindi po kasi uso ang ---ngayon. Kaya po dito naninirahan, dumadami ang bahay, tama po ang sabi niyana yung iba nakakapagasawa sa ibang lugar, imbis na sila ang madala papunta doon aba't dito--- Dito ay narito nga ang sabi nga ang kagandahan ng palagay, katiwasayan ng buhay at narito ang hanap buhay na hindi mo na kailangan pang puntahan sa ibang lugar.

Rufino: At saka ano, ito malayo sa krimen, kumbaga iwas po tayo dun.

Fernando Francisco: Malagay tayo sa tahimik at makakaranas ng mga mabibigat bang krimen. Sabi nga daw ang krimen daw dito suntukan lang, kumbaga sa ano, kilitian lang. Yun po lang.

Angelito Nunag: Nanay, kayo po? Sa palagay ko pagkatapos nila tatay kayo na po ang susunod sa edad. Kayo po, gaano na po kayo katagal dito.

Josefine: Ako po'y dito isinilang, 1948. Yung kinagisnan ko po, ang aming trabaho manggagawa ng lupain tapos pag... sa bundok, sa bundok naman kami naghahalaman. Nang ako'y ---na, nawala na, hindi na ako nakakahalaman. Ang akin pong mga anak nagkaasawa sa Aparri ---meron sa bayan--- kaya po ang tao eh dumadami. Nagiisang bahay po kami noong araw diyay sa amin.

Angelito Nunag: Saan po kayo nay nakatira noon? Kasi napansin ko po meron ditong parang malapit sa lawa, merong nasa gitna, merong nasa bundok. Saan po kayo noong panahon na yun? Saan po banda?

Josefine: Inaudible

Angelito Nunag: Saan po rito banda sa Bangad, sa may tabi po

Josefine: Inaudible

Fernando Francisco: Sa may tabi ng eskwelahan, sa may tabi ng ilog.

Angelito Nunag: Ah, tabing ilog.

Fernando Francisco: Dati po ang bahay nila iisa lang. Ngayon po yata eh sampu na yata.

****Inaudible chatter amongst respondents discussing.**

Fernando Francisco: Bikolano ang asawa niya, nandito na.

Angelito Nunag: Sila tatay ano po, tatay Ador saan po kayo banda noon. Saan po kayo nakatira noon?

Ador: Doon sa--

Fernando Francisco: Doon pa sa dulo---

Angelito Nunag: Si tatay

Ador: ---sa may crossing. Ang bahay naming tabing dagat.

Fernando Francisco: Sa may tabing dagat.

Angelito Nunag: Yan po klaruhin ko lang din po kasi medyo nalilito ako. Nabanggit niyo po kanina nung una kayong nagsalita karagatan tapos ilog, naririnig ko dagat. Bakit po ba dagat o karagatan ang tawag dito sa atin pong katubigan na nasa harapan natin kasi po nagkamali nga po ako kanina, lawa ang nabanggit ko.

Fernando Francisco: Ang totoo po talaga diyan, lawa po talaga. Yan po talaga ay tinawag na Lawa ng Laguna. So parang--- Laguna eh nandito naman kayo sa Rizal. Kasi po ang lawa nahahati sa dalawang anggulo, Rizal at yan ang Laguna. Kaya po kung tawagin yan Lawa ng Laguna, ang ibig sabihin, mas makapangyarihan ang mga taga Laguna.

Angelito Nunag: Pero ang karaniwan ko pong pag nakikipag-usap po ako dito, karaniwan po ang mga kabataan ang tawag nila diyan lawa. Pero po yung may medyo may edad na po, gaya ng Tatay Ador dagat po ang katawan eh. Bakit po kaya. May ideya po kaya kayo Tatay kung bakit noong panahon ninyo ang tawag dito ay dagat?

Fernando Francisco: Simula na po kasi ng, yun na ang nakagisnang sa magulang kung tawagin tayo'y. Oh mga anak, tayo'y papalaot sa dagat, para tayo manghuli ng isda. Kaya po ang salitang lawa ay napakadalang na, pero sa--- lang po yun. Nakasanayan lang, Lawa ng Laguna.

Ador: Saki po kaya ---nalilibot po siya ng dagat.

Angelito Nunag: So sa kabataan, lawa na.

Manuel Mercado (Ruben): ---kay nanay ko sir, kapag ako ay nakikita. Umahon ka na diyan. Nasa dagat nanaman ang punta niyo ---pag matanda sa dagat---

Fernando Francisco: Kaya hindi naging kasalitaan yung lawa. Pero po sa history nung--- na yan at talagang lawa, Lawa ng Laguna.

Angelito Nunag: Nanay--- meron po kayong gustong sabihin tungkol sa lawa?

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Kasi mas matanda ako sa kanila 'no. 1949 ako pinanganak, classmate ko yan 1948. Kaya ang sabi ko po ang mga salitang dagat ay yung tiyahin kong matandang dalaga na kasama namin sa bahay. Laging, Hoy umahon na kayo, kayo'y nagbababad nanaman sa ragat. Ragat pa nga ang pronunciation nila. Yun pa nga ang nakagisnang namin, pero nung nag-aral na ako na ano ko na yung Laguna Lake, Lawa ng Laguna. Yung matatanda talaga noong araw, ragat. At napakalinis ng ating ano, kitang kita mo ang mga digman, bato bato na wala pang putik, napakalinis. Ang aming teacher sa elementary, Grade 1 taga ibang lugar, may Bisaya may taga Moro may taga Binangonan, wala pong teacher dito sa na naging teacher ko na taga dito. Tapos pag yan ay umuwi, Lunes wala pong mga teacher, paliguan kami, napakalinis talaga. Makikita mo yung mga Tulya, mga hipon, at hindi ka mangingiming tumungtong. Hindi maputik, eh ngayon Diyos ko, hindi na kami tumutungtong at maburak, napakadumi. Mabobote ka pa.

Fernando Francisco: At saka Tita noong araw, ang mga magulang po namin wala po hindi po uso noong araw yung poso eh. Nagisnang ko lang po yung nanay ko papunta doon sa laot, hawi ng ano, dagat. Ligib na lang doon ng tubig, yun ang ginagamit namin na pangluto, inumin. Pero ngayon po, huwag po kayong magkakamali at bukas po---

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Amebeosis. Ito pa po dagdag ko pa. Yung aking mga, sinasabi din ng nanay ko, sila ay kumukha ng tubig sa ragat na sinasabi nila pero nilalagyan daw nila ng tawas para po luminis yung tubig, yun ang iinumang nila. Tawas, yun din ang pangluluto nila, wala nga ding mga poso noong araw. Pero nung kami, kaming isinilang ay may poso na iisa yan ---may pinggan, dalawang balde, kaya naga-aral kami, kami din nagdidilig ng mga halaman hatinggabi, yung kapartner ko mautak pa, natataon, ako nagbubuhay.

Fernando Francisco: Kaya nga po yung kultura nun gamin, talagang tuluyan nang nawala dito sa--- Sabi nga eh, nasa isla pero ang Isla ay bahagi na ng Manila nasa kabihasnan

Angelito Nunag: Yun pong mga usapin patungkol sa, mamaya po balikan natin. Sa ngayon po ay tapusin ko lang po ang sa bahagi natin pero ano po, interesado ngayon po ba pag nilagyan natin ng tawas ito pwede nang inumin?

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Naku po, walang epekto ang tawas sa dumi ng ating---

Angelito Nunag: Nagjojoke lang po ako.

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Pwede naman purified water, mineral water, sa amin noon walang umiigib na kung saan may poso dati doon kumukuha eh may mga mineral water na ngayon, purified water at saka katabi na naming poso na nakalagay na doon, yun na ang igiban na ngayon--- kasi madumi na ang poso tagiisa sila ng poso sa tabing dagat. Marumi, may amoy, may amoy ang tubig. Pagkagaling sa poso, malangsa sa dagat---

Angelito Nunag: Tanong ko lang po, kung tayo dito ay pinanganak po 'no. Ano pong tawagan niyo, tumubo ba, likas dito, ano pong tawag natin? Mga tumubo po dito?

Group: Tubong isla.

Angelito Nunag: Tubong isla. Yun pong mga ninuno niyo kung kayo po ay, dito rin po ba sila o tulad nung nabanggit nung mas bata natin na kasama na nanggaling po sila sa ibang lugar na nanirahan lang dito? Halimbawa po mga magulang ninyo o mga lolo't lola ninyo na nakagisnan niyo na po?

Ferdinand Francisco: Ang akin pong magulang ay nagmula po ng Cardona, Rizal kumabaga sa ano ay dito rin po sa isla din pero Cardona lang pero nanirahan naman. Nagkaasawa po dito, diyan sa kalapit na barangay pero sila dito nanirahan sa barangay ng Bangad kaya po kami tinatawag ang aming mga sarili na tubo talaga dito pero yung mga magulang ko Cardona ang aking ama.

Angelito Nunag: Yung iba po? Kayo pot ay? Nainteres, nagulat po ako sa pangalan niyo, napaka interesting po. Saan po yung mga ninuno niyo?

Male: ---ang aking ama ay diyan lang po sa kabilang barangay, sa Buwangin po.

Angelito Nunag: So, dito na rin po sila ano?

Male: Nagasawa po ang aking magulang, yung aking ina dito na din nanggagaling, kaya dito din po kami naging pinanganak, kaya po magmula noong ako'y ipanganak hanggang ngayon, talagang tubo talaga.

Angelito Nunag: So, yung mga magulang niyo po dito rin po talaga sila?

Male: Oho.

Angelito Nunag: Kayo po? Para maisa-isa natin---

Danilo: Ako po naman, ang magulang ko ay tubong Laguna, ang mother ko Binan, Laguna. Ang father ko po naman, Subay, Cardona side po yan, Subay pero Taliman lang din po yan. Tapos nung sila ay magasawa na dito na po sila tumira sa Bangad kaya po ako'y tubong Bangad. Hanggang sa naganak sila ng labing tatlo, pang lima ako, namatay yung tatlo, kaya sampu kaming natira.

Angelito Nunag: Isa isahin ko lang po muna kasi po mamaya ang susunod ko po sigurong tanong. Halimbawa kayo po Tay galing kayo sa Cardona, ano po kayang nagtulak kung bakit---

Nestor Castro: Linawin ko lang, yung mga sinabing pag Cardona parte pa din ng Talim yung sinasabi niya hindi yung Cardona na sa bayan. Sa isla pa din yun.

Angelito Nunag: Siguro mga halimbawa galing ng Cardona pero balikan ko po kayo, isa isahin ko lang po muna para malaman natin kung saan po nanggaling halimbawa yung mga magulang niyo. Kayo po tatay, tanda niyo po ba kung saan kayo galing?

Ador: Talagang dito ang tatay ko.

Fernando Francisco: Pure breed.

Angelito Nunag: Ganun din po ang nanay niyo po?

Ador: Ay, tubong Kaytomino.

Angelito Nunag: Isa ito sa mga baryo dito?

Ador: Nagasawa lang ay dito na nanirahan.

Angelito Nunag: Tay, kayo po?

Rufino: Inaudible

Angelito Nunag: Yung dalawang magulang mo?

Rufino: Oo.

Jonathan: Ang magulang ko po ay taga Butuan City po. Kasi po, yung aking mga lola nagpunta po ng Mindanao, naisama po si tatay eh dun po nakilala si nanay pero dito na din po ako pinanganak. Nauwi po ni tatay, kaya tubong Bangad na rin po ako.

Angelito Nunag: Ah, so si tatay dito siya, si nanay sa Butuan.

Jonathan: Opo

Angelito Nunag: Kayo po nay?

Emilyn: Si nanay po ay ang taga Pilaw, dito rin po naipanganak---ay kami po ay noong araw ay naghahawak ako ng kawayan yung sampu sampu, yung hinahakot kop o ay nagsusulong kami ng gagawing kaing, kami pareho magkakaing yun po ang nasimulan ng magulang ko.

Angelito Nunag: Yung kawayan po galing dito sa bundok?

Male voice: Bundok

Emilyn: Minsan po sa ano, malayo pa yung kinukunan dinadala ho dito.

Josie: Kaya mo yun?

Amiling: Naghahakot ako, sampu sampung kawayan.

Male voice: Hanapbuhay kasi noon dito sir, kaing. Ang talagang numero unong hanap-buhay dito. Pero naglaho na.

Angelito Nunag: Meron po ba kayong alam na kadahilanan ba't biglang naglaho itong pagkakaing na ito?

Emilyn: Sari-sari po.

Male young: Naglaho na po yung kaing kasi po nauso na yung mga karton karton na pinaglalagyan ng mga gulay, mga plastic. Kaya po bigla pong nawala, kasi mas mura po yun kasi ang mahal eh

Angelito Nunag: Dati po kain ang pangunahing ano gamitan---

Fernando Francisco: Yung lagayan natin ng prutas, mga gulay.

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Sa ibang barangay meron pa din, sa kabila may kain pa din.

Angelito Nunag: Ito pong nilalagay sa kain na 'to galing din po dito? Halimbawa yung mga gulay, ani po ba ang mga ito, mga inaani?

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Dinadala sa Divisoria.

Fernando Francisco: Yung iba dito pero kasi yung kain dinadala po yan sa ibang lugar tulad ng Bulacan. Dun ginagamit nila na pang lagayan ng mga prutas kaya, pero yun pong lalagyan dito sa isla.

Angelito Nunag: Sige po, nay kayo po? Saan po galing ang inyong mga magulang?

Josefine: Dito po tubo ang mga magulang ko.

Angelito Nunag: Dito na rin po sila. Kayo po?

Josie: Ako din po sir.

Angelito Nunag: Dito din po?

Josie: Dito din po.

Angelito Nunag: Kayo po Nanay Baby?

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Ang aking tatay, hindi ko alam kung saan pinanganak pero sa Bangad yata kasi ang lolo ko ang alam ko taga-Batangas yung Gaon, Batangas yun. Marami kaming kamag-anak sa Batangas pero nagasawa yung lolo ng taga dito. Kaya yung tatay ko, dito naman na siguro pinanganak, hindi ako masayadong nagtanong ... Kasi ang tatay ko nagla, hindi naman naglalagi, nagpupunta kung saan saang lugar, ang nanay ko, kauna unahang babae na nagbyahe ng kain sa Divisoria. Nakasakay sila sa truck ng, yung dating malalaking truck tapos ay, anong tawag dun sa, may kasama siyang isang anak babae. Lima kaming magkakapatid, isang lalaki eh ayon habang ang tatay ko habang nasa ibang lugar kami naman ay, nanay ko ang nag aano samin kaya ito ang bumubuhay samin, nagaalaga samin ay ang nanay ko naman ay talagang byahera. Paguuwi noon, kain kain na Lanzones, Mangga, ---kaya ako'y maliit pa madami akong prutas na nakakain na galing sa Divisoria. Lansones, Mangga, mga Mansanas, ubas.

Ferdinand Francisco: Para bang Barter.

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Oo, minsan kasi pagka yung walang pambayad

Ferdinand Francisco: Mga prutas

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Mga prutas naman, minsan ibebenta, minsan kinakain naming. Kaya sakin, bida sakin ang nanay ko dahil parang siya ang parang padre de pamilya. Habang wala yung tatay ko. Minsan taunan kung umuwi, kulang naman sa ano, kulang naman sa pera. Sabi nila ang tatay ko raw ay maraming anak, ngayon may nakilala kami, 5 years ago, tatlo, tatlong kapatid ko. Isa'y taga Marikina, tsaka San Mateo, may kapatid pa kami sa Pampanga, pinupuntahan din naming sa Mexico, Pamapanga sa tatay din

Angelito Nunag: Malapit po ako dun, taga Angeles po ako.

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Sa barangay, barangay Laput. Laput Maxico, Pampanga.

Angelito Nunag: Arvin, ikaw kamusta?

Arvin: ---yung lola ko hindi po talaga siya taga rito napangasawa lang po ang lolo ko na taga rito talaga. Kaya po, yung mga magulang ko taga dito talaga.

Angelito Nunag: Ikaw si Ricky ano? Ricky, ikaw---

Ricky Crisostomo: Yung nanay ko po dito po talaga lumaki, dito po siya pinanganak pero yung tatay ko taga Laguna then nagkakilala sila kasi po nung dalaga yung nanay ko nagtitinda siya ng isda doon sa Taytay eh yung tatay ko may tiyahin po sa Taytay, nagtitinda din. Tapos, pinakilala po nung tiyahin ng tatay ko si papa kay mama. Nagkakilala po sila tapos lumipas ang ilang araw pa, nagkakaigihan na tapos isang beses, umuulan daw eh, sabi ng tatay ko daw ihahatid si mama dito sa Binangonan. So, sumama naman si mama tapos yun pala dun dadalhin sa Laguna. Kaya doon, nung pagkadating sa Laguna, ipinakilala sa mga kapitbahay na asawa daw kaya ayon na, sila na nagkatuluyan.

Angelito Nunag: May permiso ka ba na ano, ikwento yung magulang mo?

Ricky Crisostomo: Wala pong problema yun.

Angelito Nunag: Para po doon sa mga, yung mga ninuno po ay nanggaling sa ibang lugar 'no. Bukod po doon sa nabanggit na ninyo na pangunahing dahilan na pagaasawa lalo na po doon sa mga medyo may edad na po, meron po bang naikwento sa inyo yung mga magulang natin, mga ninuno po ninyo na bukod sa pagaasawa, mga dahilan bakit dito po sila nanirahan., dito sa Talim. Siguro po unahin ko sa si Tatay, shempre po yung matatanda 'no si tatay Ador tapos po si tatay Rufino. Sino nga po ba yung mga magulang galing sa ibang lugar. Tatay Ador, hindi po kayo, kayo po ba taga dito ang mga magulang niyo?

Nestor Castro: Halos wala eh. Kasi halimbawa yung nakwento niya na tatay niya galing Butuan pero taga dito yung tatay ng tatay niya, nagtrabaho lang sa Butuan, kaya ganoon eh.

Angelito Nunag: So, talagang

Fernando Francisco: Parang iisa, kumbaga sa isang, iisang lahi. Napunta lang ng ibang lugar, bumalik sa dito dito nanirahan at nagpamilya dahil kasi yung mga magulang namin, tulad ko kahit dito nanirahan ay dito may kaunting ari-arian since sa mga lolo nila na namana nila, na binigay naman sa mga tulad namin.

Jonathan: Kasi po sabi ng magulang mas maige raw po dito kaysa doon sa kanila.

Fernando Francisco: Mas masarap ang buhay

Jonathan: Mahirap daw po ang hanap buhay doon, eh dito po maginhawa ang buhay.

Fernando Francisco: Pakendeng kendeng lang---

Jonathan: Tsaka daw po sa kanila doon, magulo

Angelito Nunag: Isang dahilan

Jonathan: Sa Butuan.

Fernando: Kaya yung iba mas ginugusto dito. Bakit ka titira ng Maynila kung nandito mas maganda---

Manuel Mercado (Ruben): ---ang tatay ko po ay bisaya pero nung matigil dito si tatay, ayaw na niyang bumalik ng bisaya kasi siguro, papetik petik---

Male voice: Kasi mas madali ang buhay dito, mas maginhawa

Manuel Mercado (Ruben): Inaudible

Female and Male voice discussing but cannot be identified since camera is focused on Manuel.

Angelito Nunag: Sino po ang tatay ay sa---

Femal voice: Si Sir Ruben

Angelito Nunag: Ah, si Sir Ruben

Fernando Francisco: Salitan yun, nanggagamot sila. Parang pinagmamahalan

Angelito Nunag: Lahi ka ng doctor, Sir Ruben ha

Femail voice: Inaudible

Angelito Nunag: Inimbitahan nga ako ni Sir Ruben nung graduation, hindi naman ako nakarating dahil---

Female voice: ---limang baboy

Angelito Nunag: Sige po, ang sunod po natin siguro

Nestor Castro: Teka, bago natin yung isusunod. May mga binanggit si Ruben na mga isda dito sa dagat na nawala na. Gurami, ano yun---

Manuel Mercado (Ruben): Gurami, Tambu-o--- oo yung paligwan wala na

Nestor Castro: Tsaka yung tambu-o---

***Group discussing and naming fishes, not clear.

Ferdinand Francisco: Pati sa halamang damo, sa dagat, marami nang nawala. Pati yung tinatawag na digman. Tinatawag na princess, princesa, yung lumot napaka--- sa lumot---

***Inaudible group discussion.

Nestor Castro: Digman, Liya, Lumot wala na rin?

***Inaudible group discussion. Everyone is injecting something.

Angelito Nunag: Ito pong si Sir Ruben may nababanggit na native na kohol. Ano pong--- Sir Ruben?

Manuel Mercado (Ruben): Maitim po siyang kohol na kumpara po ngayon kohol na malaking kohol na mangasul ngasul pa. Ay nung kami ay mga bata sa tabing dagat ay nagkukuhanan kami, ginagawa namin. Ngayon po...

Angelito Nunag: Hindi na po ito nakakain?

Manuel Mercado (Ruben): Parang hindi na siya masarap.

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Yung suso ay parang malaking kohol. Yung suso yung maliit tapos nagiging kohol.

Fernando Francisco: Tinatawag yung isa na papan, wala na din.

Nestor Castro: Ano po yung papan?

Fernando Francisco: Suso, uri ng isang suso. Ay dati yun ang pangkaraniwan--- sa ngayon wala na kayong makikita.

Angelito Nunag: Ito pong papan, ito po yung native kohol na sinasabi ni---

Fernando Francisco: Isang uri ng suso na native. Kohol na ibang klase.

Angelito Nunag: Opo, mahilig akong manuso.

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Ay alam niyo baa ng susong hapon? Ang susong hapon naman ay hindi nakakain pero pag nakita ng mga tao na gumagapang pataas, naku hanggang dito magiging tubig.

Nestor Castro: ---palatandaan

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Lalaki daw ang tubig pag yung suso ay umaakyat sa haligi. Susong hapon kung tawagin.

Angelito Nunag: Yung mga matatanda po, halimbawa po siguro edad ni tatay Ador. Yung mga kabataan ba alam pa yung ganito? Arvin?

Arvin: Inabot na po namin, yun po ang kasabihan, lalalim daw po ang tubig.

Angelito Nunag: Kung hanggang saan ang inakyat ng suso, ganun kataas yung tubig.

Fernando Francisco: Inaudible

Angelito Nunag: Jonathan, meron ka yatang. Jonathan

Jonathan: Meron pa sa amin, pag meron na pong umahon sa ibabaw. Ibig sabihin po meron nang kalamidad na darating

Angelito Nunag: Ah, sige po. Mamaya po natin paguusapan yan. Pero tanong po si Tatay Ador at si Tatay Rufino, noon pong panahon ninyo kasabihan daw po ito halimbawa--- yung suso pag umaahon dito.

Ador: Eh pagkatumaas sa tubig, lalaki ang tubig... lalaki ang tubig.

Angelito Nunag: So, inabutan niyo na poi to? Si Tatay Rufino, ganun din?

Rufino: Hindi, noong araw, nung bata pa ako, pa gang pagkaing tubig, pag panahon ng tabagat, shempre pag sumulong ang tubig, pag ulan, hanggang doon talaga ang tigil ng tubig sa sinulungan.

Angelito Nunag: Ano po ang tawag? Panahon ng?

Fernando Francisco: Tabagat

Angelito Nunag: Sa karanasan niyo po, Tatay Rufino and Tatay Ador, ayun pong ganoong kasabihan ay ano po halimbawa, nakita niyo na ang suso, talaga pong nangyayari yun?

Rufino: Talagang totoo

Ador: Kasabihan ng matatanda yun.

Rufino: Kung hindi susong hapon, kuhol---

Angelito Nunag: Ito pong si Nanay Anacleto, sa panahon niyo po may ganito din? Proven din po ito, pag umahon siya?

Anacleto: Oo.

Angelito Nunag: Sige po mamaya, palalalimin pa natin ang diskusyon patungkol diyan sa nakita natin sa paligid pero ito, isang tanong lang po. May ideya po kayo kalian biglang nawala itong mga ito, tapos halimbawa itong mga native na kohol, napalitan ng susong hapon o kohol nga po. May idea po kayo kalian ito nangyari?

Nestor Castro: Hindi, yung susong hapon dati nang meron, iba pa yung native na kohol.

Angelito Nunag: Ah, ito pong mga native na ito nabanggit po kanina na nawala. May idea po kayo kalian ito nawala?

Nestor Castro: Mga anong taon?

Angelito Nunag: Mga anong taon, panahon ito?

Danilo: Sir, sakin po hindi ko lang po ma-trace kung anong panahon na noon, kung anong taon. Ang sakin pong idea diyan nawala po yang native shells na yan dahil po nagkaroon po tayo ng mga pabrika, na yung mga, mga tumatagas na mga kemikals nagpupunta ng dagat. Diyan po sa dagat ang patak niyan eh. Ngayon dumadating po ang time na pag marami na po yung kemikals doon sa ilalim ng dagat, dinadala po uli ng agos. Kaya pag dumaan po yan sa fishpond, fish pen, sa mga cages, fish cages yaan pong mga isda namamatay kasama na po yung mga native shells natin na, nawawala na. Yun po ang para sa akin.

Fernando Francisco: Siguro mga 10 years na, halos sampung taon na kasi nawala.

Manuel Mercado (Ruben): Hindi ko na masabi kung ito ba ay safe na kohol o pwedeng kainin, gawa ng pare-parehas ng color. ---ano ba ito native--- pagkakaiba iba--- noong araw para kang bumili ng karneng baka---

Fernando Francisco: Diba---. Sir Ruben natataandaan mo yung Imelda project, yung susong, Golden Kuhol. Simula noong malagay yung Golden Kuhol, unti unting nawala yung native nating mga kuhol. Nabago yung breed ng kuhol. Na naging, anong nangyari, ay peste sa palayan.

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Kaya ang Tulya hindi nawawala.

Fernando Francisco: Ay yun ang native talaga ng lawa na tinatawag na Tulya. Hanggang ngayon pinagkukunan din ng mga mamamayan na pangulam at pangtinda. May panahon siya.

Nestor Castro: Bago iwanan yung kasaysayan, may mga kwento ho bang mga ninuno ninyo tungkol sa anong nangyayari dito sa Talim noong panahon ng hapon at panahon ng kastila? Ano pong mga kwento?

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Kasi yung tatay ko, kesyo siya ay dinala ng mga hapon kung saan saan. Pero noong una, sila ay papatayin na. Dito may naghuhukay na, atomic bomb. Mga bomba, kinausap ng kinausap yung hapon miski hindi sila nagkakaintindihan ay siya'y pinakawalan. Pero siya ay dinala sa Sinuluan, Laguna, tatay ko kung saan saan dinala ng hapon. Ginagawang, hindi naman siya makapili pero siya ay parang sinama pa niya ang kanyang alaga si Ate Aring, yung pinsan namin, alaga, ampon niya naglalaba yun sa mga hapon kaya naging kaibigan nila ang mga hapon. Maraming pinatay, dito sa iskul. Mga mga pinatay daw dito yata yun na naghukay sila ng sarili nilang libingan. Bayoneta noong araw. Yung asawa ng Tiya Bursia, kinukwento lagi ng mga tatay ko noon. At ang mga babae naman, magaganda ang mga babae dito kaya naniniwala ako na hindi pangit ang mga taga. Magaganda, mapuputi. Yung mga nanay ko tsaka yung mga Tiya Pasya, sabi magaganda daw sila tapos pag dumadating ang mga hapon sila ay nagaano ng mga uling, mga dalaga pa sila. Nagpapapangit, mga uling ang pinapahid, nagsusuot ng mga sira sirang damit para hindi magustuhan, dahil sa ibang mga lugar, may mga ginahasa talaga doon. Sila'y nagtatago, isang beses may nagsabi daw, maghanda kayo may apat na po, may apat na hapon na dumarating, ay akala nila ay apat napung hapon, apat lang pala yun. Kaya silang nagkakatakot kung saan saan nagtatago, kung saan saan. Meron pang bata, ano may anak, nakasakay daw sa kalabaw, nahulog daw sa tae ng kalabaw.

Fernando Francisco: Maganda naman ang istorya talaga... noong araw. May barko daw dito na lumubog diyan sa dulo na. Yun bang lantsa noong araw, kung tawagin natin diyan sa may dulo ng Talim. Diyan may lumubog ang sabi daw, may dalang kayamanan. Kaya gusto ko sisirin yun, pero malalalim. Tapos nga, madalang ang gulo dito pag dumating na daw ang hapon, takbuhan na, taguan na mga magulang natin dahil kasi tatay ko biktima din ng hapon eh, muntik na din siyang mapatay--- noong araw natatakot, ngayon hindi.

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Kasi tayo naman talaga ay mababait, kaya ano. Hindi nagtatanim ng sama ng loob, maski naririnig namin yung mga ginagawa nilang kasamaan ay tayo ay mababait--- Panahon pa ng kastila naririnig ko na yung maraming kayamanan na naiwan ang mga kastila dito sa hayan.

Ferdinand Francisco: Nauso yung hukay hukay

Angelito Nunag: Treasure hunting.

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Dito sa ano, pag nakakahukay. Ako'y ano eh, nagturo ako sa--- National Highschool. Nagsubstitute ako diyan. Pag nakahukay ng hindi ginto, ay buraot. Kaya nauso ang salitang buraot.

Angelito Nunag: Ano po ang ibig sabihin nung buraot?

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Yung peke, yung hindi totoong ginto. Buraot. Kaya nauso din sa tao. Hoy, napakaburaot mo. Yun ang pinaggalingan ng salitang buraot. Pero meron din nagsabing--- nandoon daw sa isla yun yung mga bahagi. Ewan ko kung may nakahukay ng marami. Diba dito sa Buwangan merong naghukay ewan ko kung may nahukay sila.

Danilo: Cardona, Rizal, meron.

Angelito Nunag: May mga nahukay po o may mga naghuhukay pa lang?

Danilo: May naghuhukay at may nakahukay. Sa pagitan ng ano, ng Malanggam at Bongor, doon sa tangos doon. Ganito lang yun kaliit. Parang biyak lang siya na tinakpan ng simento kasi yung mga tao dun nung sinisisid nila kunwari yung barko ng hapon na lumubog. Nililitaw nila mga tabla, mga tabla lang, talagang matitindi yung mga table, matitibay. Sabi ko anong ginagawa niyo? Yung ano, sinisisid yung binaon dito ng hapon. Kaya pala yung isang puno ng ano, ng balete kinoveran nila, dun sila natutulog, nag---

Fernando Francisco: Yun pala naghuhukay.

Danilo: Naghuhukay. Eh yung umahon hanggang dito lang ang hukay eh, nakuha na yung gintong, ---ng ginto.

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Sa Mount Tadao, may nahukay doon.

Danilo: Dito naman sa Suba yang nakuha diyan ay gintong baka. Doon sa puntang amianan, kaya iniwan nila yung mga heavy equipment nila diyan eh. Sa nabutas eh, iniwan nila yung heavy equipment, ang dami. Kasi dala na nila---

Angelito Nunag: Gaano po kalalaki itong gintong bakal na ito?

Danilo: Ay hindi ko sir masasabi kasi sila nakahukay eh. Hindi ko nakita, ayon lang po sa mga kwento. Hindi mo naman pwedeng hindi paniwalaan, bakit niyo iniwan yung ang dami daming heavy equipment. Iniwan doon, nabubulok. Nainitan, naarawan, nauulanan, andoon lang. Hinahakot na ng mga magbabakal. Wala lang.

Fernando Francisco: May kapalit na eh.

Danilo: Kaya talagang 95 percent, talagang may nakuha. Hindi iiwan ng ganoon kung walang nakuha.

Angelito Nunag: Balikan ko pag panahon ng hapon, may garrison po ba dito na hapon?

Ador: Yung tinirhan ng hapon?

Angelito Nunag: Ay si ano po, Tatay Rufino.

Rufino: Sa Tapang, yung palibot ng Ginabangan---

***Inaudible discussion of the group.

Angelito Nunag: Sige po, Tatay Rufino, ikaw po muna ang magkwento ng garrison po tapos si Tatay Ador po kasi meron din po siyang kaalaman o karanasan. Saan poi tong garrison na ito Tatay Rufino? Sa bahay niyo po ito mismo?

Rufino: Sa, sa tabing bahay committee. Bahay na--- hapon noong araw. Sa may taas nung tabing kalsada, sa may puno ng Acacia, nandoon pinugutan ang tao binibitin ng pasang-at. Aba eh talaga naming awang awa ako eh. Sa may tabing dagat yung tao, ang gagawin ng mga hapon ay papasuin ng tabako. Pag hindi--- ang gagawin kukuha ng banko papatungan sisiskuhan yung tao na... Kaya ay iigid igid yung tao. Kung maliit na bata ka talaga--- ng mga hapon... nakita ko ang mga taong pinaparusahan. Eh ang tao--- talagang hayup na baboy, manok ang pagkain ng hapon eh. Ang pagkain basta na lang itatapon. Kitang kita ko, tatlong araw na hindi pinakain yung tao. ---Nakapalibot doon sa---

Angelito Nunag: Marami pong namatay dito noong panahon na yun? Marami din po ba?

Rufino: Inaudible

Ador: Inaudible

Angelito Nunag: Si Tatay Ador po meron po kayong kinukwento patungkol dito sa mga garrison? Meron po ba kayong nais ibahagi, patungkol sa mga garrison na ito?

Ador: ---Nga yug garrison na sinasabi nito eh. Yung bahay na---Edi ang pagkain ng mga tao, mga sa asawa, gagawin eh itatapon dini-- may acaciang malakin doon eh ibibitin, nakaganoon pa.

Fernando Francisco: Tapos doon na hahatawin

Ador: Tsaka tutubigin pa yan

Angelito Nunag: Pinapainom po ng tubig?

Ador: Tatakpan 'to, bubuhusan. Tubig. Bubugbugin pa. Aanuhin pa ng bangko--- Yung hapon naman ginawang sundalo ang mga tao, itong eskwelahan na ito dito tinipon ang mga tao eh

Rufino: Hindi doon sa may ano---

Ador: Inipon din dito. Inipon ng---

Rufino: Hindi ko alam---

Ador: Inaudible.

Fernando Francisco: Dito tinipon dahil dito ang pinakagarrison.

Ador: Yung garrison diyan. Tsaka itinaon din---

***Group conversation inaudible.

Angelito Nunag: Parang xa po ang parang namamagitan?

Ador and Rufino: Inaudible

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Mang Ador, matanong ko si Instik po ba talagang instik yun, akala ko'y asawa niya yung instik. Taga Bagui yata---

Ador: Instik talaga

Angelito Nunag: Ito pong sinabi niyo na inipon ang tao, ito mismong eskwelahan na ito o meron pang ibang

Ador: lisa ang school dito

Angelito Nunag: So, dito po? Dito po inipon.

***Group discussion.

Angelito Nunag: Ito po yung malalaki yung bintana---

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): May silong

Ador: Inaudible

Angelito Nunag: Sila Nanay Anacleto po kaya, meron ba kayong ganung ano?

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Milieta

Angelito Nunag: Ah, Milieta. I'm sorry.

Milieta: Dalaga pa po si nanay nung mga panahon ng hapon, makakapal pa yung mga ano--- nung dalaga pa si nanay kaya hindi ko po alam yun

Angelito Nunag: Wala pong naikwento sa inyo?

Milieta: Nagtataas ng mga ano pag dumadating yung mga hapon, na pagdumating na daw eh sila ay baka magustuhan---

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Nagpapapangit

Milieta: Nagpapapangit. Yun lang ang ano ko doon

Angelito Nunag: Si ano po, si Nanay baka magkamali ako ng pagbasa eh.

Fernando Francisco: Juana

Angelito Nunag: Juana

Fernando Francisco: Si Juana James

Juana: Inaudible

Angelito Nunag: Wala po kayong makwento. Siguro po dumako na po tayo sa ikalawang bahagi, ito nga po ay patungkol sa ating kaalaman ukol sa kapaligiran gayun din sa kalamidad at para naman po. Kasi puro tayo ano usapan, meron po tayong

konting aktibidad po. Bibigyan po naming kayo ng panulat tsaka po ng papel kung saan gusto po namin malaman, itala niyo lang po lamang sa papel na yun. Ano po ang unang papasok sa inyo pag sinabi nateng kalamidad. So kahit ano po ano, ano man po ang unang pumasok sa inyo patungkol sa kalamidad, isulat niyo lang po dun tapos

Nestor Castro: Isang salita

Angelito Nunag: Isang salita lang po

Danilo: Bago dumating yung kalamidad?

Angelito Nunag: Bahala po kayo, bago dumating, paparating pa lang, dumating na, basta po kalamidad.

Nestor Castro: Kapad narinig po ninyo yung salitang kalamidad, ano po ang pumapasok sa inyong isip. Magbigay po kayo ng isang salita, na pumasok sa inyong isip sa terminong kalamidad.

Fernando Francisco: Nang sabihin na may kalamidad na darating, ano yung pumasok sa ating isipan.

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Isa lang daw

Ferdnando Francisco: Isang salita.

Nestor Castro: Isang salita, tapos iipunin po natin.

Fernando Francisco: Anon gang pumasok sa iyong isipan na may darating

Nestor Castro: Kahit po darating o dumating o hindi pa dumating basta narinig natin yung salitang kalamidad. Halibawa po anong kasing kahulogan ng terminong kalamidad

Fernando Francisco: Isang salita

Nestor Castro: Isang salita lang po, mamaya na po ang paliwanag. Lakihan niyo po ang sulat, dahil ang laki ng papel. Kahit wala na pong pangalan.

***Respondents, small conversation amongst themselves while doing the activity.

Nestor Castro: Lakihan niyo ang sulat para---

***Respondents, small conversation amongst themselves while doing the activity.

Nestor Castro: Wala naman pong tama o maling sagot.

***Group, small conversation amongst themselves.

Angelito Nunag: Karanasan, ito ba ay karanas na namemerwisyo sa inyo tapos po yung iba po nagsabi na kaligtasan, ano po kaya ang ibig sabihi, shempre po takot ano. Dalawa po yung takot dito, yung dalawa po na sumagot dito hindi lang naman po sila pwede din po yung iba. Magkaiba po kaya ang ibig sabihin ng takot dito kompara dito sa isang nagsabi ng tako dito? Dun po siguro natin simulant ang ating ano, pagkatapos yung iba pagusapan natin. Ano po ba ang ibig sabihin ng perwisyo sa ating pamumuhay? Tapos, may kabihan ho kaya pag sinabing sakuna doon sa kalamidad, so yun po ang ating pagusapan. Unahin po muna siguro natin yung mga nagsabi ng bagyo at shempre may nagsabi ng lindol pala 'no. Ibig po bang sabihin nito nakakaranas yung Talim ng Lindol? Sige po, unahin po natin itong apat na bagyo. Sino po yung mga nagsabi ng bagyo? Bakit ito ang nasabi mo, Jonathan?

Jonathan: Kasi po ito po madalas po namin na nararanasan. Pag may sinabi na kalamidad, bagyo po agad.

Angelito Nunag: Ibig bang sabihin nito Jonathan ang kalamidad bagyo ito, ganoon ba yun? lisa lang ang ibig sabihin noong dalawang yun?

Jonathan: Opo.

Angelito Nunag: Sige, salamat. Yung iba pong nagsabi ng sagot na, sumagot ng bagyo, sino po itong mga ito? Nanay Baby, bakit po bagyo?

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Yung ang bagyo ang hindi ko mawari ang mga experience ko, marami akong experience tungkol sa bagyo. Kung idadagdag ko ang mga experience ko, sasabihin hindi ako marunong sumunod sa isang salita lang.

Angelito Nunag: Kung maraming salita po ba, ano ano ito, bukod sa bagyo?

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Sa bagyo, yun ay yung pagkalubog sa halimbawa, naglalakbay ka sa dagat biglang Signal number 1 nung umalis ka biglang naging Signal number 2, dun mo maranasan ang malalaking alon. May lumulubog na Bangka, meron naming naghahagilap kung paano, nagiisip kung paano ba ako maililigtas sa gitna ng lawa.

Angelito Nunag: So may mga pangamba po kayo, kaakibat noong bagyo na yun?

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Sinong sasaklolo

Angelito Nunag: Kayo po ba ay saan po ba ang bahay ninyo?

Ador: Doon sa tabin---

Angelito Nunag: So Libis po ang bahay ninyo, yung mga--- ninyo

Ador: Narito

Angelito Nunag: Libis din po ito?

Ador: Eh yung si Ponciano---

Angelito Nunag: Saan po? Opo, yung lokasyon po ng bahay. Sa inyo po ay Libis ang tawag, malapit po sa dagat yan?

Ador: Tabing tubig

Angelito Nunag: Yun pong manugang niyo, kung saan po kayo lumilikas, saan po banda?

Ador: Inaudible

Angelito Nunag: Libis din po ito o mas mataas po ito sa Libis?

Jonathan: Hindi po naabot ng tubig.

Angelito Nunag: Ah, tapos doon po kayo nagtatagal ng mga ilang hanggang may tubig po sa bahay ninyo.

Ador: Doon po ako natutulog, pag tanghali umuuwi ako. Pagka-araw, pag gabi hindi.

Angelito Nunag: Sige po. Babalikan pa rin po natin yan. Yung isa po na nagsabi ng pangamba? Si Tatay ano ito, Avelino?

Avelino: Pag dumating po kasi ang kalamidad sa buhay natin bilang sa may pamilya, maraming anak na pinakakain, pinagaaral, yun pong pangamba talaga, yun ang nararamdaman. Unang una, shempre kung kami pamilya yung hanapbuhay, para itustos sa pamilya mo, kung marami kang anak na kagaya ko na kaming magasawa lang naman sumusuporta sa mga bata. Ngayon--- kakulangan ng pagkain na ihinanda sa amin, nangangamba ako na sa--- pagayon sa dagat na inaasahan na pagkukunan ng pagkain--- Katulad po nung mga ---na kinuha at mga cage na dinadala po ng bagyo, pag punta ko po ng dagat eh wala na kaming pagkukunan. Yung bubu, sa dagat ito---

Angelito Nunag: Ano po itong bubu?

Female voice: Fish trap

Avelino: Panghuli ng hipon--- pinangaaral ko at pinapakain ko sa mga anak ko. Kaya po pag dumating yang kalamidad na yan, naku po. Punong puno na po ako ng pangamba at isa pa pong pinapangambahan ko pag dating ng kalamidad. Di po ako makakalabas ng kalsada, sabi nga po ni Nanay Josie 3 straight days hindi tumitigil ang ulan, ano po. Lumalaki rin po

ang tubig, abot din po kami yung lalakaran po naming sa kalsada abot po hanggang tuhod. Nagaalipunga po yung mga bata, sumasakit ang sikhura, yun pong pagkakasakit ang isang matinding pinangangambahan ko sapagkat yan pong pagkakasakit, yan po ay isang napakalaking problema sa taong wala naman pambayad sa doktor, pambili ng gamot. At yun lang po lamang.

Angelito Nunag: Salamat po. Mamaya po--- Huli po natin itong kaligtasan, dito po muna tayo sa bagay. Sino po ba sumagot ng bagay. Tatay Rufino, bakit po tayo sumagot ng bagay?

Rufino: Pag lumabas nga yung calamity--- dumadating ang sama ng panahon--- Walang pagkukunan kaya po, magtitiis na lamang..

Angelito Nunag: Si Nanay Josefine

Josefine: Josefine po. Kaya ko naisulat yung sa kalamidad yung sabi ko bagyo kasi po yung pag bumabagyo nung nasa Libis kami ng dagat. Tabing dagat po, minsan ang alon malalaki. Sumasalpok doon sa may pader. Shempre po yung maliliit na bahay doon sa tabing dagat eh naapektuhan po talaga ng kalamidad ng yan ng bagyo. Kasi po yung maliliit ang bahay, nasisira po ang mga bahay, yun pong mga haligi ng kanilang mga bahay, nawawasak tapos yung aming mga dinadaan ay talaga pong lumalaki ang tubig, umaabot dito sa aming baywang. Nasa tabing dagat po kami, talagang perwisyo yang bagyong yan kasi ang amin pong mga paa, hanggat ang tubig po ay nasa aming harapan ang amin pong paa ay maraming alipunga. Kaya po yang bagyong yan ay naranasan namin na may mga bahay sa libis na nasisira. Yun lang po.

Angelito Nunag: Ang ibig sabihin nung nasa Libis ito yung malapit sa dagat?

Josefine: Opo. Pag malalaki na yung alon tapos hindi na tumitigil ang ulan mga 3 days, ganoon minsan ang mga bagyong dumadating dito eh. Ay dati dati po, pag yung bumagyo, mga isang oras lang tigil na ang ulan pero nung nakaraan po talaga pong walang tigil, kaya po ang mga tao dito ay talagang puspusan ang pananalangin na tumugil na ang ulan, ang bagyong at talaga pong maraming mapeperwisyo. Yun po ang dahilan nilagay ko ang bagyo.

Angelito Nunag: Nanay Josie, gaano ba katagal ang paglalagi ng tubig diyan, tubig baha?

Josefine: Ang tubig baha po minsan po ay ano eh, matagal po. Buwan po ang inaabot, hanggang hindi humahangin ng amihan, hindi po siya liliit. Kaya po talaga yung nasa tabing dagat na mga bahay talagang napeperwisyo po ng bagyo.

Angelito Nunag: Sabi ko mamaya natin pagusapan pero hindi ko po maiwasan 'no. Ano po ang kuneksyon ng amihan sa pagbaba, pagtaas ng tubig na ito?

Josefine: Kasi po diba ang amihan malakas? Malakas ang hangin, kumbaga yung tubig po, nahihigop po na papuntang doon. Papuntang Laguna, paatras po. Kaya po mahalaga ang amihan po. Pag sinabi pong, ayan umamihan na titigil ang bagyo.

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Yung iba naman pagtimog

Angelito Nunag: Anong ibig sabihin ng pagtimog?

Josefine: Pero yung iba pagamihan, naguurong din ng tubig.

Angelito Nunag: Ano po yung isa?

Group: Pagtimog

Fernando Francisco: Ang nangyayari, pagtumigil na ang lakas ng bagyo, yun ang kahuli-hulihang lakas ng hangin.

Angelito Nunag: Lagay ko lang po timog

Josefine: Yung amihan naman eh yung pagurong ng tubig. Hanggang hindi tumitimog may bagyo pa. Pag tumimog na, ayon na, titigil na ang bagyo

Fernando Francisco: Masasaya na ang mga tao. Panakbo na sa laot yan. Panahon na para humuli ng bangus

Angelito Nunag: Sige po, balikan natin mamaya. Isa pa pong nagsulat ng bagyo. Si Nanay Juana

Juana: Ang bagyo po, pagka malakas po ang hangin nakakatakot po yung mga kahoy

Angelito Nunag: Ano pong nangyayari sa kahoy?

Juana: Napuputol yung mga sanga.

Angelito Nunag: Ah, sa puno po ito? Meron pa nanay? Naano na po natin yung apat o may isa pa? Yun naman pong sumagot ng lindol? Sino poi to? Arvin. Bakit lindol?

Arvin: ---nakikita ko sa ibang lugar nangyari yun natakot po akong mangyari satin---

Angelito Nunag: Pero binaggit mo, hindi naman gaanong nararanasan dito. Minsan lang po ng ganoon. Interesting na yun ang unang pumasok sa isip mo.

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): May idadagdag ako sa lindol, pwede ba?

Angelito Nunag: Sige po nanay.

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Itong hindi nila nararanasan ang lindol pero ako noon maliit pa ako, lumindol, napakalakas. Ang bahay naming noon ay may silong pa, nagtotoothbrush ako, talagang ano, akala ko kung ano na ang nangyayari. Tapos itong nagtuturo ako sa--- lumindol, yung mga co-teacher ko labasan doon sa office, nakaluhod hawak hawak yung kamay ko. Noong makita ko yung aking singsing, maganda pa yung singsing ko at gold aba nayupi kako tayo'y magdasal, talagang mahigput yung iba naman nerbyos na nerbyos... may ibang humihiga sa lupa. Nakahiga pa sa lupa. Yung mga nagbbyahe naman, nababago ang takbo ng tubig, bumubula, tapos pagkatapos ng lindol ang poso namin napakalabo, pag bomba mo sa poso malabo, yung mga ano ng lupa, siguro. Kaya ang tubig ay kulay putik

Arvin: Mga 1991 po yun

Angelito Nunag: Dito mo nararanasan

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Oo siguro mga ganoon, ay ako ay nasa iskul.

Angelito Nunag: 1991 din

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Tapos eh yung, wala diyan yung bulkan. Kalamidad din yung bulkan

Angelito Nunag: Opo, sige po maari din pong

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Hindi kasi naano ko din yun pagputok ng bulkan, wala naming bulkan dito sa amin. Napakalayo nung Pinatubo, akala mo nung Pinatubo na aba yung abo, makikita mo yung mga halaman ay puros puti. Puros puti ang dahoon. Tapos yung makapal, yung semento, makakabyon mo yun ng tabo. Umabot yun sa isa ang ano ng Pinatubo. Tapos kami ay nagpasyal diyan sa Zambales, napakaraming nakalubog na bahay.

Angelito Nunag: Sige po mamaya, pagusapn din po natin yan. Namuti yung halaman, may epekto rin

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Parang semento yung nakaano sa kalsada

Angelito Nunag: Sige po, balikan po natin yan. Yung iba pa po?

Arman: Sa aking nararanasan na talaga naman, pagka po talagang may dumadating na ganyan kalamidad, takot po talaga agad ang dumadating sa akin kamo kami ay tabing dagat ay yung talagang aming bahay ay, ang tanda ko na po noon ay hanggang dito pag ako ay napunta sa Libis ay lubog po ako sa tubig. Pumasok pa po ang tubig hanggang sa binti namin, talaga pong pagbinabagyo, talagang nasisira ang aming bahay. Ang talagang nararanasan ko pag may bagyo ay takot talaga.

Angelito Nunag: Sinabi niyo po natambakan hanggang dibdib ano. Kung hindi po kaya natambakan yun, gaano po kaya kataas ang tubig?

Arman: May tambak na nga po hanggang dito, sa loob po namin hanggang dito pa sa binti

Angelito Nunag: Lampas tao po siguro kung walang tambak

Arman: Talagang lampas tao kaya talagang pag may dumadating na ganyan takot ang dumadating sa akin. Sira po talaga ang bahay namin pag dumadating ang ganyan. Ganung lumalaki ang tubig. Nandoon kami sa loob yumayanig po ang aming

Angelito Nunag: Bakit po naisulat niyo ang magingat?

Amiling: Ang masasabi ko ay gawa ng pagdumadating po ang bagyo ay noon pong dumadating ang mga bagyo ang amin pong bahay ay pinasok ng mga putik, mga kahoy na malalaki. Doon kami natutulog sa papag namin sa gitna ng bahay, kaya sinasabi kong magingat. Tsaka po noong ako'y nagtitinda, bagsak po ako sa pinaka ano, sa bangka dahil ako'y inaalon. Kaya sabi ko, ingat. Wala naman po akong ano kaya ako nakakapagtinda, ang asawa ko ay ano na, nasa abroad na walang padala. Walang balikan.

Angelito Nunag: Kaya po naghahanap kayo ng syota ngayon?

Amiling: Oo

Angelito Nunag: Yung pagkakabagsak niyo sa loob mismo ng bagka?

Amiling: Oo, bangka. Napunta ako sa bilaong, nakaano po ako na umano yung katawan.

Angelito Nunag: Sabagay po ano nung--- Wala pang bagyo dito--- Nakita ko si Nanay Baby--- Delikado po talaga.

Amiling: Nabagyo

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Kasi ako ay yung bumagsak ako yung nasa baba. Dumulas yung inuupuan ko.

Angelito Nunag: Gaano pa po kaya kung merong bagyo.

Amiling: Tsaka ako sir ay nagtitinda ay agad tigil sa pagtitinda. Sa Taytay--- ang baha noon nagtiis po ako pag ako ay nagtitinda, nagpapalaki po ako ng anak

Angelito Nunag: Tanda niyo Nanay Baby kung kalian ba hanggang leeg ang tubig? I'm sorry, I'm sorry, Nanay Amiling. Kailan po ito?

Amiling: Noong bumagyo noong, nitong huling bagyo.

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Hindi naman Glenda

***Group discussing the last storm.

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Undoy, matagal na yun.

***Group discussing the storms.

Angelito Nunag: Sige po, ito pong sumagot ng perwisyo sa ating pamumuhay. Si Tatay Fernando.

Fernando Francisco: Kaya po perwisyo and aking naisip dahil pag narinig na natin ang sinasabing kalamidad ang banggit ko sa aking sarili ay perwisyo nanaman sa aming hanapbuhay, palaisdaan, mga--- at ganoon din po ating--- na dinadala ng kalamidad. Perwisyo nga. Sabi nga perwisyo ang bagyo, bagyo man ang dumating, earthquake man o lindol--- Ayon po ang nagiging bunga, kasiraan ng ating tahanan at ng ating mga panghanapbuhay--- kaya po talagang perwisyo.

Angelito Nunag: Mamaya po balikan din natin yan. Yun pong sumagot ng may malaking sakuna. Ano po na baa ng ibig sabihin nito?

Ricky Crisostomo: Magkasingkahulugan lang sila, pag may kalamidad nandyan po yung lindol, bagyo o pagkakaroon ng sakit, peste sa mga halaman, peste nga po sa hanapbuhay. Nandoon na po yun lahat. Kaya problema po yung sakuna. Kasing kahulugan ng kalamidad.

Angelito Nunag: Ricky, tanong ko lang nabanggit mo bukod dun sa lindol, baha, meron kang nabanggit sakit sa halaman, ano bang ibig sabihin ng sakit sa halaman?

Ricky Crisostomo: Napepeste po

Angelito Nunag: Ah, mga peste. Karaniwan, ano kaya itong mga naranasan

Ricky Crisostomo: Dito po kasi ano, yung mais pagka po panahon ng pagmamais, pagka po lumangoy yung mga uuod, nabubulok po yung mga mais, so hindi na mabebenta ng maayos

Angelito Nunag: Kailan ba itong panahon ng mais

Ricky Crisostomo: August po yun, ngayon pong May kasi panahon ng taniman, 3 months yan bago maani. So August, anihan.

Angelito Nunag: Meron ka pang idadagdag? Shempre, itong pinakahuli, kaligtasan. Lahat po ay naano na natin. Sino po baa ng sumagot ng kaligtasan? Si Sir Ruben.

Manuel Mercado (Ruben): Ganito po kasi, kami ng Ate Josie--- sa tabing dagat po ay binabagyo kami doon o masama ang panahon ay talagang ninenerbyos ako. Kaya naman sa aming magasawa--- (Inaudible because of the wind sound) nagpatayo ng bahay naming--- talaga pong kaligtasan namin tungkol sa bagyong yan, kaligtasan ng sarili ko ng pamilya ko, mga kapwa ko dahil noong una po akong nagpagawa ng bahay (Inaudible because of the wind sound) sa lugar namin noong araw--- village. Pag po bumabagyo doon ... mga kapitbahay ko--- sa paglipas po ng panahon (Inaudible because of the wind sound) dahil nga po diyan sa mga--- iniisp ko nga po na hindi na ligtas ang bahay namin (Inaudible because of the wind sound)

Angelito Nunag: Ano pong spelling ng serga?

Female voice: S-E-R-G-A

Angelito Nunag: Lubid sa ibabaw ng bubong

***Group discussion.

Manuel Mercado (Ruben): Inaudible

Angelito Nunag: So kahit po tirik ang araw Sir Ruben, may serga ka pa din? Buong taon na yan?

(Inaudible because of the wind sound) Group discussion.

Angelito Nunag: Sir, may gusto ka bang ano, bago tayo kumain.

Nestor Castro: Ang ano lang, habang naguunat lang kayo. Kinuha ko lang yung ibang binanggit, yung mga termino tas mamaya susuriin natin ang bawat isa. Lahat ng ito parang may nabanggit kayong na parang katangian ng mga nangyayari tuwing merong kalamidad na karamihan dito patungkol sa bagyo. Bagamat tinalakay din natin yung lindol, yung peste sa halaman medyo itinatahi muna natin yun, sinusulat din po namin pero mamaya magffocus tayo sa bagyo at pagbaha kasi yun ang karamihan sinabi. So ang mga binanggit po dito, malalaki ang alon, malakas ang hangin, nasisira ang mga bahay, lalo na sa Libis. Yun ang isang natutunan nating termino. Pagkakaroon ng alipunga, pagbaha, nabanggit na yung pinakadulo ng bagyo, yung tumitimog, yun yung malakas ang hangin pero sa kabilang banda yun ang palatandaan na patapos na ang bagyo. Bumabagsak ang mga sanga kaya delikado, lumalaki ang tubig, yayanig ang dingding kahit pa man konkreto ito, kawalan ng hanapbuhay, nasisira ang mga pa-aklat, yung cage, bubu. Bubung matalino, bubung hindi. Pagkakasakit sa sikmura, tiis tiis na lang na talagang ganyan ang mangyayari. Pagpasok ng putik sa bahay. Masama ang panahon, nagkakaroon ng nerbiyos, mga tuklap na bubong, bukod pa dito sa mga nakalista na perwisyo, hindi ko na iulit at nakalista na yan. Mamaya ho titingnan natin, ano ho ang ating ginagawa para makaiwas o kaya makatugon sa mga ito o para hindi, nabanggit na ang pagkakaroon ng selga, maganda yun, hindi ko nilista dahil yun ang susunod nating tatalakayin. Ang pagtitiis ay isa ring paraan ng pang-angkop, dahil kung hindi tayo magtitiis ano na lang, magiiyak na lang tayo. Mabuti na lang din na magtiis. So mamaya yun ang titingnan natin. Binanggit naman dito ni Lito noong simula, una nating tinalakay kaalaman ukol sa kalamidad, mamaya pupuntahan natin, ano ang konkretong mga epekto tapos mga konkreto nating ginagawa para maalpasan yung ganitong kalamidad tapos mga paghahanda na ginagawa natin.

Angelito Nunag: ---kung saan ito po ay nakatoon sa epekto noong mga kalamidad na binanggit niyo. Meron po ba sa inyo ang nais unang magbahagi patungkol sa mga epekto ng mga nabanggit nating mga kalamidad kanina? Para po mapalalim natin ang pagtalakay natin, bagamat sabi nga ni Professor Castro kanina ilan dito ay epekto na din, sa ngayon po siguro ay mas palalimin pa natin. O kaya po kung gusto niyo simulan natin ang ating talakayan doon sa naikwento din satin ni Professor Castro kanina noong wala ako. Sabi niya, meron siyang nabanggit na para bang karaniwan, ayon po sa inyo nakakaranas ng sakuna diba pag sumasakay ng bangka ay yung mga taga-labas. Ano po ba ang ibig sabihin noon? Ang mga taga isla po ba ay naiiwas sa sakuna, kung naiiwas sa paanong paraan po, bakit po sa palagay niyo ay yung taga labas ang naapektuhan.

Ricky Crisostomo: Kasi pa yung penalties sa pagsakay, pagsakay sa bangka, pag may konting alon, nagpapanic agad sila Ang tendency noon, yung bangka nagganoon---

Angelito Nunag: So, yung mga taga dito, walang ganoong tendency, ganoon ba?

Ricky Crisostomo: Sanay na po sila. Meron naman po yung iba maarte, lumilipad. Mas sanay po yung mga taga dito talaga.

Angelito Nunag: Pero karaniwan yung mga taga labas yung hindi sanay.

Fernando Francisco: Yung pong mga taga labas--- Sa pagtawid tawid dito sa isla dahil hindi nila naeexperience, malaking alon, di tulad noong talagang naninirahan dito sa barangay na sa araw araw na ginawa ng Diyos ay yun ng yun na lang ang ginagawa. Time to time, konting lakas ng hangin, hindi na nila, hindi na napagtutuunan ng pansin dahil sanay na at alam na nila ang gagawin. Halimbawa po ako, paglabis ang paglaki ng alon, nananahimik kami sa isang lugar, sa isang gawi ng bangka. Hindi tulad noong nanggaling nga ng kabihasnan, sabi nga kabihasnan. Walang kamalayan sa sistema ng pagsakay ng bangka, naalunan ka. Naalunan yan, ang sabi nga eh napunta sa isang side. Dahil doon sa ginagawa nila na yun, doon lalong nagsimula ng sakuna.

Angelito Nunag: Pwede po ba natin sabihin na pwedeng kawalan yan ng pangyayari sa---

Fernando Francisco: Opo. Di sila pamilyar

Female voice: First time din

Nestor Castro: Tuwing kalian po ba dumadating ang alon?

Fernando Francisco: Pag po panahon ng tagkabagatan. Ngayon pong dadating na buwan ay maari pong pumunta yung kabagatan.

Nestor Castro: Ano Mayo, Hunyo

Fernando Francisco: Buwan ng June, July, August pinaka kumbaga pinaka-peak.

Nestor Castro: Julne, July, August

Fernando Francisco: Kasi po, kasi yan, sabi nga natin ang pag-ano ng bagyo.

Nestor Castro: Mga gaano po kalakas ang malaking alon?

Fernando Francisco: Kung memetrohin po natin eh kung kukumpara natin sa kabilang dagat sa alat eh maliit po naman. Siguro hanggang 2 metro lang ang taas pero ang kaibahan po, sunod sunod sila. Hindi tulad noong sa kabilang dagat na ang isang alon eh malayo pa yung kasunod. Dito po saten eh, yung pag-atake ay tuloy tuloy agad. Yun po ang kaibahan.

Female voice: Depende din po sa---

Fernando Francisco: Dahil po sa kasanayan ng mga magbabangka na nandito, alam na nila ang talagang gagawain. Pero nagiging problema ng magbabangka nga ay yung kawalan ng malay nung sumakay na taga ibang lugar. Yun ang nagiging problema, kaya nagkakaroon ng ganoong aksidente. Yung pagkalubog ng bangka.

Angelito Nunag: Nabanggit niyo poi tong kaalaman ng bangkero, sa kanya po

Fernando Francisco: Sa kanya pong experience na matagal na sa pananatili sa paghahanapbuhay dito ay alam niya na kung paano igagawi, ibabalanse yung bangka at kung paano niya patatakbuhan ng tama, normal na ayon sa alon. Yun pong kaibahan. Kaya lang po, sabi ko nga sa inyo Pag nakasakay eh walang kamalayan doon sa dapat nilang gawing posisyon, tatakbo sila sa kabilang side eh minsan hindi na din macontrol ng mga bangkero.

Angelito Nunag: Kayo po ba sa ganoong pagkakataon, mga taga-isla, ano pong ginagawa ninyo?

Fernando Francisco: Eh kami kung tulad namin sanay na diyan, pagalam namin na ganoon ang takbo ng alon ay lumalagay na lang kami sa isang lugar. Talagang nakaposisyon, kung sa gitna't gitna hindi na yun nagbabago. Hindi tulad noong iba na pagnabasa, sabi nga komo hindi taga-isla, umaalis doon sa pwesto. Hindi tulad noong sanay na, hindi sila nagpapanic, alam nila na kaya nang iayos ng bangkero yung bangka, yun ang kaibahan. Pag po naman, hindi naman natin pwedeng pagsumakay doon sa bangka illecture pa.

Angelito Nunag: Nanay Baby, meron po kayong sasabihin patungkol doon? Parang nakita ko kayo kaninang nagtataas ng kamay.

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Saan? Sa---

Angelito Nunag: Doon sa binabanggit ni Tatay na

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Ayun lang dapat nga impormasyon, yung mga baguhan na sumasakay kahit meron pa din na datihan pa din yung minsan minsan lang umaalis, natatakot din sila na pagnabasa, wala akong isusuot na damit pagdating sa bayan o kaya palipat lipat din, kulang nga sa kaalaman sabi nga ni

Ricky Crisostomo: Dapat sa mga taga-City, guidelines

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Dapat diyan eh, life jacket, life vest. Dati wala yan, ngayon meron na

Fernando Francisco: At tsaka yung sa ngayon meron na tayong nangangalaga, yung coast guard dun, eh minsan matitigas din ang ulo, talagang katigasan ng Pilipino, ayaw sumunod doon sa ilalim ng coast guard, yung pinaliliwanag na dapat ganit, ganyan. Minsan pati magbabangka gustong kumita ng Malaki, iioverload yung bangka

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): At saka nililista na ngayon yung listahan ng pasahero, kung anong pangalan mo gender, age. Ano na, kasama na sa manipesto nila yun ang isasakay

Angelito Nunag: Meron po bang bilang ng tao na

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Ang gasoline 50 ba o 60

Fernando Francisco: 50

Angelito Nunag: Pero may mga pagkakataon po talaga na lumalampas sa 50?

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Meron, yung malaking bangka halos 100.

Angelito Nunag: Yung malaking bangka po ano ang capacity nito?

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): 100

Angelito Nunag: Yun pong 50?

Fernando Francisco: Yung normal na binibigay ng coast guard, hanggang 50-60 lang, kaya lang yun nga, yung mga nagpapasahero hindi sapat yung kinikita kaya mas lampas pa doon.

Angelito Nunag: Nabanggit niyo po yang kita, sige po balik po dito. Sa kita po ba may epekto itong mga kalamidad na yan?

Fernando Francisco: Malaki po. Kasi po, tulad niyan, signal number 1 lang hindi na paalisin ang bangka. Paano po mabubuhay ang isang byahero kung hindi papaalisin ng coast guard. Edi sa isang araw po na yun o dalawang araw eh yan ang pinagkukunan ng pamilya para kumain, yung dalawang araw po na yun mawawala. At ganoon din naman po ang mga nagtitinda, tulad po nito na namimili ng Binangonan wala po kasing produkto

Angelito Nunag: Sino po ang namimili sa Binangonan? Ay trabaho niyo po yun, sige po Nay Josie, pakwento na lang po paano kayo naapektuhan ng halimbawa signal number 1

Josie: Kasi po ako'y isang balo, ako na lang po ang nagaano sa aking pamilya edi kung hindi po ako makakauwi sa Binangonan, wala na, wala nang kita ang aking ano, isang araw din yun eh minsan ilang araw bago, may signal number 1 hindi na po kami. Nung isang beses may araw, may araw pero signal number 1 wala pong dumaang bangka. Shempre ako, Lord paano na ang aking negosyo, kasi po kami dito sa Bangad may nagpautang samin ng ASHI Ahon Sa Hirap. Ipapautang sa mga nanay para magkaroon ng puhunan, eh shempre po umutang ako, paano na ang negosyo hindi ako makakauwi sa Binangonan kasi ayaw nga po ng coastguard na magpadaan ng bangka. Kaya sabi po namin talaga, yung pangyayari po nay un nagkaroon ng ano sa Binangonan ay talagang perwisyo po kami kasi hindi nga po makauwi sa Binangonan eh wala naman pong bagyo, hindi naman po umuulan, matindi ang tirik ng araw. Kaya po sabi ni Kuya Nanding, perwisyo is si coastguard

Angelito Nunag: Si Sir Ruben

Manuel Mercado (Ruben): Nung lumaki ako ay nagaral kami sa Maynila, hindi ko naranasan na pigilan kami ng coastguard-- -awa naman ng Diyos hindi kami nakakauwi, ngayon lumaki ang mga sasakyan ngayon at saka pag may pigil--- dahil sa bihirang bihira naman, maliban na lang kung--- ng mga nakaw pero may naaksidente dahil alam kasi ng bangkero ang gagawin nila sa kanilang--- ngayon pag pinipigilan lalo pang napeperwisyo dahil nga sa signal na ito na hindi naman dumadating pa

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Excuse me. Ano kaya ang mas matibay? Ang bangka noon o ang bangka ngayon? Hindi, parang mas matibay ang kahoy kasi ngayon nung naging anong tawad doon

Josie: Fiber glass

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Fiber glass, parang magaan ang fiber glass napapadali ang lubog

Manuel Mercado (Ruben): Mas malalaki naman Ate Baby---

Male voice: Injecting something inaudible making Ruben's words inaudible

Angelito Nunag: Nababanggit poi tong materyales. Ano pong kahoy po ba ang gamit noon kung fiber glass po ngayon? Anong kahoy po? Dito rin po ba nakukuha yun o

Fernando Francisco: Ay hindi po. Sa Laguna pa nanggagaling ang mga bangka noong araw, ngayon po noong natigil ang dealer sa pagputol ng puno, dun na po nagsimula. Matibay--- Sa akin po naman eh isang ano lang yan eh, yun naming mga sinasabi ng mga coast guard, tama naman--- pagiingat sa kaligtasan para sa atin kaya lang ang epekto nga ng pagiingat sa atin yung hanapbuhay, perwisyo. Pero walang intensyon, sabi nga kami po ay sumusunod lamang sa inaatas ng nakatataas. Ang pagasa na pag may signal na hindi na kayo pwedeng, yun po ang isa, sabi ko nga perwisyo talaga pag dating ng

Manuel Mercado (Ruben): Merong paglabag na ginawa ang isang pasahero, sabihin na natin na inabot ng sakuna sa gitna ng dagat. Ano ba ang ginagawa nitong mga coastguard? Sila ba ay may kapasidad na magligtas ng tao o hanggang taga saway na lamang sila. Ano ba ang sasakyan

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Wala

Danilo: Meron ma'am.

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Ah, meron.

Danilo: Meron, nakita ko ang mga speed boat nila.

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Eh, ilan baa ng speed boat nila?

Fernando Francisco: Nakaahon. Ang isang bangkang gagamitin ng isang tagapagligtas kung nandoon sa atin ang kaniyang sasakyan

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Eh yung biglang may sakuna dapat may bigla biglang ...

Danilo: Yung kasing speed boat nila, nasa tapat ng kanilang, semento na meron naman na merong gulong na pagtalagang kinakailangan na hinuhulan na lang yun para ihatid doon sa bitin para mapatakbo at makapagligtas ng buhay. Yan po ang kanilang sasakyan--- kasi po ako ay naiintindihan ko rin naman po sila, kaya lang paminsan ako po ay nayayamot din dahil pag may dumating doong motor eh sasakay na lamang ako, sasabihan akong balik balik. Kaya ako'y yamot na yamot, uuwi ang motor wala naman sakay, wala namang malakas na hangin, tining pa

Angelito Nunag: Ano nga po ang ibig sabihin ng tining?

Danilo: Yung kalma

Fernando Francisco: Patag ang karagatan

Angelito Nunag: Eh yung nabanggit ni Sir Ruben, natanghod

Danilo: Nahataw, yung humataw ang bangka

Fernando Francisco: --kung ikaw ay nakasakay yung mararamdaman mo na biglang tumataas, biglang may lumalangat. Yun po tumatama sa isang uri ng--- na tinatawag na anahaw na minsan po doon sa mababaw yung bato, may lugar kasi doon na may bato, iniawasan

Angelito Nunag: Sa panahon po nayung bangka, ano po ang karaniwang nangyayari?

Fernando Francisco: Nangyayari, ayun po nabubutas yung pinakacore, yung pinaka bangka, nagiging sanhi ng paglubog ng isang bangka

Angelito Nunag: May mga kaso po ba tayong naitala dito na ng mga natanghod, lumubog

Fernando Francisco: Meron na din pong naging kaso ng lunod sa mga mangingingisda na talagang pag natanghod doon sa lugar na yun, nabubutas yung kanilang bangka

Angelito Nunag: Saan pong lugar ito

Fernando Francisco: Doon sa tinatawag na may pulo, sa may kung saan kayo nadaan ngayon, mapansin niyo may pulo diyaan. May lugar po doon.

***Group answers simultaneously. Inaudible.

Fernando Francisco: In between ... at yung iba naman po natataon na nataob minsan sa hunos na hanahaw, nagiging sanhi naman ng pagtagilid. Hindi man nabutas yung bangka. Eh shempre pag nakalam ang bangka niyo, biglang tumagilid, nasundan pa ng nasabing ang mga sakay ay magugulo...

Baby: Nangyari sa ka ... Walang alon pero, tahimik na tahimik ang dagat, ang lawa ay biglang na lang na ano doon sa ulos, kaya ayon nabutas, sa dami ng pasahero may namatay. Lubog yung bangka, may namatay, hindi nakalabas doon sa tolda. Shempre pag yun nalubog, hindi mo na malaman kung saan ka.

Angelito Nunag: Taga-isla po itong namatay?

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Taga-isla--- inaudible

Fernando Francisco: --kasi wala naman kami noong tinatawag na--- reduction---

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Yung National Disaster.

Fernando Francisco: Meron bang nagpunta dito sa ating barangay para ipaliwanag?

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Lack of information

Ador: Yung Barangay reduction management

Angelito Nunag: Mamaya po bandang dulo, pagusapan po natin yan. Meron po sana akong gustong na ifollow up sa inyo Nanay Josie pero unahin ko muna yung kay Sir Ruben. San po nanggagaling ang obserbasyon niyo na kung kalian naging high-tech, moderno, mas lalong dumami yung mga ganyang pagbabago. Saan po nanggagaling yung obserbasyon niyo?

Manuel Mercado (Ruben): Kasi nga nagaral ako noon sa, nagcollege ako kahit gumagabi nakakaalis ako, nakakapasok ako. Nung may trabaho na po ako, may meeting ako, hindi ako makaalis dahil nga pinigilan ang bangka, samantalang noon kahit maliit lang na gapagong lang nakakapunta sa Binangonan, walang sumasaway. Ngayon po ang sinasabi ko, kung kalian naging high-tech eh tsaka pa lumabas itong mga perwisyo. Dapat siguro alam nila din, hindi ko alam kung ano ang kanilang basehan para pigilan nila yung mga pasaherohan na within 3 days, tulad nga ng sabi ni Ate Josie. Paano yun pupunta sa Binangonan eh naghahanap buhay yung tao, bibili ng bigas yan eh yun an gaming base source na pinagkukunan, kung pipigilin mo 3 days yan

Angelito Nunag: Para sa inyo, ano po ba dapat ang maging basehan?

Manuel Mercado (Ruben): Sa tingin ko diyan, hindi ko ma-sure ang kanilang basehan ng pagbabagong kanilang sinusunod, ang kanilang standards na dapat nilang gawin. Pagsikat ng araw pag signal number 1, wala ka naman nararamdaman

Angelito Nunag: So kung kayo po ang tatanungin, ano po baa ng pwedeng pamantayan?

Manuel Mercado (Ruben): Sa akin ha, kung ikaw taga rito alam na nilang magbabangka, alam na ng mga taga rito kung kalian, sabi nga ni Kuya Ruding adjusted na kami sa panahon dito, alam na naming kung kalian kami pwedeng mapahamak nang dahil sa dagat alam naming kung paano isasalba ang sarili naming kung kami'y aalis. Dahil kaya kami umalis, handa kami sa kung anong pwedeng mangyari sa amin.

Angelito Nunag: Maari niyo bang ibahagi sa amin, sabi niyo, kaming taga-rito adjusted na alam na namin. Ano po ba itong mga kaalaman na ito na

Manuel Mercado (Ruben): Pupunta kami sa Binangonan, alam naming na maalon, magdadala kami ng damit na pwede namin, nakabalot ang damit naming sa selopin, pag ganoon naman hindi na kami mabasa hindi kami aalis sa aming kinalalagyan. Likewise na yung mga taga-Maynila, hindi ko sinasabing lahat hindi nila ano yung kaalaman na pumalo lang nagpunta na sa isang sulok naging dahilan pa, nagpanic na. Alam na po namin kumbaga. Kung dumating man samin ang ganoong klaseng kalamidad na alam namin na kami'y magiging ligtas pa at mahalaga ang pupuntahan naming, gagawa kami ng kaparaanan sa amin lamang na makakarating kami doon. Kung kami naman ay hahadlangan nila, doon kami dumadating sa sinasabi namin na perwisyo na sila, hindi na nakatulong, nakaperwisyo pa sila.

Angelito Nunag: Sa inyo po, bukod sa sinabi ni Sir Ruben, meron po ba kayong

Nestor Castro: Ako may itatanong, yung mga bangkero po ba dito, mga taga-isla?

Fernando Francisco: Dito na talaga sila

Nestor Castro: Tiwala kayo sa kanilang kasanayan sa pagbabangka. At sila ba ay halimbawa ang isang bangkero, pamilya din ba sila ng mga bangkero?

Jonathan: ---pg hindi nila kaya, hindi po sila lumalabas. Kung hindi nila kaya, hindi sila lalabas. Ang gagawin nila, issafety

Fernando Francisco: Pero pag sinabi nga na ganyan, signal number 1. Dahil nga sa kaalaman ng mga mga magbabangka dito, alam na nila kung gaano kalaki ...

Nestor Castro: Parang sinasabi ni Jonathan na yung mga bangkero alam na nila kung kalian pwedeng lumabas at hindi batay sa pagtanya nila, base sa hangin at, kaya lang yun ang dati nilang nakasanayan. Ngayon naman pumasok yung coastguard at medyo magkaiba ang kanilang

Fernando Francisco: Panuntunan

Angelito Nunag: Shempre po hindi lang mga bangkero ang may kaalaman doon tulad ng sabi ni Sir Ruben, siya paraan ng ginagawa niya ay pagdadala ng damit para sakali man na mabasa merong pamalit. Meron pa po ba tayong ibang alam na gawi, sa level ng mga mananakay o taga dito. Kasi po kanina ang nabanggit ni Sir Castro eh sa level ng mga bangkero,

alam na nila yung lakas ng hangin, alam nila yung alon, kayo po sa mga ganoong pagkakataon? Paano po ang inyong pagaangkop gaya po ng sabi ni Sir Ruben, pamaraan.

Fernando Francisco: Sa amin po ay tiwala sa nagdadala ng bangka, yun po ang pinakamalaking factor na kayo ay may tiwala sa nagaano ng inyong
Angelito Nunag: Magpa

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Magpalaro sa alon, nakakasunod sila sa alon hindi sila sasalungat (Fernando Francisco talking, overlap)

Fernando Francisco: Sabi nga, kaya nilang sumabay doon sa sayaw. Ayon pong mga coastguard, shempre ang alam noon eh yung batas na dapat ipatupad sa ano mang paraan. Ke tining siya pag sinabing may signal, hindi pwedeng umalis.

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Ang hirap hindi pwedeng umalis, ang iba naman stranded sa Binangonan

Fernando Francisco: Hindi makauwi. Sana naman wag ganoon, alam naman yan ni PAGASA eh. Na kung sinasabi ni PAGASA na malayo naman yung kalamidad hindi dito lugar natin pero meron nga siyang signal huwag na muna ipatupad yung sistema na kahit tining hindi mo paaalisin ang mga mamamayan dahil plano na at kailangan umalis. Halimbawa, tulad ko nagtrabaho sa kabayanan yung araw na yun aalis ako pipigilin mo paano naman yung mga trabaho – sistema ng pinatutupad na batas. Ngayon kung ang signal naman eh talagang malakas, ang tao naman tinatanggap na yun eh dahil kaligtaasan din naman natin yun. Yun lang ang ano naming. Bilang mananakay nga, sabi nga ni Ate Baby, magdasal ka na lang.

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): May awa naman ang Diyos, kasi wala ka naman nang magagawa. Yung iba tanggalan na lang ng sapatos.

Fernando Francisco: May life jacket naman na pinoprovide ang bangka.

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Yung iba pinupuntirya yung mga---

Fernando Francisco: Yung mga taga-rito alam naman na may paluwi yung bangka

Angelito Nunag: Balikan ko po yung epekto ulit ano. Nanay Josie, unahin na kita, minsan tatlong araw ibis na makatrabaho, sa loob po ng tatlong araw na hindi mo nagawa yung negosyo mo paano, ano po ang pagaangkop na ginagawa mo sa mga perwisyo.

Josie: Ang nangyayari po sir, yung ganyan na hindi ako nakakauwi ng Binangonan ay meron naming kaming tindahan na mauutangan. Nagpapautang naman po, ayun po. Wala akong asawa, sinong tutulong sakín kung hindi ako maghahanap buhay. Ganoon po

Angelito Nunag: Yung iba po bukod sa utang?

Fernando Francisco: Yung iba po eh nagtitiis na lang, next week na lang.

Angelito Nunag: Anong ibig sabihin ng tiis na yun?

Fernando Francisco: Sabi nga po, kung kumakain ka ng madami dami bawasan mo muna dahil pagkakasyahin natin ang ating pagkain sa loob ng isang araw ay gagawin nating 2 days na yun. At hihintayin natin ang sasabihin ng coastguard na pwede nang bumiyahé. At kung ikaw naman eh may hinuhulugan sabi nga, yun ay isang malaking problema. Ganoon na lang ang ginagawang sistema pag nandito ka sa loob ng Taliman. Sabi nga, tiis tiis

Manuel Mercado (Ruben): ---may meeting kasi kami noon eh nakaalis na po sa terminal ng Binangonan ay ayaw nang pauwiin eh naroon ako sa Binangonan may dala pa po akong damit--- nakalagay pa sa plastic nasa bag ko, mabasa man tuloy tuloy ako pagpasok sa trabaho ayon po ang masakit doon ay nung uuwi na po kami eh tuwang tuwa po ako, walang bangka, maganda po ang napuntahan namin, kumukutikutitap, napariwara pa po ako

Angelito Nunag: Yun ang magandang epekto

Manuel Mercado (Ruben): Ay sabi, san ka natulog, doon lang sa--- ay nakahiga kami doon...

Fernando Francisco: Kaysa naman doon sa --- na bigla na lang may sumaksak sayo. Kasi pag tambay doon sa daungan, matatakot ka sa ngayong panahon dahil maraming addict doon sa bayan.

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Nagsimula ng paghihigpit noong bagyo ng Undoy

***Respondents simultaneously talking

Angelito Nunag: Ano po ang pangalan ng bangkang ito?

Fernando Francisco: Arson noong araw pero pinalitan na

Angelito Nunag: Kailan poi to lumubog?

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Fiesta yun, August.

Fernando Francisco: Mga 4 years ago

Angelito Nunag: Ano pong mga pagbabago ang nangyari pagkatapos pong lumubog nito?

Fernando Francisco: Ayan na nga po tulad ng coastguard. Pinagbawal na yung

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Natelevise nga yun, natelevise

Fernando Francisco: Pinagbawal na yung, pinagbawal na yung

Jonathan: Pagbyahe

Fernando Francisco: Pagbyahe pag may signal tapos yung overloading, pinagano na din nila. Tinitingnan na nila ngayon yung bangka kung tama ba yung karga niya pero hindi naman nila nakikita pag papunta ng Binangonan, overloaded na. Kasi noong mangyari yun, overloaded nanggaling dito

Angelito Nunag: May sakuna, kalamidad ba noong panahon na yun?

Jonathan: Wala

Fernando Francisco: Isang aksidenteng siguro, hindi din naman wala naman dahil may kalamidad. Wala eh. Pangyayari na hindi natin ginusto, kapalaran.

Nestor Castro: Anong kaso, overloading ba

Fernando Francisco: Overloading talaga siya, ang problema doon lasing ang mga pasahero. Ang sabi ko nga sayo... ang mga ano eh magugulo, palipat lipat, tumagilid hanggang sa ang bandang hulihan ---pinasok ng tubig.

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Mga bakla

Fernando Francisco: Bakla kasi yung magugulo--- pagbabago ng sistema. Sa mali na pagkakamali, hindi ko alam kung pagkakamali

Angelito Nunag: Ricky meron kang gsustong idagdag

Ricky Crisostomo: Ngayon po no life jacket, no travel. Yun po yung policy nila ngayon. Kasi nga po in case na lumubog nga po at wala silang life jacket, yung mga hindi marunong lumangoy walang sasalba sa kanila. Yun po.

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Pero may isa pang magandang epekto yan nung bagyo. Kasi yung maliit na mangingisda para kasing natutuwa sila kasi pagkatapos ng bagyo mas marami silang huli, ang malalaki palang isda, nasisira pero nagmumura din naman ang mga isda, nagmumura. May libre, may dalawang piso isang kilo...

Fernando Francisco: Kaya nga lately doon ako nagagalit sa bagyo eh. Yun ang hanapbuhay namin eh nawala.

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Inaudible

Fernando Francisco: Malaki, maliit kasi ikaw ay apektado ng pagka yung ganoon. Kung ikaw ay isang small fish pen operator matutuwa kami sa bagyo, sinong matutuwa eh yung mga mangingisda.

Jonathan: Para sa amin kami ay malungkot, dahil yung inaalagaan namin napupunta naman sa ano

Arvin: ---Yung mga walang--- yun ang masaya

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Kahit wala kaming fish pen hindi kami masaya. Masasayahan ka na ba na makikita mo ang mga kapwa mo nagdurusa.

Manuel Mercado (Ruben): ---Ibang iba. Hindi naman bumabagyo bakit ganito ang hangin---

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): ---malapit sa bahay--- mabuting umiwas sa bahay

Manuel Mercado (Ruben): Sabi ko nga, malaki ang puno dito sa eskwelahan--- kung kalian timog na biglang humangin ng napakalakas takbuhan kami pauwi. Ayun po yung---

Fernando Francisco: Malupit ang panahon. Malupit para sa atin na maliliit na namumuhay dito sa atin. Hindi apektado yung mga malalaking tao, may salapi may kayamanan na walang problema samin kasi hindi apektado. Yung maliliit tulad po natin na namumuhay dito lalo na sa ganitong lugar, lalo na yung may time na hindi mo magawang makarating sa dapat mong puntahan--- Isang problema sa mga taga rito

Female voice: Inaudible

Fernando Francisco: Karamihan po kasi ng nabubuhay, mamayan dito ang hanapbuhay ay ang nasa dagat. At dahil dito naman sa kabundukan, unti-unti nang nawala ang hanapbuhay sa kabundukan dahil ang mga lupa ay naipagbebenta sa isang

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Lucio Tan

Fernando Francisco: Lucio Tan. Kaya po itong islang ito kung titingnan niyo, ito po ay pagaari na ni Lucio Tan.

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Meron pa din bahagi

Fernando Francisco: Napakaliit na. Doon po sa, itong islang ito ay $\frac{1}{4}$ na lang ang pagaari ng mga mamamayan

Angelito Nunag: Nabili na po ito ni

Fernando Francisco: Lucio Tan

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Kaya nga ang sinasabi, ito daw ay gagawing airport. Rizal International Airport.

Fernando Francisco: ---hindi pinagpatuloy dahil ang pinili nga daw eh yung sa Cavite. Yun dapat---

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): May sinasabi pa nga na --- Sa Laguna---

Fernando Francisco: Maganda ang layunin, mapaganda, mapaunlad pero ang naghihirap tulad po namin na mahirap, lalo pang humihirap.

Angelito Nunag: Ano po yung mga nagbebenta? Yung mga nasa bundok pero yung mga nasa Libis---

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): ---taga-Libis din naman yun eh

Fernando Francisco: Yung mga nasa bundok, yun din ang mayari ng mga --- May mga sarili din silang lupa naibenta na. Yung pagaari ko dito, meron din sa bundok, yun na lang natitirikan.

Angelito Nunag: Alam niyo po kaya ang dahilan bakit yun ang binebenta at hindi dito sa Libis?

Fernando Francisco: Kasi ang tao ang kabundukan hindi napaguukulan ng pansin, gawain o tamnan---

Jonathan: Inaudible

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Mas mahirap kumilos sa kabundukan

Francisco Fernando: ---nakikita niyo? Wala tayong---paano natin didiligin yung halaman na tinanim mo kung wala ka naman talagang daan papunta doon. Kaya ang tao napipilitan na lang ibenta

Arvin: Shempre kung madadagdagan ng kaalaman ang mga tao Ang nangyayari po, sa halip na doon gumalaw sa bundok ang nangyayari sa Maynila na, kung may tinapos na po, nagiging priority niya na

Fernando Francisco: Naeengganyo na---

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): ---aral medyo halimbawa ang kurso nila ay pangkabayanan, ang mga natitirang course dito ay mga teacher. Yun talaga, ang teacher kasi kahit saan mo dalhin teacher ka pa din basta pasado ka sa board ng teacher, kahit pumunta ka sa Bisaya teacher ka pa din pero pag ikaw ang hindi teacher ang trabaho mo ay mga accountancy eh dito ba naman may papasukan ka, shempre sa kabayanan, sa Maynila, sa Makati, mga Engineer doon kasi sila. Kaya nauubos na yung nagpipirmi diyan sa bundok

Fernando Francisco: Kasi nga ang nangyayari nga hindi na natututukan ng ating pamahalaan yung mga lugar na.... na tayong makakatulong sa ating maliliit, yung mga proyekto na sana'y pakikinabangan ng mga taong tulad na karamihan kulang sa pinagalaran

Ruben: ...noong araw ay puro tayo bukid hanggang sa kaingin bukid, tubig ng palayan hanggang dagat, nawala. Diba isang dahilan noon kawalan ng tubig dahil sa pagbabago ng panahon. Kung dati ang ginagawa mo magtatanim ka taon taon tapos ngayong taon wala, magbabakasakali ka. ---bakat na bakat talaga ang mga pilapil sa bundok, dahil nga yan sa

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Aplaya

Manuel Mercado (Ruben): Gusto mo magtanim eh hindi ka naman uulanin. Tag-araw naman eh babagyuhan ka edi wala ka nang kasiguraduhan, ititigil mo na yan at hahanap ka na ng paraan para ang sarili mo ay maisalba, wag na tayo magbukid kasi nagugutom tayo, pag ikaw ay nagtrabaho dun ka na sa Maynila at wala pa tayong gutom

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Kaya nga ---naggulay sila hindi na kailangan ng tubig.

Fernando Francisco: Sa ngayon tita bawal ka na maguling

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Ay bawal ka na maguling

Manuel Mercado (Ruben): Basta nakatapos ka na ng pagaaral yun na ang pwedeng halimbawa---

Arvin: Inaudible

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Dito naman sa isla, napakadami ng---

Angelito Nunag: Sir Ruben, tanong ko lang kanina mo nabanggit yung lupit ng panahon. Parang nakikita ko sa sinasabi mo parang ito yung dahilan ng mga bagbabago, halimbawa binebenta itong mga palayan, yung mga kabuhatan ng mga tao dito, dahil nagbago na ang panahon sa lupit ng panahon.

Manuel Mercado (Ruben): Sa karanasan ko talaga yung lupit, kaya ko po sinasabing lupit kagaya ng sinabi ko kanina yung Bimbo Village sa bahay namin, yung bahay namin sa may evacuation center--- Eh bakit ngayon ang bahay ko---

Angelito Nunag: Kailan niyo po napansin itong paglupit ng panahon? Kailan po nagsimula itong lumupit na kagaya ng binabanggit ni Sir Ruben. Kahit walang ulan may takusan? Tagtimog na

Manuel Mercado (Ruben): May mga serge nung nagOndoy yung asawa ko pinalipat ko na ng bahay---nakahawak po ako doon sa tali sa yero para hindi matangay, natangay pa din po yung yero, nagtago na lang ako haligi ng aming bahay ---sabi ko kung dingding lang eh hindi ito kayang tangayin, eh inubos naman ang yero.

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Inaudible

Jonathan: Malaki na po talaga ang pinagbago ng panahon.

Angelito Nunag: Tatay Nanding kailangan niyo po napuna itong pagbabago na ito?

Fernando Francisco: Nung...nagOndoy. Yun ang isang kauna-unahang karanasan na nung naganap yun ay hindi natin inaasahan na hindi magaganap, matagal na tayong nabuhay dito hanggang sa nagasawa. Yung pangyayaring yun hindi pa natin nararanasan na matindi

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Halos lahat ng kabahayan sa Libis

Fernando Francisco: Nasira, naapektuhan

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): ---kaya sa taas hindi kami masyadong naapektuhan

Fernando Francisco: Yun ang natatandaan ko na kung kalian nagsimula, nagbabago na talaga ang takbo ng panahon dahil sa lalo na hindi panahon ng tag-ulan, tag-araw bumibigla nagkakaroon ng bagyo. Na dati rati naman nappredict ng mga matatanda yun eh. Sasabihin niyan, sa ano pa tayo babaguhin. Eh ngayon, wala na. Abril pa lang binabagyo na tayo.

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): ---ayan babagsak na ang ulan

Fernando Francisco: ---sabi nga ng coastguard, proteksyon nga sila--- Oo nga tining, ang ganda ganda ng panahon... maganda ang tinuturo

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Sabi nga, panahon, kunyari lang

Manuel Mercado (Ruben)talking inaudible because of Fernando Francisco laughing and Baby overtalking.

Angelito Nunag: Dati po ba pag lumabas ang Langay-langayan siguradong, kasunod ang sama ng panahon? Ngayon po?

Fernando Francisco: ...kaya nga sabi namin, ulyanin na talaga ang ating panahon. Bigla na lang susulpot, wala naman ano. Shempre pag sumulpot yun naiisip mo, ay problema nanaman, perwisyo nanaman ang dadating pero pag ano, wala naman nangyari, bakit ka lumitaw.Sinasabing ulyanin na.

Angelito Nunag: Sa harap po ng pagiging ulyanin ng panahon ngayon, paano niyo po ito hinaharap? Gaya ng binanggit ni Sir Ruben kanina, ginagawa niyang pagaangkop eh pagtatali ng bahay. Pwede niyo po bang ibahagi sa amin, bawat isa po yung mga--- paraan ng pagaangkop niyo paano niyo po itong pagbabago ng panahon na ito, paglupit ng panahon, pagulyanin ng panahon. Siguro po unahin ko sa bata. Ricky, si Sir Ruben nagtatali ng bahay, ikaw paano mo hinaharap ito, paano mo

Ricky Crisostomo: ---lumilipat po kami ng tutugan pagka malakas na pero naman po yung mga signal number 1, ulan lang, sa bahay lang kasi wala problema

Angelito Nunag: Saan kayo lumilipat?

Ricky Crisostomo: Doon pong kapitbahay namin, lolo ko po

Angelito Nunag: Anong kaibahan ng bahay niyo at bahay ng lolo mo?

Ricky Crisostomo: Yero

Angelito Nunag: Pero yung lokasyon niya, parehas ba ito, yung isa ba mas mataas?

Ricky Crisostomo: Mas mataas po yun

Angelito Nunag: Mas mataas din yun tapos bato pa yung kinalalagyan niya

Ricky Crisostomo: Eh taguan lang kami kaya hindi masyadong apektado. Napapalibutan kami ng mga bahay kaya hindi kami masyadong apektado

Angelito Nunag: Arvin, ikaw papaano

Arvin: Inaabot din po kami, meron din pong tao samin na lumilipat. Minsan nga po tumutulong din kami pero yun, minsan wala ka na din magawa eh--- yun yun po

Male voice: Nalimas---

Angelito Nunag: Anong ibig sabihin ng nalimas

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Washout

***Responding in all at the same time

Fernando Francisco: Nalimas, walang natira kahit isa

Angelito Nunag: Ang naglimas po hangin, baha, ulan?

Fernando Francisco: Baha

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Totally, washout

Fernando Francisco: Kumabaga sa isang kisap mata mo, nawala lahat

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Isang bagsak lang

Angelito Nunag: Nanay Baby, kayo po paanong ginagawa niyo?

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Ako naman yung masinop. Wala akong kasama sa bahay. Noong bumagyo ang kasama ko lang ay isang bata na highschool. Ako kasi'y biyuda, wala yung mga anak ko, nagttrabaho na, sa ibang ano may kasama akong isa. Bumabagyo, wala naman magsasalba sa amin, ang ginawa ko habang bumabagyo, palipat lipat kaming kwarto kasi kahit saang kwarto ka pumunta ay tumutulo. Tatlong kwarto yung pinuntahan ko, ang ginawa ko, hawak hawak ko yung bible, flashlight, nagbabasa ako ng bible tapos yung kasama ko na bata o ikaw naman ang magbasa. Kami ay dasal ng dasal dahil kami ay wala naman magagawa basta magdasal, lipat naman kami sa kabila, dasal nanaman kami doon, tulo nanaman ng tulo yung tubig. Maya maya nagliliparan na yung yero, lumilipad na umaangat, lumapit kami sa umaangat, doon naman kami nagdasal. Tapos, natapos yung kapitbahay naman naming na doon yung kay Sir Loyola maliit ng konti talagang ang bubong ay natanggal pero sa amin walang natanggal na bubong medyo umangat angat lamang ng ganon. Kaya sabi ko, mabisa din ang dasal pag sa panahon ng kalamidad. Wala ka din makakapitan eh kaya doon ka lang tatawag sa taas.

Angelito Nunag: Yun kayang nilipad hindi ganon kabisa yung ano, siguro hindi ganon kalakas magdasal

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Minsan kasi ano--- yung buo mong ganoon nilagay---

Fernando Francisco: Minsan nga po yung pananalig na

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Kayo ay natatawa na lang sa dasal pero ako'y naniniwala na mas makapangyarihan pala ang Panginoon na nasa itaas

Danilo: ---selga

Angelito Nunag: Yun po yung walang selga

Arvin: Yung iba nga po matibay ang bahay, kung saan saan napupunta

Manuel Mercado (Ruben): Ay sir may ano kung mai-kwento ko lang po, 'di naliparan po kami ng bubong tumama sa bahay-- - bumalik din saken ano drift wood ng orchids. Okay lang naman saken na nawala ay yero tapos noong bagyo, binubuhat inaangat ko ng ganun yung yero hindi ko maangat angat ppwersahin mo ng pinakalakas mong taga ng itak hindi babaon siya sabi ko buti hindi sa tao pala tumama yung yero baka hati yung katawan, hindi mabuhay buhat yung yero, tumama sa driftwood na napakatigas---

Fernando Francisco: Kaya yung paghahanda mo sa pagbabago ng panahon ay kung meron kang tulad niyan kung ikaw ay nasa may karagatan, ang the best eh magmonitor ka sa radio pakinggan mo kung gaano kalakas yung ano tapos gawin mo, itabi mo na yung dapat itabi. Yung nasa laot natin, yun ang ano eh nang sa ganoon magiging ligtas ang panghanap buhay at ganoon din naman tayo na handa talaga sa darating na sabi nga ni ano, ang lupit nga disaster wala sa tamang panahon kasi hindi mo na nga pwedeng sabihin na eh ngayon babagyo

Arvin: ---dadating na ang bagyo, tayo naman ay handing handa na

Fernando Francisco: Yaan ang tinatawag na disaster

Angelito Nunag: Opo, disaster yan. Tumayo si Nanay Josie, isusunod ko sana. Siguro po si Nanay Malang muna, nay kayo po sa anong paraan po kayo ano kaya po ng sinasabi ni Tatay sa anong paraan po kayo naghahanda, paano poi to, naangkop po si Ruben dito ay nagtatali ng selga, kayo po

Josefine: ---kahit po ako'y babae naglalagay po ako ng kawayan sa bubong. Nakakatuwa po--- ang puno po ang naputol po ang aming puno ng avocado mabuti po ay siya ang bumaba

Angelito Nunag: Ano pong ginagawa niyo sa kawayan?

Josefine: Ano po, pinapatong ko ng ganyan

Fernando Francisco: Pinangiiipit

Angelito Nunag: Iba pa po ito sa selga?

Fernando Francisco: Iba, iniipit

Danilo: Yari ito sa kawayan na nilalagay sa bubong.

Fernando Francisco: Iniipit

***Everyone trying to explain

Angelito Nunag: Ano po ang kaibahan nitong selga dito sa

Danilo: Ang kaibahan ng selga doon sa sinasabi niya, kawayan yung kanya eh. Yung bang selga lubig

Angelito Nunag: Lubid lang

Danilo: Lubid na nililipat sa kabilang bubong na tinali sa--- na nakabaon sa lupa. Ganoon din yun kaya lang kawayan yung sa kanya

Angelito Nunag: Sa tibay po nito, may kaibahan po ba? Halimbawa kung gagamit ng kawayan mas magiging okay po ba ito kompara mo dun sa selga, sa karanasan niyo po

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Depende sa hangin

Danilo: Huwag lang madaanan ng ipoipo---

Angelito Nunag: Nabanggit niyo po ang ipoipo, meron po bang karanasan

Danilo: Yes sir. Ay talagang pag dinaan ka ng ipoipo kahit--- yan mapipilipit yan. Kahit bahay, buo natatangay. May nangyari po diyan sa tabon, sa bundok dinaanan ng ipoipo yung bahay edi yung kanilang papag, yung pinakahigaan tumagilid na ganoon eh nahulog yung magasawa sa lupa. Paggising nung magasawa, wala na yung bahay nasa lupa na sila. Noong umaga ilang metro ang layo sa kanila nung bahay pagbagsak ng bahay, nakatayo pa din. Tunay na buhay yun. Mabuti nga nahulog yung dalawa eh kung hindi nahulog yun edi dala sila doon sa

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Brother hindi ka nagpapatawa, totoo ito

Danilo: Totoo ito

***Simultaneous discussion about the story shared.

Angelito Nunag: Baka po kasi--- araw araw gabi gabi

Danilo: Sir, madilim, walang ilaw kasi bundok yun eh. Yung lupa na kinalalagyan, uka, may uka talaga yung nadala ng ipoipo sa lakas

Angelito Nunag: Madalas po ba ang karanasan niyo sa ipoipo dito kumpara po sa bagyo?

Danilo: Minsan lang po ang ipoipo, ang bagyo palagi. Sanay na kami sa bagyo eh, ipoipo hindi.

Angelito Nunag: Ano pong ibig sabihin sanay na kayo sa bagyo sa ipoipo hindi, ano pong

Danilo: Kami po ay ang ibig sabihin niyan. Yang bagyo ay inaasahan namin na darating, napaghahandaan po yan pero ang ipoipo hindi. Aba eh walang kama-kamag-anak ang ipoipo. Talaga pong sasampay ka diyan. Kasi ang bagyo napaghahandaan kasi meron tayong media, pagdating ng media. Wag po tayong ganito sa ganitong araw, papasok po ang bagyo sa ganitong araw. Tayo naman na taga dito sa isla, matatalino tayo maghahanda tayo pagdating noong araw na binanggit yung mga bangka natin panghanap buhay, ahon nay an. Meron pa nga akong taga tulong sa bangka ko eh--- edi nakaahon na yan safety na. Yung bubu ahon din baka masira, pagahon ng bubu edi safety na ang hanap buhay, wala nang masisira Ngayon bibili na ako ng pagkain namin para sa panahon na may bagyo, bibili na ako ng noodles, bibili na ako ng sardinas, bibili na ako ng pangangailangan ko yung sa panahon na may bagyo at meron na akong flashlight, meron na akong radio at saka battery kasi sa time na may bagyo wala nang impormasyon na amakukuha kasi walang kuryente pero pag may radio ka meron kang battery edi anytime na gusto mong making, mamonitor mo ang galaw ng panahon---at hindi ka na pwedeng lumabas dahil ang mga kahoy bagsakan yan, may yerong lumilipad, pagtama sa lupa, baon. Ay hindi ka pweeng lumabas, matatapos na ang bagyo, nandoon ka sa loob ng bahay wala ka nang pangamba

Angelino Nunag: Walang signal---Bakit po hindi selga o kawayan?

Danilo: Eh kasi sir, publiko ako

Angelino Nunag: --sa paligid ninyo?

Danilo: Opo. ---kung ako ay nasa ---ay aba--- ko talaga yan. Ang alam ko po noong panahon dito sa aking bahay, lagi akong ligtas doon, nasasalanta sila pero ako hindi. Parang--- ano. Parang doon eh walang bagyo. Natutulog ako eh---

Angelino Nunag: Ano po ba ang itsura nitong mga--- na ito? Gaano po kalalaki itong bahay na ito

Danilo: Aba eh may mga 2nd floor po yan, yung mga bahay ni Sir--- yan po ay matitindi ang tibay niyan, yan po ay kadikit ko kadikit ko yan. Yung--- niya ay yun ang dingding ko, tapos yung kabila ay may bahay din mataas, tapos sa bandang roon may bahay din na matataas kaya pag dating ng hangin sa akin eh watak watak na sila. Wala nang lakas, wala nang lakas kaya safe ako, kaya ayokong pataasin ang bahay ko kasi wala po akong pampataas.

Arvin: Baka pag lumaki pa eh ikaw na---

Danilo: Hindi. Ay shempre pag pinataas ko yun, yun talaga ang patitibayin ko naman--- tsaka ang gagawin kong bubong delikado turtle panner, semento na lang. Mahirap pag semento, pag hindi semento pag yero kasi lalagyan mo pa ng selga.

Arvin: Pag semento, safety safety, walang tulo.

Danilo: Tska bakal na malalaki ang gagamitin ko, mga de-dose, disisais ganyan. Mga haligi parang naggagawa ng building cement, ganun ang gagawin para yung mga anak ko ay safe naman. Edi masaya ang buhay ni misis. Happy family. Handa lahat, yun po ang mga ginagawa kong paghahanda.

Angelito Nunag: Bukod po sa paghahanda ng ating jungle fighter na si Tatay Danilo, parang meron akong narinig kanina, naguuling. Meron po ba dito?

Danilo: Naguuling, ito si Tatay Ruping.

Angelito Nunag: Kung si jungle fighter Tatay Danilo ay nagaahon ng bangka, nagaahon ng bubung matalino, kayo po bilang maguuling paano po yung pagaangkop, paghahanda na ginagawa ninyo, may inaahon din ba kayong uling?

Rufino: Inaudible

Angelino Nunag: Paano po

Rufino: Inaudible

Angelino Nunag: Yun pong kabuhayan niyo bilang maguuling kasi po si Tatay Danilo talagang inaahon kasi nasa tubig po ito, para hindi anurin siguro, yung bubu. Kayo po paano naapektuhan ang paguuling ninyo, anong ginagawa ninyong pamamaraan

Rufino: Hindi na ako naguuling

Fernando Francisco: Noong araw po, noong araw po noong kayo'y naguuling

Rufino: Inaudible

Danilo: Ganito po sir, kapitbahay ko po yan. Yan po noong naguuling wala naman bagyo pa ay nagsindi siya ng uling eh ngayon hindi niya alam na may paparating na bagyo ay di may apoy yung uling niya sinindihan niya. Eh bumagyo, shempre takot siya. Takot siya na umahon pwede siyang matabunan ng mga kahoy eh, mga sanga sa daan. Ang nangyayari pag hindi naahon yung uling niya, nawawasak yun. Nabubutas ng ganyan, pagkatapos nawawala yung uling. Tumatapon, nadadala ng baha. Kasi dinadaan ng tubig ang gitna eh. Kaya pagahon niya konting uling na lang ang makukuha niya. Ganoon po ang nangyayari.

Angelito Nunag: Bale lugi po kayo noon

Danilo: Lugi po talaga. ---kasi po kami ay anak ng magkapatid, yung tatay niya at tatay ko magkapatid. Alam ko po ang trabaho niya.

Angelito Nunag: Bukod po sa maguuling, sa nangingisda po ano pa po yung iba pang kabuhayan dito na ginagawa po ninyo

Arvin: Bamboo stick

Angelito Nunag: Paano kaya ito naapektuhan

Ricky Crisostomo: Ano po, pagnaguulan po hindi mabibilad yung stick ang tendency noon aamagin siya. Hindi rin siya mabebenta pag naamag.

Angelito Nunag: So paano ang ginagawa nilang paghahanda dito? Pagaangkop?

Ricky Crisostomo: Pinapa--- tinatapat sa palay, pinausukan para doon mon a tutuyuin, para mapakinabangan pa din

Angelito Nunag: Kahit walang araw, doon na lang? Paano ito? Pagtatapak, pagpipilak?

Ricky Crisostomo: Pinapausukan po yun para matikyapan.

Angelito Nunag: Anong ano nito

Ricky Crisostomo: Kahoy po, lulubugan siya ng kahoy tapos pauusukan lang po yung stick sa taas para po matuyo. Kahit walang araw, natutuyo yung stick.

Nestor Castro: May iba pa po bang, si Mang Nanding may nabanggit na buhawi. Ano po kaya ang pagkakaiba ng ipoipo sa buhawi?

Ferdinand Francisco: Yun po kasing buhawi ay labis labis na manakit yung sumira po sa, yung buhawi kasi kung ikukumpara mo eh halos para na ding bagyo. Yun namang ipoipo ay medyo mahina pero pwede nang magtanggag ng bubung ng tahanan.

Nestor Castro: So ang buhawi mas malakas sa ipoipo?

Danilo: Lumalawit yan sa dagat.

Ferdinand Francisco: ---pero hindi natin maano yun, yung matatanda bigla bigla na lang sumusulpot sa panahon ng papunta ng tag-ulan.

Nestor Castro: So, maari pong umikot sa dagat

Ferdinand Francisco: Edi pag nahigop na ang bahay mo, pagnatigil ang ano doon napunta ang bahay mo sa ano

***Discussion and exchange of ideas amongst themselves

Ferdinand Francisco: Yung matatanda noong araw, para daw tumigil ang buhawi kumuha ka ng isang balde, batya, kakalampagin. Hindi ko lang maano eh, talaga bang tumitigil?

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Yun nga din ang iniisip ko, sabi ko yun bang pagkalampag ibig sabihin, lumiliit.

Ferdinand Francisco: Yun nga ang--- naging palaisipan saken. Yun ba ay nakakapekto dun sa buhawi kapag ikaw ay nagiingay. Yun ba ay nagiging kasagutan, para tumigil kung umiwas.

Angelito Nunag: Mayroon po bang naibigay na paliwanag sa inyo yung mga nakatatanda kung bakit iniitak at nagiingay sila?

Arvin: Wala po, superstitious belief lang po talaga.

Ferdinand Francisco: Pag---mong itak, mapuputol daw sila. Yung ano nasisira, yung ipoipo. At yun namang pagiingay, sinasabi naman nilang pangtaboy

Manuel Mercado (Ruben): ---magsabaysay tayong kumalampag ng balde--- ano kaya ang--- baka sakaling--- yung nakakalampag--- (Inaudible, speakers voice is low)

Danilo: Yun kasing nagpapadala ng bagyo iisa yan. Kasi huwag tayong magtutok sa baka sakali, sa sure tayo tumutok kasi ganito yan. Ang Lord ang nagpapadala ng bagyo at tuptupo. Tayo namang mga tao pwede makipagugnay sa Lord, Lord wag po naman. Siguro ang the best diyan is prayer. Prayer talaga. Yes, kasi siya ang nagpapadala ng bagyo at ipoipo eh tayong mga tao, Lord parang awa mo na, wag po naman. Ay si Lord naman maawain, pagbibigyan tayo, pag nangalampag baka lalo pang magalit ang bagyo.

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Alam niyo ba tayo ang pinakamaswerte. Kasi yung sa ibang lugar, makikita mo sa--- kung anong mangyayari, Metro Manila na lang--- lulubog na. Tayo naman, kahit tayo ay nasa lawa hindi naman tayo agad agad lulubog--

Angelito Nunag: Balikan ko po yan mamaya Nanay Baby bakit yung mga nasa lawa hindi agad lumulubog. Si Nanay Emilyn po yata merong

Nestor Castro: Nabulong niya na yung bahay nila dati natangay ng ipoipo.

Emilyn: ---ipoipo---buong buong bubong---awa naman ng Diyos ang ginawa ng mister ko malalaki ang bakal kinawit sa haligi ng mga---talagang dumating sa punto na wala ang aming bubong na lang---oo mahina

Angelito Nunag: Sino po ba ang may kawit at mukhang mahina?

Emilyn: ---talagang nilagyan ang apat na sulok, kakabitan mo pa sa loob ng bahay yung semento, kaya ang---mabagal---kaya nung ano ay butas butas---at umaangat---

Angelito Nunag: Nanay Baby balikan ko yun bakit po nasabi yun na kayo ngang mga taga-lawa hindi lumulubog samantalang yung mga ano eh

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): ---pag umulan ng malakas hindi agad nalubog. Sa ibang lugar, tulad niyan sa Metro Manila, sa Marikina isang ulan lang maulan lang, lubog na sila. May araw na mawawala yung Manila---dahil hindi tayo pinababayaan. Yan nga yung sinasabi ng iba, tayo daw ay paalisin sa isla eh saan tayo irrelate? At bakit naman tayo paalisin? Anong

dahilan? Eh tayo ay---sa ating sariling lupa, eh kung yung ano daw eh gagawing rehabilitation center sa gulod dahil tumutol ang mga tao bakit hindi natuloy ang rehabilitation center?

Ferdinand Francisco: Dahil nagkakaisa

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Pag nagkaisa ang mga tao tiyak na lahat na gusto nila---

Nestor Catro: Kanina si Nanay Josie, binanggit na kung may bagyo dahil walang kita, nangungutang na lang. Dito po ba mangungutang may interest?

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Meron o wala. Kung kakilala hindi ka na tutubuan, kaya lang pag kakilala mo ay hindi naman tinubuan. Hindi mo tutubuan kapag nangutang sayo ay hindi ka babayaran. Pero yung mga Bombay binabantayan nila--- nagbabayad, yun ang nangyayari

Nestor Castro: So may mga Bombay din dito?

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Nadadala na magpautang.

Ferdinand Francisco: Pinagtataka nga po namin bakit ang tao---kapag Bombay na ang sinabi ay ihahanda agad ang pambayad

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Malayo pa lang ang Bombay eh may mga pambayad na yan

Ferdinand Francisco: Kasi hindi namin maintidihan ang salitang Bombay parang instik, kasi minumura na pala kami.

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Pero sa ibang Bombay--- mga nagbabayad ng utang, sa ibang lugar palipat lipat ng bahay, nagtatago sila.

Danilo: Nagtanong si Dr. Castro saken, kasi papautangin tayo niya.

Nestor Castro: Hindi po ako Bombay. Walang interest.

Danilo: Parang bbargain itong si Doctor, halata ko eh pero magtutubo ka---ako ang magmamanage. Ano Sir Lito?

Angelito Nunag: Tama po yun. Utang na din po ako diyan kay Dr Castro

Nestor Castro: Isa pang, para maiba ang. Nabanggit na yung epekto ng bagyo yung walang kuryente ano, kalian ba nagkaroon ng kuryente sa isla? Matagal na?

Fernando Francisco: Mga 1977

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): 70 plus kasi noong kami ay highschool wala pang kuryente noon eh, college na yata ako noong nagkaroon.

Fernando Francisco: Marcos ano yan eh

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Ako naman dito hindi MERALCO,---Island Electric Cooperative---ngayon MERALCO na--- napakasama ng epekto ng bagyo sa amin---kung kami ay mawalan ng kuryente isang linggo, dalawalang buwan depende sa bilis ng, pero ngayon pag nawawalan ng kuryente mga tatlong araw lang, mabilis bilis

Fernando Francisco: Mga 3 days pag nawalan ka ng kuryente---pero maraming natutuwa doon pag nawawalan ng kuryente---

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Kaso mo generator naman kasi mahal din ang generator

Danilo: Magagamit ng mga mananahi pag walang kuryente kasi hindi sila makapanahi

Angelito Nunag: Kailan po baa ng pagusbong ng maraming mananahi, kasabay ito ng pagkakaroon ng kuryente dito?

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Hindi una pa yung mga kuryente---

Fernando Francisco: Nung magkakuryente doon nagsimula na meron nang patahian kasi nga sabi pwede mo nang gamitin yung de kuryenteng patahian---

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Mano mano

Fernando Francisco: Eh ngayon hindi na. High-tech na din---

Nestor Castro: Noong dati nung panahon po na wala pang kuryente shempre sa radyo nakikinig, inaanunsyo din doon kung may dadating na bagyo

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Minsan yung mga nakikinig

Fernando Francisco: Madaling kasi ang may radyo noong araw eh---nagaanunsiyo din naman noon pero yung sabihin mo yung sinasabi na malakas---kaya nga sabi namin---tuwang tuwa pag may bagyo. Bakit? Bakit tuwang tuwa pag may bagyo? Kasi pagpumalaot noon, nanghuli ng isda madaming nahuhuling isda kaya mas kinatutuwaan nila yung may bagyo kaya karamihan hindi na natutuwa doon sa radyo, bakit ako makikinig diyan eh tatakutin ka lang niyan eh. Pag may naramdaman kang bagyo, laging natutuwa yung magulang ko, dahil pag duong nila maraming salubong. Ganoon sila, eh ngayon pagka may bagyo ay sinabi na ay magpunta na tayo sa sulok, ayoko na lumabas.

***Inaudible chatter

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Mahina biglang lalakas

Fernando Francisco: ---sabi nga uliyanin na ang panahon

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Minsan nagagalit na ang PAGASA, biglang mawawala yung pasok saying ang pamasahé, papasok sabay biglang pauwiin, uwian na kayo walang pasok---

Fernando Francisco: ---kaya mabigat ang epekto sabi nan gang lupit ng panahon

Danilo: ---na ang kalsada natin ay napuno ng mga bato at buhangin. Yung mga kalsada natin

***Inaudible chatter

Angelito Nunag: Saan nanggaling itong mga bato at buhangin?

Danilo: Sa taas---bumaha diyan sa kalsada namin, pinasok ang mga bahay pinasok ng tubig

Nestor Castro: So mga bato ang inanod galing sa

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Inaudible

Fernando Francisco: Kaya nga nagkaroon tayo ng dam, dahil yun ang ginawang control project para wag---

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Overlapping, Inaudible.

Angelito Nunag: Tanda niyo po ba kung kailan ito? Mga 19

Fernando Francisco: Hindi ko na maalala, mga 60s pa yun eh.

Nestor Castro: Ano pong dahilan ng biglang pag-anod ng mga

Fernando Francisco: Biglang buhos ng malakas na ulan dito sa tapat ng barangay na ito. Doon sa kabila---biglang buhos, grabeng ulan talagang pumunta sa ayun nga sabi mo mga bato napunta sa kalsada, pati bahay natatandaan mo, nadala---

Danilo: Yung bahay dito sir, nadala ng bato

***Simultaneous chatter from most of the people.

Angelito Nunag: Sir, si Tatay may sinasabi. Yung bahay niya dinala mismo, pwede niyo bang ikwento ito sa amin?

Herman: Yung mangyari yun--- (Voice of the speaker is low, making his statement inaudible)

Angelito Nunag: Galing po saan ang bahay niyo mula roon?

Herman: Mula po sa kabila po ng nandiyan

Angelito Nunag: Hanggang saan po siya dinala?

Herman: Dinala siya hanggang ilog, nahuyag nga po eh nagsabugan nga po. Isa pa po sa Bwagin sabay noon kami lalo na noon umulan noon gabi pati sa Bwagin ganoon din ang nangyari---

Nestor Castro: Pero yan hindi yan bagyo? Talagang malakas na ulan

Fernando Francisco: Isang pangyayari na, hindi ko alam. Bigla na lang nagdilim ang kalawakan

Danilo: Parang sinadya eh

Fernando Francisco: Kaya nga ang naapektuhang barangay noon ay ito---

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Ay yun bang---

Nestor Castro: Ay nasa sa inyo po yun

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Kasi noong nageclipse dito---bigla na kami naglalaro, nagtakbuhan ang mga baka biglang nagdilim. Maliwanag ang araw biglang naging gabi. Matagal tagal din siguro mga ilang minuto din---talagang ang mga baka nagtakbuhan

Fernando Francisco: Kasi nga magssafety na sila kung iisipin mo parang sa buhay ng tao

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Wala na kaming kuryente noon

Fernando Francisco: Oo naman. Biglang nagtakbuhan ang mga hayup at pupunta sa kanilang mga kanlungan

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Ang mga bata, nadapa, nagtakbuhan, naglalaro kami---eh madilim

Angelito Nunag: Nabanggit niyo na po Aling Baby yung kapaligiran, siguro po ay ito na ang tutukan natin. Tatal na nabanggit na din kanina yung Bombay. Doon naman tayo sa Hapon---banggitin na din yung radyo bilang pamimigay babala.

Nestor Castro: Ewan ko kung pamilyar kayo sa terminong unos. Ano po ang unos?

Fernando Francisco: ---pabigla biglang---ng pagbuhos

Nestor Castro: So yung diniscribe ba kanina ni Manong, unos yun, yung biglang bumuhos ang

Fernando Francisco: ---ang termino noong araw pabigla bigla na sinabi, sa English eh thunderstorm kung tawagin. Yun ang salitang unos.

Herman: Naikwento noong kapitbahay namin pagnakakita daw parang buhawi na ang nandito---

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): ---nadudurog din ang buhawi

***Simultaneous chatter from most of the people.

Manuel Mercado (Ruben): ---iniwas muna ng bangkero tapos---alam ng bangkero---lilihis na lang sa dilim

Angelito Nunag: May sigwa po ba kayo? Pamilyar po ba kayo sa salitang sigwa?

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Cebuana ang alam ko, parang bigla, biglang nagbuhos

Fernando Francisco: Hangin

Angelito Nunag: Ano po ang kaibahan ng sigwa sa unos?

Fernando Francisco: Kasi yung sigwa parang ano yan, termino yan ng may bagyo, may darating pero ang unos pabigla bigla naman ang dilim na wala naman kinalaman sa bagyo. Parang ako ay matanda.

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): ---kasi yung tatay mo mangingisda---shempre mas ano yung mangingisda kaysa sa amin na nandito---

Fernando Francisco: Bata pa kasi ako---bata pa ay may karanasan na

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Kaya ako't naniniwala sa iyong mga karanasan

Angelito Nunag: Kayong mga kabataan kamusta kasi ang mga kwento ni Tatay Nanding ay galing din sa kanyang magulang. Sa mga kabataan kamusta, meron ba kayong ganitong karanasan? Paano ba? Ganoon din baa ng tawag---wala siyang kaibahan sa

Arvin: Wla po

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Yung iba kasing kabataan walang muang sa mga ganyan, maski kahit anong turo mo. Yung kabataan ngayon kahit anong turo mo hindi nila iniintindi---mga computer at mag games

Angelito Nunag: Ricky

Ricky Crisostomo: Yung turo ng teacher ko Pilipino ang sigwa ay pagsubok, Yun ang turo sakín ng teacher ko sa Pilipino

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): May sigwa

Angelito Nunag: Pagsubok na wala naman kaugnayan sa

Ricky Crisostomo: Kahit anong pagsubok, pagsubok sa buhay mga problema mga ganoon yun lang ang pagkakatatanda ko

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): ---mas malalim

Fernando Francisco: Kaya nga hindi dapat alisiin sa curriculum ang Pilipino dahil marami pa sa ating kabataan at lumalaking kabataan na hindi alam ang tunay na Pilipino. Tayo'y Pilipino kailangan nasa sarili natin

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): ---Pilipino ay hindi naman gaya nito na

Angelito Nunag: Tuloy ko lang po yung kanina patungkol po sa susong hapon. Noon pong una kong pagpunta dito isa po sa palagi kong naririnig yung kinukwento ni Sir Ruben na, ano po ba ang inyong mga karanasan, kaalaman patungo sa mga senyales na nakikita niyo sa kapaligiran. Sino po ang gustong magsimula sa atin?

Fernando Francisco: Sa aking kaalaman bilang matagal nang may edad nang nakakatatanda, yun pong paglalangay langayan pag nakikita naming noong araw pa, pag lumitaw na yan ang nasa isip agad namin may darating na hindi magandang, na magdudulot ng kapahamakan ganoon pag biglang lakas daw ng ulan, bigla na lang---ng malakas. Nagiging senyales sabi nga ng matatanda noong araw, yan ang sinyales magkakaroon ika tayo ng bagyo o kung ano pa mang darating, tulad nung tinatawag na di lang Kalangay-langayan eh. Isang uri pa din ng ibon na lumilitaw lang sa panahon nang pagsigwada, yun ay yung Pagatpat kung tawagin.

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): ---ibon

Fernando Francisco: Ay iba naman yun

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): ---mapuputing ibon

Fernando Francisco: Yan namang mapuputing ibon, yang sinasabi mo yan ay dumadaan lang pagkarating na ang panahon ng tagamihan

Angelito Nunag: Tatay Raning pwede mo bang ilarawan samin ano ito Kalangay-langayan itong Pagatpat, ano pong mga itsura nito tapos yung isa pang ibon na sinasabi niya

Fernando Francisco: Kasi yung ibon na tinatawag kong Pagatpat, maliit siya pero ang pakpak niya, haba. Yun ay lumilitaw lang talaga sa pagobserba ko, lumilitaw lang siya pag may darating na hangin o kaya ay ulan. Bakit ko sinasabi pag hangin, pag nakita niyo siya na siya ay nandoon sa ibaba mababa kung lumipad, halos nasa ano na lupa. Hangin ang katapat

Angelito Nunag: Ano hong kulay nito?

Fernando Francisco: Medyo kulay itim, pahaba ang pakpak

Angelito Nunag: Yung laki po niya?

Fernando Francisco: Maliit, yang mga kabataan tanong niyo. Tapos pag mataas siya, nagkukumpol kumpol. Asahan niyo, sabi nga may ulang darating, pero totoo inobserbahan ko pa siya nangyari na talaga at yun ay isang sinyales na--- Kalangay-langayan sabi

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): --grupo grupo?

Fernando Francisco: Ay yan naman ay ano yan eh, yung ibong puti na pagpanahon naman na dumating naman yun, wala na magamihan na tayo, papunta na tayo sa---

Angelito Nunag: Balikan ko lang po yung paglalarawan. Ano po itong puti na ito? Mas malaki po ba ito?

Fernando Francisco: Mas malaki kaysa doon sa, Tagak yun ano

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Yung parang---

Fernando Francisco: Yung Kalangay-langayan tsaka Pagatpat kung tawagin, maliit lang siya na uri ng ibon pero hindi mo siya laging nakikita. Makikita mo lang siya, sabi ko nga sa iyo pag may dumarating. Yun yung mga kung idedescibe mo yung, hanggang ngayon ay bahagi pa din, hindi pa din nawawala

Jonathan: Inaudible

Fernando Francisco: Iba na

Arvin: Sobrang init naman daw

***Simultaneous chatter from most of the people.

Fernando Francisco: Kalangay-langayan yan pero yung isang sinasabi ko yun ang talagang bihira mo makita, yung Pagatpat.

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Kalangay-langayan ba---

Fernando Francisco: Hindi, ibang uri.

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Para sa kin yung Tagak parang mga---yun halimbawa ay nagaano ka, naglalakbay ka tumatawid kami sa Pasig noon nakasunod yan sa speedboat, mga ibon na maliit. Parang kapayapaan ang simbolo noon

Angelito Nunag: Bakit Nanay Baby naano mo na simbolo ng kapayapaan? Ano po ba ang nangyari, meron po ba kayong napapansin sa paligid?

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Yung parang tahimik pag naglalakbay sa dagat, tulad nito minsan eh galing kami dito sa Bangad pupunta kami dito sa Bay Breeze sa mismong sa Taguig, pagpanahon na malaki ang tubig nakakaabot ang bangka doon pero makikita mo ng mga ibon habang naglalakbay ka kasama mong nagliparan---parang simbolo ng kapayapaan, sa kin lang yun

Angelito Nunag: Karaniwan po kalian mo ito napapansin, maaraw po ba? Pag nagdidilim wala po sila? Ito sanang si Tatay Ador and tatanungin ko si Tatay Rufino na lang po muna. Tay kayo po sa panahon niyo po noong medyo kabataan niyo po, meron po ba kayong ganyang karanasan yung sa mga Kalangay-langayan, sa Pagatpat

Rufino: ---basta't nakita ko na lumipad ng mababa may sama ng panahon

Angelito Nunag: Pag mababa po ang lipad niya, pag mataas po?

Rufino: Inaudible

Angelito Nunag: Noong panahon niyo po bukod sa Kalangay-langayan meron pa po bang napupuna tayo noon, mga naikkwento

Rufino: Wala na. Yan lang ang aking natandaan.

Angelito Nunag: Kalangay-langayan lang. Sino pa po kaya? May nakakwentuhan ako dito, yung kaklase ni Kagawad Nestor, may kinukwento siya na Tag-enero, ano po ang ibig sabihin parang mageenero? May tag-bilang

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): ---number one na eh, number 2 hanggang matapos yan. Uulit lang—halimbawa yan eh January 3 yun ay magiging ka-buwan

Angelito Nunag: Papaano po ito nay? Ang tawag po ay

Group: Bibilangin

Angelito Nunag: Paano po itong bibilangin nay?

Manuel Mercado (Ruben) and Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Simeaultaneously explaining

Manuel Mercado (Ruben):--pagmamamig na malamig ang panahon sa January 12, sa darating na December 12 ay matindi na ang malamig. Two times bale, January 22, dalawang bilang po dalawang bilang. January 13, yun naman ay January naman ang bilang January 14 ay February, ah sa February pala ganito ang panahon. January to January, aadd mo lang--- (poor audio quality)

Angelito Nunag: Ah, ang basehan lang po palagi ay yung Enero? So pag January 1 po, Enero-ito, February, Pebrero ito

Manuel Mercado (Ruben):--2 days mo uulitin tapos po---

Angelito Nunag: Hanggang 24 po? So halimbawa po ang January 1, maaraw. Ang darating na Enero, maaraw. Pag January na po ay maulan, yung Pebrero na darating sa susunod na taon ay maulan. Saan po nanggaling---

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Sa mga dating tao, sa mga mas matatanda samin.

VIDEO 29 – Inaudible

Danilo: Totoo yun sumisindi, parang tao yan eh. Di ba ang lalaki pag walang nakikitang babae, nalulungkot. Ganoon din ang papaya kaya pag nagtanim kayo ng papaya, may lalaking papaya, wag niyong papatayin.

Fernando Francisco: Ang alam ko basta walang ngipin yun ang tinatawag na upod. ---pero pag nilagyan ng ipon---

Angelito Nunag: Sige po doon na po tayo sa huling bahagi, ito po ay patungkol sa ating lokal na pamahalaan dito sa atin sa barangay. So, ang atin pong pagusapan naman eh paano po kaya ang tugon ng ating pamahalaan doon sa napagusapan natin na sakuna, epekto sa inyo, sa paghahanda. May mga karanasan po ba tayo dito na maari natin ibahagi sa pamahalaan. Siguro unahin ko na ngayon yung mga kabataan kasi, kamusta kaya paano ito. Ricky? Meron ka bang napapansin sa tugon na pamahalaan

Ricky Crisostomo: Sa mga nagdaan pong bagyo kasi po, yung baha. Sabi ko nga po yung kabuhayan, meron pong dumadating na relief goods minsan, galing sa pamahalaan kaso hindi pa din po sapat.

Angelito Nunag: Bakit hindi sapat, anong ibig sabihin noon?

Ricky Crisostomo: Kasi po matagal po talaga yung ano pagka po baha. Baha po diyan sa mga daanan. May mga bahay lubog ang tendency po noon hindi makakilos ng maayos yung mga tao. Mahirap po ang pamumuhay nila kaya po yung relief goods pag sabay silang bibigyan, kulang na kulang lalo na marami ang membro ng pamilya.

Angelito Nunag: Pero doon sa laman ng relief goods, okay lang sa inyo?

Ricky Crisostomo: Sapat po for one day

Angelito Nunag: Halimbawa, ano baa ng karaniwang nandoon sa relief goods?

Ricky Crisostomo: --rice po, isang de lata, noodles, kape't asukal, yun po kalimitan.

Angelito Nunag: Sapat na sa pangangailangan ng isang pamilya? Paano kung may kababaihan sa pamilya? Halimbawa, may mga particular na pangangailangan ng mga kababaihan

Ricky Crisostomo: May times po na may kasamang Modess, mga ganoon po kaya pag sa babae meron. May mga ganoon din po.

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Colgate din minsan toothpaste

Ricky Crisostomo: Toothpaste, sabon minsan po pero hindi naman lahat ng times ganoon. Madalas po bigas at noodles, de lata.

Angelito Nunag: Sayo paano mo tinitingnan yung ganoong tugon?

Ricky Crisostomo: Okay naman po kahit papaano nakakatulong bagama't kulang.

Male voice: Inaudible

Angelito Nunag: Ano po?

Ricky Crisostomo: Hindi po kasi hindi lang naman tayo ang evacuation, marami din ibang tinutulungan kaya

Fernando Francisco: Hindi, kasi kung bakit po ako sumasagot kasi po sa laki ng nailalabas ating pamahalaan na pondo pagdating ng kalamidad eh parang hindi pa nagiging kaaya aya yung binibigay sa ating maliliit na mamamayan. Pag inisip mo yung kuwan doon maririnig mo na ganoon kalaki eh ang ibibigay sayo ay isang sardinas, isang noodles, magkano lang po siguro yun. Kaya nga sabi ko sayo, marami nga pong buwaya.

Male voice: Hindi lang po isang sangay ng ating pamahalaan

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Yan naman pong pondong yan hindi galing sa pamahalaan kundi sa NGO

Fernando Francisco: Kaya nga ang sabi ko nasaan?

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Sa simbahan

Fernando Francisco: Hindi komo aktibista---nakikita rin po ang mga---ni Napoles. Mga bagay na mali sa aking paningin

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Ang nakikinabang yung nakapataas

Fernando Francisco: Oo, yung nandoon sa itaas

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Pagdating sa atin---salang sala na eh

Fernando Francisco: Kaya po mas magaling pa po siguro hindi na lang inuulat ng pamahalaan an ganoon kalaki ang ginagamit na pondo eh. Hindi pa siguro magiisip yung tao pero kapansin pansin sa ngayon lalo na ang kabataan, mas malawak na lalo yung kanilang nakikita.

Angelito Nunag: Mang Nanding, itong sinasabi mo eh yung lokal na pamahalaan, doon halimbawa sa level ng munisipyo. Yun pong lokal na pamahalaan sa level ng munisipyo, kamusta po ang pagtugon?

Fernando Francisco: Yun pong lokal na pagtugon ng ating, nagsisimula po sa kabayanan. Dumadating sa atin eh, hindi po ako komportable talaga, kahit po sabihin natin kapatid ko ang kapitan dito, hindi po ako komportable. Pero hindi din natin masisi din yung lower level, saan po ba nanggagaling yung pinamimigay ng nasa barangay diba doon sa taas. Eh kung ang pinadala lang naman eh ganoon kaliit eh pwede po ba natin sisihin yung barangay kaya o kung ano man? Sisihin natin yung pinagmulan---bakit pagdating dito ang liit liit, yun lang po naman ang aking napupuna. Sabi ko nga pangit man pakinggan o maganda, kahit kapatid ko ay kapitan ay alangan naman hindi ko sabihin ang aking nararamdaman.

Angelito Nunag: Ito pong si Tatay Danilo, mukha pong bahagi din kayo ng lokal na pamahalaan

Danilo: Opo, chairman po ako ng--- Ang sa akin pong mga pananaw diyan, ang atin pong pamahalaan hindi po talagang makabigay ng suporta sa atin pati barangay--- maraming pera tulad ng disaster eh kasi po ang pagkukulang din po naman ay nasa--- Kasi may budget po talaga, may allotted budget for disaster lalo na pagka tayo talaga ay tinamaan ng bagyong malakas, maraming nasirang bahay, binaha, binagyo tayo. Eh ngayon kung hindi po kikilos ang ating mga barangay official lalo na ang ating secretary, hindi sila gagawa ng requisition letter with the approval of the barangay captain. Hindi nila iffile doon sa munisipyo, wag nilang gawing propeta yung mayor, manghuhula. Hindi aaksyon ang ating gobyerno kasi, kinausap ko na an gaging sekretarya diyan sir. Bakit yung kabilang barangay partihan ng mga bigas tska ng mga noodles, tayo ay wala pa. Wala pang go signal si mayor eh. Hindi dapat gumawa kayo ng requisition letter, pirmahan ni kapitan, ifile mo sa mayor. Ang mayor ang magrelease ng perang para sa atin. Bakit, saan manggagaling yan? Meron tayong pondo sa errand, yung errand na tinatawag yun ay--- ano kasi po ganito po iyan. Kapag po talagang hindi aaksyon, at wala po tayo, meron po tayong ano eh tinatawag na PDRMC, yan pong PDRMC ay pangunahing organisasyon sa komunidad na may opisyal na atas o mandato sa pagtugon at pagsasagawa ng mga bagayin may kinalaman sa disaster. Ano po. Katulad noong mga komitee, sa ilalim ng PDRMC dapat may komitee tayo dito eh. Ke---ng mga komitee, may ilalagay sa ganitong gawain. Katulad halimbawa, may bagyo, yung tinatawag na response---yung evacuation center sa panahon ng kalamidad dapat pag meron saan ba pupunta yung mga tao natin nung apektadong lugar. Yung mga malapit sa dagat na wala naman titirhan pagkalumubog ang bahay, shempre sa skwelahan. Sila po ang magaano niyan, magdedecide kung saan nila dadalhin ang mga tao. Yung mga tinatawag na babala sa mga tao, at kung kinakailangan na sila ay bigyan ng suporta ay gumamit na sila ng tinatawag na gamitin na nila ang kanilang tungkulin. Sapagkat sabi nga sa pagdeklara 10121, barangay calamity fund 5% of barangay---may allotted budget po tayo diyan at doon po sa disaster preferredness activities tulad ng pagsasanay 70%, budget po sa atin at yung 30% for quick response fund. Ayan po, pag hindi po ito alam ng namumuno sa ating barangay ay mapagiiwanan po tayo, hindi po makatutugon ang atin pong mahal na mayor kung wala pong kinalaman an gating mga namumuno. Kaya kailangan alamin ang ating mga karapatan para sa ganun ang ating barangay hindi naman mahuli sa mga kinakailangang tulong.

Angelito Nunag: So sa palagay ninyo Tatay Lino, talagang dapat yung mga lokal na official naten sa barangay level sila dapat ang

Danila: Shempre po naman. Hindi naman po marunong manghula ang mayor. Kinakailangan sa mayor po, para bang sa korte ang ipresent mo diyan ay yung---evidence hindi yung puro ganoon ka lang. Ganit po mayor and nangyari sa aming barangay, marami pong bahay ang nasiraan, marami pong evacuees, ay wala po kaming mapakain ay nagiiyakan ang mga anak, nagugutom po sila, kailangan po ng pagkain, tubig, damit at kung ano ano. O ngayon, ibabalita naman ni mayor yan. Ilang linggo ba sila doon sa evacuation center ninyo. Paano mo masosolve yan kung hindi naman alam ng mayor kung gaano kalaki ang kailangan. Ang dapat diyan, ang nakakaalam yung secretary then barangay captain. Kasi ang secretary magpapadala ng requisition latter diyan sa mayor para sa ganoon, solve ang problema ng barangay. Maligaya ang barangay. Kapag ganyan ang namumuno sa ating barangay at dahil nga po sa hindi kaalaman. Mahirap talaga kapag ang kapitan natin ay. Masakit and dumating. Eh kinakausap ko naman yung secretary and wala din naman kaalamalam. Sabi ko magreuest kayo, kawawa ang ating barangay, hindi wala pang go signal si mayor eh. Ay ewan ko sa inyo, eh bahala ka. Nagagalit pa sakín, ang sabi ko pambihira ka, para kang hindi nagaral ng kolehiyo. Ikaw pa naman ay secretary.

Angelito Nunag: Siguro naman tanungin ko yung hindi bahagi, yung mga hindi opisyal

VIDEO 31 – Inaudible

VIDEO 32 – Inaudible

Herman: ---na ang mga tao po talaga na kanyang nasasakupan ay kanya po talagang mabigayan niya ng mga pangangailangan. Ito nga ho isang nasagabal nga po siguro na dapat po nila sigurong---mas lalong mabuting gaawain na kanyang sinasakupan na aming matanggap.

Angelito Nunag: So sang-ayon po kayo sa sinasabi

Herman: Sang ayon po, nararapat po talaga

Manuel Mercado (Ruben): Inaudible due to soft town of speaker

Angelito Nunag: Sir Ruben, ano naman po ang inyong pananaw--- yung respons ng lokal na pamahalaan natin? Sa ---na level o sa ---level

Manuel Mercado (Ruben): Inaudible due to soft town of speaker

Angelito Nunag: Yung iba po, meron po bang gustong ibahagi?

Carmelita Wenner (Baby): Ang mga tao ay hindi malaman kung anong gagawin, parang pinapares nila yung sarili nila sa lumubog kasi yung hindi lumubog pag tumanggap ng rasyon yung lumubog ay parehas sila ng rasyon. Hindi ba pwedeng pagbigayan natin yung mga lumubog---tska yung mga sinasabing disaster ay dapat maunang magdaos ng mga seminar--- may pondo para sa mga seminar, dapat inuna mo yung barangay chairman tska lahat ng bumubuo ng lupon dapat magsuggest kayo ng oh tayo po ay magseminar tungkol doon sa disaster control, pagkatapos na magseminar kayo magano kayo ng information management sa mga tao na dapat ganito ang gagawin ninyo, ganito hindi yung lagi tayong nagkakanya kanya. Pag ganitong panahon ng disaster, wala lang eh tayo'y kanya kanya, wala yung sa kabila bumoto, sa kabila bumoto, ay dapat kampi kampi at tayo ay magtulungan.

APPENDIX B

Transcript of the Focus Group Discussion in Barangay Janosa on September 6, 2015

Angelito Nunag: So, magsimula na po tayo, ang pormal na simula. Bagamat po hingi muna ng permiso kaya lang nauna na siya... Nagrerecord na po tayo, may video din po ganoon. Una po gusto ko humingi ng pasalamat po sa inyong lahat. Alam ko po na may kanya kanya kayong ginagawa at inabala ko kayo, maraming salamat po sa pagdalo. Yun nga pong pagdalo ninyo ay malaking bagay na yan. Di po ba ang estranghero o dayuhan eh pagdating sa lugar ng mga taong pinupuntahan niya dapat talaga ay parang nangingilag siya. Hindi niya alam kung paano yung magiging dating sa kanya nung mga pinuntahan niya. Marami pong salamat at hindi ko naramdaman yun sa inyo at pinaunlakan niyo nga po ako. Ang atin pong gagawin ngayon gaya ng nabanggit ko kanina ay isa nga po itong workshop. Ang workshop po sa simpleng salita, ito po'y kwentuhan, talakayan, pwede pong pormal pwede impormal. At ang talakayan po na ito ay tungkol sa mga kaalaman po ninyo kung kaya nga po ang una pong pamantayang ginawa namin ni Kagawad Puroy nagpasama po ako sa kanya, ang maiimbitahan po naming dito yung mga lehitimong taga dito po. Hindi po namin inimbitahan yung mga dayuhan po dito kasi po ang pangunahin natin pakay sa ating talakayan sa ating kwentuhan ay matuto mula sa inyo ano po ba talaga ang kaalaman nung mga taga-isla. Patungkol po saan, syempre po paguusapan natin ang pinakafocus po kasi ng ating pag-aaral ay yung kalamidad po at yung kapaligiran. So yun po ang ating magiging pangunahing paguusapan. Ano po ba ang mga kaalaman ninyo, na inyo po talaga na nagmula ito rito sa karanasan ninyo dito sa Talim simula noong kayo ay bata. Ano po ba yung kaalaman ninyo o karanasan ninyo patungkol sa kalamidad, patungkol sa kapaligiran, ano po ba ang kaugnayan ng kapaligiran doon sa kalamidad na yan at ano po ba ang mga naging reaksiyon niyo sa pagharap dito. Ano po ba yung mga pamamaraan na ginawa ninyo, ano po yung mga hakbangin na ginawa ninyo para matugunan, lampasan o harapin ang mga kalamidad na ito. Ang atin pong talakayan ay walang mali, walang tamang sagot, sinasabi ko po ito para po i-encourage po kayo na sana kayo po ay magsalita, sana po ay wag po tayong matakot, mahiya na baka naku, mali ang aking sagot. Gaya po ng binanggit ko kanina, kami po ay nandidito hindi po para maglecture sa inyo, nandito po kami para matuto kung ano po talaga ang kaalaman niyo. Ibig ko pong sabihin ng ganoon, wala pong tama, wala pong mali kasi po ito'y base sa karanasan ninyo, kaalaman ninyo sa pagharap po doon sa paksa natin. Kahit po sino pwedeng sumagot kaya lang po dahil nagrerecord po tayo siguro po sana hindi tayo sabay sabay sumagot kasi po pag yan ay pinakinggan namin at inilimbag na po yan, napakahirap pong marinig kung sino po ba yung nagsalita na yun komo sabay sabay. So kung maaari po sana kunwari si Nanay nagsasalita, patapusin po natin or kung hindi man po magpatapos ay kumuha tayo ng tamang tiyempo na kayo naman po ang magsasalita. Sabihin ko na rin po ano, samantalain ko po itong unang bahagi dapat magsasalita, sapagakat isa po sa habilin sa akin lang ako ng mahaba sa unang bahagi dahil ipapaliwanag ko po ito. Pag dumaloy na po yung ating diskusyon as much as possible po ang instructions sa akin, hayaang magsalita yung mga participants kasi nga po kayo ang awtoridad dito. Kayo yung mas nakakaalam. Siguro po ang gagawin ko, manaka naka, paminsan minsan, magtatanong po ako sa inyo kung meron po sa tingin ko po ay mga punto na nangangailangan pa ng mas malalim na talakayan. So, ulitin ko po sana po maging mas malaya tayo sa pagbabahagi ng ating mga karanasan at kaalaman. Okay po yun? Ang atin pong talakayan ay dapat nagsimula tayo ng alas-nuebe pero since 9:30 na po siguro po maaadjust po natin yung oras. Siguro po mga hanggang alas-tres po tayo, huwag po kayong magalala may break time po tayo Nay at may inihanda naman po tayong mga pagkain para hindi din naman po tayo ganoon din na parang naperwisyo ko kayo. Banggitin ko na rin po sa inyo na, yun pong perwisyo, abala, wag po kayong mag-alala kung meron po kayong mga trabaho na ating naabala sa dulo po ng ating talakayan meron po kaming inihandang kaunting kompensasyon, ayaw po naming tawagin na bayad ito, paulit ulit na lang po ako dahil hindi po naming kayang bayaran yun pong inyong pagdalo. Sa totoo lang po, sabi ko kay Kagawad Puroy lagi maraming maraming salamat. Kahit magkano man ang ibayad sa inyo, dun po sa serbisyo at tulong na binigay niyo sa amin ay hindi po sapat ang binibigay namin na kompensasyon. Yun po, kung naabala man po ang trabaho ninyo, mamaya po ay meron pong konti, konti lang po naman na kompensasyon. Sa totoo lang po baka sabihin niyo na kahit wala na yan, pero may naiilan din po kami. Minsan ang worry ko po pagka ganoon, nagaalala po ako na sa tuwing lalapit po ako sa bawat isa sa inyo lagi ko pong inuuna ito pakiramdam ko minsan bastos na ako eh. Bukal naman sa loob ninyo ang pagtulong ninyo, ayaw naman po syempre namin makarining na, ano k aba naman gusto kong tumulong at hindi yung meron lang akong hinihintay na kapalit ano po. So pasensya na po kayo kung mukha akong bastos minsan, sasabihin ko kasi palagi, huwag po kayong magaalala meron pong kompensasyon, may nakalaan naman po talaga roon. Yun lang po. Hinati ko po ang ating talakayan sa pitong bahagi po ito. Hindi naman po ibig sabihin susundan natin ito, pwedeng halimbawa nasa number 1 tayo tatalon tayo sa 3 sa 4, wala pong ganoon. Pero gusto ko lang po sabihin na ang paghahati po ay ito po. Una po para lang po magsimula ang daloy ng ating talakayan ay kaunting pagtalakay po siguro sa lugar natin. Paano po ba ito nagsimula o bakit po ito tinawag na ano, yun po yung pinakauna. Yung pangalawa po, dadaloy tayo sa ano ba yung ating kaalaman tungkol na po ito sa kalamidad, tungkol po sa kapaligiran. Yung ikatlo po nito, ano po ang naging epekto po sa inyo nitong mga dumating ng mga kalamidad na yan, paano po nagbago ang mga kalamidad na yan. Sa paglilibot ko po sa isla, napakarami ko pong nakitang mga bahay na may serga so siguro po ito po ay pagbabago sa inyong pamumuhay. Ayun po ang ating tatalakayin sa pangatlo. Sa ika apat po ay ano ba yung mga paghahanda na ginagawa natin dito. Tapos dun sa ikalima po, paano ba ang ating, forward looking po, ang tawag po eh, ano namin paghahandaan bago pa man ang pagdating ng kalamidad na ito gamit po ang mga kaalaman na binabanggit ko

kanina. Magbigay po ako ng isang halimbawa ano dito sa paglilibot ko. Madalas po nababanggit halimbawa sa kapaligiran yung Kalangay-langayan lumilipad base po sa impormal na kwentuhan ko po, ang mga ito po ay nagbibigay ng babala o mga senyales so sa gayung paraan po... na tayo bago pa man dumating yung kalamidad so ano po yung mga ginagawa natin. Yun po yung bahaging yun. Yun pong susunod na bahagi, ano po yung mga nakikita natin sa paligid or siguro pwedeng gamitin yung prediskyon, ano po yung... diba po yung PAGASA may prediksyon din po yan, bagamat ang prediksyon nila ay base po ito sa mga bagong kagamitan pero kayo naman pong mga taga-isla de hamak na mas may kaalaman din po para makapag-predict. Banggitin ko na po dito yung isang kwento sa pakikipagkwentuhan ko sa mga tao dito na tumatak sa isip ko. Lagi po naririnig ko ito ano pag tinatanong ko po, paano po ninyo nalalaman na may kalamidad dito sa inyong isla, ang lagi pong sagot nila ay sa radyo, sa TV syempre po yung mga galing sa radyo't TV ito po ay produkto ng makabagong kagamitan, nandiyan yung PAGASA gamit ang kanilang teknolohiya, sasabihin nila na darating itong ganito kalakas na bagyo, yun po ang basehan nila sa predisksyon nila. Pero sa pakikipagkwentuhan ko po sa mga tao dito lalo na po yung mga pumapalaot, narinig ko po madalas yung sabi nila kahit may anunsyo na po yung PAGASA o yung coastguard na bawal na gamit yung kanilang teknolohiya, lagi pong sinasabi ng mga tao dito mas alam po nila kung kalian papalaot, so kahit pinagbawalan na ng coastguard halimbawa, sila mismo, mas alam namin eh, papalaot pa rin kami. So yun po yung binanggit kong kaalaman ninyo na hindi po gamit ang makabagong teknolohiya, kagamitan pero meron po kayong kaalaman na talagang inyo na ito po'y produkto ng inyo pong pamumuhay, pakikipagsalamuha ninyo, paginteract niyo po doon po sa kapaligiran niyo po. Tama naman po iyon sa aking palagay higit kanino man kayo po ang mas nakakakilala sa dagat po o lawa na tinatawag. So yun po yung bahaging yun, yung prediksyon po. Tapos po syempre yung panghuli, ano po kaya yung tugon ng pamahalaan, o kaya naman sa parte ng mga constituents, kanila Kagawad. Ano naman po yung mga gusto ninyong pamamaraan para maayos yung pagtugon ng ating pamahalaan. Wala pong pormal na ito 1 muna, 1,2,3, wala po, malaya po ang ating talakayan binanggit ko lang poi to. So, ibibigay ko na po ang talakayan sa inyo, siguro po magpakilala po muna tayo, magsisimula ako tapos si Geraldine po tapos sa inyo o kayo na po magsimula, isa isa po. Bahala po kayo kung anong gusto ninyong sabihin sa inyong pagpapakilala basta po magkakakilanlan po tayo at para din po alam namin kung sino po ang nagsasalita. Okay po yun? Ako po si Lito Nunag, Angelito po ang aking buong pangalan pero kilala po ako sa tawag na Lito. Nabanggit ko po kanina, ako po ay propesor sa UP, pero nagaaral po ako ng aking doctoral ngayon. Ang akin pong pagpunta sa inyo itong workshop na ito ay bahagi po ng pagsulat ng deseptasyon o yung iba po mas alam nila yung thesis na tinatawag, so ito po ay bahagi ng aking deseptasyon na kung saan ang pokus ng deseptasyon ko ay tungkol sa lokal na kaalaman, ibig sabihin yung kaalaman talaga ng mga tao dito na may kaugnayan ito sa kalamidad at sa kanyang kapaligiran. Matagal tagal na rin po akong nagtuturo ng ganitong subject. Antropolohiya po ang aking kinukuha, ito pong ginagawa natin ay sa disiplina po ng Antropolohiya. Nagtapos din po ako sa UP ng aking undergrad yun pong degree ko na Bachelors. Masters ko po ay sa UP din po sa Diliman. Ito pong Doctoral ko ay sa UP pero bahagi po ito ng scholarship ko doon sa Belgium. Kaya po pagkatapos ng ating talakayan, next week po ako po'y papalipad na papuntang Belgium. Sa Belgium po, kaya ako nagpapasalamat sa inyo, isa po ito sa aking ipresenta doon. Yun pong nakaraan po, nagsagawa kami sa Bangad ng parang ganito rin po yun naman prinisinta ko sa Canada naman kaya maraming salamat po at natutulungan niyo po ako. Kasama ko po si Geraldine, siya na po ang magpapakilala ng kanyang sarili.

Geraldine: Ako po si Geraldine... ako po ay ang nanay ko po ay taga Famy, Laguna, ako po ang magiging kasama ni Sir so kung meron po kayong kailangan na kahit ano pwede po kayong lumapit sa akin.

Angelito Nunag: Siya nga po pala, maisingit ko po, meron po tayong naihanda na almusal sana eh dahil late na po siguro po meryendahin natin dito tapos meron pananghalian mamaya tapos meron pa po tayo ulit meryenda bago tayo maghiwa-hiwalay. So, halika na Geraldine. Siguro po panahon po para ipakilala ang bawat isa sa atin para masimulan na natin yung ating talakayan. Kanino po tayo magsimula, Nay sa inyo po ba? Sige po.

Carmelita: Ako ba ay tatayo?

Angelito Nunag: Ay hindi na po, hindi na po natin kailangan tumayo para po...

Carmelita: Ako po ay siguro kilala naman ng lahat ng mga ito dahil. Sabagay hindi po ako taga rito, taga doon po sa kabila, Cardona side pero isla din yun. Ako po ay dating guro, grade 1 teacher po ako, na dito po ako nakapagturo...kaya ako hindi lihitimong taga...

Angelito Nunag: Pero lihitimong taga-isla po?

Carmelita: Lihitimo naman talaga.

Angelito Nunag: Pasok pa rin po kayo sa ating hinahanap po.

Carmelita: Ako po ay dating guro, grade 1 retired na ako, kaya ako sabi ko halos yung ibang ano nito naging estudyante ko kaya ako ay kilala at ginagalang ng mga iyan. 73 years old na ako.

Angelito Nunag: Nay kayo ho?

Anna: Ako rin naman po siguro'y kilala dito kapuluang ito dahil, hindi rin po ako mismong taga-rito. Ako po ay taga kabilang isla sa may... At dito na po ako nanirahan sa bayan ng Prisa at sinasabi ko nga na ako ay kanilang kilala dahil ako po ay naghahanapbuhay na isang vendor, araw araw naglilibot sa isla at sa kasalukuyan nga po ako ay nakapwesto na.

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Good morning sa inyong lahat. Sir ang pangalan ko po ay... kilala niyo naman. Ako po ang dating Barangay Captain dito 2002 upto 2010. Maraming salamat po at isa ako sa naanyayahan kasi may ibabahagi din ako sa ating talakayan mamaya at kung ano man ang ano, ang pagsisimula ng ating talakayan. Okay po ako.

Ruben Cruz: Ako po si ginoong Ruben Cruz. Taga-rito, may asawa, taga-rito rin meron po akong tatlong anak, salamat po.

Angelito Nunag: Kayo po Tay?

Domingo Villafloris: Ako po si Domingo Villafloris, taga-dito po mismo ako, anak ko po'y pito at tatlo po ay pumanaw na. ...pinagkaloob po ng Diyos para sa akin eh. Maraming salamat po.

Angelito Nunag: Salamat po, kagawad?

Kagawad Froilan (Puroy): Magandang Umaga po. Ako po si Kagawad Froilan, sa palayaw na Puroy. Ako po'y bale matagal nang kagawad kaya nga po bilang ako'y OIC ako ang kinakausap ninyo. Sa akin pong kaalaman, ako po'y babawi.

Angelito Nunag: Salamat po, kayo po?

Carlito: Magandang umaga po, ako po si... Yun lang po.

Guy in White: Magandang umaga po... Maraming maraming salamat po.

Angelito Nunag: Salamat po. Tay?

Florencio: Ako po si...taong gulang, tubong... Yun po lamang.

Angelito Nunag: Tay, kayo po?

Kensiyano: Ako po si... tubong Janosan.. 78 na. Ang hanapbuhay ko po ay...

Angelito Nunag: Salamat po

James Padriatico: Ako po pala si ginoong James Padriatico, ano po taga-rito rin po. Kwarentay nuebeng taong gulang po ako, kasalukuyang pong Barangay... ako po'y nagsimula pa'y Ka... hanggang sa ngayon.

Kagawad Raymond: Ako po si Raymond... 47 years old, kasalukuyang Barangay Kagawad. Ako po'y mangingisda.

Maura Villaflores: Ako po si Maura Villaflores talaga pong ako'y taga dito sa isla.

Angelito Nunag: Tay, kayo po?

Severo: Ako po si Severo... 67 naninirahan po kami dito sa... marami pong salamat.

Angelito Nunag: Salamat po, nay?

Milagros Bilyones: Ako po si Milagros Bilyones single pa po ako. Mismo po akong taga-rito sa Janosan. Ako po ang panganay sa aming magkakapatid.

Angelito Nunag: At single po talaga?

Milagros Bilyones: Single, kasalukuyang yaya ng mga apo anak ng mga pamangkin.

Angelito Nunag: Sige po, salamat po sa pagpapakilala ninyo. Mamaya po ay magbibigay ang aking kasama ng arrangement po para alam ko din kung sino ang aking tatawagin, ano po. Sa ngayon po para magsimula ng aking talakayan maari po ba natin pagusapan kung bakit tinawag na Janosan ito. Yung mga kaalaman niyo po patungkol sa lugar, kalian po kaya siguro dating Kapitan baka mas may malalim siyang kaalaman halimbawa kalian ba nagsimula itong Barangay na ito, pero dito po, walang tama at maling sagot. Kung hindi niyo po alam, okay lang naman po na hindi ito pagusapan. Interesado lang po kasi ako, kung bakit ganito ang pangalan ng barangay ninyo. Meron po bang mga kwento sa likod ng pangalan na yun? Sino po baang maaring magsimula?

***Inaudible Chatter

Domingo Villafloris: Ako po ay may mayroong konting nahagip sa lolo ko. Noong panahon pa Kastila ang tao eh. At saka ako ay nakipag istoryahan sa kanya na kung bakit pinangalanan ito ng Anusan kasi nagtatanong din ako sa kanila kung sila... ibang lugar katulad nung sa Binangonan bakit tinatawag na Binangonana. Ngayon ang nangyari po dito kung bakit tinawag na Janosan meron daw pong mga mamamaril. Magbabaril sila ng kung anong hayop, may binaril silang kung tawagin ay usa. Ngayon sa kanilang pagkukuro-kuro walang pangalan pa ito noon eh. ..Usa Usa... ayon tinotoo na ang pangalang Anusan.

Angelito Nunag: So ibig pong sabihin, noong unang panahon laganap yung mga usa po dito?

Domingo Villafloris: Oo... noong araw laganap dito. Dito lang po sa taas meron na, ngayon wala na. Ang dami po ng hayop na wala na. Baboy damong tinatawag, wala na.

Angelito Nunag: Tay tama po ba? Kayo si Tatay Domingo, tama po ba? Kayo po si Tatay Domingo, ano po?

Domingo Villafloris: Opo, opo

Angelito Nunag: Sige po, binabanggit ko po para alam natin kung sino ang isa't isa. Sino pa po baa ng pwedeng magbahagi inyong mga kwento kung bakit ito tinawag na Janosan?

Florencio: Ah.. ako po. Ayon po sa..

Angelito Nunag: Kayo po, Tatay Florencio po?

Florencio: Oo, ayon po sa nalalaman ko at ang nagturo po sa amin sa eskwelahan po namin... madaming yung Anos, Anos kung tawagin, sa ngayon Bocaue, yung.. na kawayan. Anos kung tawagin...

Angelito Nunag: Ano pong pangalan? Anos?

Florencio: Opo, marami po dito ng Anos.

Angelito Nunag: Ang Anos po ay halaman po ba?

White Hair (Lady): Kawayan, yung maliliit

Angelito Nunag: Ang spelling po nito ay A-N-O-S, Anos po?

Florencio: Oo, yun po ang turo sa amin ng teacher na kung kaya tinawag itong Anosan marami daw po kasing Anos eh. Kaya Anosan ang pinangalan dito.

Angelito Nunag: Yung iba po may idea po ba. May mga kwento po kayong ano kung bakit tinawag na...

Florencio: ...maraming Anos, Janosan... madaming Anos

Angelito Nunag: Hanggang ngayon po ba maraming Anos dito? Meron pa po ba na mga kwento...

Kensiyano: ...nakadanas ng ganoon eh ako po eh hindi eh kaya meron silang mga kwentong ganoon.

Severo: Pwedeng magsalita?

Angelito Nunag: Sige po, Tatay kayo po si Tatay Severo po?

Severo: Sa edad kong ito, 67, eh yun pong tinatawag na Anos, bunga ng kawayan. Bunga po na walang tinik at noon pong panahon na yun ito pong aming lugar, at ako ay hindi pa tao noon ayon sa mga matatanda po ay umaabot po doon... Kaya po nagkaroon ng mga lehitimong mga pamamaraan ng mga kahoy at mga Anos, yan po ay tinanim din ng mga tao dati.

Angelito Nunag: Tay, matanong ko lang po. Pag sinasabi niyong umaagos, nagllandslide po. Ganoon po ba? Anong ibig sabihin?

Severo: Hindi ko po komo hindi pa ko ako tao noon. Pero yung sinasabi po nila umaagos raw ang bundok na yan. Palibhasa meron silang mga tinatawag na mga pagsigalot ng bundok, nagsusuka ng tubig kaya nawala po umaagos pababa. Pero pag umaagos ang mga kahoy po simula dito sa may lambak, abagatan hindi po kami dapat sana dumanas ng hirap... Pagdating ng tag-araw, natutuyo po ang lupa, pero wala po kaming magagawa kung ang dating taong nauna...

Angelito Nunag: Nabanggit niyo po yung mga halaman, may pananim po ba dati dito may mga taniman po ba ito dati?

Severo: Ayon po sa matatanda pong nauna sa amin, sila po ay nagsisikap dito nagtanim ng mga palay, ka ng mga halaman talagang yun ang tumutugon doon sa kahirapan ng buhay sa islang ito. ...likas na talagang tamad pinagsikapan nila na sila ay buhayin ang kanilang mga anak hanggang sa panahong ito... talaga pong tinutugunan nila yung... tinatawag pong kasipagan ng tao. ...wala pong lalabas na tamad... magsikap ang bawat Pilipino.

Angelito Nunag: Tay, tanong ko lang. Saan po banda ang taniman ng mga palay dito?

Severo: Dati po (Inaudible) Yan po eh hanggang sa kasipagan ng tao eh pababa ng pababa. Dito na sila nagtanim sa lugar namin... Pero nagkaroon pa din ng hadlang ang pagtanim sapagkat (Inaudible)

Carmina: Pero noong dati, sa amin. Iyang bundok na yan, tinatamnan yan ng mga palay, mais, kaya lang hindi pa araro, yung kinakailangan gamitan ng kalabaw sa pag-aararo. Pabakal. Sa amin ay may palakpak na ganyan at yung kawayan. Yun ang ginagamit nilang panghukay ng lupa para roon na lang itinatanim ang palay.

Angelito Nunag: Nay Carmina, maari niyo po bang ilarawan yung itsura ng pabakal na ito?

Carmina: Kawayan sya, kawayan na yung dulo pag iginanyan mo pumapalakpak yung dulo iyon ng kawayan. At saka yun naming ano parang may tulis na nakasaksak sa pinakapuno.

Angelito Nunag: Metal po? Bakal po yung nasa dulo nun?

Carmina: Oo.

Angelito Nunag: Kaya rin siya tinawag na pabakal, ganun po ba?

Carmina: Kaya siyang humuhukay doon sa lupa na pagtatamnan ng ano, palay.

Angelito Nunag: Kayo po Nanay Anna, may ganoon din kayong ano?

Anna: Oo

Angelito Nunag: Paano po yung sa inyong nung panahon nay un?

Anna: Yun nga yung sinasabi na ginaganyan tapos ay yung palay ikinakalat po doon. Naging ano ko po yun noong ako'y bata pa. Sa kaingin kasi po kami nakatira noon.

Angelito Nunag: Ngayon po ba may pabakal pa po ba?

Anna: Wala na yata.

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Meron pa, mais naman po ang naitatanim.

Angelito Nunag: Ay meron pa po, mais naman po?

Carmelita: Kasi wala na rito yung mga kalabaw eh.

Anna: Dati kasi ito palayan tsaka yung libis natin na yun pakawanan, maisan, melon.

***Inaudible chatter.

Angelito Nunag: So simula po doon sa libis hanggang dito po? Tinatanim palay, pakwan, melon, mais ganoon?

Anna: Dito po ang nakita ko lang na tinatanim mais at palay.

Carmelita: Palay at saka mais.

Anna: ...kamatis, talong, pakwan, palay

Angelito Nunag: Si Kapitan Pablo po..

Anna: Inaudible

Angelito Nunag: Ay sorry po, Talong po? Pero ngayon po wala na po rito? Si dating kapitan Pablo.

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Magandang umaga po ulit sa ating mga kasama, ang ibabahagi ko po ay tungkol dun sa pangalan ng Janosan. Katulad po ng nasabi ni Tiyo... ganoon din po ang aking karanasan. Noon pong araw sa aking pag-aaral noong ako'y ano pa. Yan din po ang aking, dito po sa aming bundok talaga po diyan maraming buho. Buho po yan, yan po talaga ay marami ho diyan. Ngayon, merong mga tao na nagpunta dito, nagpunta rito, pagpalagay na natin mga bisita. Umahon sila sa kabundukan na doon maraming kung tawagin ay anos, ngayon pagbaba nila ng bundok, tinatanong nila yung mga tao kung ano yung pangalan noong anos na yun. Ang pagkaka-ano nung taga rito noong araw ay anos. Kaya noong ano, ang sabi noong nagpunta ang tinatanong noong nagpunta eh kung anong pangalan nitong barangay na ito.

Angelito Nunag: So nakuha na po sa ano

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Ang amin pong bundok ay noong araw para po yang rice terraces, meron po yang mga, para po yang rice terraces eh yung bundok namin noong araw para po yang Mountain Province na ginagawang taniman ng mga palay. Kasi ho noong araw ang ulan eksaktong darating, tag-ulan, tag-ulan. Hindi ho yung ang ulan eh yun bang delayed. Basta pag sinabing tag-ulan, yung May. May, June, July umpisa na ng tag-ulan yan, umpisa na ng pagbubungkal ng mga tao ng lupa at pag-aararo ng mga magsasaka sa bundok. Yan po talaga ay eksaktong tag-ulan, May, June, July, August hanggang December eksakto po yan na talagang aming mga palay at aming mga pananim sa bundok, tutubo yan at mag-aani.

Angelito Nunag: Ang tag-ulan po na binabanggit niyo Kapitan Pablo ay May to December?

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Opo, yan po talaga ang, kaya po ang aming mga magsasaka sa bundok, ang aming magtatanim ng prutas kahit anong mang klase ng halaman na kinakain ng tao yan ay halos nasa palengke ay saktong naaani. Eh sa ngayon po ay.. po ang May dito eh, talaga pong ang ulan na ay delayed na. Delay na ngayon. Siguro po ay hindi ko mawari kung polluted o ano basta po ang ating ano ngayon delay. Kaya po yung mga taong dating nagtatanim sa bundok ay wala na.

Angelito Nunag: Gaano niyo na po naobserbahan yung pagbabago? Yung delay po na ito?

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Ay simula po noong, nagsimula po Sir noong dumami ang tao. Dumami ng dumami ang... para bang ano na sa pag aaral ng mga tao kahit naman sila ay nakakapag aral, dahil daw po ang ating Ozone Layer ay butas na kaya yan sa nakakaapekto dun sa tag ulan, tag araw, yun po ang aking pagkakaalam.

Angelito Nunag: Ngayon po, kaliaan na po nagsisimula ang tag ulan ngayon?

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Dati po ay May, eh ngayon po ay minsan eh August ay hindi pa umuulan eh. Yun pong aming magtatanim ng mais, yun po talaga, pag dating ng March, April sila po ay naghahawa na ng maitatanim na mais dun sa mga lupang pagtatamnan. Ang hinihintay nila yung buhos ng ulan ng May. Eh ang problema po ay hindi bumubuhos ang ulan ng May eh. May, June, July wala po eh. Kaya po ngayon ang aking mga pananim na mais at kahit mga sitaw dun sa bundok wala na po, mga bansot na pong ganun. Hindi na po karamihan ay aanihin halos wala ng makain. (Inaudible Chatter)

Angelito Nunag: Syempre po malaking epekto ito sa kabuhatan

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Totoo po, Sir yun. Unang una po eh halos ang kabuhatan ng mga tao dito pag hindi dagat, bundok. Yan ang kauna unahang pinagkakakitaan ng mga tao noong araw, bundok. Halos ang mga tao dito diyan na nakatira yung mga matatanda. Talagang kanilang hanap buhay maski tatay ko. Diyan ako lumaki na talagang diyan eh nag aral ako nung high school diyan ako natutulog. May mga kubo diyan lapit lapit, may mga pananim lapit lapit. Walang nagnanakaw, walang sumisira kasi nga lahat ng tao dito sa totoo po ay masisipag noong araw at talaga naman kung ang buhos ng ulan ay eksakto talaga pong pinag aanuhan nila dun na ang pananim ay talagang aani, eh ngayon po ay hindi eh.

Angelito Nunag: Eh dahil po sa pagbabago na to papano eh (Chatter cut)

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Klima, ang pagbabago ng klima, ng panahon.

Angelito Nunag: Paano na po sila ngayon, ano na po yung pinagkakaabalahan?

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Yun po sir ang isang ano eh. Ngayon po sa panahong ito ay yun pa rin po kaso ng lang hindi na sila nagtanim at madalang na rin ang umaahon diyan yun bang nagtanim ng kung ano anong pagkabuhatan, hindi na po. Marami na po ngayon ay nasa Maynila yung mga tao, yung mga kabataan at kauna unahang pinagkakakitaan dito na medyo mayroong source of income talaga, talagang dagat.

Angelito Nunag: So bale nawala na po yung bundok na source of income?

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Oo. Para pong ano eh. Para pong wala ng ano eh. Talaga pong pag diyan ka aasa ay gutom ang aabutin ng pamilya mo.

Angelito Nunag: So mas reliable na po ngayon ang lawa?

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Opo, opo. Sa ngayon. Noong araw po yan ang mas pinagkakakitaan ng mga tao, bundok talaga. Nandiyan ang kung ano ano, lahat ng klase ng pananim. Unang una palay, mais, kamote lahat po talagang mga kamote ang lalaki. Talagang titibagin mo ang lalaki. Eh ngayon po ay wala ng nga eh, wala na po. (Inaudible Chatter) Ang ating mga mais nung araw malalaki talaga yan mga bukot na malalaki.

Angelito Nunag: Ano pong tawag? Bukot?

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Bukot. Isa po kami sa mayroong pinakamalaking bukot dito sa Janosan noong araw.

***Inaudible chatter.

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Ang bukot po ay parang kaing na malaki na bilog, bilog siya. Yun ang lagayan po ng mais at saka

Anna: ...walang paglagyan ng parang mais noong araw...

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Noong araw po dito sa amin lalo na dito noong rice mill.

Angelito Nunag: Dito po mismo sa isla?

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Oo. Dito po mismo sa Janosan may rice mill po dito kasi po ang lahat ng inaani namin dito sa bundok at kahit sa tabing dagat yun po ang naggigiling, yung rice mill na yun. Simula po nang mawala ang pag-ani sa bundok at pagkasira ng ano ng tubig naming, yung mga pananim sa tabing tubig, yan po ay ano, pinangaano yan ng palay eh. Wala na po ngayon.

Angelito Nunag: Ano po tubig na ito, irigasyon po ba ito?

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Hindi po, galing sa lawa.

Angelito Nunag: Sa lawa po?

Kagawad Froilan (Puroy): Meron pong mano-mano, may isang kawayan pong nakaganoon, maglagay po kami mano-manong tubig.

Angelito Nunag: Kagawad Puroy, ano pong tawag doon sa sinasabi ninyo na kawayan? Ibig pong sabihin yung tubig sa lawa pinadadaan sa kawayan?

Kagawad Froilan (Puroy): Meron po kaming parang pulo na pag po kami ginanoon naming yun, kasi po yung iba... makina, patubig, sa amin po mano-mano... tatay ko... kaya po nakaabot ng mano mano, tila lagumbahan. Oo, lagumbahan noong araw eh.

Angelito Nunag: Ano po itong lagumbahan na ito?

Kagawad Froilan (Puroy): Yun pong tubig po, doon pumapasok ang tubig.

Florencio: Kanal po...

Angelito Nunag: Ah, hinukay pong kanal ito?

Florencio: Pagkatapos kumuha sila yung kawayan paupod at ginawa po nilang mahabang... ay yerong bilog na ganoon tapos sasalog ng tubig.

***Simultaneous chatter from a couple of people describing lagumbahan.

Angelito Nunag: At mano-mano po ang ano dito, paglalagay ng tubig?

Kagawad Froilan (Puroy): Mano-mano po.

Angelito Nunag: Gaano po katagal bago mapatubigan ang isang palayan?

Kagawad Froilan (Puroy): Ay matagal po.

Florencio: Oras...

***Inaudible chatter.

Florencio: Dito po sa amin, marami pong pananim dito ngayon tulad ng saging madami po ngayong saging dito. Sagingan po.

Angelito Nunag: Dati po, wala?

Florencio: Meron din po dito...

Angelito Nunag: Tatay Florencio, may tanong lang po ako. Nabanggit niyo kanina itong lagumbahan hanggang dito lang malapit sa dagat. Pag po bang sinabing malapit sa dagat, hanggang saan po ba ang malapit sa dagat?

Florencio: Mga 100 meters simula sa dagat.

Angelito Nunag: Yun po ang malapit sa dagat.

Florencio: Oho

Angelito Nunag: Pag po lumampas ng 100 meters, ano ho ang tawag dito?

Florencio: Ay wala ho... (Inaudible) 200 meters galing dagat

Angelito Nunag: Ano pong tawag?

Florencio: Ha?

Angelito Nunag: Ano hong tawag galing 200 meters po?

Florencio: Ay hindi seashore yun... (Inaudible)

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Mawalang galang na po.

Angelito Nunag: Sige po. Kapitan si... Sige po balik muna tayo kay..

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Pwede po ba akong tumayo.

Angelito Nunag: Sige po, wala pong problema kaya po nakaupo lang para po komportable lang po kayo.

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Yun pong lagumbahan, bibigyan ko po ng konting malinaw na eksplasyon. Noon pong araw, ang tatay ko nagtatanim talaga ng palay sa tabing-tubig. Noon pong ano, ang tubig namin sa lawa ay ibig sabihin mataba pa para sa palay. Ang aming ginagamit dating... ay yung tinatawag na lagumbahan. Sir lagumbahan po yun. Yun po ang irigasyon ng palay naminsa tabing tubig ay na siyang ginagamit namin para ang palay ay mabuhay at magkaroon ng buhay. Yun pong lagumbahan, yun po ay para siyang ano ba, pananim na ganito kalaki, ganito kalalim yun po ay direktso sa tubig papunta po doon sa palayan diyan sa tabing tubig. Noon pong araw yoon pong aming tabing tubig, wala pa po yang bayan. Madalang ang bahay diyan, ang talagang ginagawa diyan ay taniman ng palay. Noong araw, kaya po yan talagang sakripisyo na kesyo ikaw noong araw ay syempre mahirap ang mga taga-rito sa amin lalo na kami mahirap din ay hindi po kami makabili ng motor para gawin doong irigasyon para sa aming palay. Kaya ho ang ginagawa namin kahit sinong magsasaka dito, yun po talaga, lagumbahan.

Angelito Nunag: Padescribe nga ho Tay kung anong itsura nito... yung nasa dulong kawayan.

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Ang lagumbahan po ay ito po ay isang mahabang kanal na yung pinakadulo na sakop nung dulo, ito po puro palayan. Yun po ay kawayan na ganyan tapos yung dulo niya parang may sangay, may sandok na parang ganyan. Yung tubig doon sa lagumbahan, inaano sa palay.

Angelito Nunag: Inihahagis po?

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Oo, inihahagis po.

Florencio: ...isasalok ng paganoon, nakabitin pong ganoon.

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Nakabitin pong ganoon.

Florencio: ...nakabitin... parang seesaw

Angelito Nunag: Ah, para pong isang malaking kutsara o sandok na nakabitin?

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Oo, nakabitin siya na tila sumasandok ng tubig.

Angelito Nunag: Sa ngayon ho, wala na ito?

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Sir wala na ho, simula po nang dumami ang tao, dumami ang mga bahay at sa bundok maski magtanim kami diyan ngayon hindi na po tumutubo, wala na pong ano ang aming dagat.

Angelito Nunag: May dalawang bagay po akong gusting itanong na sinabi niyo. Una po yung tubig nga, mataba yung tubig para mabuhay yung pananim niyo, ngayon po ba hindi na pwedeng bumuhay ito? Bakit po?

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Yun ang hindi namin alam kung kaya pang bumuhay. Kasi po sa ngayon, sa pagaaral namin ay ang aming tubig ay polluted na. Polluted na sir, kasi tingnan po ninyo, paliliwanag ko. Noong huling magtanim si tatay ng palay sa tabing tubig na ang irigasyon ay diyan din nanggagaling sa tubig, yung tubig diyan nanggagaling sa lawa hindi na po siya, kahit po lagyan ng pataba. Hindi na po kayang magsupply ng mga uhay na maganda.

Angelito Nunag: Ano po ang tawag, uhay?

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Uhay, yun ang pinakabigas natin pag pinagiling.

Angelito Nunag: So kung kalidad po ng tubig, wala na?

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Wala na, wala na po.

Angelito Nunag: Yung pangalawa ko pong tanong Kap eh yung, kalian po nagsimula mawala ang palayan at ang naging kapalit po ay bahay, tama po ba? Kailan po nagsimula, may ideya po kayo kalian nagsimula?

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Yan po ay nagsimula noong ako'y hindi pa kapitan eh. Nagsimula na yang pagdating ng bahay, kasi nga ay syempre ang mga tao rito ay sobrang dami na pati tabing –tubig ay tinatayuan na ng bahay pero hindi sila skwater. Kasi ang mga tabing-tubig na yan merong mga titulo ang lupa diyan eh na kanya kanya yung mga tinatayo kasi wala na silang mapagtayuan eh ng bahay eh. Simula noon, pangalawa kaya yan eh natigil ang pag-aano gawa ng mga basura. Hindi lang dito sa islang Talim, kundi diyan din sa kabila. Kaya siguro yun ang pinagmulan ng mga pollution, yun mga pabrika na na-ano sa aming mga lawa, diyan lahat nakasuso eh. Kaya yung aming dagat para bang nawawalan na ng ano, ng buhay. Ibig sabihin, nawawalan na ng sustansiya siya para sa aming mga pananim. Maski nga po sa isda namin eh, parang nagkakaroon na siya ng parang poisoned.

Angelito Nunag: Ang isda po?

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Opo. Para siyang nagiging poison sa isda po, ang aming lawa.

Angelito Nunag: So apektado din po doon ang kabuhayan...

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): ...sa ngayon kasi ang bundok nga wala na ibig sabihin second choice na lang ang bundok. Ang number 1 talagang pinagkukunan ngayon, talagang ang lawa. Lawa talaga. Ikkwento ko lang po sir. Ang aming lawa, noong araw noong hindi pa masyadong maraming pabrika sa kabila sa Laguna at kung saan-saan, yan po talaga ang isda diyan ay talagang sobrang dami. Talagang maliit pa ako laganap ang mga isda diyan Tilapia, malalaking Biyag, Ayumin, Hipon, Tanduli at talagang number 1 na siyang nahuli diyan sa lawa namin.

Angelito Nunag: Ngayon po?

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Meron pa rin pong ganyan eh ang problema, nagkakamatay sila pag dumadating na yung panahon na, nagkakamatay na sila.

Angelito Nunag: Ano pong panahon itong nagkakamatay sila?

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Hindi kasi ano eh, ikukwento ko eh. Di po ba ang tag-ulan sa amin ay May. Kung ano po, May ang tag-ulan samin bago po sumapit ang tag-ulan ay parang nagkakaroon ng lason ang dagat.

Angelito Nunag: Lason po ang dagat?

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Oo, para bang tinatawag na masamang tubig. Para pong nagkakaroon ng masamang tubig. Yan po ay dumadating pag malapit na ang tag-ulan.

Angelito Nunag: So, kung regular pa po katulad ng dati, panahon ninyo, May po ang dating nito?

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): May po ang dating. Tagalang nagkakaroon na po ng tinatawag na Fish leave doon sa amin.

Angelito Nunag: Eh ngayon pong nagbago na ang pagdating ng ulan, kalian po dumadating ang masamang tubig?

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Aba po'y halimbawa umulan ng August, yun ang simula ng Fish leave. Pagka, ang pinanggagalingan niyan eh pag bumaha. Halimbawa pag umulan ng malakas, bumaha, napaka lakas na baha. Maski ako'y hindi po ano eh diyan nanggagaling sa Laguna eh ang masamang tubig. Maitim. Doon nanggagaling sa pabrka. Kaya kawawa ang mga taga-isla eh.

Angelito Nunag: Basta po unang ulan, masamang tubig ito?

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Oo, basta po bumaha yung mga ilog. Yung itim na tubig na yun, gumagapang yun papunta sa lawa, halos lahat ng lawa apektado noon, nung itim na yun.

Angelito Nunag: Hanggang kalian po dumadaloy ang masamang tubig na ito?

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Aba'y hanggang hindi umuulan ng panay na panay. Halimbawa panay ang ulan, nawawala na po yun. Ibig sabihin natatalo na yung masamang tubig dun sa capacity ng tubig na nalalagay sa lawa. Yun po. Kaya yan po natatalo na rin.

Angelito Nunag: Mamaya po balikan pa natin itong masamang tubig na nabanggit ni dating Kapitan.

Florencio: Dugtungan pa po natin.

Angelito Nunag: Ho?

Florencio: Dugtungan pa po natin.

Angelito Nunag: Ay sige po, Tatay Florencio.

Florencio: Itong masamang tubig ay parang sama sama yan eh. ...pag po nadaloy sa mga isda lumutang yung mga isda, patay na.

Angelito Nunag: Ano pong itsura nitong masamang tubig na ito bukod sa maitim?

Florencio: (Inaudible) kulay itom po galing nga po sa mga toxic ng mga pabrika. Ito po ay may palatandaan naman kung mismong galing ng masamang tubig, ay yung isdang lgad pag lumutang po yun nagaapawan...

Angelito Nunag: Anong isdang lgad po?

Florencio: Kulay pula, parang bulate.

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Yung Eel.

Angelito Nunag: Ah, Eel? Ngayon po wala nang lgad, wala nang Eel?

Florencio: Meron, ibig sabihin alam yan ng mga mangingisda pag namamatay, pag namatay ang isdang lgad may masamang tubig na dadating.

Angelito Nunag: Syempre po pag lutang ay dito sa lawa po? Lumulutang? Meron pa po bang... Balikan ko po yung una nating talakayan, bago po natin balikan gusto ko lang pong iwelcome yung mga batang kasama natin. Sana hindi sila mahiyang magsalita na ano kasi baka maintimidate kayo kasi matatanda na, I mean may edad, pasensya na po. Totoo naman na mas may wisdom na sa ating edad eh pero sana naman po si Janicaanak ba ni Kagawad Rodelano? Sana naman ay magshare ka rin sa amin kasi gusto po namin makita rin yung iba't ibang pananaw po, pananaw ng bata kumpara po doon sa pananaw ng matanda, para makita natin yung mga pagbabago. Gaya ng binabanggit ni Kapitan Pablo kanina marami na pong nagbago kayo rin po Tatay Florencio, marami pong pagbabago. Gusto ko rin po makitakamusta naman yung mga kabataan sa pananaw nila ngayon, ano yung pagtingin nila dito. Winewelcome po natin si Janica siya po yung naka-black, si Camille yung naka-White, magkapatid kayo tama? Ay, magpinsan at syempre po si Tatay Carlito Villones po, welcome po, medyo nag-umpisa na po kami. Sana po'y makasunod kayo. Sabagay unang bahagi pa lang naman po yung ating talakayan, patungkol pa lang doon sa kaalaman natin tungkol sa pinagmulan ng pangalan halimbawa ng ating lugar, bakit siya tinatawag na Janosan. Bagamat kahit anong topic, pwede naman pong pag-usapan katulad po ngayon. Napaka, pangalan pa lang pinaguusapan natin pero marami na pong interesting na bagay bagay pong nabanggit yung mga nagsalita po. Ano po, sino po yung meron pang idadagdag patungkol doon sa kung bakit po tinawag na Janosan, kalian ba ito nagsimla bilang isang barangay bagamat ito'y mga technical na po sigurong tanong na dapat eh may datos talaga pero kung may idea po kayo pwede po ishare niyo ito. Pero kung wala naman, hindi kayo ganoon kapamilyar o walang available na datos po ngayon, pwede pong balikan po siguro yan pero mga kwento po, meron pa po ba? Si Tatay Florencio po.

Florencio: Yun po lamang ang aking nalaman... dito nga sa teacher dito sa amin. Kung marami ditong Anos, sa... nga po Janosan kaya Janosan kung tawagin.

James Padriatico: Ako sir ano, nabalitan ko

Angelito Nunag: Si Kuya Reynaldo po?

James Padriatico: James, James

Angelito Nunag: Ah, James.

James Padriatico: Ako po'y ganoon din, base sa mga kwento ng matatanda sa akin. ...sa mga kwento ganito daw po ang sabi ni Ka-Joey. Sobrang dami ng usa noong araw, Janosan.

Angelito Nunag: So, usa naman? Yung mga bata ba meron ba kayong mga kwentong alam?

Janica: Ganoon din po ang alam namin, madami daw pong usa dito kaya Janosan ang tawag.

Angelito Nunag: Ah. Janica, saan mo narinig ito? Sa eskwelahan ba? Sa kwentuhan lang...

Janica: Sa kwentuhan lang din po.

Angelito Nunag: Kung wala na po, sigurado bago tayo magsimula eh magmeryenda po muna tayo ano? Para naman ganahan tayo sa...

***Session on break with chatter.

Angelito Nunag: Okay po ba na habang kumakain tayo, magpapamigay si Geraldine ng maliliit na papel po. Papakiusapan ko po kayong magsulat ng ideya niyo po, explain ko po pagkamaya-maya. Meron po tayong panulat na, kung tapos kayo ipasa na lang sa susunod kasi ilan lang po ang nadala namin.

***Session on break with chatter.

Angelito Nunag: Okay lang po ba na habang kumakain tayo magpatuloy na tayo? Yang papel na ibinigay sa inyo, nais ko po sanang magsulat kayo diyan ng "Ano po baa ng unang pumapasok sa isip ninyo pag pinagusapan o binanggit ang salitang Kalamidad". Kahit ano po, kahit ano pong ideya ninyo diyan sa kalamidad na yan. Malinaw po ba o gusto niyong magbigay ako ng halimbawa po kaya? Magbigay po ba ako? Katulad po, siguro kung ako ang tatanungin pag sinabing kalamidad sa akin, siguro ang pagkasira ng bahay, marami pong ganyan ang kalamidad. Maari naman pwede mong sabihin ang kalamidad, lindol ganyan po, direkta na kalamidad. O kaya naman, pag kalamidad ang unang papasok saakin, walang pasok sa kwelahan. Yun po. Kahit ano po na papasok sa isip niyo pag binanggit ang salitang kalamidad. Pwede rin po siguro, pagkawala ng mga mahal sa buhay, so bahala po kayo, ano po ang inyong ideya, kung ano po ang inyong pagtingin pag binanggit ang kalamidad. Ano po sa inyo...

Janica: Ibig po bang sabihin, pag sinabi yung kalamidad, yun po yung kahit anong pagkasira ng isang bagay or lugar or...

Angelito Nunag: Yun ang ating gustong malaman dito, ano ba ang pagtingin mo sa kalamidad. So kahit ano, ikaw ito ang pagtingin ko, pwedeng pagkasira, pwede namang hindi. Ayoko po sanang pangunahan yung inyong ideya, actually, hindi po talaga dapat ganyan pero siguro po para mas maliwanagan pwede ang iba pag sinabing kalamidad grasya. Ito po ay ilan sa mga, kwento po ito, pwede din pong salot.

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Ibig sabihin yung salot, minsan ang kalamidad biyaya.

Angelito Nunag: Opo.

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Merong nakakadagdag...

Angelito Nunag: Opo, yun po ang gusto natin malaman diyan. Ano po yung pumapasok sa isip ninyo.

***Discussion and clarification what to write on paper about "Kalamidad"

Angelito Nunag: Kayo po, ang layunin ko lang naman sa aktibidad na ito ay malaman, ano ba ang pagtingin ng mga tao pag sinabi ang salitang kalamidad. Gaya ng nabanggit natin kanina, binabanggit ni Kapitan Pablo ngayon. Ang unang papasok sa kanya bagyo, si Tatay Ramil po ang unang pumasok sa isip niya biyaya po. So, bahala po kayo, kayo po ang magbibigay sa akin ng ideya o kahulugan ukol sa kung ano ba ang ibig sabihin ng kalamidad.

Severo: Pwede pong magsalita sir?

Angelito Nunag: Sige po, Tatay Severo.

Severo: Doon po sa mga daan na mga ginawa nilang mga pananalita, dama ko po yung mga sinasabing mga kalamidad. Kasi po sa edad ko pong 67 ang alam ko sa kalamidad aytag gutom. Tulad po ng nangyayari pag sinasabi nila na pag may bagyo paano nalalaman ng tao yan. Magaabang lang tayo sa radyo, TV pero ganoon nga po. Kami pong mga tao dito sa Talim Island sa kasalukuyan, kung matanda nauna o kaming kasalukuyan. Tinitingan po namin ang kapaligiran ng ating mundo. Paminsan ano baa ng sitawasyon, buwan, araw. Ang kalamidad pong sinsabi ni Sir Lito, tulad ho ng bagyo, tumitingin po kami sa langit. Amin pong tinitingan ang tubo at tinatakbo ng hangin ito po ba ay pwedeng magdulot kasamaanngisang bansa. Pero po ang nakikita ko diyan sa panahong ito, kapag po sumimoy ang hanging hilaga yun na po ang sinasabing kalamidad ng pagsama ng panahon subalit nagkakaroon pa rin yan ng tinatawag pong karamdaman, ang tawag diyan tinatalo pa rin niyan ang ibang hangin upang itaboy sa malayong lugar. Ang tinatawag na bagyo, pagkatapos po ng kalamidad na yan, papasok po ngayon ang timog.

Angelito Nunag: Hanging timog po?

Severo: Hanging timog po. Kailangan po ng ating bansa yan, sapagkat wala pong timog, ang hanging hilaga ay hindi na po magwakas sa panahong ito. Ang timog po ay ginawang pangangasawa ng hilaga upang yan ay... ang pagdudulot niya ng disgrasya, kalamidad sa ating bansa.

Angelito Nunag: Napakainteresing po ng sinabi niyo Tatay Severo. Sa totoo lang po mamaya itatanong ko din yan, napansin ko po, marami kayong kaalaman, katawagan, halimbawa sa hangin may iba't ibang hangin kayo, may iba't ibang tubig kayo, may iba't ibang napakarami ko pong sinulat dito. May iba't ibang uri din kayo ng ulan pero dahil nabanggit na ni Tatay Severo ngayon, itanong ko na din po..

Severo: Doon sa dagat (Inaudible) tama po yung sinabi niya, subalit ang paggalaw po ng ating dagat isang uri ng napaka... na bagay sa mga taong nandito lalo sa mga taong naghahanapbuhay sa dagat. Meron po tayong sinasabing iba ang tinatawag na kasarian, kung ano ang kanyang kalikasan, kasi ang dagat po pag yan ay agos na ang alon, pero kaiba po ang ilalim ng dagat, hindi po sila pantay. Kapag po sinabing ang agos po ng dagat ay hilaga, gugulong po diyan ang tinatawag pong papuntang Maynila ang ilalim po ng dagat ay, ito po ang kanyang sitwasyon.

Angelito Nunag: Ano po ito? Maari niyo po bang

Severo: Ibig sabihin niyon, ako po ay dating isang mamalakayan sa dagat. Habang ako po ay nasa dagat, sinusuri ko po ang dagat, ano ba ang galaw nito at ano ba ang galaw ng ibabaw, magkaiba po kasi. Hindi po pwedeng gumulong ang amihan na kaya niya igulong ang ilalim po, iba po ang hangin.

Angelito Nunag; Tay, pagpasensyahan niyo na po yung pagkaignorante ko ano. Ano po ang ibig sabihin ng gulong.

Severo: Wag po kayong magsasalita ng ganoon po. (Inaudible)

Angelito Nunag: Sige po.

Severo: ...isa kayong mabuting... (Inaudible)

Angelito Nunag: Maraming salamat po. Salamat po. Maari niyo pang ipaliwanag, ano po ba ang ibig sabihin ng gumugulong ang alon.

Severo: Kasi po ang alon pag ka merong bagyo, sa ibabaw po galing yan, hindi po niya kayang galawin ang kailaliman.

Angelito Nunag: Ano pong gumugulong? Ano pong ibig sabihin noon?

Severo: ...gumugulong po yan, pero pag dating po ng ganoong sitwasyon na ang hangin ay papuntang Calamba, susunod po ang hanging amihan. Hindi po sila nagkakapantay pantay. At tungkol naman po sa sinasabing ano ng ating dagat ano, ang paniniwala ko po ay hindi po dito manggagaling. Ang nangyari po lamang doon, sa ilalim po ng dagat sa putik yung mga pollution po na galing sa kung saang bahagi ng ating bansa ay putik po yun eh, hindi po siya pwedeng umibabaw. ...kaya po yun... sa isang lugar halimbawa dalawang ektarya... kaya po ako sa edad kong biente noon, nakita ko po ang dagat sa ilalim ay umaagos paibabaw hanggang sa iyon po ay lumutang na putik, yun po ang sinasabing masamang tubig hindi po siya nanggaling sa ibabaw sapagkat kung nanggaling sa ibabaw ang masamang tubig, maari pong ang isda'y magkamatay. Pagkat ang isda po ay kumukuha ng gravity ng hangin kung sila ay bumaba rin.

Angelito Nunag: So nanggagaling po.. sa ilalim?

Severo: Sa putik po. Hindi po lahat ng dagat ay isang kawani ng putik dahil masamang tubig yun. Yan po ay may kanya-kanyang level na doon ka lang hindi ka pwedeng. Kaya po yung mga isda pag dinaanan po niyan ay talaga pong mangyayari, magkakamatay sila at noong panahong yun hindi po naman masamang tubig ang pumasok mga 1951 tanda ko po yan eh. Ang mga isda po noon ay kumapit doon sa, hindi naman po kumapitganyan sa tabi ng dagat. Ang mga tao po noon, natatandaan ko hinuhuli namin yung nasa aplaya pag naman po ay wala po tayong sinasabing kalikasang ginawa ng ating gobyerno na pinakialaman nila yung kaigihan ng pundasyon para pigilin ang sinasabing agos na nakamamatay sa mga tao. Pero wala po tayong magagawa doon sapagkat doon po sa ilog Pasig kapag ikaw ay nahulog diyan... kaya po ang kinailangan ng ating pamahalaan lagyan ng pondasyon. Pero po nagkaroon ng epekto dito sa ating lawa. Imbis na pasukin ng alat upang tunawin ang putik ng dagatang gravity...

Angelito Nunag: Ah, so ibig po sabihin, kailangan ng lawa ang tubig dagat.

Severo: Kailangan ang alat para tunawin ang libag nasa ilalim ng dagat.

Angelito Nunag: Ano po ng ibig sabihin ng libag?

Severo: Yun po yung mga tubig na nanggagaling sa dumi ng ating buong bansa sa mga lugar lugar, nanggagaling sa mga tanay, doon po siya napunta, hindi naman po pwedeng umibabaw yun eh.

Angelito Nunag: Nung isang araw po may nakausap akong mga bata diyan sa... ang pagkakapaliwanag po sakin diyan sa libag, yung mga plastik po. Hindi po ito yung libag?

Severo: Hindi po yun.

Angelito Nunag: Ano po Tay ang itsura ng libag po?

Severo: Kasi ang libag parang natin, halimbawa po tayong mga tao libagin tayo. (Inaudible)

Angelito Nunag: Maari niyo po bang ipaliwanag anong itong itsura nito, ano yung green na nakikita ko sa

Severo: Kumpara mo doon sa dahoon, yun pong dahon ng kahoy, hindi po siya pumapaibabaw, pumupunta siya pailalim. Sa ilalim po ng dagat yan... kailangan ng isda yan. Kagaya po ng bundok, hindi po masama yan, ang masama po lamang (Inaudible) ...talagang nadaan po ng masamang tubig, talaga pong gumaganoon yung putik.

Angelito Nunag: So ta yang libag po parang putik ito, ano po ba ang itsura ng libag na ito?

Severo: ..pag tayo ay naghilod meron tayong libag.

Angelito Nunag: So putik po siya, galing sa ilalim?

Severo: Hindi, sa ano nanggagaling tulad noong sa ilog kita naman po ninyo (Inaudible)

Anna: Banlik

Severo: Yung banlik, iba yun eh.

Angelito Nunag: Ano po ang banlik?

Severo: Ang banlik kasi kailangan din yan ng mga isda. Pagkain yun banlik eh, yung mga water lily, mga ugat, ng mga lamang dagat, pagkain nila yan. Kailangan yan, kasi buhay yan eh. Hindi sila pwedeng kumain ng putik sa dagat. Kaya kailangan po talaga yung tubig alat para yung tabang at saka yung libag tutunawin ng alat po. Sa tagal tagal po ko ako po ay isang manunubig kaya napagaralan ko po yung mga singaw, mga panahon na ito'y nangyayari.

Angelito Nunag: Ano po ang ibig sabihin ng singaw?

Severo: Halimbawa po meron pong singaw ang aking... sa init... kailangan po ay ang lamig. (Inaudible due to other people chattering or injecting ideas) totoo yung gamut ano pero kailangan din natin ng pisikal na lamig para hindi masyadong

magkaroon ng sakit ang tao. Kapagang panahon ay init, kanya kanyang gamot eh hindi naman kaya ng katawan. Gamot din ang pwedeng pumatay sa atin pero kailangan natin ng lamig kahit sa matanda po, sa bata.

Angelito Nunag: Okay lang po, mamaya po babalikan po natin lahat ng sinabi pa rin ni Tatay Severo. Actually, gaya ng sinabi ko kanina, meron po akong inilista dito na gusto ko sana laliman natin yung talakayan. Halimbawa po, iba't ibang uri ng hangin. Iba't ibang uri ng tubig, at saka iba't ibang uri ng ulan. Tapos may may nabanggit pa ngayon si Tatay Severo na iba't ibang uri ng libag, may banlik, may...

Severo: Nabanggit po yung ulan (Inaudible, too soft with loud background noise) Tulad po ng kalikasan ang isang ulap ay humihigop siya ng tubig upang itapon niya dun sa malaking dagat niyan pero hindi po lahat naggagaling sa tubig ulan. Kapag po iyan ay binuhos sa isang lugar, sa isang halaman at doon siya pumatak, ang halaman po ay... maalat po kasi. (Inaudible) ... dalawang parte po ang nakalagay diyan, isang tabang, isang alat. Paminsan yung iba pag umulan ng maagap ang sasabihin nila, uminom tayo ng tubig at umulan ng maagap. Hindi, tingnan niyo muna sa batya kung anong kung anong kulay ng tubig, baka maiba ang kulay ng tubig eh makasama pa sa ating kalusugan. Dito po kasi ang ginagawa namin noong araw yun. Naglalagay kami ng batya sa bubong, pag umulan.

Angelito Nunag: Ano po batya?

Carmelita: Batya, labador, labahan.

Severo: Tinitikman po namin yan tubig na yan pag hindi malansing...

***Inaudible chatter because of everyone pitching in ideas and explanation.

James Padriatico: Sir Lito, gusto ko lang po ibahagi yung kwento ng mga matanda tungkol sa kalamidad na bukod sa radyo, TV (Inaudible). Pagka raw po ang dagat ay madumi, nagkalat daw po ang mga... sa dagat. Kumbaga tining meron daw pong darating na kalamidad. Ito yung mga suso, susong nagaakyat sa pader ng bahay, ng mga puno-puno, lalaki daw ang tubig. Yun po ay sabi ng matatanda po.

Angelito Nunag: Sabi-sabi po ito Kuya Reynaldo? Tama po ba?

James Padriatico: James

Angelito Nunag: Ay Kuya James. Sabi-sabi pero sa karanasan niyo po?

James Padriatico: May katotohanan po, ang sabi nga ng ano, pag ang ano nagkaka ano, naakyat sa pader na ganoon, umaakyat sa mga puno-puno, lalaki ang tubig. Noong panahon, nangyayari po.

Angelito Nunag: Tanong ko lang po, halimbawa nagkalat-kalat ang water lily gaano katagal bago lumabas ang masamang panahon? Pagkatapos po ba kaagad eh lumalabas na, may masamang panahon?

James Padriatico: Hindi po, binibilang po ang araw.

Angelito Nunag: Mga gaano po katagal ito?

James Padriatico: Siguro po eh mga ano, doon po sa panahon pa, mga dalawa o tatlong araw, ganoon. Bukod po sa radyo noong araw yun po ang ano, wala pang mga TV, TV.

Angelito Nunag: Yung suso po pag umakyat, ano pong ibig sabihin noon?

James Padriatico: Lalaki raw po yung tubig.

Angelito Nunag: So kung saan po yung inakyat niya, yun yung laki ng tubig?

James Padriatico: Yun daw po ang ibig sabihin pero hindi ako sigurado kung ganoon pero lumalaki po talaga.

Angelito Nunag: Ganoon din po ba ito? Halimbawa, umakyat yung suso, pagkalipas ng dalawa, tatlong araw talagang lumalaki ang tubig?

James Padriatico: Ay hindi po, hindi po naman. Parang babala lamang po naman.

Angelito Nunag: Mga gaano po katagal itong babala na ito?

James Padriatico: Hindi ko po maano eh masabi sa inyo kung mga ilang araw po yun eh. Pero pag naguulan po, ayan darating nga yung mga bagyuhan at saka po yan nagaanuhan.

Angelito Nunag: Alam niyo po anong klaseng suso ito?

James Padriatico: Yun pong mga susong hapon.

Angelito Nunag: Ano pong itsura ng susong hapon?

James Padriatico: Malaki po yun eh. Malaki po yun eh kompara sa mga makikita sa tubig, ito po ay makikita sa mga sagingan.

Angelito Nunag: Ang kohol po ay yung malaki, tama po? Iba pa po ito sa susong hapon?

James Padriatico: Opo.

Angelito Nunag: Alin po ang mas malaki?

James Padriatico: Ang tawag po ay susong hapon.

Angelito Nunag: Mas malaki ito sa kohol?

James Padriatico: Yun pong may sungay.

Angelito Nunag: Mas malaki ito sa kuhol? Ay, si Kuya ano...

Reynaldo: Reynaldo po.

Angelito Nunag: Reynaldo.

Reynaldo: Totoo po yung sakín sa karanasan ko... papunta kami ng barangay. Naglalakad po ako ng hapon, yung pong palakang maliliit nagtutulan sila sa daan papunta sa taas. Wala akong ideya kung bakit ganon ang mga palaka, kinabukasan po bumagyo ng malakas yung Basyang.

Angelito Nunag: Kinabukasan po agad yan?

Reynaldo: Kinabukasan din ho. Kaya sabi ko, parang mas na-detect pa ng hayop yung kalamidad kaysa tao.

Angelito Nunag: Ilang beses na ho ito...

Reynaldo: Isang beses lang naman.

Angelito Nunag: Anong palaka ho ito?

Reynaldo: Yung parang bukol bukol, kung tawagin.

Angelito Nunag: Ah, yung malalaki po na palaka?

Reynaldo: Pero yung maliliit pa sila. Kabakab kung tawagin dito.

Angelito Nunag: Ano po kung tawagin?

Reynaldo: Kabakab.

Angelito Nunag: Ano po Palakang Kabakab. Tapos yung itsura niya bukol bukol yung likod?

Reynaldo: Bukol bukol po, pero maliit pa po siya noon. Nakita ko maliliit.

Carmelita: Noon pa, noon pang bumagyo noon, diba may gumulong, may mga batona gumulong kanila Ate Josie. Diba noon?

Reynaldo: Noon pong bagyong Basyang, July po noon eh.

Angelito Nunag: Siguro po bago po natin talakayin ng mas malalim itong mga binabanggit niyo po ay bigyang daan po muna natin itong mga sinulat po para makapagsimula tayo, ano po ba ang ating ideya tungkol sa kalamidad. Yan pong binabanggit ninyo ay napakaineresante sapagkat ito rin po talaga ang sadya ko rito. Ano yung kaugnayan, relasyon o kaugnayan nung kalamidad sa mga nangyayari sa paligid. Gaya ng binanggit ninyo, naglalabasan yung mga palaka, umaaahon yung suso o umaakyat o pag nagkalat yung water lily. Pero siguro po dapat unahin na natin, ano po ba itong mga kalamidad na ito, base po kasi sa naibahagi ninyo Kuya James at Kuya Reynaldo ang kalamidad na binabanggit ninyo ay baha ito at bagyo ano? Sige po tingnan muna natin yan ano pa po kaya itong mga ibang kalamidad na ito. Maari ko na bang kolektahin, meron pa po bang hindi pa tapos? Yung iba po?

***Collecting papers for the exercise.

Angelito Nunag: Ito pong inano ninyo ay ipapaskil po natin sa board, ano po. Susubukan ko pong iggrupo ang mga ito, pagsama-samahin para magkaroon po tayo ng linaw, ano ba ang ibig natin sabihin sa kalamidad po.

***Break discussion amongst themselves after papers were collected.

Angelito Nunag: Pasensiya na po medyo matagal po ha.

***Chatter amongst participants while collected papers are arranged on the board.

Angelito Nunag: Magsimula na ho ulit tayo. Ito pong nilagay ko sa board, ito po yung mga nakuha kong ideya mula sa mga sinulat niyo po. Hindi naman po yan lang talaga yan lang ang ibig niya sabihin, kumbaga yun lang pong yung unang pumasok sa kin na ideya yun lang po yung kinuha ko. Kasi baka meron po kayong sinulat tapos yun nilagay ko dito, hindi lang kalungkutan lang ang gusto niyo tukuyin maari lang na dito sila o dito rin ito, nilagay ko lang po para po may pagtutukoy, yung una lang po pumasok sa isip ko. Base po doon, ilan po sa mga ideyang ibinigay niyo sakina pag nagpauusapan ang kalamidad, kahabag-habag. Siguro po gaya ng binanggit dito ni Tatay Domingo, basahin ko po, okay lang po ba na ibahagi natin sa bawat isa? Sabi niya ang kalamidad ay inaasahan ng tao ay may simula dumaan sa komunidad. Ikalawa, ang tao ay kahabag habag, kalunos lunos na kalagayan, dahil po ang mga tao ay hindi makahanap buhay. So pwede din po siya dito, pagkasira ng kabuhayan at dati wala na ang palaisdaan. So iyon po ang kalamidad mula po doon sa binanggit o binahagi sa atin ni Tatay Domingo. Meron po dito na hindi nagbigay ng kanyang pangalan kaya.

Reynaldo: Sakin po yun Sir, Reynaldo.

Angelito Nunag: Ah, kay Kuya Reynaldo. Ayon naman kay Kuya Reynaldo, ang kalamidad, isa itong parusa kasi katulad nito nakakasira ito ng kabuhayan. Nasisira daw yung kanilang mga cages at hindi napakikinabangan. So yun po ang kalamidad ayon sa kanya. Si, wala rin pong pangalan. Si Nanay Maura ito 'no? Sa kalamidad po na dinadanas, ito po ano? Kamatayan naman yung ano, nawalan po kayo ng tatlo?

Maura: Dalawa pong kapatid ko tapos isang, yung tatay ko. Bale, dalawang taon lang po yun.

Angelito Nunag: Ah, siguro po mamaya ibahagi niyo sa amin kung hindi naman ganoon kabigat sa inyo, anong kalamidad yung dinanas niyo nung nawala yung tatlo. Sa pagkawala may nabuhay, kamatayan, nagbigay siya ng halimbawa, bagyo. So, bagyo yung naranasan niyo. Kung pwede po ibahagi niyo sa amin mamaya. Ito po sa aking palagay ay sa mga estudyante po, sapagkat gumamit pa sila ng Webster dictionary. Ayon po sa kanila, ang kalamidad ay isang pangyayari na nagdudulot ng matinding pasakit at pahirap at sabi niya base sa definition na nakuha. Ang kalamidad ay nagreresulta ng kalungkutan ng tao. Maaaring kalungkutan na pagkawala ng mahal sa buhay, pagkasira ng kabuhayan din siguro ano? Pwede po itong maging bagyo, pwede din po tayong tumingin dito. Kung anong ibig sabihin ng panganib. Ngayon ang ibig sabihin ng panganib ay masama, katulad ng bagyo, lindol, tornado, sunog, meron pang super bagyo na sumagot tapos El Nino po bahagi rin ng masamang panganib at masamang... kagaya ng landslide, nagulat po ako na nakaranas din kayo ng landslide. At syempre, yung generic na pagtingin pag sinabing kalamidad, sakuna ito. Lagay ko lang po itong sinulat ng ating mga estudyante, pwedeng maging bagyo diba sumisira ng bahay, bagyo na nagdadala ng malakas na ulan, sanhi ng pagbaha, naisulat dito yung baha so... pagtangay ng ating mga ari-arian, pagguho ng lupa, landslide, malakas na pag-agos ng tubig, nadadala yung mga ari-arian, kalamidad pero yung lindol, di nasama tsunami, lalagay ko mamaya yung tsunami doon. Sunog, El Nino, El Nina, dahil sobrang init at sobrang ulan nagdudulot ng pagsira ng mga pananim, pagkasira ng

kabuhayan, kapaligiran, peste, kadalasan namiminsala sa sakahan. So yun po yun po yung kalamidad. Kanino 'to? Kay, sayo? Ano nga ulit pangalan?

Camille: Camille po.

Angelito Nunag: Si Camille, talagang nagresearch ka pa. may google ka ba dito? Dun naman sa iba, wala rin pangalan. Kanino po ito? Ay si, pangalan niya Camille?

Camille: Janica po.

Angelito Nunag: Si Janica, ang sabi niya, ang kalamidad... ng sinasabing kabuhayan, kapaligiran, pamumuhay, at tulad ng bagyo, landslide, baha, lindol, pag guho ng mga gusali siguro ibig sabihin dito mga bahay din. Tapos kay Tatay, si Tatay.. pasensiya na ho Tay wala ho yung aking listahan eh.

Kensiyano: Kensiyano po

Angelito Nunag: Kensiyano po? Ayon sa kanya, ang ibig sabihin ng kalamidad ay yung mga sinasabing nakagisnang niya ng pamahiin at syempre itong mga pamahiin na ito may kaugnayan sa kapaligiran po. Nagbanggit po si Tatay ng halimbawa na pagbabago sa kapaligiran, bigla na lang may lilipad na mga, tama po Tay 'no? Lilipad na mga ibon diyan, ito pong ibon mga ibon na ito narinig ko po ito sa mga una kong pakikipagkwentuhan. Siguro po ito po yung binabanggit niyo na Kalangay-langayan, tama po Tay? Mga ganon po, so nagbabago po ang paligid gaya ng sabi ni Kuya Reynaldo kanina at ni Kuya Jason, paglalabas ng bulate o pagaakyat ng suso, paglilikas siguro ng mga hayop sa mga bago, pero siguro po'y marami pa ring pagbabago sa kapaligiran. Mamaya po talakayin pa natin ng mas malalim. Ito po ang ibang pagtingin ng kalamidad mula sa inyo, ang kalamidad po ay isang mabuting pangyayari, ito ay nagdadala ng tulong kasi marami daw kayong huli sa inyong lawa. Ang kalamidad daw po ay isang pag-alam, tama po ba ang basa ko? Pag-alay, isang mapanganib tulad ng parating ng bagyo o kaya naman yung super bagyo. Pero po sa isang bagay na natutulong sa mga taga-rito, tulad ng mga mangingisda, marami silang nahuhuli dahil maraming nasisirang fish pen. Eto pong isa, ay pwede rin pong pumasok dito, pwedeng mapabuti pwedeng masama. Sabi po niya, sino po ito? Ito po, sino nga po pala ito? Ah, si Kagawad Puroy, ito po. Pasensiya na po Tay, ano pong pangalan niyo? Hindi siguro tatay, parang magkasing-edad lang tayo. Ang kalamidad ay pagkalipas ng bagyo, sa katulad kong mangingisda, kami ay merong biyaya. Ito po ganon din, masama, mabuti. Ang sabi niya kalamidad, malakas na hangin, pagkasira ng bubong, so pwede siya doon, fish pen, maalon na karagatan, kadalasan naman biyaya sa... maraming nahuhuling Bangus, nasira man ang bahay, mas malaki naman ang bumabalik sa kanila.

Ana: Sa akin yan.

Angelito Nunag: Kanino ho ito? Sa inyo ho ito, Nanay Ana? So (Inaudible) Ito po, sino po ang may sabi nito? Ang kalamidad po ay malaking problema na tulad ng bagyo, may nasisirang bahay, kung minsan naman ay nagbibigay hanap-buhay. Sino po iyon? Ano po kayang hanap-buhay ang tinutukoy niya dito? Sayang naman nasa CR pa siya. Ito po ano, marami ang sumagot dito, panganib, masama, tulad ng bagyo, lindol, mga nabasa ko na po yan kanina. Meron pa dito La Nina, binanggit. Ano po bang mga binanggit natin dito? Kalamidad, lindol, baha, pag dumadating ang bagyo sa panahon ng tag-ulan ito ay isang kalamidad sa ating komunidad. Lindol, mga baha at malalakas na ulan, landslide, ito ay maituturing nating kalamidad. Kanino po ito? Sino po ang nagsulat? Pag mayroong bagyo nasisira ang mga fish pen, may biyaya naman sa mga taong mangingisda sapagkat pag nasira ang mga fish pen, lumalabas ang mga isda na siya naman panahon para kuhanin ang mga isda. So, panganib at the same time mabuti rin siya. Kalamidad, ano ang kalamidad? Ang kalamidad po ay panahon. Masamang panahon at mabuting panahon. So, nakalagay dito. Kadalasan po sinasabing ang kalamidad ay nagdudulot ng masamang panahon tulad ng bagyo, baha, lindol, tornado, sunog. Si Tatay Florencio ang sumagot nito. Mamaya po Tay, paliwanag niyo po kami dito. Ito po ang tinatawag nating akto siguro... gaya po ng kalamidad ay uri ng panahon. Si dating Kapitan Pablo po, sa kanyang kalamidad, landslide o pag guho ng lupa, kalamidad ay nasisira ang mga bahay pamumuhay ng mga tao. Dito sa aming barangay meron kaming pwedeng gumuho, ang lupa at mga bato, nasa tapat ng Sitio Alibangbang. San po ang Sitio Alibangbang? Pero sakop pa din po ito ng Janosan? Binanggit niyo po ito Kapitan Pablo, dito ba madalas po bang makaranas nitong landslide na ito?

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Hindi po landslide kundi pagguho lang ng bato.

Angelito Nunag: Ah, so dito yung landslide.

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Pero dati sir, naglalandslide diyan.

Angelito Nunag: Pwede ko bang tawagin na rockslide ito? Mamaya po Kapitan ibahagi niyo sa amin ito. (Inaudible) Kapag lumindol maaring magdulot ng pagguho ng lupa, mga... nakakaapekto sa aming mga mamayan... nakatayo ang mga

bahay. So yung pag-aalala ng pagkasira din ng mga kabuhatan dahil sa rockslide. Ito po sino po kaya ang nagsulat, ang kalamidad, may sakunang darating, bagyo at karamdaman. Naisama yun. Sino pong nagsulat nito? Si Tatay Carlito naman, kalamidad, lindol, dito po sa isla nakakaranas din ng lindol. Ang pakiramdam sa pinagmulan ng lindol, init at lamig, pag nagsalubong ang init at lamig nagkakaroon ng pagyanig ang lupa. Eto po, sino po ba ang nagsulat nito? Ang kalamidad po ay isang malaking anay, tama po ba ang basa ko? Malaking anay, kanino po ito? Hindi na po matandaan? Isang malaking anay, katulad ng bagyo at bahay, siguro po ay nasisira ng tao at gayun din siguro ang pangingsda, nasisira. Ito naman po, ang iba ay nagbigay ng ideya patungkol sa kalamidad, para sa kanila, ito ay paghahanda, pagpapatibay ng bahay, si Tatay Ramil ano, ang kalamidad, bagyo, bago sumapit ang bagyo ang aming pangkabuhatan sa lawa ay sinisinop o paghahanda, para hindi masira. Ang aming bahay pinapatibay namin, naghahanda kami ng mga ilaw, gas at flashlight. Ito po yung pang huli, sino po ba ito? Kung may kalamidad, dapat maghanda, dapat maging listo ang bawat membro ng pamilya, sa ano mang mangyari. Okay, napakaganda po ng mga ideya ninyo. Siguro po unahin natin pagusapan itong napakaraming sagot. Bakit po ito ang unang pumasok sa inyo? Dahil po ba nararanasan niyo ito at malaking epekto sa inyo? At kung nararanasan niyo ito, ano ang nagiging epekto sa inyo? At bakit niyo po nasabi na ang kalamidad ay tornado, halimbawa? Ano po baa ng ibig sabihin ng tornado sa inyo? Sino po kaya ang pwedeng magsimula ng ating talakayan? Ngayon po ay bahagi, dito po sa inihanda ko, ito po ang bahagi na pinaguusapan na natin ang ating kaalaman ukol sa kalamidad po. Malinaw po sa nailagay natin sa board, may iba't iba tayong pananaw ng kalamidad. May iba mabuti, iba masama tapos iba't ibang uri din po ng kalamidad, may tornado, may rockslide, may tsunami pa. So, maari po ba nating talakayan ito? Ito po ang mga binanggit ninyo. Nararanasan niyo ba ito? Binago ba nito yung inyong pananaw, inyong kabuhatan, etc.? Sino po ang pwedeng magsimula? Naiinitan na po ba tayo? Sana po ay pagtiisan natin ang init. Kung meron lang po akong magagawa para mawala yang init na yan. Sige po, si Tatay Severo po ang magsisimula.

Severo: ...kalamidad. Takot yan eh. (Inaudible due to background chatter and noise and speaker has low voice)

Angelito Nunag: Bakit po Tatay Severo takot ang unang naiisip ninyo at ito ang parang naghahari o namamayani sa inyo at hindi tapang. Bakit po? Ano po ba ang dating sa inyo nito?

Severo: Kasi po pag nababalita na po ang sinasabing... sinasabing sama ng panahon... kaganapan... sa sino mang mamamayan, sapagkat pag nangyari yan hindi naman po problema... problema ng ating mga namumuno ng ating bansa yan... problema kung paano tayo matutulungan ng pangangailangan natin sa nangyari sa kadahilanan po ng bagyo.

Angelito Nunag: Ano po ba ang ibig sabihin ng sama ng panahon?

Severo: ...tulad ko ng mga nagbabalita, tinitingnan nila yung sitwasyon, tinitingnan nila yung sa langit eh. Ano ba yung ulap na yun? Yun ba ay magbibigay ng kaguluhan sa isang bansa, pero hindi naman po lahat.

Angelito Nunag: Kailan po ba sasabihin na ang ulap na ito ay magbibigay ng problema sa isang lugar? Ano po ba ang, meron po bang itsura ang langit na ito sa pagiging, magdadala ito ng masamang panahon?

Severo: Meron.

Angelito Nunag: Ano po ang itsura nito?

Severo: Noong ako po ay nasa lugar ng Quezon, ako po ay nangunguha ng sigay. Yung mga suso, hango sa aking pangunguha ng suso, sa aking karanasan, hindi ko inaasahan na mangyayari sakin. Pero sa awa namna po ng Diyos, naligtaas ako ng bagay na iyon. Ako po'y... nagiisa po ako diyan. (Inaudible) pero nakaramdam po ako ng malakas... na galing po doon sa dagat... Sa taas malaki po siya eh, bigla na lang pong umugong, dala po niya ang malakas na hangin, malakas na alon, kaya po... nagsikap po ako na magtatakbo... akala ko po noon ako'y aabutin ng alon. (Inaudible)

Angelito Nunag: Sige po. Yung iba po, bakit po ito po ang mga naisulat ninyo? Si Tatay, nawala na yata ako. Tatay Domingo po, tama?

Domingo: Pwede po bang ulitin yung katanong samin sa kalamidad?

Angelito Nunag: Dito po inaalam po natin kung ano po ang inyong ideya, kaalaman, pananaw, pagtingin, sa kalamidad po. Pag halimbawa, binanggit ang kalamidad, ano po ang inyong pagtingin doon, doon sa kalamidad? Yung unang unang pumapasok sa isip ninyo? Katulad po rito, marami po ang nagsabi na, pagsinabing si Tatay ano daw po medyo mahina ang ano kaya nilalakasan ko. Ito po, katulad ng nakalagay dito, panganib, marami po ang nagsabi dito na pagsinabing kalamidad, panganib at masama po yung unang pumapasok sa isip nila. At marahil ang masamang ito ay dulot ng mga nakalagay po doon. Bagyo, lindol, tornado, sunog, sakuna, super bagyo, baha, El Nino, landslide, tsunami. So yun po yung pinaguusapan natin. Tanong ko po, bakit po marami ang sumagot nito? Narasan po ba ninyo ito? Nagbago po yung inyong

pananaw dahil naranasan niyo ito? Ibig pong sabihin kung ganoon, ano rin po baa ng naging epekto nito sa inyo? Ano yung pumasok sa isipan niyo po? Yun po yung ating pinaguusapan sa ngayon. So, maari po bang magbahagi yung mga sumagot po dito? Unahin ko po kaya yung tsunami, sino po ba yung sumagot ng tsunami? Si an gating bata siguro ang sumagot si, Camille. Camille bakit ito ang unang pumasok sayo?

Camille: Ano po kasi. Noon po kasing dati, pag sinabing kalamidad, since onti lang po yung mga nalalaman namin, karanasan namin. Ang naranasan na po naming pag sinabing kalamidad, first time is yung bagyo lang po. Tapos, yung iba po ng nilagay ko po dun, yun po yung nababasa ko sa newspaper, napapanuod ko po sa TV. So yun pong nilagay ko doon is, ano po parang based lang po talaga sa nagoobserve sa environment.

Angelito Nunag: Pero dito sa isla, ano yung mga naranasan mo? Bagyo lang talaga?

Camille: Bagyo lang po.

Angelito Nunag: Pag sinabing bagyo, ano bang ibig sabihin nito?

Camille: Ano po, meron pong malakas na hangin at saka malakas na ulan.

Angelito Nunag: So ang bagyo ay malakas na hangin at ulan. Pwede ko na rin po bang tanungin yung iba rito, meron po kasi akong nalaman doon sa pakikipagkwentuhan ko sa inyo. Mayroong unos na tinatawag. Ano po ba ang kaibahan ng dalawa? Ito po ang nabanggit ko kanina, ano. Marami po kayong mga termino, kaalaman sa mga bagay bagay. Ito naman po iba't ibang uri naman ng ulan at hangin. So ano po ang ibig sabihin ng bagyo, at ano ano naman ang ibig sabihin ng unos? Parehas po ba ito? Ang sabi po ni Camille, ang bagyo ay malakas na ulan at hangin. Ang unos po ba?

Carmelita: Ang unos ay malakas na hangin.

Angelito Nunag: Nanay Carmelita.

Carmelita: Kaya lamang, sandal lamang. Malakas na hangin, malakas na ulan, ganoon. Sandali lang.

Angelito Nunag: Ano pong ibig sabihin niyo ng sandal? 30 minutes ito? Pagkatpos po ng 30 minutes, nawawala na ito?

Carmelita: Wala na.

Angelito Nunag: Paano po natin malalaman na ito na yung unos?

Carmelita: Madilim. Parang, may nagbabatang ulan.

Angelito Nunag: Ano poi to? Bigla na lang dumidilim, ganoon? Biglaan ho ito? Eh ang bagyo po? Ano ito? Anong kaibahan niya?

Carmelita: Aba ang bagyo naman eh ano, matagal ang ano, aambon ambon, laging madilim.

Anna: Hindi mo makikita ang araw.

***Simultaneous responses.

Angelito Nunag: Gaano ho ito katagal? Pag bagyo po, sabi niyo po matagal samantalang ang unos sandali.

Carmelita: Eh ang bagyo minsan ay umaabot ng ano, hapon, magdamag, ganoon.

Angelito Nunag: Paano niyo po nalalaman na bagyo na ito?

Carmelita: Sinasabi sa ano, sa TV. Sinasabi sa radyo.

Angelito Nunag: Tuloy-tuloy ko na po yung pagtatanong, pwede din pong sumagot kahit sino. Sabi po ni Nanay Carmelita, ito ay malalaman mula sa radyo o telebisyon, kayo ho ba ganoon din po ba ang karanasan ninyo pag sinabing bagyo? Si Tatay Florencio.

Florencio: ...tulad ngayon (Inaudible)

Angelito Nunag: Ah, sa telebisyon na po.

Florencio: ... meron pang sinasabi na sa araw ng Biyernes babagyo.

Angelito Nunag: Pag po sinabi ni Mang Tani na babagyo ng Biyernes.

Florencio: Nangyayari po.

Angelito Nunag: Po?

Florencio: Nangyayari po.

Angelito Nunag: Syempre po inaabangan niyo na po yun ano? May mga nakikita po ba kayong mga pagbabago sa paligid na pwedeng sabihin na o tama si Mang Tani?

Florencio: Oo.

Angelito Nunag: Ano po itong mga ito?

Florencio: ...bagyo, pagkadarating yung bagyo, sa bandang hapon uulan. (Inaudible)

Angelito Nunag: So, ito po...

Carmelita: Meron din... siguro'y palibhasa'y hindi dito sa atin ay malakas ang ulan doon sa bandang ano eh dito sa atin eh grabe ang init ng araw.

Florencio: Ayon na nga. Pag doon sinabi, doon nangyayari.

***Laughter from group.

Carmelita: ...sa atin ang pinaguusapan eh.

Angelito Nunag: Si Tatay Kensiyo, paano po ito tay?

Kensiyo: Ay ito ay ang aking napansin... isang pamahiin lang. Kapa gang ibon ay lumipad na parang palaid-laid sa lupa... babagyo. Yaong pusa, lalapit sayo't humarap sa pinto at naghilamos, may panauhin na darating.

***Laughter from group.

Angelito Nunag: Panauhin po ang darating? Hindi naman po bagyo ang darating o kalamidad?

***Inaudible chatter.

Angelito Nunag: Tanong ko lang ho ano, halimbawa naganunsiyo sa telebisyon darating yung bagyo. Ito pong sinabi ni Tatay Kensiyo, napapansin niyo po ba na lalabas siya, kumbaga parang pinapatunayan niya na tama yung sa telebisyon? May ganoon po ba kayong karanasan? Halimbawa, sabi sa TV, babagyo ng Biyernes gaya ng sabi lang din ni Tatay Florencio, eh ang araw po ngayon halimbawa eh Linggo pa lang, pero ang anunsiyo, Biyernes ang bagyo, ano po. Pag po ba papalapit na sa Biyernes, napapansin niyo po ba, halimbawa itong mga Kalangay-langayan, lumalabas na? Ang gusto ko pong itanong, gusto ko pong maliwanagan, tugma po ba yung sinasabi noong telebisyon at yung karanasan ninyo? Malinaw po ba yung aking ano, tinatanong? Meron po ba kayong nararanasan?

Carlito: Sir.

Angelito Nunag: Pagnaganunsiyo tapos... Si Tatay Carlito, tama po?

Carlito: Kapag po ang Kalangay-langayan naglabasan po yan at nagliliparan ng napakarami na mabababa, sigurado po yan, sama ng panahon.

Angelito Nunag: Mga ilang araw po bago dumating yung masamang panahon pag nagliparan itong mga Kalangay-langayan?

Florencio: Yun nga yung sabi niya kanina, tumutugma sa... ano yang sinasabi niyong Kalangay-langayan, wala namang, panahon pa noong una yan eh. Inabot niyo pa yang Kalangay-langayan.

Carmelita: Meron pa.

***Inaudible and simultaneous response from participants.

Angelito Nunag: Ah, bago po tawagin ikaw Tatay Ramil patapusin po siguro muna natin si Tatay Carlito pero mamaya itong ko din po talaga meron pa ba talaga. Meron pa po? Sige po, ituloy niyo po yung sinasabi ninyo. Mga ilang... Mga ilang panahon po bago po, halimabawa nakita niyo ngayon yung Kalangay-langayan ngayong araw na ito. Mga ilang panahon po ang lilipas bago dumating yung masamang bagyo po ano o malakas o ano po ang parating?

Carlito: Sir, ang palatandaan po namin diyan. Pag may lumabas po na mga hayop, sa loob po ng maghapon, kinabukasan pinakamatagal na ho yun.

Angelito Nunag: Ano po ang darating, bagyo ba ito, unos? Bagyo?

Carlito: Bagyo po, pagka... hindi lumalabas yan.

***Simultaneous inaudible chatter.

Angelito Nunag: Tatay Carlito, palarawan niyo nga po ng itsura nitong Kalangay-langayan.

Carlito: Maliit po siyang ibon, kulay itim.

Angelito Nunag: Gaano po kaliit ang maliit na ibon?

Carlito: Inaudible.

Carmelita: Parang cellphone ba.

Angelito Nunag: Gaano po katas ang lipad nila pagka...

Carlito: Mababa ho lamang yan.

Angelito Nunag: Gaano ho kaya kataas ito?

Kensiyano: Sumasayad po sa lupa, tataas, babalik.

Angelito Nunag: As in sasayad po sa lupa?

Kensiyano: Opo, ganoon.

Angelito Nunag: Mga gaano po sila katagal nagliliparan?

Kensiyano: Aba eh hanggang sila ay pinanunuod ninyo. Inaudible.

***Inaudible response because of laughter from the participants.

Angelito Nunag: Baka po yung sinasabi ni Nanay Virginia, yun po ang ibig sabihin ano. Ang mga... po siguro ay nagbibigay ng babala ano? Pag walang nanunuod ibig sabihin nun ayaw niyo ng babala.

Kensiyano: Sa panahon ng matatanda pa.. Inaudible.

Angelito Nunag: Si Tatay Ramil po, meron po siyang nais ibahagi ano.

Ramil: Yung ano po... Inaudible. ...nagtrabaho ho sa dagat, pag ang Water Lily nagsabog, yun po ang palatandaan na may kalamidad. Kasabihan po ng matatanda yan eh, wawalisin daw po yan eh. Ilang araw lang ho yun sir, magbabago na ang takbo ng hangin. Pag nagpakita po yung hangin na habagat kung tinatawag, ay bagyo ho talaga yun na darating.

Angelito Nunag: Ah, klaruhin ko lang ho ha. So, halimbawa ngayong araw na ito sabog sabog yung Water Lily, mga gaano po katagal bago dumating yung sinasabing...

Ramil: Hindi matagal, walang isang lingo. Ngayon merong magaanounce na merong masamang panahon.

Angelito Nunag: Ano ho itong masama na ito? Bagyo? Unos? Bagyo poi to? Tapos paano po yung sinasabi niyo na ano, wawalisin ang Water Lily, paano po yun? Ano pong ibig sabihin nun?

Ramil: Ibig po sabihin, darating yung bagyo. (Inaudible) nagkalat-kalat po sila sa tubig, ngayon pagnagkaroon na ng masamang panahon, wawalisin na sila, iipunin.

Angelito Nunag: Pasensiya na po hindi ko gaanong..., so watak watak po ito parating yung bagyo po ano. Pag dumating po ang bagyo, wawalisin niyo po yung Water Lily, tama po ba ang aking intindi? Pag nawalis na po siya, magtitipon na po ito?

Ramil: Oo, kasi dadalhin sa hangin.

Angelito Nunag: Ah, so magkakasama po bang aalis ang bagyo itong mga Water Lily na ito?

Ramil: Maiipon po sa isang lugar, kung halimbawa ang bagyo manggaling po dito, kasi ang pasok po ng bagyo nangagaling ng Maynila. Pag pumunta po dito ang mga basura na yan. Yun naming Timog na tinatawag doon naman mapupunta sa may Pasig yun, dun naman maiipon ang mga water lily na yan.

Angelito Nunag: So, dito lang po siya winawalis walis, nilalagay sa kung..

Carmelita: Kung nasan ang hangin, nandoon ang **inaudible

FEMALE: Halimbawa tayo'y nandito at dito galing ang hangin, magtitipon sa may **Inaudible pag dito naman galing **Inaudible

Angelito Nunag: Yun pong mga hangin na binabanggit niyo siguro po mamaya balikan ko na lang po yun. Sino pa po yung gustong magbahagi? Parang Kap, meron kang gustong ibahagi kanina 'no?

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Hindi, ang babahagi ko yung landslide. Maari po ba yun?

Angelito Nunag: Opo, kahit po naranasan o hindi naranasan kung ano po sa inyong palagay ang..

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Ang mga landslide ay may mga... ang pananaw ko diyan... sisira ng buhay at kabuhatan. Lahat ng klase ng kabuhatan sisirain niya. Dito sa amin ay wala pang landslide, pero sa naririnig ko sa TV at nakikita ko talagang darating ang araw na magkakaroon din ng ganoon.

Angelito Nunag: Bakit po nasabi niyo yan?

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Kasi po yung lugar namin doon eh talagang sa sarili ko talagang may... kasi yun mataas yun na may mga bahay sa baba, sa ngayon. Sa ngayon, hindi lang sa ngayon, noong pang mga nakaraang taon. Ang bumubuo ng... diyan malalaking bato. Yung rockslide kung tawagin.

Angelito Nunag: Okay na? Sige po ah alam ko po na ano mainit, tapos busog tayo masarap po talaga magpahinga, pero makiusap po ulit ako na ilang panahon pa po para sa ating talakayan. Ngayon po ang pag uusapan natin ay yung sa kapaligiran naman. Bagamat marami na po tayo nabanggit kanina. Siguro ngayon ay buuin na lang natin. Napag usapan na po natin ano yung kalamidad, tapos nabanggit na nga kanina although pahapyaw lang po. Paunti unti yung mga ah kapaligiran na may kaugnayan po roon sa kalamidad. Gaya po halimbawa ng mga nakikita ninyong ano senyales sa paligid. Yun po siguro yung ating mga pag uusapan. Bukod po doon sa Kalangay-langayan, bukod po ditto sa palaka na sinasabi ni Kuya Reynaldo tama po ba? Ay ah ano po baa ng ating mga kaalaman ukol sa paligid na may kaugnayan po sa kalamidad. Pagdating ng kalamidad bukod po dito sa ano susi susong kuhon, palakang maliit ah yung pag litaw ng igad. Ano po ba yung inyong mga karanasan na ooobserve po nyo o napapansin sa kapaligiran na kakaiba pagkatapos po ay ah nauugnay ito dun sa pagdating ng bagyo, ah unos, baha para po malaman naten kung ah na wawarningan po kayo nito. Baka po

nagbibigay ito ng pagkakataon sa inyo para makapaghanda po. Yan po yung next naten na pag uusapan maya maya. Sa ngayon po ano bae tong senyales sa paligid naten ano sa kapaligiran naten na oobserve po yun o napapansin ninyo na nakakapag bigay ah babala po sa inyo. Si kuya Reynaldo ah

Reynaldo: Sir yun nga po sabi po ng matatanda yun po raw punong kahoy na halimbawa ganyan kalaki yung bigla po nababali, bumubuwal siya kahit walang hangin.

Angelito Nunag: Ano pong punong kahoy eto?

Reynaldo: Halimbawa po mangga, kaymito. Ganon yun po yung humaharang ng wala naming hangin. Parang po minsan babala nga po na may darating na sa mga panahong yun.

Angelito Nunag: Basta po babagsak lang siya ng walang hangin?

Reynaldo: Nababali po... Nababali. Kadalasan po nangyayari, sabi po ng matatanda.

***Inaudible chatter.

Angelito Nunag: Si Tatay ano po, Si Tatay Inciano. Paano po eto ano po na oobserve o napapansin ninyo po? Sa mga kahoy na ito?

Inciano: Yan kasi nung araw ano...

Angelito Nunag: Ano po kapag hapon?

Inciano: Yan po ay halimbawa, kapag wala naming hangin biglang babara, nababali. Yan po ay isang babala din.

Angelito Nunag: Nababali po kahit walang hangin ito? Gaano po katagal ang ano ang pagdating nung kasunod na kalamidad nun? Halimbawa nabali yung kawayan ngayon. Gaano po katagal? Bago dumating etong ano...

Inciano: Yan po ay ano kung minsan, parang nabibilang sa pamahiin. Hindi ko din mabilang kung ilang araw yun eh. Kabilaan.

Angelito Nunag: Kapag nabali yung mga punong kahoy na eto ano pong dumarating? At least may idea nap o ako ngayon. Bagyo po ba, unos po na ah masamang panahon ah ano po ang dumarating?

Simultaneous men responding: Kadalasan po bagyo, kalimitan bagyo o babala na...

Angelito Nunag: Ano pa po ang inyong napapansin? Sa ating kapaligiran. Pwede pong pamahiin ang tawag nung mas may edad po, wala pong ano yun si Tatay ah Domingo...

Domingo: Karanasan ko noon kahit na bagyo. Kapag tumilaok ang manok titigil ang bagyo.

Angelito Nunag: Tilaok po ng manok?

Domingo: Kapag tumilaok ang manok titigil ang bagyo.

Old Lady 1: Kapag naghunihan ang palaka wala na ang bagyo.

Old Lady 2: Ang alam ko naman, kapag ang hangin ay timog. Kapag tumimog na ayun titigil na ang bagyo.

Man: Sir! Yun po ay isang palatandaan, number one na po yun. Labis na po yun.

***Inaudible chatter.

Angelito Nunag: Kapaf timog po ang?

Ladies Simultaneous: Ang hangin

Angelito Nunag: Ah ang hangin.

Old lady 2: Yung kumbaga ay yun lang ang sumasaway sa hangin dahil sa bagyo.

***Inaudible group chatter.

Man: Totoo po yun! Kahit po tignan ninyo kapag po bumagyo at sumimoy timog tapos nap o ang bagyo.

Angelito Nunag: Sige po bago natin i-explore ang mga ito. Ah balikan kop o muna yung tilaok ng manok. Ang pagtilaok po ba ng manok Tatay Domingo kasi ganito diba tumitilaok ang manok kapag madaling araw. Ano po heto po kapag tumitilaok po ang manok mga anong oras poi to?

Domingo: Aba'y walang oras yan basta bumagyo. Basta tumilaok ang manok, wala ang bagyo. Titigil ang bagyo.

Angelito Nunag: Kahit anong oras po?

***Inaudible chatter.

Old Lady 2: Dun kayna Ideng maraming manok na titila tilaok...

***Inaudible Chatter.

Angelito Nunag: Heto pong palaka na si Nanay Anna ah ano po ang huni neto?

Anna: Sabay sabay po sila. Maingay po talaga, halos hindi ninyo marinig yung usapan ng tao sap ag ano lakas. Lalo ditto sa bukid.

Angelito Nunag: May oras po ang pag tila ng pag huni nila?

***Inaudible Chatter.

Old Lady 2: Maingay nga naman ang palaka.

Man: Oo naman.

***Inaudible Chatter.

Man: Kapag po yung bagyong bagyuhan wala po maririnig na tilaok ng manok. Ang mga manok ay nasa kahanggang.

Angelito Nunag: Ah sa panahon po ng bagyo ang mga manok tahimik po ganyan?

Man: wala po tahimik

Angelito Nunag: Pero sa oras na pawala na ito?

Man: Kapag yun ay tumilaok yun ay wala ng bagyo.

Angelito Nunag: heto pong sinasabi ni Nanay Termina at tsaka ni Tatay Vicencio na kapag tumimog ang hangin ito pong usapin na ito ang pag uusapan natin kasi nabangit ninyo na ito po kanina na mayroon po kayong ibat ibang klase ng hangin. Ano kanina po kausap ko etong mga bata na may hangin habagat na may amihan heto po hangin timog, hangin hilaga. Maari ninyo po bang pali eksplika poi to ng mas malalim. Ano po baa ng ibig sabihin nito?

Vicencio: Yun pong timog na hangin sa kasaysayan hari ng hangin din yan. Pinakamalakas po yan

***Inaudible Chatter.

Angelito Nunag: Aling hangin po ang timog?

Old lady 2: mas maraming sisirain ang timog kaysa habagat ano?

Old man: Kapag po tayo bumagyo habagat po ang una, sasalitan po yan ng ano amihan. Amihan muna ang katawan. Eh ganito Amihang magulang, malakas na din po yan. Malakas nap o yan yun pong timog pag simoy po nyan titigil na ang bagyo...

Angelito Nunag: Medyo nalunod po ako sa impormasyo ano po, nalunod po ako sa impormasyon malalim po. Ang amihan po ay ah amihan muna po ganun? Habagat po muna pagkatapos po amihan? Mayroon po kayong binabanggit na amihang mura? Ano po ang amihang mura?

***Inaudible chatter.

Man: Yun po ang nagdadala ng bagyo

Angelito Nunag: Tatay sandali lang po, para po hindi ako malunod, makakasunod po ako Ang amihan muna po ay saan ito nanggagaling?

Vicencio: Dito po sa north east.

Angelito Nunag: North east po eto. Okay. Ang amihang magulang po?

Vicencio: South east naman yun.

Angelito Nunag: South east po? Ah ano po ang diprensiya nung dalawa? Ah Ano po ang kaibahan nung dalawa? Yung mura at yung magulang?

Vicencio: Ay iisa po ang anu nun eh.

Angelito Nunag: Ah direksyon lang po ang pinagkaiba po nila pero yung lakas po nila ay ah

Vicencio: Basta po sumimoy na ang timog tapos nap o ang bagyo. Palayo na po.

Lady: Oo nga naman. Wala na.

***Inaudible chatter.

Vicencio: Anong sinasabi mo Ka Minyang, Ka minyang ang salatan

Angelito Nunag: Ang salatan po ay hangin din? Ano pong klaseng hangin ito?

Vicencio: Dito po nanggagaling South west. South west na yun.

Old Lady 2: Ang habagat Maynila?

Angelito Nunag: Ano po ang habagat Maynila?

Old Lady 2: Diba may tinatawag na habagat sila

Angelito Nunag: Ah sige po baka pwedeng paki isa isa ito. Mayroong habagat maynila

Man: Yun pong tinatawag na Habagat Maynila, yan ho ay babala na may padating na bagyo.

Angelito Nunag: Hmmm.

Man: Hangin sa balas.

Old Lady 2: Dadagdagan nanaman.

***Inaudible chatter

Angelito Nunag: Ano po ang hanging Maynila ay babala na may darating na bagyo at ang tawag ay sab alas. Hangin sa balas..

Old Man: Kungdi kaya ay Hilaga. Ang hatid ho ng hangin ay malamig sa katawan ng tao . Tapos dun mo mararamdaman unti-unting lumalakas yun. Kalahating oras lanmang ang bagyo.

***Inaudible discussion.

Angelito Nunag: Tatay ano po ang habagat Silang? Ano poi to?

Vicencio: Ang habagat Silang doon po nanggagaling sa may parteng Sta. Rosa.

Angelito Nunag: Ano naman pong kaibahan nya sa habagat Maynila.

Vicencio: Parang ganito ang takbo.....

Angelito Nunag: Ah yung direksyon po ang pinagkaiba nila?

Man: Ang babala dito sa amin ng bagyo ay parteng Ilocos.

Man: Parteng Ilocos naman ho yung bagyo . Hindi po apektado itong aming lugar.

***Inaudible Discussion.

Angelito Nunag: Parteng Ilocos eto po yung Ilocos Province? Tama po baa ng aking intindi?

Participants: (Chattering) Oo.

Angelito Nunag: Yun pa pong isang binanggit ninyong hanging habagat kanina, ano po yun?

Man: Habagat Manuwid naman yun.

Angelito Nunag: Manugid?

ParticipantsChattering: Manuwid. Yun po yung diretsuhan, galing din sa west, diretsuhan lang. At saka habagat Silang.

Angelito Nunag: So ang habagat Manuwid po diretso. Saan po ito nangosa, yung isa bandang Maynila. Yun po saan po galling itong habagat Manuwid na ito?

Man 1: Sa west nap o yun. Diretso po.

Man 2: Basta yung ano, habagat Manuwid mismo, yan ay nanggagaling sa west. Diretso.

***Inaudible Chatter.

Man 3: Basta yung habagat Silang, Southwest yun.

***Inaudible Chatter.

Angelito Nunag: Eto po sa ating napguusapan na may hanging timog na nagbababala ng patapos na bagyo, ano po? Siyempre po may hanging hilaga (laughs) Ano naman po yung hanging hilaga? Sa hilaga po? Ano ang babalang ibinibigay nito?

***Inaudible Chatter. Iyon nga yung habagat Maynila.

Angelito Nunag: Ito po yung habagat Maynila? Ah. So kung ang hanging Timog po ay pagtatapos ng bagyo. Ang hanging Hilaga ay pagumpisa ng bagyo, tama po? Tama po ba ang aking pagiintindi?

Simultaneous Response: Tama.

Angelito Nunag: Napakarami po palang hangin sa inyo.

Old Lady: Inaudible

Angelito Nunag: Bakit po? Doon po ba nagsasalubong yung iba't ibang hangin? Sa Navotas?

Old Lady 2: Iba't ibang pinanggagalingan. Sali-saliwa ang hangin dun.

Angelito Nunag: May mga panahon po baa ng pagdating ng mga ito? Halimbawa, kailan po dumadating ang hanging Timog? Ang hanging Hilaga?

Old Lady 2: Timog kapagka may bagyo.

Angelito Nunag: Halimbawa po panahon ng? Kalian po kaya yon? May buwan po kaya? Halimbawa, buwan ng Marso po kaya ito?

Old Ladies: Kapag may bagyo... Tag -bagyo.

Angelito Nunag: Tag - bagyo lang po ito? So kahit anong panahon po dumating yung bagyo?

Old Man: Oo.. Meron..

Old Lady: Halimbawa po ngayon may bagyo, pagkatapos ng bagyo, bago matapos ang po bagyo. Parang itinatuboy nya ang bagyo.

Angelito Nunag: Ang hilaga po? May panahon? Wala? Meron po akong isang nakausap po, ang sabi nya ay, ah, ang hanging Hilaga ay Marso hanggang Abril. Tama po ba ito?

***Inaudible discussion.

Angelito Nunag: Ano nga po ulit kapag Hilaga may.. (Inaudible) kapag Amihan po may.. ah hmmm.

***Inaudible chatter.

Man: Ngayon habagat na po ngayon ang simoy.

Angelito Nunag: Pero may (Inaudible) na po eh...

***Inaudible chatter.

Old Lady: Pipirmi na ang Amihan

Man: Pero tama po yun eh. Yun pong habagat umpisa po yun ng, ano eh, tag ulan. Umpisa po ng tag init May.

Lady: Simula May hanggang August..

Angelito Nunag: Kapag po nagsasalitan ito o nagpapalit, ang mga hangin na ito, mayroon po ba kayong napapansin na pagbabago sa paligid? Ah, katulad po kanina may mga lumalabas po ba? Mayroong tumitilaok na manok? Ng ano pa ba?

Old lady: Wala na..

Old Man: Sa masamang panahon lamang may mga babala.

Angelito Nunag: Sa masamang panahon lang po.. Meron pa po ba kayong maibabahagi na mga nakikita nyo sa paligid na kakaiba kapag dumarating ang masamang panahon?

***Inaudible chatter.

Angelito Nunag: Ah, Kagawad Owel ano po yon?

Kagawad: Ah wala na.. Ah yon, kapagka iyong langgam na may pakpak, ganyan ah kapag naglitawan na iyon.. (laughs) Maguuulan.

***Group discussing something.

Angelito Nunag: Karaniwan po ba, ah, may oras po baa ng mga paglabas ng mga ito? O kahit anong oras?

Kagaad: Kahit anong oras basta lumalabas. Karaniwan sa gabi naglililipad.

Angelito Nunag: Sigurado po na kapag lumabas eto kaagad agad

Old man: Ulan

***Inaudible chatter.

Angelito Nunag: Ah yun pong ano narinig ko din po eto sa usap usapan ng kakwentuhan ko yung iba. Meron pong binabanggit na matandang aso balakbak, pamilyar po ba kayo sa mga eto ano po ba

Respondents chattering: Mga gamot ata yun mga herbal.

Anna: Pagtungtong daw po dun sa halimbawa sa isang lugar dun sa maaabot ng tabing dagat, hanggang doon ang laki ng tubig ay balakbak.

Angelito Nunag: Anong ibig sabihin nun. Nanay Anna halimbawa gumuhit ganitong sa parte yung pag laki ng tubig, hanggang ditto. Hanggang ditto po ang aabutin nyang hangganan niya.

Anna: Kung saan daw po yun tumubo dun daw po ang tubig.

Man: Inaudible.

Lady: Hindi lang isang buwan

Man: Yun pong may tatlong buwan pong balakbak na sinasabi, sabi po ng matatanda kapag tumubo po yun sa ganung lugar hanggang dun lang ang tubig.

Angelito Nunag: Yun tubig po ng? So para po etong nagbabadya na rin ng paglaki ng tibig po sag anon sa panahon ng tag ulan gaya po ng sinasabi ninyo. Ano po hitsura ng balakbak?

Man: Parang punong kahoy na maliit, parang may dahoon na maliit

Angelito Nunag: Parang ipil po?

Man 2: Kaya lang malalaki po ang dahoon, ganun ang hugis parang ipil malalaki ang dahoon

Angelito Nunag: Mas malalaki po ang dahoon ng balakbak sa ipil?

Man: Oo

***Inaudible chatter.

Angelito Nunag: Tanungin ko po etong mga bata, pamilyar kayo rito sa balakbak? Wala kayong idea? Kayo mayroon ba kayo sa henerasyon niyo? Mayroon ba kayong nakikitang mga ganun?

Cannot be identified participants: Wala

Angelito Nunag: Eh yun pong matandang aso ano naman po eto?

Vicencio: Yon po ang ano, Yon po ang sinasabi nilang kapag nakagat o bilang laki ng tubig.

Old Lady: Ang matandang asi at ang balakbak ay iisa.

Old Man: Ang matandang aso ay tinatawag ay gamut daw yun sa mga sugat at buni, akapulko yun eh akapulko.

***Inaudible chatter.

Old Man 2: Ang matandang aso ay namumulaklak yun kulay dilaw

***Inaudible chatter.

Old Man 3: Ang dahoon ng balakbak parang dahin ng sampalok

Angelito Nunag: Ano po ang kaugnayan naman ng matandang aso sa tubig? Meron po ba kasi ang balakbak po hanggang dun yung hangganan. Tama po? Hanggang pag laki ng tubig ano po? Ang matandang aso ano po?

Anna: Herbal po yun eh. Tsaka yung ugat iniinom ng mag aalak, tapos ay sa sugat

Angelito Nunag: Pero wala po etong koneksyon doon sa paglaki, paghati ng tubig

Man: Pero sir hindi po ako naniniwala

Angelito Nunag: Bakit po?

Man: Inaudible

Angelito Nunag: Balakbak

Man: Nadadala sa kwento ng matatanda

Angelito Nunag: Kapag po halimbawa po eto yung balakbak ah hanggang saan po ang lampas ng tubig, mga ilang pulgada po, metro?

Angelito Nunag: Baka may panibagong tumubo naman. Baka naman lumangoy

***Inaudible chatter.

Angelito Nunag: Ah ang ano po nga bulate kasi po ah mayroon din pong nakapag kwento sa akin ng ganyan kumusta po? Bulate na

Anna: Yan Isa pa yan, umaahon ang bulate lalaki ang tubig

Angelito Nunag: Ano pong ibig sabihin kapag umaahon anong

Anna: Yung halimbawa narito ang tubig ah ay yun ay gumagapang pataas

Angelito Nunag: Hmmm so halimbawa po inaabot siya hanggang doon, ano po ang ibig sabihin noon?

Anna: Ay hindi ko alam bastat ang alam ko laang ang bulate ayun ay umaahon sa tubig, lalaki. Hindi ko alam kung hanggang saan.

Old man: Ay yun laang.

***Inaudible chatter.

Lady: Sadyang nalabas ang bulate kapag tag ulan.

Angelito Nunag: Dito po bas a bundok, wala kayong nakikita dyan na mga sa paligid mga napapansin ninyo na parang kakaiba din katulad ng mga binabanggit ninyo na nagsisilbing babala, mga senyales sa paligid? Bukod po dun sa siyempre pagka gumugulong na yung mga malalaking ano malalaking bato talagang ano yon may senyales talaga yan. Yung tunog na malakas.

***Inaudible.

Angelito Nunag: Pachinko may kaugnayan ba ito?

***Inaudible responses.

Angelito Nunag: Alamid po mayroon po bang alamid dito?

***Inaudible responses.

Anna: Ay sya po

Angelito Nunag: May kaugnayan po ba itong alamid at itong ah matsing sa balang?

Participants: Wala... wala naman po

Vicencio: Sir siya po tiningting ang pinak malakas na hangin ramdam daw po yung habagat, amihan at tsaka timog. Unang sinabi nung habagat ako malakas sabi ng amihan ako malakas at sabi ng timog ako malakas. Sige umuna ka sabi sa habagat ay di lumusong na yung (INAUDIBLE) Ay di yung mga matsing... (Inaudible). Nang sumimoy po yung... pangalawang... O tapos na kayo? Ako naman. Nang sumimoy po ang Timog ay nagkanda-laglag sa lupa.

Angelito Nunag: Tatay Vicencio, saan nyo po narinig ang kwentong ito? Saan nyo po ito narinig?

Tatay Vicencio: Lyon po ay isang kwento lamang.

Anna: Nang sumimoy po ang Timogay nagbagsakan ang matsing!! (LAUGHS)

***Inaudible chatter with laughter.

Anna: Bagsakan...

Angelito Nunag: Matanong ko lang po ito. Ah. Yung mga termino ninyo ulit na ginagamit, ano, kasi interesado po kasi talaga ako. Napakarami ninyong mga salita o terminog ginagamit. Katulad po, halimbawa, ng mga iba't ibang hangin, eto po ah, tanong ko po ulit ano, mayroon po kayong tinataag na dagat, lawa, laot. Ano pong pagkakaiba ng mga ito?

Old Man: Ah. Kapag sinabi pong laot, medyo may malalim po, kasi po magkabila po yan. Yung tinatawag na laot, malayo nap o sa sea shoreyun sa tabi. Malayo na po..

Anna: Malalim

Angelito Nunag: Ang sea shore po ang tag ditto "katig"?

Old Man/ Lady: Pampang.. Pampang..

Anna: Nasa pampang ng dagat.

Angelito Nunag: Ano po ang dagat? Hayaan nyo po, gusto ko malaman yan. Ang sinasabi po ng iba ito ay dagat, ang iba naman po ay lawa. Maaari po ba kayong magbahagi ditto? Unahin kop o kaya itong mga bata. Sa mga bata, anong tingin nyo ditto? Ano sa inyo ito?

Little Boy: Lawa po.

Angelito Nunag: Lawa sya? Bakit lawa?

Little Boy: Kasi Laguna Lake po yang tawag ditto...

Girl: Pero dati, mga bata po kami, dagat po yan pasa sa amin. Kasi yun din po yung tawag ng mga matatanda. Dagat pod aw. Sabi po, "Wag ka maligo sa dagat ah."

Angelito Nunag: Kasi tawag noon, pero ngayon?

Girl: Lawa po

Angelito Nunag: Lawa na dahil yung kapangalan nya ay Laguna Lake.

Girl: Opo.

Angelito Nunag: Bukod don, may, ah, may iba bang eksplanasyon?

Girl: Kasi yung dagat po ay open

Man: Malaki

Girl: Tapos yung lawa po ay nasa gitna ng parang ano ng lupa.

Angelito Nunag: Hmmm. Ah sige. Tanungin natin yung, ano, yung medyo may alam sa atin. Bakit po tawag po ng karaniwang medyo may edad po ay dagat?

Middle-aged Lady: Yun po talaga kasi yung kinagisnan sa aming mga magulangna huwag kang maliligo sa dagat, huwag kang tutungo sa dagat baka ka malunod.

Angelito Nunag: Ahhh. Sa nakagisnan ni Nanay Anna ano (INAUDIBLE)

Nanay Anna: Katawagan yun

***Inaudible Chatter

Angelito Nunag: Hmm.

Nanay Anna: Nasaan ang anak mo? Baka nasa dagat.

Angelito Nunag: Si tatay Camillo ano pong.... Ano po?

Tatay Camillo: Kapag nasa ibang lugar, ang taga Sico, laa lang po yun.

Angelito Nunag: Kayo po? NUNG nakagisnan nyo po. Ah, sa karanasan nyo po?

Tatay Camillo: Dagat din po..

Nanay Anna: Dagat po talaga.

Angelito Nunag: Bakit po nagging dagat ang (Inaudible)

Tatay Camillo: Kapag po yung dati sinasabi ni Estrada at kapag po yun din po ang sabi sa amin ng aming magulang na huwag ka pupunta sa dagat, hindi ka marunong lumangoy.

Old Lady: Inaudible

Nanay Anna: Yung katig, yung aplaya na tinatawag.

Angelito Nunag: Si kapitan, mayron po ba kayong gusto ibahagi, kapitan?

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Ang pagkakaintindi ko ryan sa dagat, kaya sinasabing dagat tsaka ang lawa ano yun eh, tubig. Kaya yan tinatawag na na dagat kasi tubig. Eh ang lawa, kaya tinatawag na lawa kasi maliit sya eh. Mas maliit sya kaysa dun sa mga dagat na ano, pero tubig din. Dagat talaga tawag sa amin, hindi lawa. Noong araw pa yan tawag naming

dyan dagat kasi yan tubig. Ang sundalo siguno noon baka akala dagat at tubig ay iisa. "Huwag kang maliligo sa tubig", "Huwag kang maliligo sa dagat". lisa lang yun eh.

Nanay Anna: "Huwag kang pupunta sa dagat, malalim.."

Tatay Camillo: Yun nama'y sang ayon lang.

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Yun naming laot, yun naman ay nasa gitna. Gitna lang yun..

Angelito Nunag: Gitna po ng dagat?

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Halimbawa, yung Laguna tsaka ito, gitna yun, yun yung laot.

Angelito Nunag: Wala naman poi tong kaugnayan sa uri ng tubig? Tabang o alat? Wala naman pong ganon?

Nanay Anna: Pero nung araw ang aking tubig nahaluan ng dagat na maalat ano

Tatay Camillo: Eh di dagat yon

***Inaudible Chatter

Nanay Anna: (Inaudible)

Angelito Nunag: Sige po, nabanggit na natin yang tubig na yan. Si Kapitan Pablo, nung una naming pagkikita, marami siyang binanggit sa aking mga iba't ibang uri ng tubig. Natural na tubig, masamang tubig tsaka po buhay na tubig. Ano nga po Kap? Ika ang nagbahagi sa akin ng mga ito ano?

Pablo (Former Barangay Captain): Oo

Angelito Nunag: Maaari po bang, ano, ah, pagusapan natin ito? Ano po baa ng mga ideya ninyo patungkol ditto? Bakit po may ganyang kataagan? Ano po ang pagkakaiba ng bawat isa? Natural na tubig, masamang tubig, buhay na tubig? Kasi po, ah, si Tatay Carlito rin po ano parehas kayo? Carlito din po? Tama ba? Naku paano kop o kaya idi-differentiate ito? Si tatay Carlito Bill..

Nanay Anna: Carlito..

People: (CHATTERING) Billones din (LAUGHTER)

Angelito Nunag: Ah, parehas po kayo...? Ah.. Sige po.. Si tatay Carlito na Billones din.

Tatay Carlito B: (Inaudible)

Angelito Nunag: Ano poi tong masamang tubig na ito? Bagama't nabanggit ninyo kanina?

Tatay Carlito B: Yun po ay kapag dumating ang tag ulan. Buwan ho ng Hunyo yan.

Angelito Nunag: Sa simula poi to ng Mayo? Hanggang, hanggang kalian po?

Tatay Carlito B: Hanggang (Inaudible)

Angelito Nunag: Tapos po..?

Tatay Carlito B: Dyan pumapasok nga yung tinatawag sa dagat natin na (Inaudible). Dyan naguumpisa yung fish-kill, sa masamang tubig na yan.

Angelito Nunag: Bakit nga po nagsisimula ang fish-kill dito?

Tatay Carlito B: Noong araw na po yun, dun nanggaling sila sa Laguna, na kapag nag tag ulan na dala ng baha..

Angelito Nunag: Ahhh. Dala-dala po ng ulan yon ano po?

People: (CHATTERING) Baha... Baha.. Pasig River...

Angelito Nunag: Baha.. Dala-dala ng baha..

Tatay Carlito B: Dyan nanggagaling sa ilog, katabi pabrika, kaya sa ilog yon, pag bumabaha tangay..

Angelito Nunag: Sige po tatay, ituloy nyo lang po.. Ituloy nyo po 'tay..

Tatay Carlito B: Yun lang maipapayo ko sa masamang tubig, mabaho. Galing sa ilog yon.

Angelito Nunag: Ano po ang itsura nito? Eh yun pong natural na tubig?

Tatay Carlito B: Ang tulad ng nasa lawa natin, hindi katulad ng sa ilog..

Angelito Nunag: Ito po ay hindi katulad ng sa masamang tubig? Kung ang masamang tubig po ay nagdudulot ng fish-kill, ito pong natural na tubig, ano po ang naidudulot nito sa (Inaudible)

Tatay Carlito: Maganda po..

Man: Nagbibigay buhay at ligaya..

Angelito Nunag: Yun pong buhay na tubig?

Man: Ay yun po yung mga bukal, mga bukal...

Angelito Nunag: May mga pagkakataon po ba na ang mga ito, halimbawa, kapag malakas yung ulan, nagkakasama-sama? Nagaganap po ba yon?

Tatay Carlito: Oo sumasama rin yon..

Angelito Nunag: Paano pong epekto nito?

Tatay Carlito: Wala hong epekto sa atin. Malinis ho kasi yan eh.

Angelito Nunag: Yung iba po? Meron po ba kayong mga ideya patungkol dun sa mga nabanggit natin na iba't ibang uri ng hangin?

Nanay Anna: (Inaudible) Bakit pa magaalaga ng isda kung ganun din...

Tatay Carlito: (Inaudible) Pagkain ng isda yon, liya

Angelito Nunag: Klase rin ito ng tubig? Ano po ang tag nyo dito?

Tatay Carlito: Sabi nga daw po ng mga taga- LDE, yan daw po ay good sign na maganda ang tubig, ganon ang palatandaan non.. Kapag may araw na may liya. Good sign daw po yon.

***Inaudible Chatter

Nanay Anna: Lalaki pero hindi naman makain..
Tatay Carlito: Kapag sumobra, lason naman..
Nanay Anna: Lalaki pero hindi naman makain ang isda..
Tatay Carlito: Yun ang dinig ko sa mga LDE..
Angelito Nunag: Ano po hitsura ng Liya?
People: Inaudible Discussion
Angelito Nunag: Pero hindi po ito libag?
Tatay Carlito: Hindi. Ano po yun parang nabubulok na ano..
Nanay Anna: Napaka baho..
People: Para po siyang tubol, parang burak sa tubig.
People: Inaudible Chatter
Angelito Nunag: Balikan ko lang po yung sinasabi po ni Tatay Vivero kanina sa kalangitan po na parang may nabanggit kayo kaninang ibat ibang, meron po bang ganun? Kasi may ibat ibang huni kayo ng hangin ng tubig ng ulan. Eh nabanggit po kayo saken na halimbawa ni kagawad... Kwentong kaliskis na
Nanay Anna: Ang ulap
Tatay Cever: Bukas po iinit parang sa bulak po..
Angelito Nunag: Ulap po ito?
Tatay Cever: Oo yun ay kaliskis buwaya
Angelito Nunag: Meron pa po ba kayong mga ibang ano maaaring ibahagi? Ay kayo po maraming nabanggit kanina. Sa kalangitan ibat ibang mga nakikita ninyo.
Tatay Vicencio: Meron sinasabi nila... (INAUDIBLE)
Angelito Nunag: Seguada po?
Tatay Vicencio: Oo seguada isang bagay na mapanganib din.
Angelito Nunag: Ano po ang seguada? Hangin na mapanganib?
Tatay Vicencio: Malakas pong hangin yan. Na nasa kapaligiran, sa dagat. Hindi naman po pwedeng isang hangin lang ang dumaan sa dagat eh. Dadaan kung san man.
Angelito Nunag: Ano po ang malakas Seguada o hanging timog? Yung hari ng mga hangin?
Tatay Vicencio: Kasi yung seguada at hanging timog halos iisa yun. Halos magkapareha, magkaiba lang sila ng pangalan.
Angelito Nunag: So Hari din po eto ng hangin? Seguada. Alam ninyo po baa ng Seguada? Pwede ho bang?
Man: Masamang tanong, yun yun po ang sagot sa tinataag ninyo.
People: (CHATTERING) Parang kalamidad rin..
Angelito Nunag: Hmmm.
People: (CHATTERING) Seguada parang masamang panahon.
Man: Parang kasabihan lang na Seguada. Ibig sabihin may masamang panahon na darating, may segudadang darating.
Nanay Anna: Isa rin lang ang pupuntahan non. Masamang panahon.
Man: Kalamidad din.
Nanay Anna: Yun din. Isa ang tutunguhan nun.
Old Man: Kaya nga tinawag na seguada eh..
Nanay Anna: Marami lamang salita pero iisa lang ang pupuntahan.
Old Man: Nababago kasi. Ang ating pamahalaan, binabago din nila, ganun din ang mga tao, dito binabago din nila. Yung iba sinasabing bagyo.
Angelito Nunag: Mayroon pa bang, ano, nais kayong, ah, ibahagi sa mga nakikita natin? Kaso po, kung wala po, siguro po ang talakayin naman natin ay, ano po bang epekto ng mga ito? Yung mga seguada, bagyo o masamang panahon. Ano pong epekto sa kabuhatan ninyo? Sa pamilya ninyo? Sa pang araw-araw na buhay po ninyo? At paano ninyo po ito itinutuwid? Ah, isa po sa mga nakuha ko, isang pagtugon ay, ah, pagtatali ng bahay, yung selda nga po. Maaari po ba kayong magbahagi sa akin ng mga epekto ng kalamidad na ito sa inyo? Siguro si nanay Anna ang uunahin ko dahil ah (INAUDIBLE) siyang sinasabi niyang ok ang ano (INAUDIBLE)no? Kasi hindi bale nang masira yung bahay, mas malaki naman po yung kita ano po? Tapos po, nay, kayo ang susunod ko dahil dun sa nawala ninyong mga mahal sa buhay ano po? Nanay Anna, ano po ba yung epekto ng mga kalamidad na ito sa inyo?
Nanay Anna: Yung sa amin po naman, yung aming sariling pamilya, como, wala naman po akong lalaking kasamahan sa bahay dahil ang aking panganay ay nagtatrabaho, talagang natatakot po ako. Kasi kapag po yung bubong naming ay umaangat ay talagang nakakatakot, nakakanerbyos po. Tapos po yung aming bahay talagang halos wala nang mayapakan dun halos ay basa. Parang nakaka-ano po talaga. Ngayon tungkol naman sa kapaligiran, siyempre sila naman ay nakikita, natutuwa naman sila dahil alam nila matapo yung hangin kikitang sila. Kaya sila'y kumikita. Kami'y nasiraan walang kita.
Angelito Nunag: Papaanong paraan po sila kumikita?
Nanay Anna: Yung sa ano nga po, sabi ko nga po dun sa nasira po yung paglalagay sa fish pond. Ang dami pong nakawalang bangus, kaya madimi po silang nahuhuli. Kaya kung sila'y nasiraan, magpapagawa po agad sila ng higit pa. Nakabili nga sila ng pagpapagaa ng baha, nakakabili pa ng appliances. Kaya nakakabuti sa kanila. Kaya minsan kapag kahit bumabagyo, talagang sila'y naghahanda na ng pante dahil matapos ang malakas na bagyo, papalaot na agad sila para mangisda.

Angelito Nunag: Hmm. Meron pa po? Si nanay Laura. Maaari nyo po bang ibahagi saamin yung epekto ng kalamidad sa inyo? Baha, ano po ba ito? Baha ba ito o bagyo nung nawala po yung.. (INAUDIBLE)

Nanay Laura: Hindi po. Parang ano lang po.. parang katulad nung kay nanay Milagros na nakasakit sila, ano po, parang yung sinasabi kong bagyo na rin po yung buhay namin, ganon.

Angelito Nunag: Ahh.

Nanay Laura: Nung simula nagkasakit si tatay, dalawang taon din. Tatlo sila.

Angelito Nunag: Ano po baa ng ikinamatay ng mga (INAUDIBLE)?

Nanay Laura: Nagkasakit din po si tatay, kumbaga, dalawang taong din po. Ayon, bale tatlo sila. Kaya sinasabi kong parang bagyo ng buhay.

Angelito Nunag: Bagyo ng buhay ninyo. Hmm. Akala kop o ay namatay dahil sa (INAUDIBLE). Ano poi tong mga sakit nito ng tatlo po na ito? Yung si tatay nyo po?

Nanay Laura: Kinagat ng aso bigla. Pero yung dalawa, sadyang nagkasakit sila. Parang dalawang taon lang sila

Angelito Nunag: Yung iba po? Paano po kayo naapektohan ng mga kalamidad n'yan? Baha, unos o masamang kalamnan. Siyempre pang hanap buhay din yung naapektohan, tama po? Sa paanong paraan po yan naapektohan?

Old man: INAUDIBLE

Angelito Nunag: Hmm. Alam kong paano fix- in ang nasisira, halimbaw may cage kayo ganon? Nasisira po yung net? Naglalaho po?

Old Man (People agrees) Nadadala ho ng bagyo.

Angelito Nunag: Kapag po dinadala ng bagyo, hindi ninyo na siya nakikita?

People: Wala na.

Old Man: Nadala ng agos. Malakas na agos malayo ang naaabot.

Nanay Anna: Malakas ang agos na dito..

Angelito Nunag: Kasama nap o dun sa mga ano, isda sa buwan? Ito po yung sinasabi naman ni nanay Anna na grasya. Kung sino makakuha non.

Nanay Anna: Kung makakuha non may grasya.

Man 1: Kasi hindi naman ninakaw yun

Man 2: Sa katulad ko na mandaragat malaking biyaya na din po. Nag aano skylamb..

Angelito Nunag: Ah so mas nakakabuti po sa inyo yung (INAUDIBLE)

Man: Nakakarating po kami sa Taguig dahil sa trabaho.

Angelito Nunag: Ano po ang skylamb?

Man: Yung parang baklad..

Angelito Nunag: Ano po ang kinaibahan niya sa cage, fish pen, baklad, skylamb?

Man: Parang baklad. Yung skylamb parang baklad din yon. Panghuli ng isda.

Chorus: Panghuli ng isda

Angelito Nunag: Bakit po siya tinawag na skylamb?

Man: Yun ang naging tawag don. Parang baklad din yun, pinagkaiba lang yung skylamb may baging, yung baklad isinasabit walang flooring.

Angelito Nunag: Ang cage po?

Man: Malaki. Parang palaisdaan.

Angelito Nunag: Ang fish pen?

Man: Yun po ay open.

Angelito Nunag: Mas malaki po, ano po ang pinakamalaki sa mga yan?

Man: Fish pen.

Angelito Nunag: Tapos ano pong sunod? Kung laki ang pinaguusapan?

Man: Cage

Angelito Nunag: Cage po. Ang mas maliit po?

Man: Ay baklad.

Angelito Nunag: Baklad na po. After po ng baklad?

Man: Skylamb

Angelito Nunag: Skylamb.

People: (CHATTERING) Ano po yun, halos ay parehas din. Yun po skylamb at baklad panghuli po ng isda.

Angelito Nunag: Ah.. so pang huli po pala ang skylamb at saka baklad.

Man: Yun pong cage at saka fish pen, yun po ay karaniwang nasa ilalim.

Nanay Anna: Kapag may nahuhuling maililiit na isda nagsisingitan don sa cage, pinalalaki.

Angelito Nunag: Yun pong iba? (laughs) Alam kop o medyo inaantok na po tayo ano po? Ano pong mga epekto pa po sa inyo ng mga nabanggit nating (INAUDIBLE) Kabataan, ano ang epekto sa inyo nito kapag may kalamidad?

Teen Girl: Kapag ano po, kasi po minsan, ano ho, walang pasok. (laughs)

Teen Girl: Kaya lang po mahirap siyempre kapag nagta-travel po.

Angelito Nunag: Uhhmm.. Paano kayo naapektohan?

Teen Girl: Kasi po kami sabay-sabay pa- kalentong. Mabaha sa may V. Mapa, Pureza baha, tapos ma- traffic.

Angelito Nunag: Eh dito yung pagbibiyahen ninyo mula isla papuntang Binangonan, paano naaapektohan nito ng kalamidad yang masamang panahon, yang pagbaha. Paanong maaapektohan?

Teen Girl: Minsan po walang masakyan na bangka. Siyempre po kapag may pasok o masama ang panahon dito, kapag hindi na kami nakapasok, absent po.

Angelito Nunag: Absent na. Ganon ka narin Camille?

Camille: Opo.

Angelito Nunag: Same ng ano, same ng experience? Kagawad Puring meron po kayong gustong (INAUDIBLE)

Kagawad Puring: Sana po kung ako'y may (INAUDIBLE) talaga po yang target ko at bagyuhan po. Ngayon po kahit bumagyo, kinabukasan pumasok po ako kahit walang masakyan. Ngayon kahit ilang araw ang biyahe wala po tulay eh. Kasi simula't sapul po, kapag malaki ang tubig lubog at abot sa bangka. Ginawa po ng mga tao namin, para makaalis laang, walang malisya, yun pong mga lalaki naghuhubad ng pantalon para lang makababa at makapunta sa sakayan ng jeep. Kasi natatakot. Ako man po natatakot ako wala sa amin sa MERALCO haharapin po ako. Kaya mahirap sa aming taga-isla kapag lumaki ang tubig. Kaya kaling perwisyo kapag sa amin ang bagyo, paglaki ng tubig. Napakahirap sa amin.

Angelito Nunag: So apektado talaga ang kabuhayan ano? Itong mga bata apektado ang pag aaral. Sa inyo po kabuhayan yung iba po. May naririnig din akong kwento na kapag binaha kayo inaabot ng tatlong buwan. Si kuya ano ah Reynaldo

Kuya Reynaldo: Siguro kng ganun din sa mga bata, ganun din sakin. Ako ay dati may buntis at kids. Ngayon po yung banka ay nakalagay sa pag aaral ng anak ko, nasa pampang lang. Ngayon bumagyo ng malakas nasira namomroblema ako. Hindi alam ng kabataan na apektado din sila ng bagyo.

Angelito Nunag: Kasi pow ala ng pang ano pambigay ng pera at tsaka gastusin ng anak ninyo. Yun pong iba? Ay tapos nap o kayo kuya? Yun pong iba na may sa aking palagay ay si Nanay Arnel ang nagkwento sa kin nito. Mga tatlong buwan po inaabot ng tubig. Paano po ang buhay nun? Si Nanay Anna lang po ba ang nakaranas ng tatlong buwan ang tubig?

People: Marami po kami

Nanay Anna: Kami po ang malapit sa dagat.

Angelito Nunag: Sige nanay Milagros, ikaw muna paanong epekto po nito sa inyo? Tatlong buwan paano?

Nanay Milagros: Sobrang apekto kami makakilos kas ang tubig malalim. Ganun sa silong naming buti may taas kami. Ang iba naming mga kasamahan lumikas sa eskwelahan. Pero ako nakakapag isa ditto kasi may taas kami.

Angelito Nunag: Hanggang tuhod po?

Nanay Milagros: Hindi kami lumikas, hindi naming iniwan ang bahay namin gumawa kami ng table ang nilagay naming kasi pagbaba mo tubig na talaga.

Angelito Nunag: Ang tulay po na ginagawa ninyo? Ay sa bahay po ninyo?

Nanay Milagros: Oo sa bahay naroon.

Angelito Nunag: Sa loob din po ng bahay o sa labas po?

Nanay Milagros: Sa loob din po ng bahay. Sa tapat ng kalsada. May tulay kaming gagamitin kasi malalim nga.

Old lady: Mababaw pa nga

Nanay Milagros: Hanggang ditto sa tuhod sa may harapan naming pero dun sa likod hanggang ditto hanggang bewang. Kaya mahirap kumilos, hindi ka makatrabaho ng maayos buti na lang may nagpapakain sa pamangkin ko.

Angelito Nunag: Paano po ang ano Paano ninyo po maibabahagi sa akin yung isang araw ninyo doon? Sa tatlong buwan kayo na binaha? Ano po yung typical na araw ninyo po nung panahon nay un?

Nanay Milagros: Siyempre yung isang araw na walang tubig okay naman maayos ang pagkilos wala kang alalahanin na ikay iiwas sa tubig talagang ang pagkilos mo ay maayis, hindi ka mahihirapan. Makakahanap buhay ng maayos pag ka walang tubig. Pero kapag meron ang tubig hindi ka makakapagtabaho ng maayos kahit sa bahay lang gumagawa.

People: INAUDIBLE CHATTERING

Angelito Nunag: Sino pa po yung nakaranas ng pag iniwan maaari pong ano magkwento kayo sa akin?

Old ladies: INAUDIBLE CHATTERING

Angelito Nunag: Ibig pong sabihin nanay pasensya na kayong mga nakaranas s alibis kayo nakatira yung mga hindi po nakaranas hindi sila sa libis nakatira? Tama po?

People: hindi. Mataas ang lugar nila.

Kagawad: Pero ako nakaranas ng baha sa bahay ko.

Angelito Nunag: Pero hindi nap o kayo kagawad puroy s alibis nakatira?

Kagawad Puroy: Hindi, kasi sila ang inaapawan sa kanila ang tubig. Kailangan ko muna mag create. Kasi po ang anak ko madaling araw bumangon ng alas dos lalaki yun umihi po eh may huni ng tubig. Eh sila pop ala ay nakalutang na sa kumot habang natutulog.

Angelito Nunag: Ibig sabihin kung hanggang tuhod sa inyo, s alibis po mas malalim?

Nanay Milagros: Hanggang ditto po sa amin nay un. SABI ko nga po sa inyo ang terrace naming halos lumubog.

Nanay Anna: Mas mababa sila kaysa sa amin. Mas mataas kami ng kaunti sa kanya.

Nanay Milagros: Kaya kame po talaga libis na libis na kapag lumaki ang tubig, talagang sentro sa lakas ng alon.

Nanay Anna: Halimbawa sa hangin kami ang fire crack.

Nanay Milagros: Kapag habagat talagang malakas ang hatol ng alon abot hanggang bubong namin.

Angelito Nunag: Pati po ang bubong ay inaalala niyo din po?

Nanay Milagros: Opo talangang ano. Wala ngang nababa sa madaling araw.

Angelito Nunag: Si Kapitan Pablo po ay may nais ibahagi?

Kapitan Pablo: Sir babawi po lamang ako yung tungkol sap ag daan ng tubig at hangin dyan sa lawa. Noong mga panahon nay un ng unggoy at saka balag. Ako ang kapitan nun eh. Ang amin pong dagat ay ganito lang pag yan ay lumaki minsan sobrang laki basta yung nipis ng kalsaday ganyan lang inaabot yun eh ng tubig. Inaabot yun ng mga December hanggang January, basta sa panahon ng tag ulan yun ay tubig yun. Kaya nga mga kakaawa ang mga tao ditto samin. Hindi naman sa barangay lang namin sa buong paligid.

Angelito Nunag: Hindi lang po sa isla? Ano po yung mga pamamaraan ng ginagawa ninyo para eto lang po yung tanong please huling bahagi po anong ginagawa aksiyon anong ah kung kayo naman ang local na pamahalaan? Barangay level po? At siyempre kung kayo naman ang masususunod ang mga ordinaryong mamamayan na ano kaya ang ginagawa nila na dapat nilang ginawa nung mga nasa posisyon pero balikan kop o yan mamaya. Anuhin ko lang si kapitan kasi siya yung naka upo nung ondoy po. Ano pong ginawa niyo nun?

Kapitan Pablo: Nung mga panahong lumaki ang tubig syempre kaming mga barangay people siyempre kailangan ng mga tulong ng mga tao eh. Unang una tulong ang kailangan nila kaya kami kailangan namin ng mga tulong na magagamit naming mula sa taas.

Kapitan Pablo: Halimbawa relief goods, mga rasyon na pwedeng manggagaling sa taas , pagkatapos yung iba hindi naman lahat ay ano namin. Yung iba ginagawang tulay, mga tulay. Kailangan pa din yan ng mga tao. Unang- una talaga pagkain kailangan ng tao. Kailangan i-deliver sa mga bahay-bahay para kahit paano tulong sa mamamayan. Yung mga pahahong yon, hindi talaga kami tumitigil ng kakahanap eh. Minsan nga lang ang tao may seloso, may sakim, may buraot. Talagang ganon.

Angelito Nunag: May naririnig po kayong ganon?

Kapitan Pablo: Oo. Marami. Sasabihin don sa barangay meron talagang ganon. Pero para sa amin nun number one maibahagi sa mga mamamayan ang relief goods galling sa taas.

Angelito Nunag: Ang relief goods po galling sa local government? Sa NGO din po?

Kapitan Pablo: Hindi lang. Pati na sa engineer, mga military. Diyan nga ako nakakaranas na nakakasay pa ko ng helicopter para lang ang mga relief goods maipadala ditto.

Angelito Nunag: Paano nyo po dini-distribute ang mga relief goods na ito?

Kapitan Pablo: Ah. Binibilang namin ng tao ng mabuti. Kung abot o hindi, pero dadalhan pa din.

Angelito Nunag: Pero dun po sa mga abot, nilulusong nyo po ang baha?

Kapitan Pablo: Ay hindi.

Angelito Nunag: Ah. Sila na po ang pinapupunta ninyo sa barangay.

Kapitan Pablo: Tapos idi-divide namin. Kung ilan. Kung limang daan ba o kakayanin baa ng limang kilong bigas, dalawang kilong bigas o ano ang kasya sa tao.

Angelito Nunag: Sa mga relief goods po ban a ipinamimigay nyo, wala po bang mga reklamo. Halimbawa, ah (laughs) Ano po ang mga reklamo na ito?

Kapitan Pablo: Ang ano dyan, ay ano eh, ang karamihang reklamo dyan syempre sabi pulitika yan eh. Mayroong sinsabi na hindi pinamimigay lahat pero sa panahongnun wala akong inagaw, wala akong pinagbintangan. Lahat ay nandyan, pero nung huli pati naman itong nasa itaas humihirit na pati sila bigyan, pati sila inabot ng bagyo. Pero kung nauna itong Libis matatanggap din nung itaas, kaya nung bandang huli, natutwa nung bandang huli, nag- ano kami ng bigassa barangay 10 kaban nung huli nay un. Eh ano ang sabi? Sabi hindi raw yon ipamimigay. Eh sabi naming daragdagan pa yan para lahat mabibigyan. Abot ng tubig at saka hindi abot ng tubig. Natutuwa ako, kung sino pa ang mayaman, siyang nauuna sa pila.

Nanay Anna: (laughs) Sa totoo lang , may karanasan akong pagkuha ng relief goods. Nakapila pa ako, ala nakapila ako. Pagpila ko ng ganyan, ako na ang susunod, tinanong ako “Bali? Nasa tubig ka ba?” sabi sa akin nung nagbibigay. Sabi ko, ‘Kung gusto mo , pumunta ka sa amin. Maglangoy ka, pwede kang lumangoy.’ Sabi ko ‘kung ako’y wala sa tubig, hindi ako pupunta ditto. Kasi ang inaano ko non eh nung mga nasa tubig ang unang bibigyan. O eh di ako’y pumila. Pagpila ko ako’y natanong. Ako raw ba’y nasa tubig. Sabi ko,’ Pumunta ka samin pwede kang lumangoy’.

Nanay Anna: Karanasan ko yon. Isang beses, pero hindi sa barangay yunah. Sa simbahan pa nga ang ano yung relief goods.

Nanay Milagros: Sa simbahan po maraming natapon na ano ah

Nanay Anna: Ang dami kasing natapon na relief goods dahil hindi pinapamigay.

Kapitan Pablo: Yung sa helicopter na pang sasakyan ng US dapat isinakay yun eh

Nanay Milagros: Bakit dun sa simbahan napakaraming nabubulok na ano eh. Naitapon lang, hindi napamigay.

Nanay Anna: Tinapon talaga. Hindi pinamigay ni Fr. Jon. Si Fr Jon yon eh...

Nanay Milagros: Oo.

Angelito Nunag: Siguro po ang gusto kong tignan dun sa mga reklamo na yon bukod sa binabanggit ni kapitan. Meron po kayong naririnig na may hinaing, halimbawa yung relief goods ay ah, hindi ito akma dun sa pangangailangan ng mga tao? Kasi halimbawa po, ah, mga kababaihan, may naririnig po kasi ako dito ‘eh wala naming sanitary napkin’, ah, kasi ang karaniwan daw po yung binibigay ay ang bigas, ah eh, de lata. Kaya sinasabi ng ibang kababaihan, ‘pwede bang gawing panapal yan sa regla?!?’

Old Man: Modess

Nanay Milagros: Hindi po, ok naman. Kasi kung ,ano po, ang mas kailangan ng tao yung pagkain eh hindi naman sanitary napkin. Pwede naman yung ano eh, syempre magamit naman, pwede gamitin, eh yung pagkain, yun yung kailangan. Bakit naman hahanapin pa nila yon.

Nany Anna: Yung ang pangunahing kailangan yun eh

Nanay Milagros: Pangunahing kailangan yun

Nanay Anna: May nagbigay naman, channel 2 o 7?

Nanay Milagros: Hindi naman na yun kailangan hingin pa sa gobyerno kasi kaya naman gawan ng pamamaraan yon. Yung pagkain talaga ang kailangan. Tulad halimbawa, tayo, nararanasan natin na halos hindi tayo makapag-hanapbuhay dahil sa dami natin itinatabi na mga gamit mga nasisira naman. Ako nga nung bumagyo, hindi lang 2000 ang naligi sa paninda ko nun eh. Kasi dun sa diba noong mag-habagat ay di ba piyesta ng Agosto, diba't sinimulan na ng ang ulan ng kwatro, dinere-diretso na yun? Eh diba napabayaan ko na ang paninda naming kapi-piyesta lang. Hindi ko na nauna yan. Nauna koo yung mga masisira sa bahay naming eh nagkataon bigas walang mabilhan. Diba kapi-piyesta lang non?

Angelito Nunag: So malaking epekto po sa kabuhayan nyo?

Nanay Milagros: Napakalaki po.

Kuya Reynaldo: Sir, sa akin po naman napakalaking epekto po sa akin ng bagyo, kaso lang po nalulungkot po ako kasi ang maaapektohan ay ang mga kababayan. Hindi naman sap ag-aano, kung sa paghahanap buhay naming. Kapag nariyan ang isla, may kita. Ang magiging sakripisyo lang talaga diyan, hirap at saka syempre yung bahay, titibayan mon a rin. Kung ako po ay walang kabuhayang pang-dagat na pinapangalagaan, ay hindi po mawaalang ng epekto pero nalulungkot ako gaa ng mga kababayan natin. Kasi po ang hanap buhay ng libis dyan sa dagat, dyan ang kita. Di po ba andyan?

Angelito Nunag: Dun po sa nakaupo muna, kap , balikan kop o muna yung punto kanina. May natatanggap po kayong hinaing po kayong ganon, halimbawa, walang para sa mga babae tapos may meron, meron po bang mga hinaing tulad ng wala na bang panggatas yung mga ano..

Kapitan Pablo: Hindi. Eto po sa karanasan ko nung panahong may kalamidad. Pero yung mgam pambili ng bigas talaga po ng halos araw-araw ano. Kaya po kami , lalo na po ako, hindi po ako sa nagmamalaki, kahit galling sa sarili kong bulsa.

Angelito Nunag: Sa sariling bulsa nyo po?

Kapitan Pablo: Opo. Hindi po ako nagbibiro. Hindi po ako nagmamalaki. Mahirap lang po ako. Kung ano po ang makakayanan, minsan bente pesos o singkenta. Syempre mga mamamayan ko yun eh, talagang bibigyan ko mga yun. Hindi kop o sinasabing ako'y wala. Basta meron.

Kuya Reynaldo: Basta meron yan eh..

Angelito Nunag: Nabanggit nyo po yung pagpapatibay ng bahay, paglalagay ng tulay. Siguro po ay ito po an gating pag-uusapan? Nasa huling bahagi na po tayo ano po? Ah para po hindi ko na din kayo gaanong maabala. Sa nakikita ko po na gusto nyo na din pong magpahinga. Ano po yung iba ninyo pang pamamaraan na ginagawa para po matugunan yung hamon ng kalamidad? Ah. Isa po sa naobserbahan kop o ditto, bukod sa nabanggit nyo po na tulay, ano, naobserba ko po na maraming bahay dito yung nagseselga, tama po ba? Yun yung selga? Ano po yung mga ginagawa ninyo po? Para malampasan yung hamon ng kalamidad na yun? Bukod po sa paggagawa ng tulay, may nabanggit po kayo yung parang 'pag-ulos' po baa ng tawag?

Nanay Milagros: Yun sa likod po ng bahay, paglalagay ng .. anong tawag sa..

Nanay Anna: Nilalagay sa likod ng mga kawayan na parang nakabakod. Para hindi tamaan ng alon ng dagat

Angelito Nunag: Anong klaseng bakod poi to?

Nanay Anna: Parang naka-pader po sya, parang ganon. Puno ng kawayan na may nakatali po.

Angelito Nunag: Anahaw po? Parang pang ano po ito?

Nanay Anna: Parang, kumabaga, nakaganon po sya. May mga tuyong punong kawayan, tapos may nakahigang na anahaw na ganon. Para yun pong alon huwag pong mabasag ng hangin.

Angelito Nunag: So yun pong direktang hindi tatami sa inyong kabahayan? Yung iba po? Ano po ang inyong mga ginagawang paghahanda kapag harap po dun sa kalamidad? Selga lang po ba? Paglalagay ng bakod na yon? Tapos paggawa ng tulay?

Nanay Milagros: Tapos pinapasok pa din ng waterlily yung loob para hindi pasukan, kailangan lagyan ng lambat.

Angelito Nunag: Saan po ang lambat?

Nanay Milagros: Dun po sa mga ano, mga pintuan ng bahay para ma-trap yung mga waterlily, kai po mga waterlily pumapasok sa bahat lalo't maalon.

Kuya Reynaldo: Sir sa akin naman, pagka panahon talaga'y talagang ano. Kasi hindi maaaring na dadaan yung mga ano eh, mga bagyo. Kadalasan pong ginagawa ko dyan, tinitibayan ko ang aking bubong.

Angelito Nunag: Paano ninyo po tinitibayan ang bubong?

Kuya Reynaldo: Ah kasi hanggang ngayon meron yung kahoy naka- ekis sa magkabilang dulo pero walang selga

Angelito Nunag: Ah iba p po dun yung sa selga?

Kuya Reynaldo: kasi ang selga, yung bahay po kasi naiipit, kaya ang titibayan ninyo dun yung bubong. Kaya naka ekis dun, kaya ngayon meron pa hindi ko inaalas yun.

Angelito Nunag: Hmm. Ano po ang tawag dito?

Kuya Reynaldo: Yan ay nakakapit dun s bangkis kung tawagin.

Angelito Nunag: Bangkis po?

Kuya Reynaldo: Kasi yun baka kung ano po ang angatin ng hangin. Kasi po ang bahay gaya ng mga 3 storeys kasi.. nakalantad.

Angelito Nunag: Ahhh.

Kuya Reynaldo: Kapag yun ay naka lantad eh di maaaring madadala ng hangin.Kasi gumaganyan un.

Angelito Nunag: Pero kapag naka ipit po sa dalawang.

Kuya Reynaldo: Medyo may tibay ng konte.

Angelito Nunag: So bangkis na lang..

Kapitan Pablo: Tska isa pa kung may sira o masisira.Tska ung mga gmit n mbbasa,maililigpit n din s loob ng bhay para hndi mbasa.Kasi siyempre ang bgyo malakas yan eh.

Angelito Nunag: Kapag sinabi pong ililigpit,itinataas ganun?

Kapitan Pablo: Oo minsan Ah hindi nila itinataas kungdi isinusuot lamang dun s hindi maaano ng bangkis ng hangin.Ganun.

Angelito Nunag: Salamat po, kapitan.Kayo pa po mayroon pa po b kayong maaaring ibahagi p sa amin? Si Camille,paanong ginagwa nyo?

Camille: Sa amin po sa bhay po namen,kapag alam po n my drting n bgyo pnuputol po yung mga snga ng khoy n mlapit s my hrpan nmen. Tpos ano po lhat po ng ilawan n may gas nilalagyan at pinupuno po lhat un.tska nag s stock ng mraming kndila.Tska kung may butas na po ung bubong at nblitang my drating n bgyo inaayos po agad agad.

Angelito Nunag: Alam mo ang dhilan kung bkt pinuputol ang mga sanga?

Camille: Kasi po kpag po mlakas ung hngin,kpag po gumgalaw ung puno para pong mccra angbubong kya po ung pader n mlpit po dun s punongkhoy kya po pinuputol po ung sanga.

Angelito Nunag: Ah..Interesting meron pa?kayo po meron pa po bang ano?Pagod na po.(Laughing)

Angelito Nunag: Pagod na po?Old man hindi naman nakakapagod yan eh! Laughing...

People Chatting inaudible

Angelito Nunag: Kayo po meron ba kayong mga ginagawa para mapaghandaan o maharap po yung mga kalamidad

Ka Zeus: Wala po malayo pa po yung sinasabing seguada na yan,ayoko namang kung kelan nandyan na ang seguada tska palang maghahanda.kz alam na nang mga tao ang seguada ay inaabot sila nang ulan.

Ka Zeus: Kung kelan andyan na ang seguada tska sila dikitan ng dikitan ng bubongan,Kya paano po ang gagawin dun?Ako naman kapag nararamdaman ko nalalapit na ang seguada at tinitingnan ko ang langit,Naku!Ay sya na yon kaya kahit malayo pa ang aking bahay inaayos ko ang bubong

Angelito Nunag: Paano nyo po inaayos nilalagyan nyo po nang bagkis nang...

Ka Zeus: Ang meron po samen bubungan bato,haloblocks,pako ,kawayan,mga tansi yun po ay isang bagkis na pamamaraan

Nanay Ana: Pero ngayong taon hindi tayo nakaranas nun maigi naman

Ka Zeus: May mga yero para sa mga bubongan nang bahay

Angelito Nunag: Bukod po dun sa nabanggit nyo meron pa po ba kayong mga ginagawa?

Ka Zeus: Meron ho!

Old man: ako po'y dating isang maghahalamanan na nalalaman kong minsan daraan ang bagyo wala akong magawa pero ramdam ko at kahit ganun po ang dumaan iyon consistent parin ang panghanap buhay ko na tungo sa kahirapan at nakakahiya po na umaasa pa tayo sa tulong ng tao na ganito't ganyan ay bahala na po sila.Kung talagang magbibigay sila nang tulong maigi naman kahit hindi dumaan ang bagyo

kahit hindi naman po na masamang panahon darating din po yan,yun pong hangin kahit saang lugar po sa ating bansa dumarating ang ganyang problema,sa mga saket,kamatayan kung halimbawa sa gutom yan ay dumadaan kahit kaninong tao.Sige po salamat po

Angelito Nunag: Salamat po.Sige po eto na po yung huli meron pa po ba kayong gustong isuggest halimbawa kay kagawad puroy. sapagkat siya ay ating OIC ngayon at syempre po si kapitan malamang meron din syang suwestiyon kung kayo po ay base po dun sa mga naranasan nyo po naging epekto sainyo ng mga kalamidad na eto,kung halimbawa po ay bibigyan kayo nang pagkakataon na tanungin mismo nang otoridad,ano ba dapat ang una niyang ginagawa cge po tatay civer.

Tatay civer: katulad po sa aming Barangay ang amin po sirugong pinangnunung kulan at katulad nang aking mga kasamahan halos po sila din ay nagdadahilan din ng mga problema ginagampanan nila ang tungkulin,mga mamamayan nang mga kasamahan ko pero yun nga po may isang bagay na hinihingi nang mga tao dito na hindi naman po kayang matugunan nang isang mamumuno nang nangangailangan ng bawat pilipino kaya po tuloy kami kung meron po nagbibigay nang tulong loob na talagang abot nang kanyang kakayahan nagpapasalamat po kame sakanila kung sino man po yun.

Angelito Nunag: Salamat po.ung iba po meron po ba kayong gustong ano isuggest kung ah o kuntento po tayo sa ginagawa nang ating lokal na pamahalaan syempre hindi lang po sa panahon ni ka puroy ngaun even though sa panahon po ni kapitan dante kung wala po kayong ano eh ibig sabihin niyan ka puroy eh ok yang iyong ano at gayon din po kayo kapitan pablo

Kapitan Pablo inaudible

Angelito Nunag: Ako po sige po..Laughing

Kapitan Pablo: Sir anu po eh, hindi po ba lahat nang hinaing lahat nang problema kailangan tugunan. kasi po syempre tayo may libro na gumagawa nang improvements.

Angelito Nunag: eto po ay libro nyo po

Kapitan Puroy: Opo pwede po ba ang alam ko po ang aming mga hinaing ay ilalagay nyo po baka naman po na pwede na makarating ito sa halimbawa na pwedeng tumulong o umano sa aming barangay o magiging pundasyon namen para makarating. at sana po pwede pa baka po pwedeng kahit isa lang kahit yung pagtugon saamin.

Angelito Nunag: Sige po sagutin ko po yan una po binanggit ko na nga eto kanina . Ang pinakatunguhin po nang ating workshop na ito pra sainyo ay yung pagpropose po ng ating libro maglilimbag po tayo niyan na kung saan kayo po lahat ang may akda ngaun po, ano po ba ang magiging silbi nang libro na ito unang-una po syempre ah Kapitan bibigyan po yung inyong barangay un po ang unang gagawin naten, Bakit po? kasi po pag aari nyo po yung kaalaman nayan. Isa pa pong dahilan pinipreserve po namen itong kaalaman na ito. Kasi po hindi ba nawawala na po ito noh, sa kasalukuyang panahon po kapag sinabing ganyang kaalaman parang wala na yang kwenta tayo ay nakadepende na sa mga makabagong teknolohiya, pero po sa ating usapan ngayon malinaw na malinaw yung makabagong teknolohiya ay kayang tapatan nung ating mga kaalaman talaga so yun po ung pangalawang naririnig ko na naprepreserve po ito at kapag napreserve na po ito yung Pangatlo po ay para po sa ikagaganda nang komunidad mismo sa interest po nung komunidad, Bkit? ito po yung mga susunod na hinirasyon pwede po silang bumalik nuh para po tignan ang mga kaalaman na ito na maaari mula doon sa pagtingin nila pagbalik nila sa kaalaman na yon nakapangbalangkas po sila nang tamang hakbang po para Tugunan ang mga haharapang kalamidad, halimbawa so sa level po siguro nang barangay tong mga datos na ito maaari makapagbalakas kagawad puroy o yung susunod na mga barangay official maaari po kayong magbalangkas nang tamang polisiya para tugunan ang kakaharapin ninyong mga kalamidad, halimbawa po sa pamamagitan ng kaalaman na ito kung nakikita nyo talaga bakangayon pwede nyo nang taniman ng balakbak man yan o ano para atleast warning man sainyo hindi po ako nagdidikta eto po ay gusto ko lang po sagutin ung concern ni kapitan ang akin pong gustong itugon para po sa mga kaalamang ito mas magiging maayos po siguro yung pagbabalangkas, gawa pagbubuo nang mga polisiya po di po ba baka pwede na naten bigyan halaga yung palaka at magkaroon Programa si Kapitan Puroy at pakainin lahat nang palaka, Bkit? kasi nagsisilbi silang babala ano po, uulitin ko po hindi ako nagdidikta maaaring eto po yung silbi tpos po sa labas po naman na level ng barangay ang gagawin po namen ay magbibigay po kame sa local government nang kopya nito ngayon po ang senaryo parang same din na ipapaalam namen sa local government ung kaalaman nang nasa ibaba, Heto Ung boses nang mga tao sa ibaba sila yung mas nakakaalam, Tama po ba? gaya po nang kwento kanina magbigay man nang anunsyo ang pag asa magbawal man ang coast guard papalaot at papalaot pa din ang mga tao tama po dahil sila yung mas nakakaalam kahit sinabi nang coast guard na bawal kayong pumalaot sasabihin nang isang katulad nyo po tatay jamin tama po? sabihin nyo po sakanyang mas alam nyo po ang dagat alam ko kung kailan ako papalaot o hindi sa ganon pong punto ito ay maibibigay po naten dun sa mas nakakataas marahil po makapagbalangkas din sila nang tamang polisiya, halimbawa po pwede pong polisiya po na mga magsasabi sa mga coast guard sandali hindi lang dpat sa kung anunsyo lang nang pag asa, hindi lang dapat nakabase dun sa makabagong teknolohiya, tignan nyo rin yung kaalaman nang mga taong ito kasi sila yung mas nakakaintindi, ano po? so baka po dumating yung panahon di po ba Kap. Magbigay sila nang mga polisiya na iimplement nila kapag sinabi nang coast guard na ganto dpat i-test nyo muna kung anong sinasabi ng mga mamamayan pagsalubungin naten dun po tayo gumawa nang kung anong tamang hakbang. Kaya lang po gusto ko rin pong sabihin sainyo hindi po ito ganun kagarantiya kasi po ako karanasan ko rin ito sa mga ganito pong pag aaral namen magbigay man po kame nang kung ano man resulta nang pag aaral mula sa ibaba papunta doon sa government local man yan o national sila parin naman po yung nagdidisyon yun naman po ung masakit don, hindi po ba?!... makapagbigay man po tayo sakanila nang kung anong Meron saten sila parin po ang bahala dyan tama po si kapitan, tama po kau madalas po syempre pulitika yan kahit po meron nang ganito na alam naten ito ang tama ito ang dapat. Kung may nagsasabing ganitong pulitiko na hindi po pwede yan wala pa rin po so yun po ung aking masasabi dyan hindi po ito garantiya pero ito po yung tulong na gagawin namen. Sa labas naman po nun sa part ko po sa part po nang aming mga kasama sa pag aaral na ito, ginagawa po namen ang ganitong pag aaral para rin po ipahayag ung boses ang tawag ko po dito ay boses, boses ng tao. Para po ipahayag ang boses ng tao sa international community po kaya po nung nabanggit ko kanina sa Bangad ipinirinta ko po eto sa Canada nung May. Nagpunta po ako sa Canada nung May. Kung saan ibinahagi ko roon Yung mga nagiging pag aaral dun sa bangad na eto yung kanilang sinasabi etsetera. Eto pong sainyo naman paalis po ako next week papunta po akong Belgium ang sainyo naman po ang ipe present ko dun so yun po yung maliit na aking ico contribute syempre po sa level na yun international community po yan siguro po mababa lang. Alam naman po naten yang mga ganyang organisasyon po na nagbabalangkas ng mga polisiya ng mga rules para po halimbawa kumbaga tugon dun sa kalamidad. So sa ganun po siguro ako pwedeng pumasok.

Man: Salamat.

Angelito Nunag: Salamat po at dun po siguro nagtatapos, unless may mga gusto pa po kayo idagdag?

Tatay Simeon: May idadagdag po ako.

Angelito Nunag: Sige po

Tatay Simeon: Sa pagkakataon po Na eto minsan po katulad nga po ng nangyayari sa mundo. Nababalitaan po ninyo, pero bakit po ganun? Yung iba imbis na makatulong sa ating mamamayan sa ating pamahalaan ay nagagalit pa din sa problema. Kung ano po ang dapat gawin? Pero po may mga tao na nagbabalak, nag uudyok, halimbawa na sinasabi ninyo na

pagbubuo ng kanilang mga layunin. May mga taong meron lumalagay dun sa isang marunong, may mga taong dinadala niya mga taong dinadala niya napupunta lang sa kasamaan.

Simeon: Inaudible

Angelito Nunag: UP po

Simeon: Inaudible

Angelito Nunag: Salamat po. Mayroon pa po bang nais magdagdag? Wala na po so pormal na po naten tapusin ang ating talakayan..Maraming- maraming salamat po sana po pabalikin nyo pa ako rito. Wag muna po kayong aalis may meryenda p po tayo, meron po kaming inihanda ni Geraldine may bigay pong kaunting ano po un appreciation mula po sa amin so pipirma po kayo kay Geraldine Sige po Salamat po at Syempre po kung may time pa kayo pwede pa po tayong magpaClass Picture dun sa Stage. Salamat po see you soon. Palakpakan po naten ang sarili naten.

***Group Clapping

Angelito Nunag: Kain po muna tayo.