

## TEMPERED INTEMPERANCE: TUBÁ-DRINKING IN A TAGALOG COMMUNITY

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Whereas Donald Horton (1945) sees alcohol as one means of reducing anxieties, and considers strong ties of friendship and support an alternative and distinct means to this end, evidence from a small Tagalog sitio in the Pampanga River delta suggests otherwise. The hypothesis discussed here is that in the anxiety-ridden community of Bubog the two remedies are *merged*, one of the most frequent and rewarding exercises in harmonious interaction being the almost-daily drinking session. Further, this institutionalized consumption of *tubá*, or palm wine, serves to reinforce rather than weaken community discipline and norms.

Donald Horton has argued (1945) that the place drinking occupies in the social life of a community will depend on many factors, not least of which will be the relative effectiveness of alternative or concomitant solutions for recurrent or persisting anxieties. Prominent among these cultural remedies for stress are practical activity, magic, religion, and patterned cooperative behavior.

### *Alternative Solutions to Common Problems*

Many of the dangers besetting the community and giving rise to anxiety in its members can be and are checked by courses of action that meet the problem head on, as it were. Thus the threat posed by a river dangerously swollen by heavy rains may be countered by the building of suitable dikes to protect the settlement that might be washed out if the stream overflowed. Or the solution might be in recourse to timely flight. In either case anxiety is dissipated by direct action.

The use of magic may be invoked where straightforward and patent cause-and-effect behavior will not do. Among the Trobriand Islanders, for example, magical practices proliferate significantly where concern is directed toward those economic activities that are important for community survival or welfare, but

are not subject to direct physical control, at least in some critical phase or aspect. Coercive manipulation is not the only manner of dealing with the unseen in an effort to gain control over adverse social or ecological conditions; religious rituals of petition, propitiation, and subsequent thanksgiving may bulk large in the community's approach to the supernatural, and may be seen as essential to the safety and prosperity of the group. In towns of the lowland Philippines, for instance, as in other countries sharing the Spanish colonial heritage, celebration of the annual fiesta in honor of the patron is considered necessary insurance against every variety of communal calamity.

Another important response to danger meets threats that are internal to the community, perhaps in the form of a dissident member, or of a potentially hostile faction capable of sundering the group should they break off friendly relations with their fellows. The small community has a built-in remedy for this contingency in its pattern of intimate association, interdependence, and conformity. The informal sanction of gossip or ridicule may act to bring the nonconformist into line, and the high value placed on harmonious cooperation and reciprocal obligation tends to check the incipient split in the community.

All of these means — practical activity, magic and religion, and cooperative living — operate to reduce anxiety over the survival and well-being of the community. Horton's contention is that to the degree that these and other remedies are ineffective toward this end, alcoholic drinking may take up the slack, for the primary function of alcohol in all societies, he maintains, is the reduction of anxiety.

### *Hypothesis*

I propose to consider this hypothesis in the light of empirical data gathered during a nine-month study of a small Philippine community where group drinking is almost a daily occurrence. Central to the discussion will be an evaluation of two aspects of this use of alcohol: (1) the reduction of anxiety, and (2) the provision of a recurrent occasion for sanctioned conformity to group norms. My observations lead me to conclude that one should not, as Horton does, look upon alcohol as *one* means for reducing anxieties, and consider "strong ties of friendship and support" (Horton 1945: 160) as an alternative and distinct means of reducing them. Rather the drinking pattern in the community studied is such that the remedies are fused, one of the most frequent and rewarding exercises in harmonious interaction being the drinking session.

The full meaning of this statement will be appreciated when the general ecological and social features of this Philippine community have been discussed, and the native palm-wine, or *tubá*, complex has been placed against this background.<sup>1</sup> I shall begin with the physical aspects of the community.

### *The Community of Bubog*

The site of the study is a settlement called Bubog, situated in the low-lying delta through which the Pampanga River empties into the north shore of Manila Bay, Luzon. Bubog lacks the official status of either barrio or town, but is rather a sitio, or dwelling cluster, which with several other similar concentrations constitutes a barrio. In the present case, Bubog is one of several sitios comprising the barrio of

San Isidro, which in turn is one of 10 barrios politically attached to the town and municipality of Paombong in the Province of Bulacan.

*Physical characteristics.* The estuarine character of the location and seasonal variations in climate are the two most important ecological factors conditioning the way of life obtaining in the vicinity of Bubog. The southern half of Paombong municipality consists of mud flats cut by a network of rivers and creeks through which the advancing and receding waters of Manila Bay move or meet the fresh water from inland. At extreme low tide the flats are exposed, a condition favoring the growth of hydrophytes and other vegetation forming the typical discontinuous coastal fringe found throughout the Philippines, particularly at the heads of muddy bays and along the tidal reaches and mouths of many rivers. Mangrove is the common growth in such a setting, but it is often associated with or replaced by stands of nipa palm (*Nipa fruticans*), locally called *sasá*. In the area around Bubog, mangrove swamps have been cleared in favor of nipa palm and fishponds, a substitution effected within the last 20 years or so. The mangroves were first uprooted and replaced by stands of nipa, and in more recent years sections of the newly installed nipa groves were in turn cleared to make room for fishponds. These ponds were created for the raising of *bangús*, or milkfish (*Chanos chanos*), an industry more profitable than the cultivation of nipa palm.

Most of the land worked by residents of Bubog is, however, in dry-season (*tag-aráw*) wet-rice fields. An understanding of this land-use system requires a consideration of more general climatic factors, the rainfall distribution in particular.

Paombong municipality, like most municipalities of the archipelago, has a climate basically maritime and tropical, characterized by relatively high humidity, abundant but seasonal rainfall, continuous heat, and gentle winds. For its cropping patterns the most significant climatic variable is rainfall distribution, which is in the Philippines a consequence of regional topography and the reversal of the tropical air flow from season to season. At any one time, many localities are in a windward, rainy position,

while others are in a lee, sheltered position behind mountain barriers acting as rain-shields. The most humid of the three great air streams affecting Philippine precipitation is the Southwest Monsoon, which sweeps over Manila Bay from the southwest and reaches Paombong unobstructed by land barriers. During the season when the Southwest Monsoon dominates the Paombong-Manila Bay area a mean total rainfall of 76.3 inches is recorded. It is no wonder that these months, May to November, are referred to as the rainy season (*tag-ulán*), for in the remaining months of the year, when the Northeast Monsoon and Northwest Trade are blowing, the Sierra Madre mountains in eastern Luzon keep all but some six inches of rain from getting through to Paombong.

It has been noted that Bubog is situated in the low, flat delta of the Pampanga River. There is so little relief that the highest land in the immediate vicinity is the strip on which the provincial highway runs (Fig. 2). Next highest is the land for trails and dwellings, but nipa groves, rice fields, and fishponds are only slightly above the high-tide water level of the creeks during the dry season. The consequence is that during the rainy season the wet-rice fields are flooded and must be abandoned or converted to use as fishponds; the latter alternative has been adopted in only one section of the area cultivated by Bubog farmers (Fig. 1). The other agricultural plots lie submerged and almost profitless from May to November.

The land-use microregion in which Bubog lies is different from the one between Bubog and Manila Bay on the one side and the other between Bubog and Paombong (Fig. 3). The zone nearest the bay features fishponds and scattered nipa-palm stands; Bubog's zone has a greater concentration of nipa, few fishponds, and abundant dry-season rice fields (*panag-aráw*); farther inland, but still in Paombong municipality, is a region with rainy-season rice fields (*panag-ulán*) in addition to plots used only in the dry season. This third zone also grows a small amount of sugarcane. Bubog, with so much of its land in rice fields that are not utilized except from November to April, is clearly in a handicapped

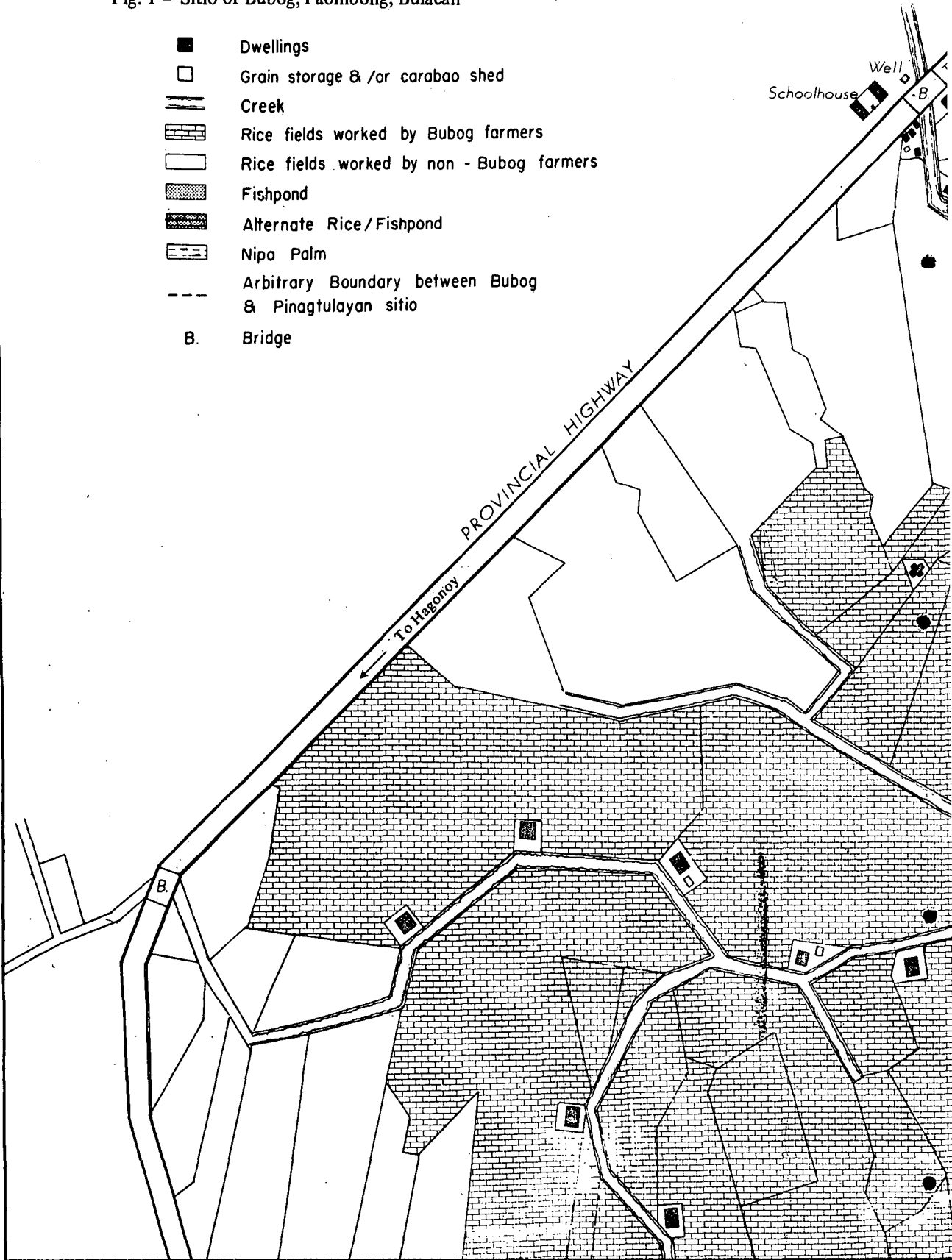
economic position when compared to the communities of the third microregion.

It is at less of a disadvantage when accessibility is considered. It is true that Bubog can be reached from Manila Bay only by about three hours' paddling, or by a ride of more or less one hour in the small, shallow-draft, inboard motor craft plying the maze of creeks and rivers that crisscross the southern half of Paombong municipality. Nonetheless, Bubog is only four kilometers distant by regular bus service from Hagonoy, the nearest service center and favorite market town. In the other direction (see Fig. 1), it is a mere two kilometers from Paombong town, the municipal capital on which Bubog is politically dependent. Residents of Bubog walk the half kilometer to the provincial highway where the bus passes. During the rainy season, or at any time when transporting heavy amounts of rice, nipa shingles, tubá, or other products, the water route is used, for it is an easy paddle up Pinagtulayan Creek to the highway.

*Occupational organization.* Of the 78 household heads in Bubog, 24 (31 percent) give as their primary occupation that of *bálana*, a response implying that they have no regular occupation (Table 1).<sup>2</sup> These men move in and out of the community as job opportunities afford and necessity dictates, finding whatever work they can in the making of fishponds and dikes, highway repair, construction in Manila, or harvesting in rice fields as far distant as Muñoz, Nueva Ecija province, 100 kilometers away by bus. Of the 54 household heads who reported a regular occupation, 30 (or 56 percent) are rice farmers by primary occupation, but many of these men also seek work outside the community between the transplanting and harvesting of their own crops and during the season when their fields are flooded by the Southwest Monsoon. The carpenter, landscaper, and middleman are also intermittently employed, so that the 13 full-or part-time tubá-gatherers, five fishermen, and three operators of retail stands (*sari-sari* stores) are in effect the only household heads with occupations that keep them busy and earning throughout the year. In Bubog, then, no more than 27 percent of the household heads are steadily employed. Some relief for this situation

Fig. 1 – Sitio of Bubog, Paombong, Bulacan

- Dwellings
- Grain storage & /or carabao shed
- ▬ Creek
- ▨ Rice fields worked by Bubog farmers
- Rice fields worked by non - Bubog farmers
- ▨ Fishpond
- ▨ Alternate Rice/Fishpond
- ▨ Nipa Palm
- - - Arbitrary Boundary between Bubog & Pinagtulayan sitio
- B. Bridge



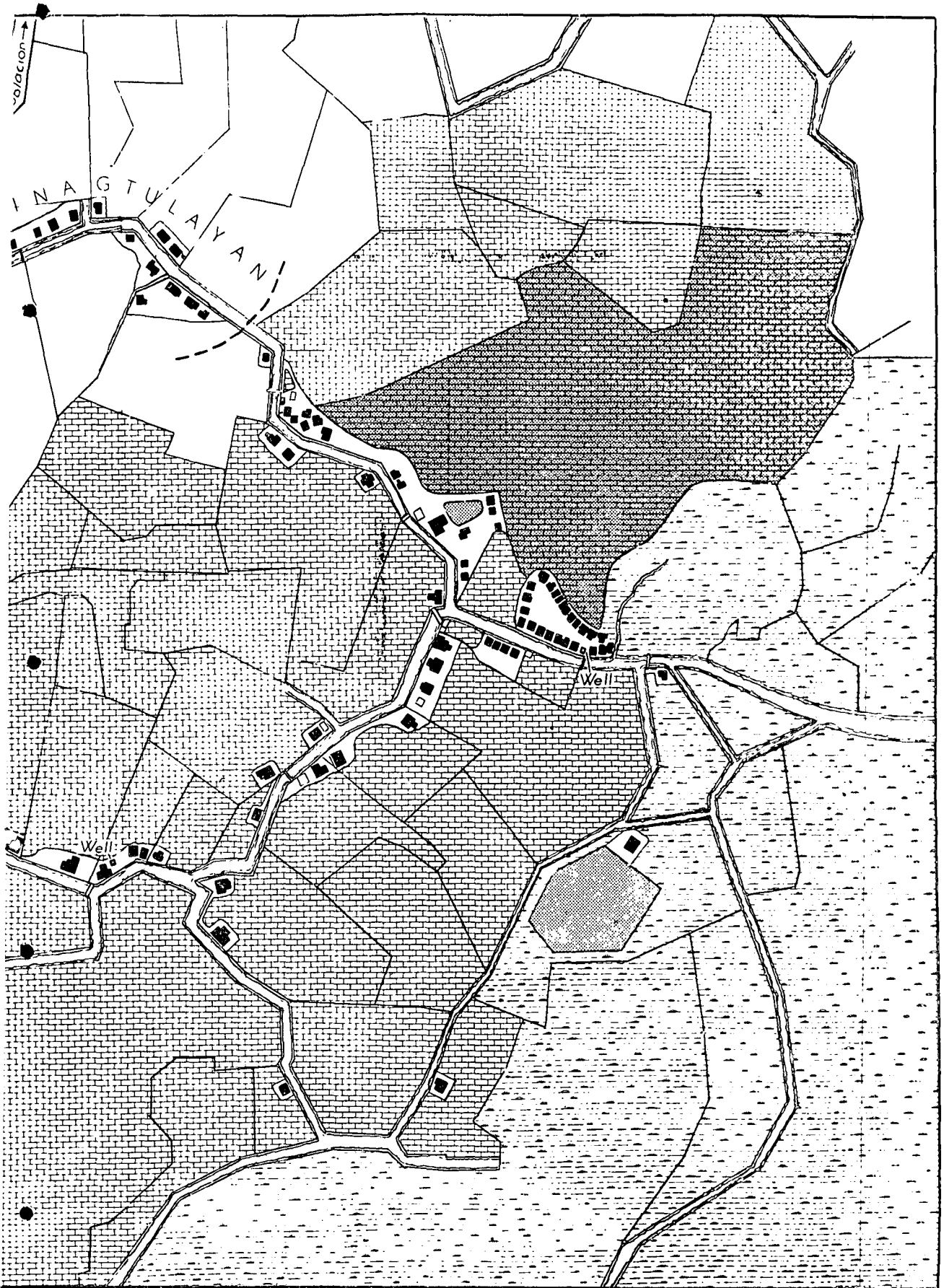


Table 1

*Primary Occupations Reported by Household Heads  
(Bubog, Paombong, Bulacan, 1958)*

Occupation	No. of household heads
Rice farmer ( <i>magsasaká</i> )	30
Tubâ-gatherer ( <i>manunubá</i> )	12
Fisherman	5
Store operator	3
Carpenter	1
Landscaper	1
Middleman (buy-sell)	1
Tubâ-gatherer, fishpond owner	1
Bálana*	24
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>78</b>

\*By the word "*bálana*" Bubog residents designate an individual who has no regular occupation, but takes any kind of (manual) employment he can get. A near-equivalent in English is the phrase "Jack-of-all-trades."

is given by cottage industries engaged in especially by women and children: the making of nipa shingles and the piece-work sewing of gloves for a Manila contractor.

*Nipa palm industry.* Brown (1920: 32-36) describes the nipa palm as having a stout, creeping, subterranean stem, or rhizome. The leaves are pinnate, seven meters or more in length, and occur in erect clusters. A grove of unpruned nipa palm frequently forms a dense mass of vegetation very difficult to penetrate. The fruits are flat, about 12 centimeters long by 10 centimeters wide, and the inflorescence is very characteristic: a notably large, globose, fruiting head which is up to 30 centimeters in diameter and borne on a special erect stalk. The plant apparently has no very definite blooming season, but as a general rule, at least in Bulacan, it flowers during the months of February and March.

The most important economic product of nipa is its sap, called tubâ, used to make vinegar and a mild intoxicant; some say that it is also a promising source for sugar. Since the inflorescence of the nipa is near the ground, the flower stalk is conveniently situated for the gathering of the sap. This is accomplished after the

fruit is formed by cutting the stalk across the top, usually just below the fruit; each day thereafter a thin slice is removed to keep the cut fresh and so facilitate exudation of the sap. If the plant bears two flower stalks the usual practice is to take sap from only one, the other being removed.

Sap is collected in bamboo tubes (*tukil*) which are hung on the stem of the stalk. These containers are about 45 centimeters high and eight centimeters in diameter, and have a capacity of somewhat more than one liter. The stalk usually gives a flow for about three months, but it is not uncommon for it to be cut away, or at least cut so close to the ground that the daily paring is impracticable, long before the flow has ceased. Some gatherers cut the stem before the fruit is formed; under such conditions the daily yield of sap is said to be increased, but the period of flow is reduced from three to one-and-half months, the total yield being practically the same in either case. While the season for gathering the juice lasts only about six months, this does not mean that the gatherer is inactive during the remainder of the year. Unlike the rice farmer, who is seasonally unemployed, the tubâ-gatherer

has continuous demands on his special skills: the petioles must be pruned to provide raw material for the manufacture of shingles, and whole plants must be cut to control the size of the clump — operations performed periodically throughout the year, but more frequently when the sap is not flowing, or is flowing weakly.

Most tubâ-gatherers work their groves as tenants for landholders who live in towns of Paombong or, in one instance, Hagonoy. A collector (*magdarapit*) comes from each of these landowners once a day when the tubâ output is lean, and twice a day when the sap is flowing in abundance. Although production data are difficult to come by, since the landowners have forbidden their tenants to reveal the amounts, observation of the transactions of one tubâ-gatherer, or manunubâ (reputed to have the fourth largest grove), leads me to estimate an average daily output of 40 gallons during the rainy season, and as low as five gallons a day during the dry months, for each grove.

Not all this tubâ is waiting for the *magdarapit* when he comes daily or twice daily to the storage jars placed at strategic positions in the nipa groves. The tenant traditionally withholds about five gallons per day during the season of abundance, to be shared with friends, relatives, and neighbors for late afternoon and early evening drinking sessions. In the season of scarcity, less is withheld, and the landlord may even demand that the entire take be reserved for himself. Whether the daily yield be large or small, however, none of the tubâ used for drinking is sold, and almost none of the tubâ that the collector takes off to Paombong or Hagonoy is for drinking. It is prepared for sale as fermented tuba, or nipa-palm vinegar (*sukā*).

Once the amount received from the tenant has been duly recorded by the landowner's collector, the tenant is not concerned with the process of marketing, or of distribution to regular customers. That is the landlord's concern. The latter may market it himself in central and southern Luzon and Manila, or he may sell it directly to a wholesale buyer. Fifty percent of the net profit is returned to the tenant at regular intervals. Products of the nipa grove other than tubâ belong exclusively to the tenant.

Foremost among these products are shingles (*pawid*) made from the petioles of the palm and used as low-cost thatching material in many regions of the Philippines. The tenant delivers the petioles to individuals who make them into shingles by removing the leaflets from the petioles, doubling back one third the length of the leaflets in overlapping order. They are then sewn in position to form a shingle about a foot long. Married women and young girls engage in this home industry, some of them making 600 or more shingles in a single day; for this they receive from the manunubâ 20 centavos per hundred shingles. Men make nipa siding (*samil*) by a more laborious process. Leaflets are stretched lengthwise three or more deep and then clamped together by long bamboo slats on both sides.

The shingles for which the manunubâ pays the women 20 centavos a hundred he sells to one of the three local storeowners for one peso a hundred. A more frequent arrangement is for him to exchange shingles for household foods and goods available at the store. Children of the community are also accustomed to exchange for candies the shingles they have made from leaflets discarded by the manunubâ. Thus the nipa shingle functions as a unit of exchange valued at one centavo, a value fixed and accepted by everyone in the community and in the immediate environs. Outside the vicinity its price is two centavos, and as one goes farther from the nipa-growing area the value goes even higher.

Other uses are made of parts of the nipa palm. The very young, unopened leaves (*ibus*) are cut, shorn of midribs, and dried under the sun. When dried they are tied into bundles and sold to residents of the nearby towns of Plaridel and Baliuag, Bulacan, who specialize in the manufacture of wide-brimmed hats (*salakôt*). The midribs that have been removed from the leaves are split lengthwise, and each of the resulting sections sharpened to a point for use in sewing the nipa leaflets in shingle manufacture. A bundle of unsplit midribs may be bound together at one end and used as short broom (*walis*).

The outer skin or cortex of the petiole is stripped off to make material for lashing (*lapnit*), or for the weaving of baskets. The petiole itself,

when split and dried, provides fuel. The seeds of the nipa palm are a source of food: when immature, they yield a substance similar in taste to the flesh of the immature coconut. Ordinarily the meat of the nipa palm seed is made into sweets and delicacies. When the seeds are mature the meat is too hard to be palatable, and the seeds are split and thrown to the pigs.

*Wet-rice farming.* I have already noted that more than half the household heads reporting a definite occupation give rice farming as their work. Yet about 95 percent of the area devoted to this crop belongs to landlords living in the towns of Paombong, Hagonoy, and Malolos. Bubog farmers, no less than the tubâ-gatherers, are tenants.

The topography of Bubog, as explained earlier, precludes the profitable growing of rice except during the dry season beginning in November or December and closing with the coming of the rains in May. The few farmers who have ventured to plant a rainy season crop harvested a discouraging yield, often less than the seed rice they planted. Hence, the rice farming year begins when the rains have abated and the surface water has receded sufficiently to allow the farmers to work their fields and control irrigation by means of gates in the dikes running beside the creeks. When the water level in the creeks drops below the level of the adjacent fields, pumping is employed to raise the water over the dikes.

During November the fields and seedbeds are prepared with the help of a carabao, a single-share plow, and the tooth harrow. Fertilizers are very rarely used. The seed rice is sown broadcast in the beds, and the resulting shoots are ready for transplanting to the larger fields after about one month of growth. At this time they are uprooted from the seedbeds, bundled, and taken to the fields where the transplanters push the individual shoots into the muddy soil at close intervals (about 10 inches apart). This operation is accomplished by exchange of labor among the farmers, groups of men, women, and older children transplanting first for one tenant and then for another. During the months when the rice is maturing, very little cultivation is practiced; farmers may pull a few weeds now

and then, but their main concern is the regulation of water flow into and from the fields, a factor of crucial importance in wet-rice agriculture. In slack periods many farmers find time to seek odd jobs for additional income.

The rice crop is harvested in March or April, depending on whether a three-month or four-month variety of seed rice was planted. A small group of reapers of both sexes, usually close kinsmen of the tenant, use sickles to cut the stalks about a foot from the ground. The same group gathers, threshes, and winnows the grain as part of their contract. The arrangement for harvesting is that of exchange labor, as in transplanting; the harvesters receive 20 percent of the total yield in payment for their labor. The landlord and tenant split the remaining 80 percent equally, each sharing equally in any added expenses incurred during the season; chief among these is payment for mechanical irrigation when the creek level has dropped below the level of the fields. Since the share given to the reapers goes to kinsmen of the tenant who would have a claim on his surplus even without their working for him, the division is, in effect, one of 60 percent for the tenant and 40 for the landlord. The tenant is expected to furnish the carabao and other items necessary for preparation of the fields, and the labor of irrigation other than mechanical. The landlord for his part is responsible for payment of the 1 percent real property tax collected by the municipal government.

At the time the seedbeds are sown, all pigs and chickens are fenced in or tied under the houses, to be set free again only after completion of the harvest. The end of the harvest also signals the time for catching those mudfish (*dalág*, or *bulíg*) that were stranded in pools left when the fields had been allowed to dry under the ripening grain. This is the second wholesale catch of fish made during the rice-growth cycle, the first occurring when the water level of the creeks is lowered. Across the main creek near the point where it enters the nipa swamp, there is a retaining dam constructed with municipal funds for the purpose of conserving the fresh water needed for irrigation. When there is no longer need for this supply of water, the gate is opened and the level of the creeks recedes. In the result-



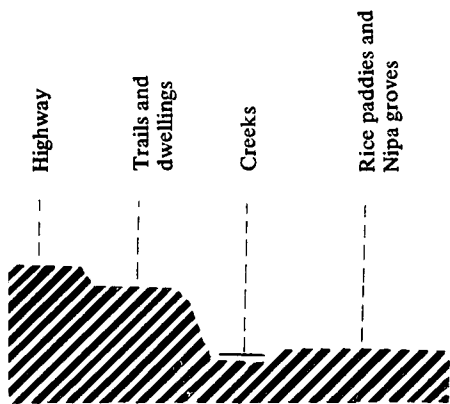


Fig. 2 – Cross-section of the Bubog land surface

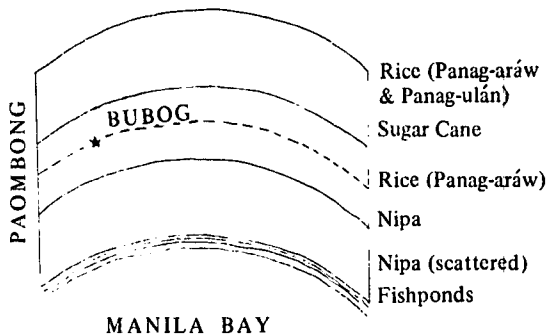


Fig. 3 – Schematic representation of land use in the Paombong, Bulacan, microregion

ing shallow water, men, women, and children wade knee-deep employing a variety of local traps and nets to take the fish. Among those caught will be mudfish, *tilapia* (*Tilapia mossambica*), *gorami* (*Osphronemus goramy* Lacépede), and shrimp. If more are caught than the family can use, part of the catch is distributed among kinsmen, and any remainder sold along the highway to outsiders.

**Fishing.** Aside from the occasions mentioned above, when the majority of the community takes advantage of fish confined as a consequence of the rice-irrigation cycle, there is considerable year-round activity in the creeks. Five full-time fishermen are out almost every night, each using his dip-net (*sakág*) to catch the shrimp, crabs, and several species of fish found in the numerous streams around Bubog, and as far south as the shores of Manila Bay. Ordinarily the catch is sold at the provincial highway to bus passengers passing through the barrio, but in the rare event

of an abundant catch it may be taken to Malolos for more profitable sale in the town.

Fishing for home consumption occupies at least one male member of each household every night, and several other members of the household during the day. The night fishing is done from a dugout equipped with a carbide lantern to attract the catch, while the day-time fishing brings men, women, or children of all ages to the banks of the creeks with nets and traps. On occasion fishing is done with hook and line (*bilmít*) about a kilometer downstream from Bubog, nearer the bay. Whatever is caught by day or by night, whether fish, crabs, or frogs, very quickly appears in the household diet. Fish foods are the most common viand eaten with rice in Paombong municipality, and it is little wonder that the housewives of Bubog seldom travel to the markets of Paombong, Hagonoy, or Malolos to buy a sidedish for their rice. Only rarely will they go to these towns to sell their catch and

buy in turn some meat or a kind of fish not locally obtainable.

*Additional income.* To supplement the household income many families breed pigs and sell the offspring to buyers who come to Bubog at regular intervals just for this purpose. A suckling pig about three months old is sold for 15 pesos. Pigs are also slaughtered to be consumed locally on very special occasions, such as a marriage, a baptism, or the 40th day commemoration of a death in the community.

Ducks are raised only during the dry season, and all of them are sold when the rainy season begins. Few chickens are raised because of the periodic epidemics that have afflicted them in Bubog. Vegetables are sometimes planted along the dikes of the rice fields, but the yield brings no cash income; it is barely sufficient to provide a condiment to be cooked and eaten with rice, fish, or meat on special occasions.

Recently introduced is the cottage industry of piece-work hand-sewing for an export company in Manila. Four unmarried sisters, daughters of a former manunubâ, posted a bond of two hundred pesos and contracted to sew pre-cut glove pieces for cash, the payment ranging from ₱1.80 per dozen pairs for the simplest style to ₱4.30 per dozen pairs for the most fancy. Starting alone in this venture in 1956, they later engaged other girls in Bubog and vicinity on a subcontract basis, charging a 10 percent commission for themselves. While the subcontractors receive additional income from this home industry, it has not meant a surplus except for the original four sisters. They have accumulated prestige items, among them one of the two radios in the community, and have so distinguished themselves from their age-mates of Bubog that the local young men feel that none of their group can hope to marry any one of the sisters.

*Problems.* The economic pressures on almost every household head are many and great. If he has no regular occupation (31 percent), he is obliged continually to be on the move, in or out of the community, to find whatever source of income is seasonally available. If he has the relative security of a rice farmer or a tubâ-gatherer (56 percent) he still has problems peculiar to his

occupation and status. To begin with, he is a tenant who works the land or the nipa groves under no firm contract with his landowner; if he should displease the owner, or if the latter should lose confidence in him, his place may be taken by another. During the course of my stay in Bubog, one of the tubâ-gatherers, for instance, was dismissed because it was rumored that he had been selling tubâ without his landlord's knowledge.

Both the tubâ-gatherer and the rice farmer are at the mercy of the water supply over which they have little control. Thus a rainy-season flooding of the nipa groves affects the fruiting of the palms, which in turn reduces the flow of sap. The farmer, on the other hand, worries whether the creek will continue to furnish water sufficient for his needs through the months of the dry season when his crop must be irrigated from this source.

Farmers use only carabao dung as fertilizer, and very few of them enrich the soil even in this limited fashion. They say that the yield from the fields is continually decreasing, yet feel helpless to reverse this trend. Since the average holding is small (the mode is less than one hectare) and the average number of dependents in his household and in those of close kin is large, the tenant's annual share is not enough to meet subsistence demands from harvest to harvest. He must join those with no regular occupation in the search for employment outside the community, at least during the rainy season when his fields are flooded, and frequently in the slack periods during the rice-growing cycle.

The additional income derived from the manufacture of nipa shingles and siding, or the sale of surplus fish, is relatively little, and the profit from the sale of suckling pigs is small. If a young female member of the household sews gloves for money, she can expect to receive something less than 10 pesos per month for her labor. Avian diseases have made the raising of chickens a hazardous venture, and the sale of ducks brings only a small return.

In consideration of the problems of insecure share tenure, unreliable water supply for rice and nipa palm, decreasing rice crop, widespread unemployment and underemployment, *there can*

be no doubt that the majority of the people in Bubog are hard pressed, plagued by a multitude of anxieties. The fact that they may accept these worries as somewhat inevitable does not lessen the struggle they must make to survive in face of them.

#### *Bubog Social Organization*

Many of the anxieties felt by the people of Bubog are at times alleviated, and at times aggravated, by the social organization obtaining there. This dimension of the community will be sketched by consideration of the settlement pattern, demography, and systems of blood kinship, marriage, and ritual coparenthood.

*Settlement pattern.* The location of houses in Bubog is influenced by four factors: elevated land, the creeks as water lanes, place of occupation, and the location of close kin. The houses, which are pile-built, are always constructed on elevated land above the level of the creeks, rice fields, and nipa groves (Fig. 2). With one exception, this elevated land is found beside the streams, which function both as transportation lanes and as channels for the disposal of waste and garbage. Running beside the creeks and connecting the house plots is a trail which is approximately on a level with the small clearings on which the houses are built.

The rice farmer most frequently lives near his fields. In most instances he squeezes his house site into the border of the plot that adjoins the creek, for in this manner he avoids paying rent for residential land and is close both to his work and to land and water transportation. The majority of the tubâ-gatherers, on the other hand, live away from their groves, shuttling to and from their places of work in dugouts (*bangkâ*). The few gatherers who live within the nipa swamp area occupy houses built on an elevated strip of ground beside a creek. Regardless of where the tubâ-gatherer's house is situated, however, he also has a hut (*kubo*) in the groves where he can store his equipment and rest when tired.

Before clarifying the influence of kinship on the choice of house site, I refer the reader to the map of Bubog community (Fig. 3). There one clearly sees the dispersal of houses along the

creeks flowing through the sitio, and further observes that the clustering of houses differs from place to place. The greatest concentration of dwellings is found along the main creek that flows under the provincial highway, through Sitio Pinagtulayan, and on into Bubog and the nipa-palm swamp. Along this creek and along the boundary of the nipa area are 54 households which the people designate as "Big Bubog" (*Bubog na malaki*). The remaining 24 households scattered along the other streams and tributaries constitute "Little Bubog" (*Bubog na munti*). Each of these sitio segments has its own duly elected representative for barrio affairs, called the *tininti*, or lieutenant.

The social center of Big Bubog is a nucleated dwelling cluster on an elevated plot, triangular in outline, on the edge of the nipa palm grove. This land is owned by a man who lives in the nearby sitio of Tawiran, and who charges each household an annual rent of five pesos for the lot it occupies on his land. He also asks occasional services of these people, such as assistance when he is constructing a house. The open space within the triangle is used as a communal drying place for the sunning of unhusked rice grain (*palay*), nipa shingles, and the young nipa leaves destined for export to hat-makers in towns of Bulacan. The households distributed around this drying place are closely interrelated, though the dwellings of siblings, for instance, may not be side by side but on opposite or adjacent sides of the triangle.

Similar clusters are found in Little Bubog, along the creeks to the west of Big Bubog. Here the most common relationship between adjoining households is the parent-child or sibling tie, for parents often request or allow their newly married offspring to build beside them. Hence the final factor influencing choice of dwelling site is the kin bond with existing households.

*Population.* Sitio Bubog has an estimated population of 464, a figure based on the census made of 69 out of the 78 households. According to this census the median age is 17, and there is little difference by sex in the total number of residents in each marital status category.

The most common household unit is the

nuclear family consisting of father, mother, and unmarried children. Where all children have married and moved to their own homes it is not uncommon for their parents to take in one or two of the young grandchildren to fill out the depleted household. The average household size is 5.9 individuals.

The average number of children born per completed family is six, the number in most cases ranging from five to nine, with two couples reporting 10 and another, 11. Of this average number of six children born, an average of two succumb, particularly to respiratory diseases and malnutrition (*beri-beri*), while the census record shows a total of seven stillbirths in all.

There are in Bubog three married couples that are childless, but among those that have children the most common spacing is from 18 months to two years. No evidence of the practice of birth control came to my attention, and I am inclined to believe that limitation of children is not, in fact, considered desirable. When asked how many children they would like to have, couples commonly answer "We will leave that to God" (*Ipinagkakaloób namin iyán sa Diyos*), but since children are generally taken as economically profitable adjuncts to the household, at least from about seven years on, I conclude that this expression means the couple will await God's gift of children as a bounty, not a burden.

*Consanguineal kinship.* The kinship structure recognized in Bubog is symmetrically bilateral in that an individual learns to think of himself as related equally to the kinsmen of both mother and father. Structurally both the vertical and lateral limits of this kinship recognition are undefined, but in the concrete the boundaries vary from individual to individual, and from period to period within the life of any one person. In examining genealogies from Bubog residents I find support for Lynch's observation (1959: 52-53) that the ability to recall the names of kinsmen is in great part dependent on communication with them. Like Lynch, I notice the difficulty informants have in recalling the kinsmen of a parent who came from outside the community, unless the kinsmen in question have visited Bubog with some frequency, or have received the respondent in their places of residence. First cousins living in Sitio Tawiran, about one-

half kilometer away, are recalled with difficulty or not at all unless there has been this contact.

The individual's kindred is referred to by the collective term *kamag-anakan*, and any member of this group is spoken of as his *kamag-anak*. However, the basic unit of the social structure is the nuclear family (*mag-aanak*), composed of father (*amá*), mother (*iná*), and unmarried children (*anáak*). I have already mentioned that this is the most common household group; it is also the basic cooperating economic unit, which may be extended to include other members of the household who are dependent on the household head. Thus an aged and widowed parent may live with one of the married children; in this event the dependent parent is considered a member of the family, and if the parent should reside now with this married child and now with another, the family membership changes with each change in residence. The same is true of any kinsman who occupies a dependent position in the household. If the kinsman has an independent means of livelihood income, however, co-residence alone will not make him a member of the household head's family; he will be considered merely a housemate (*kasambaháy*).<sup>3</sup>

*Problems relating to kinship ties.* It is beyond the scope of this paper to enter into detailed descriptions of kin-associated behavior, but I should like to interject some observations on the socioeconomic consequences of the consanguineal kinship system I have sketched for Bubog.

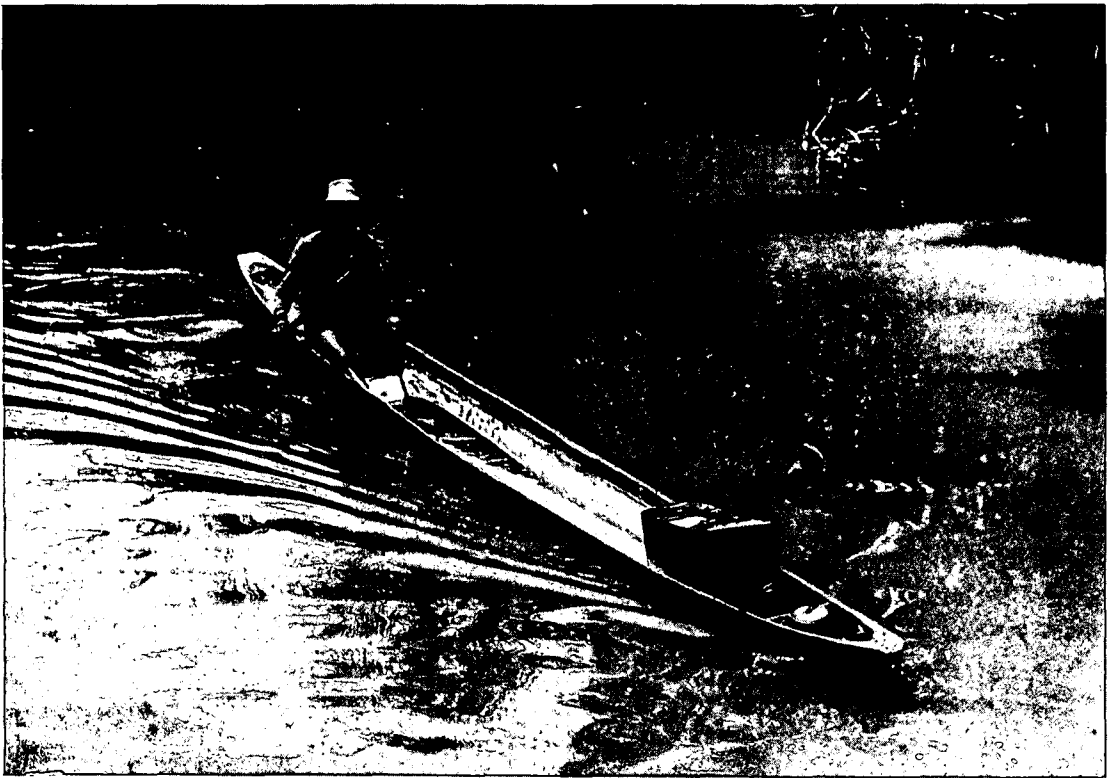
From the brief exposition of this bilateral system (see especially the Appendix), with its emphasis on generational and age differences, there emerges the general theme of superordinate-subordinate pairs, whether the criterion for placement be relative biological age, relative genealogical age, or difference of generation. Ego owes a measure of respect not only to kinsmen of ascending generations, but to all in his own generation whom he addresses as *kaká* (his elders in age or genealogy); the measure of this respect, insofar as it is of kinship origin, will be the closeness of relationship by blood. Except for the instance of parents, siblings, and lineal ascendants, the respect will be tempered or strengthened by the social and economic status occupied by the individual concerned.

## TUBÂ GATHERING IN BUBOG, PAUMBONG, BULACAN

- 1 Nipa stand with cluster of nuts
- 2 Tubâ gatherer slices stalk of fruit with bolo before attaching bamboo tube
- 3 Bamboo tube in position to collect tubâ
- 4 Tubâ collector transporting sap to fermenting station
- 5 Fermenting station showing jars containing tubâ

*A. E. Evangelista, Bubog, Paombong,  
Bulacan, 1957-58*





This behavioral expectation includes deference in speech, the obligation to be of service when this is requested, or at any rate not to refuse without an apology. The individual in the superordinate position has the obligation to extend aid when this is asked of him, and has the right to claim it himself when this is called for.

Most people in Bubog make infrequent use of the kin ties they have with people not living in the sitio or in nearby Pinagtulayan. This means that in the community they may press weakly founded kin claims which they might not pursue were they living nearer to their more closely related kinsmen. The net result is that the individual is situated at the center of numerous kinsmen of various categories who have the basis of claims on his goods and services, as he does on theirs. Perhaps in the long run the claims and counterclaims balance, but the long run may be several lifetimes. In the short run the balance is likely to swing with the rise and fall of personal fortune. A man who has had a stroke of luck improving his economic position knows that he will be called on by many who lay claim to some share in his good fortune, and he is obliged to honor the claims or risk ostracism from the group. Yet he knows that to respond to all the demands of his kinsmen is to lapse into his former economic state, or perhaps one even lower than this. He chooses to yield to the kinsmen's claims, knowing only too well that the time may soon come when his fortune will change and he will need the assistance and goodwill of his kin group. He seeks security in interdependence, not independence, and knows only this for a certainty: claims will be made on him when fortune smiles, and he in turn, when fortune frowns, will search anxiously for others on whom to make claims.

*Affinal kinship and marriage.* At marriage ego adopts a system of vocative terminology toward his new in-laws which gives him the role of other-sex counterpart to his spouse. Whatever terms the spouse uses toward her blood kin, ego now begins to use. Terms of reference are another matter, however. Spouse's father and mother are referred to as *biyénang lalaki* and *biyénang babae*, respectively; they speak of ego as their *manugang* and address him by given

name. The parents of the married couple use the self-reciprocal term *balae* for both reference and address. In ego's own generation, spouse's brother and own sister's or cousin's husband are referred to as *bayaw*; spouse's sister and own brother's or cousin's wife are called *hipag*; The term for copouse, or person married to spouse's sibling, is *bilás*. Coparents-in-law are considered below.<sup>4</sup>

*Ritual coparenthood.* Writing of the *compadre*, or *kumpare*, system in the Philippines, Fox states (1956: 424) that it "is widely developed as a means of extending the size of the kin group." This statement cannot safely be applied to the majority of *kumpare* choices made in Bubog, for, except in weddings, the preferred sponsors are individuals related to the parents of the child as uncle, aunt, uncle-in-law or aunt-in-law, sibling or sibling-in-law, cousin or cousin-in-law. The fact that cousins are a very frequent choice may be taken as an indication that the *kumpare* system is used to strengthen existing but weak kin ties, but I know of only two cases in which the choice for coparent in baptism or confirmation fell on a nonkinsman: in both cases landlords were chosen, one by a tubá-gatherer and the other by a rice farmer. Not all kinsmen are eligible for choice as coparent, however. Ego (parent of the child being baptized or confirmed) is restricted in choice to his own and the first ascending generations, except for his parents or parents-in-law. The preference for kinsmen as coparents in the ritual of baptism and confirmation is expressed in the saying current in Bubog: "To whom shall (the honor) be granted except to a kinsman" (*Kanino pa ibibigáy kundí sa kamag-anak*).<sup>5</sup>

The primary function of the *kumpare* choices made on the occasion of baptism and confirmation is, as I have said, the intensification of an existing kinship bond. Since these bonds are so widespread in the community, the voluntary selection made in these rituals may be the parents' way of indicating those relatives whom they consider or would like to have as active allies in the business of life. That the choice falls on relatives for whom there is special regard is indicated by the belief that the child acquires in some manner (contagious magic?) the per-

sonality of the sponsor; hence parents choose persons whose character is respected and admired. As in the case of consanguineal and affinal ties, however, the kumpare relation founds mutual claims on any surplus that a person might acquire.

### *The Tubâ Complex*

The interplay of economic and social restrictions on the improvement of economic status produces, as I have tried to indicate, an anxiety-ridden community barely meeting subsistence requirements. In keeping with Horton's hypothesis that the primary function of alcohol in all societies is the reduction of anxiety, we should expect that the drinking of tubâ would be an important part of life in Bubog. This is actually the case. Nonetheless it would be a mistake to consider the anesthetic effect of tubâ-drinking the only contribution that this practice makes to the people of the community. Because of the manner in which the drinking sessions are managed, they serve as exercises in self-discipline and cooperation, and this may well be a function which overshadows in significance that of reducing the individual's tensions and worries. I hope to clarify this assertion while discussing the relations between the tubâ-gatherers and other villagers, and the occasions on which tubâ is consumed.

*The manunubâ and his claimants.* From the description given in an earlier section of the full-time care required by the nipa-palm grove, the reader is aware that the manunubâ is one of the few continually occupied people in Bubog. His occupation makes him the individual least seen in the village during the day. He leaves at dawn for his *tutubân* (nipa grove producing tubâ), sometimes accompanied by his wife. Lunch is either prepared in the grove or is brought there by a son or daughter. The gatherer comes home tired at dusk. At no time during the production of the sap does he use extra help from the community, as the farmer does during the planting and harvesting operations.

The manunubâ's continual employment and relative independence might be ideal for economic advancement were it not for the numerous

interruptions made by people of the community coming to the groves, and the constant calls made on his product. Unfortunately for him (from one viewpoint at least), his alliance and patronage are much sought after, a fact that prevents the manunubâ from accumulating economic surplus and — less important from the viewpoint of Bubog people — reduces the profit from vinegar sales for the landowner as well.

These calls upon the tubâ-gatherer's surplus have a long tradition traceable, not to a time when tubâ-vinegar was of no commercial value, but to an earlier era when the surplus was much greater than it is at present. At the turn of the century, transportation was such as to make it almost impossible to reach consumers in sufficient numbers to sell all the tubâ that was produced. Today motorized land and water transport connects the tubâ-gatherer with a market capable of consuming all his produce, but the tradition of sharing persists.

An 80-year-old informant related that as a young man he used to join his brothers and cousins in peddling vinegar in Pampanga, traveling not by slow animal-drawn vehicles over poor roads, but by small boats paddled through connecting rivers and streams. They also went to Manila, across the bay, and even up the Pasig River to towns on the shores of Laguna de Bay. Another old man told me that the same sort of commerce took place in the early years of the American administration. Tubâ-vinegar was cheap (eight centavos for five gallons), and there was more than could be sold. The gatherers gave away great amounts of the fresh tubâ to relatives and friends, and there was drinking tubâ for everyone in the nipa communities.

The market has expanded in the past half-century, and the vinegar is now taken by truck to places as far distant as southern Batangas and Laguna. Marketing is no longer the concern of the tubâ-gatherer, but is the responsibility of the landlord. The latter, perhaps with a view to possible cheating by the tenant tubâ-gatherer, forbids the sale of tubâ by the manunubâ. In this manner the old usage of surplus distribution by the tubâ-gatherer has been reinforced: he continues as before to give away a certain amount of his product before it is taken to market. In



one tuba community of Paombong, a landlord attempted to stop this practice, but when the collecting tubes (tukil) attached to his palms were mysteriously destroyed, he reinstated the traditional policy.

There is, then, a custom of long standing that relatives and friends of the tubâ-gatherer should have a claim on some of the tubâ that is gathered from the local groves. The claim is not without restrictions, however. Claimants must remember that the manunubâ has a family or parents to support, and that the nipa palms are often his only source of livelihood for them and himself. A request that would endanger fulfillment of this primary obligation need not be honored if it is ever made. Barring this case, the tubâ-gatherer may be approached regularly without fear of refusal.

There is no such claim on a rice farmer's surplus, probably because there is not now, and perhaps never has been, a year-round surplus in this commodity. If a family has more rice than it can consume before the next harvest, the estimated surplus is sold immediately for cash to buy other household necessities. Moreover, since the rice farmer allows his kinsmen to harvest with him and so earn 20 percent of his crop, he has already discharged his duty for the year. Exceptional occasions calling for distribution of rice are the celebrations connected with weddings and deaths. Rice may also be contributed for the barrio and town fiestas, or for the folk-religious Lenten practice called the *pabasa*. But it is not something one asks for outside of the special circumstances mentioned earlier.

*Value placed on tubâ.* Residents of the town of Paombong consider tubâ a poor man's drink, and associate it with the *taga bukid*, the people on the farm. On special occasions, such as the annual town fiesta, they serve bottled rum, whisky, or beer to prominent visitors, but entertain the rural folk with tubâ.

Regardless of the townsman's attitude, the people of Bubog are proud of their tubâ, and value it highly as a source of physical strength and well-being. The complexion and general physical condition are thought to be improved by drinking it, and if one is thin and pale he is urged to take some every day.<sup>6</sup>

During the Second World War, almost all the rice produced in Bubog was confiscated either by the Japanese forces of occupation or by the Filipino guerrillas, yet the residents say that they kept from starving by drinking tubâ and eating crabs, fish, shrimp, and other foods taken from their creeks and streams. They also recall with pride how two American soldiers, deserters from their units just after the War, successfully hid in Bubog's swamps, sustaining themselves with tubâ, fish, and occasional gifts of other foods from the villagers. Nonetheless, despite the value placed on this palm wine as a food, it is clearly more highly appreciated for its ability to relax the drinker while drawing him closer to his fellow men.

*Ordinary occasions for drinking tubâ.* Hardly a day passes without some tubâ being consumed somewhere in Bubog. Even in the dry months, when the palms produce very little sap, the drinking is continued on a reduced scale. During this lean period, the landowner frequently allows the manunubâ to give all the produce of the groves to the Bubog community, since the yield is too small to make its delivery to the town profitable.

When visitors appear at a home, particularly if they come from outside the community, the host will send a son or daughter to one of the manunubâ to fetch some tubâ with which to entertain them. If there are women among the visitors, another call may go out to one of the local stores for some soft drinks, though in this case the host must pay for what he orders.

A man may have some men adding a new wing to his house, or moving the house itself to another site. Although hired labor has been available in recent years, cooperative labor is still usually practiced. In any case, the owner is obliged to feed and entertain the helpers. Tubâ is present, and is drunk any time while the work is in progress. In fact, no work of this kind is done efficiently without the beverage. If the host neglects to serve it, he may be considered a deviant; some of his helpers may even feign physical discomfort to justify slow and inefficient work. One informant likened himself to a car that needs gasoline in order to function. Where there is tubâ for the group, work is done in

lively fashion and is punctuated with jokes and laughter.

The manunubâ is often visited in the swamps. Men paddling their dugouts homeward from a fishing trip downstream stop at his hut for some glasses of tubâ "to warm themselves up." The manunubâ enjoys these visits, for he usually receives part of the fisherman's catch in return as a gift. Young men or old men and women in small groups may also pay the manunubâ a visit, bringing with them some cooked fish or meat, called *pulutan*.<sup>7</sup> This exchange between the tubâ-gatherer and his visitors is not to be seen as completely *quid pro quo*, for the tubâ will be given even though the fishermen have nothing to offer in return. The manunubâ's concern is with obligations to kin and friends, and his desire is to get along (*pakikisama*) pleasantly with all. His generosity to all is his best insurance against future needs; if he has shown himself a pleasant benefactor he will not be timid about approaching those who have benefited from his kindness.

It is not uncommon for the manunubâ himself to bring home two or three gallons of tubâ for his own pleasure and relaxation. Usually, he drinks this with those most intimately identified with him, that is, siblings, in-laws, coparents, and sometimes neighbors. This would appear somewhat exclusive and familial, but the invitation is always extended to passersby if any happen to come along.

*The drinking pattern.* In all of the above instances, and in formal affairs as well (see further on), the pattern of drinking is uniform. One member of the drinking group may volunteer or is urged to act as a *mánanagáy*, the one who dispenses the tubâ from a jar. The size of the group is immaterial, for only two or three glasses are used, each member waiting his turn to be served. The glassful is consumed and the glass returned directly to the *mánanagáy*. An effort is made to see that everyone receives the same number of glasses during the drinking session, and if one comes late to the affair, he is made to "catch up" by drinking successively the number of glasses the earlier arrivals have already taken.

Married women may join the group, but they are more careful than men in keeping a sharp watch on the male *mánanagáy*, who tries to

trick the women into drinking more than their share. The motivation here, as far as one can judge from overt consequences, is no more sinister than the desire to make the women an object of laughter, perhaps to compensate for the controlling position of women in household finances. Drinking is not the prelude to sexual advances that it is in some other societies, and any one who tried to take advantage of the drinking context in this way would be severely dealt with by the community. The communal drinking of tubâ is simply not thought of as associated with such sexual activity. This is one aspect of the discipline involved in the drinking session.

Another facet of the drinking pattern is the customary manner of dealing with the disputes that occasionally break out when the men have had a good amount of tubâ. If it is possible, the difficulty is settled then and there with the reconciliation of the disputants. However — and this is, I suggest, an extremely important fact in judging the function of alcohol in Bubog — if the men leave the group still at serious odds with each other, they know that they will not be admitted to the next drinking session (the next day, usually) unless they either have composed their differences or stand ready, at least, to make their peace at the meeting itself. In view of the fact that tubâ-drinking is the most highly valued and enjoyable group activity of the men, they feel a strong pressure to avoid serious arguments, or at least to settle them quickly and in friendly fashion.

A further disciplinary aspect of the drinking session is the self-control needed to continue drinking after one has had all that he cares to take. Tubâ is an acrid, sour drink, even for those well conditioned to its use, and one cannot help feeling "full" after a few glasses. Yet the mores of the group make it necessary to stay on and keep drinking; vomiting is common, but this does not lower a man's prestige significantly unless he stops drinking at this point.

Every now and then the drinking groups in Bubog organize themselves into a *samahán*, or club, and become an exclusive group. These groups are either kin-oriented or age-oriented. One such club was the *Samaháng Tahimik*, or

Silent Club, whose members were ritual co-parents. It met twice a week in the houses of the members by turns, the householder acting as host on his particular day. The drinkers followed the usual pattern, except that no one was supposed to utter a word. When someone let a word slip, he was fined by being made to drink an extra glass of tubâ. In other words, the more one slipped, the more he consumed. It was actually a game. Clubs like this, however, do not function for a very long time, because the expense of obtaining pulutan from the town market or from the local fisherman soon becomes a burden for the poorer members. Note that the procurement of tubâ is *not* a problem.

*Tubâ in formal gatherings.* In formal gatherings, tubâ blends with good food in an atmosphere of feasting and large crowds. Take the *pasarâ*, for example.<sup>8</sup> This event calls for a celebration in the main room of the house, while the *hilot*, or midwife, performs a ritual for the mother. At the center of the room is placed a hearth for the burning of herbs and incense.<sup>9</sup> The mother sits beside or above them, completely covered by a mat during the two hours or so that the treatment continues. Meanwhile friends and relatives enjoy rounds of their favorite drink, with pulutan.

Other important events that demand fresh tubâ for drinking are these: baptism, confirmation, and the betrothal, wedding, and *palipat*, or transfer to their own home, of a couple. The manunubâ also furnishes drink for wakes and death anniversaries, as well as for fiestas, Holy Week activities, and local elections.

When somebody dies in the village, the village tininti, or lieutenant, is informed, and before long, the whole community learns of it. Each household is represented in the community's practical response of help and sympathy. While others give money or rice, the manunubâ gives tubâ, to be drunk during the death watch. If the deceased was a close relative, the manunubâ is obliged to supply the palm wine from the night of the vigil to the ninth night of prayer. During the wake, young swains and girls play games customary for the occasion, but married men and women drink and laugh around a jar of tubâ.

Not all families observe the anniversaries of deaths of close kinsmen, but those who can afford to do so use the occasion to bolster their social status in the community. One such family was that of the sisters of the glove-sewing industry whom I mentioned earlier as successful innovators. At the 1957 commemoration of their maternal grandfather; virtually a third of the village population joined in the prayers and the subsequent feasting. As is always the case, tubâ highlighted the all-night drink fest. In this family the procuring of the drink was even easier than it is for many others, since the parents have both a nephew and a son-in-law who are tubâ-gatherers.

This party was of particular interest because of the groupings observed, and because of an instance of intercommunity rivalry. Young girls and married women were all engrossed in cooking and serving food. Some men helped with the heavier tasks. Inside the house a brother-in-law was entertaining a select group of elder people and visitors from Manila with gin and tubâ. Outside and on one side of the house, another brother-in-law was leading a group of young men with tubâ and there was some group singing. On the other side of the house was another group of married men and some women being entertained by the host's nephew. About 100 gallons of tubâ were consumed that night. Then at about two in the morning, two brothers and their brothers-in-law, all from Bubog, challenged two other brothers and their brothers-in-law, from another community, to a drinking bout. As if the reputation of Bubog was at stake, the guests cheered their representatives on. All drank themselves to sleep.

During the annual Paombong town fiesta and the annual barrio fiesta of San Isidro, contributions are solicited through the municipal councilors, who in turn request the sitio tininti to collect from their respective communities. The manunubâ of Bubog (and perhaps the other tubâ-producing areas, too) prefer, and in fact are encouraged, to contribute tubâ. Monetary contributions are earmarked for street decorations, fireworks, brass bands, church services, and so forth. Rice and tubâ contributions are consigned to the *hermano*, the overall chairman

of the festivities and absorber of the greatest number of guests.

Another occasion on which tubâ may be contributed is the Holy Week pabasa, or chanting of the Passion of Christ in the *bisita*, or chapel, at San Isidro barrio proper. Tubâ is consumed in moderate amounts, along with food prepared by the old women.

An annual event calling for tubâ-drinking is the election of the sitio tininti, or lieutenant.<sup>10</sup> The tininti is elected in the presence of the municipal councilor responsible for Barrio San Isidro, it being the function of the outgoing tininti to request Bubog's various manunubâ to furnish tubâ for the meeting.

It might be thought, in this connection, that the tubâ-gatherer could easily play the role of petty politician, using his position as creditor of gratitude for purposes of influencing elections. I have no evidence that the manunubâ do in fact control, or seriously attempt to control, the local vote. The incumbent tininti, however, who was himself a manunubâ, campaigned actively for a set of candidates belonging to a party contending in the 1957 presidential elections. He entertained groups of men and women in his house, dispensing tubâ and, on occasion, distilled drinks. But his action had little effect on Bubog's vote. Perhaps the potential vote-control power of the tubâ-gatherer is negated by the fact that there are 13 such manunubâ, and the likelihood of their pooling their efforts for a single political purpose is small.

### *Conclusions*

The reader will now appreciate that the people of Bubog are beset by many vexing problems, some arising from the natural setting, others from the social environment. In this section I shall briefly review these difficulties, and indicate to what degree and in what sense the recurrent use of tubâ serves the purpose of an anxiety-reducing agent in this society.

Almost a third of the household heads in Bubog have no dependable source of income. These are the bálana, the men who move in and out of the community in search of short-term manual employment. For varying lengths of time the bálana live off villagemates who are, for the

moment at least, slightly more solvent than they. This "borrowing" is sanctioned by the conviction that the day will come when roles will be reversed, and that generosity in "lending" now is the best insurance against future needs. It serves, however, to level the economic status of community members, impairing economic and social mobility.

The farmers and the tubâ-gatherers have problems that arise in part from the physical features and climatic pattern in Bubog; in part from the demands made on them by the bálana; and in part from the tenure system under which they work their fields and groves. There are two pronounced seasons during the year — the wet and the dry — and rice can profitably be raised in Bubog only during the arid months. During the other months, recurrent typhoons and constant rains sharply limit any gainful planting. The greater part of Bubog's land is devoted to rice and it becomes unproductive during the wet season on account of floods. Even the dry-season rice crop is decreasing in yield per unit of area as poor fertilizer and inadequate irrigation in combination with soil depletion and erosion bring about poor harvests. Only occasionally does a farmer succeed in harvesting two crops in the year. The average tenant holding is small, and the average number of dependents in the farmer's household and in those of close kin is large. There is no assurance that the farmer's share will be large enough to meet subsistence demands from harvest to harvest. There is therefore the constant threat and fear that he will be forced to join the bálana group in seeking employment outside the community, particularly during the rainy season and during the rice-growing cycle. Important for the present consideration is the reaction to this downward trend in production: he feels trapped, powerless to reverse the situation, yet anxious about its consequences.

The majority of the tubâ-gatherers, as well as farmers, are tenants and have no secure contract with their landowners: they may be replaced anytime it pleases their landowners to discover an infraction of their verbal agreement. The tubâ-gatherer, like the rice farmer, also has little or no control over the vagaries of the weather and the supply of water. Prolonged

flooding may inhibit the fruiting of the nipa palm, and reduce the overall output of sap.

Both the farmer and the tubâ-gatherer must provide, not only for their own families, but for their less fortunate close kinsmen as well. Small amounts of income are obtained from making nipa shingles and siding, from the sale of surplus fish and pigs, and from the sewing of gloves. Avian epidemics prevent even moderate development of poultry production.

The struggle for subsistence is the constant preoccupation which is rendered even more burdensome by the insecure relations with landowners. In view of the pressures created by ecology, natural and social, Bubog cannot be other than a community of people whose main preoccupation is with the means of livelihood, and whose first thought on waking is — as many have told me — “What shall we eat today?” Life in such a small, economically marginal community builds up other tensions besides those arising from the struggle for survival, though it may be that many interpersonal tensions have their source in anxiety over food and other material goods.

But regardless of the source of anxiety, the relief from tension is sought through the drink fest. Bubog has no solitary drinker; a man in possession of any alcoholic drink must always invite one or more to drink with him. The drink fests invariably reinforce kin attachment and stimulate friendship. The usual reserve which is demanded by custom is broken, and self-expression is stimulated in the form of laughter, singing, chatting, and joking. And although to get drunk and be merry is the primary and approved object of drinking, one is expected to behave according to the accepted norms of the society. In order not to lose prestige and respect, one must not allow the drink to dominate one or consider drunkenness a license to exhibit sexual or lewd behavior. Sanctions against these include the withholding of invitations, cooperation, and gifts. The people of Bubog seem to realize that by drinking together constantly all relationships are renewed; solidarity and homogeneity are enhanced. And thus

the influence of tubâ and the drinking party becomes an important socializing agent.

A drinking session sometimes becomes the arena for the settlement of disputes and a place for the expression of hostilities. A farmer may quarrel with another over a carabao. A drinking party organized by a third person closely related to the disputants brings them together, and in the atmosphere and under the pressures for amiable behavior which are featured by the drinking party, the two become reconciled. Or during the drinking party itself, two men may suddenly take up a quarrel started earlier by their wives. Again there is pressure to bring them together, for no one will permit the quarrel to break up the party. As a result the tensions become at least partially discharged.

These tensions stem basically from the total context in which the people of Bubog live their lives, but the tensions manifest themselves in petty quarrels, in irritations over small things which might not bother them if they lived in a richer material environment. In Bubog, when people feel hostile to each other, they cannot say so openly because they all need each other and, besides, it is shameful to quarrel with friends and relatives. And so the drinking party provides not only a place where these hostilities can be brought into the open, with the consequent psychological relief which follows, but also provides a means of controlling and resolving the quarrels so that the tensions do not disrupt social relations.

In summary, it may be said that the integration of drinking with the other activities of Bubog society has provided an excellent training ground for discipline and cooperation, which is so necessary in a situation of mutual dependence in practically every aspect of life. Without this interdependence the struggle for survival might become unbearably intense. Even the relatively secure tubâ-gatherer has learned that cooperation is a necessity and obligation even if it means arresting his own economic advancement. For despite the fact that he is able to survive without depending on his kin and neighbors, the social organization and kinship system are such that he finds it untenable and unthinkable not to cooperate. He must consider those who were

responsible for his existence, who brought him up, or who can be depended upon should his fortune change — in short, the complicated concept of *utang na loób* (freely, though not adequately, translated as “debt of gratitude”). He chooses to seek security in interdependence, not independence, and nowhere is this choice more evident than in the institution of tubâ-drinking.

The main focus of the discussion in this paper has been an evaluation of two aspects of the use of tubâ — the reduction of anxiety, and the provision of a recurrent occasion for sanctioned conformity to group norms. Horton (1954: 160) looks upon alcohol as one means of reducing anxieties (psychological), and considers “strong ties of friendship and support” as an alternative and distinct means of reducing them (cultural). The hypothesis set forth here has been that in Bubog these remedies are rather merged, one of the most frequent and rewarding exercises in harmonious interaction being the drinking session. Tubâ reduces anxiety, and the institutionalized manner of consuming it encourages the growth of attitudes of cooperation. Drinking in Bubog does not appear to be a social problem, and the use of tubâ is further encouraged by the impermanency of its physiological effect — a critical point to consider, as Horton believes, for peoples living at the subsistence level of economy.

An obvious subject for investigation is the factor or factors accounting for the difference in the use of alcohol in communities with similar economic and social problems. It would be profitable to examine in particular why alcohol should lead to social integration in a place like Bubog, and to social disintegration in another. The answer may be such as to give considerable support to the opinion that institutionalized control of group drinking makes of these sessions a reaffirmation of group loyalty, while uncontrolled group drinking weakens group integrity. This is a problem well worth pursuing, and I hope to examine the drinking patterns in other Philippine communities, both pagan and Christian, with a view to further testing this hypothesis.

#### *Appendix: Additional Information on Kinship Patterns in Bubog*

*Consanguineal kinship terms.* One's parents are referred to by the term *magulang*. In addressing one's father the term *amá* is used; for one's mother, *iná*. The referential form is the same in both cases. In praying, whether the prayer be spontaneous or according to prescribed formula, God is addressed and referred to as *Amáng Diyós*, but when God the Father is mentioned explicitly the phrase *Diyós na Amá* is employed. The Virgin Mary is called *Ináng Maria*.

Children are referred to as *mga anak*, but when a parent wishes to designate a child as his own he will add the possessive indicator, using the phrase *anak ko* (my child). To distinguish sexes, a qualifying term is added to *anak*: *anak na lalaki* (male child), or *anak na babae* (female child). Parents address their children by Christian name, less frequently in the formal form (*pangalan*; for example, Jose) than the familiar (*palayaw*; for example, Pepe). The youngest child (the *bunsô*) is addressed as *ato* if male and *iné* if female, but this pet name, which is used not by parents alone but by all who know the child's status, become inappropriate for the bearer on the birth of the next child of the same sex. If no further children are born, the term of address is dropped when the child reaches school age; from then on he will be addressed by his given name, but will still be referred to as the *bunsô* of the family. Other referential terms for child statuses are these: eldest child, *panganay*; only child, *bugtóng*; infant, or babe in arms, *sanggól*. A child born to an unmarried woman is called her “child of courtship” (*anak sa ligaw*) or “child in maidenhood” (*anak sa pagkadalaga*). The child of a married man by an unmarried woman is his “child on the outside” (*anak sa labás*).

The term for sibling, like that for child, must be qualified if the sex is to be indicated. A brother is referred to as *kapatíd na lalaki*, and a sister, as *kapatíd na babae*. Terms of address depend on relative age, any older sibling being called *kaká*, or *ka* plus given name, in the familiar form. Younger brothers and sisters are

addressed by the familiar form of the Christian name. The same forms of address are used for half-siblings, but formal reference will clarify who the common parent is. An example of this the phrase *kapatid sa amá*, "sibling through the father."

Grandparents and great-grandparents are referred to as *ninunò* (singular, *nunò*) when formal reference is made to them. But in the informal reference of conversation, when a grandparent is being mentioned, the speaker employs the term *andáng* plus given name in the familiar form. The vocative form is simply *andá*. Grandchildren and great-grandchildren are addressed by the familiar form of the given name, and referred to as *apó*. Grandparents and grandchildren do not refer to one another by the same term, but the grandparent is noted for his permissive behavior toward the child, whom he traditionally spoils with small gifts and with the offer of comforting sanctuary from the trials of childhood. The same behavior characterizes same-generation blood relatives, especially siblings, of the grandparents, to all of whom the grandchild extends the vocative and referential terms he uses for his lineal ascendants. The grandparent makes a corresponding extension of the grandchild term to the descendants of his siblings, with the result that the terms *andá* and *apó* are indicative more widely of generational relationship than filiation.

The same lateral extension characterizes the terms applied to same-generation blood kin of one's parents. Thus parents' blood brothers (half or full), brothers-in-law, and male cousins are all referred to as *amaín*, with the addition, where necessary, of a phrase specifying whether the kinsman is related to ego through father or mother: *amaín sa amá*, or *amaín sa iná*. All such classificatory uncles are addressed as *tata*, or *daga* is employed; they are addressed as *nana*, or *nana* plus given name (for example, *nana Maria*, but not *nanang Maria*). As for males in the corresponding relationship, a qualifying phrase is added where it is necessary to distinguish the paternal from the maternal side of ego's kindred.

Ego refers to same-generation blood relatives other than siblings as *pinsán*, cousin. First, second, and third cousins are referred to as

*pinsáng buò* (from *buò*, 'whole'), *pinsáng makálawa*, and *pinsáng makaitlò*, the latter two terms including the roots for 'two' and 'three,' respectively. The vocative forms employed for cousins are in fact the same as those used for siblings, but the criterion for older and younger here is not the relative biological age of two cousins addressed, but the relative biological age of the siblings from whom they are descended. Thus the first cousin will be addressed as *kaká* (or *ka* plus given name) if one of his parents was the elder sibling of one of ego's parents; the second cousin is so addressed if one of his grandparents was the elder sibling of one of ego's; the third cousin is called *kaká* if one of his great-grandparents was the elder sibling of one of ego's great-grandparents. *Kaká*, then, is a form of address used for elder siblings and for the descendants of the elder siblings of any one of ego's lineal ascendants insofar as the relationship is traceable or mutually acceptable in lieu of proof. Ego may refer to the latter, "genealogically" older, generation-mates as being *pinsáng matandá sa dugò*, 'cousins older by blood.'

The children of siblings and cousins are spoken of as *pamangkín*, with qualifiers designating sex or connecting kinsman added as required. They are all addressed by given name, ordinarily in familiar form.

*Courtship and marriage.* I have heard from many informants in the town of Paombong that it is not uncommon for parents to choose marriage partners for their children. The boy's parents make the overtures, and if the girl's parents are receptive, they have the boy spend a period of service in and about the girl's home in demonstration of his character and physical abilities. If the girl's parents are suitably impressed, arrangements for the marriage will be begun.

During the period I was living in Bubog, three marriages were arranged and took place, but in each case the initial choice of partner was made by the principals, not their parents. The boy's service was performed only after agreement had been reached that the couple would in fact marry. I shall describe the procedure followed

by one of these couples, both of whom were from Bubog.

The boy courted the girl himself, and it was only after he and she were agreed they wanted to marry that he made the matter formally known to his parents. As soon as his parents knew that the couple had reached a serious understanding, they engaged a go-between — traditionally one who is well-versed in quotations from the Bible — and initiated negotiations for the girl's hand. This involved a series of three visits to the home of the girl's parents. At each of these *pamanhikan* (from *panhik*, 'go up the house ladder'), the go-between pleaded for the match in language replete with figures of speech, and tubã and food were served to all present. The witnesses belonged principally to one of two parties, that of the boy (*kinalalakihan*) and that of the girl (*kinababaihan*). In this case the boy himself went along because, as he says, he knew that he was acceptable to the kinababaihan.

In the formal discussion (*dulóg*) that followed these visits, the parents confirmed their consent, and the details of the wedding (date, sponsors, expenses) were agreed upon. In this meeting, the parents on both sides were accompanied by their siblings, and the boy and the girl were also present. Food, tubã, cigarettes, and betel-chew were again provided by the kinalalakihan for these final negotiations which lasted half a day. It was decided that the wedding should take place in December, when the moon was waxing. February was unanimously ruled out since it is thought to be an unlucky month likely to bring poverty to the couple.

After the pamanhikan, the boy began serving the girl's household by doing menial tasks, such as fetching water from one of Bubog's two artesian wells and splitting firewood. As the day of the wedding approached, the boy's parents spent 50 pesos for the bride's trousseau, while the boy bought a new pair of trousers for 20 pesos and a new pair of shoes for 18 pesos. For the wedding, a jacket was lent him by a friend, since local belief dictates that at least one piece of the boy's attire should be borrowed lest he be *nagdadaigan*, attempting to show economic superiority (literally, 'competing' [for survival]).

Most of the wedding expenses were shouldered by the boy's parents, but kinsmen helped them with money, articles of food and drink, and labor for the wedding banquet. The marriage sponsors, who were an economically secure couple living in Paombong town, took care of the transportation expenses to and from the church in Paombong, and gave the stipend for the church services. Attendants of the bride and groom, called *abay*, or support, provided their own formal attire for the occasion.

The banquet was held at the home of the bride. In Bubog it is customary for the groom to enter the house before the bride, a custom interpreted as a symbol of male dominance of the home. In other parts of Bulacan the couple are said to race up the stairs, the winner portending to be the more forceful spouse (Malay 1957: 82). Once the guests had assembled, the banquet of rice, chicken, pork, and tubã was served. Gifts given at this time were a set of china dishware from the marriage sponsors, a number of new dresses and a clothes cabinet from the bride's sisters, and money from the parents of both bride and groom.

For about six months after the wedding, the newly married couple resided with the girl's parents, then moved over to the household of the boy's parents. Here they stayed a longer time, until the birth of their first child, for it is believed that building a house when the wife is pregnant may cause difficult delivery.

The couple's own home was constructed on the tiny lot of the husband's father, several meters from the latter's dwelling. Help was provided by three carpenters (the husband's father's brother-in-law, the husband's sister's ritual coparent, and the wife's mother's brother) and by the fathers of the couple, who also donated the construction materials — bamboo, nipa shingles, some pieces of lumber brought from the town, and nails. The husband's brother-in-law, a manunubã, provided tubã for the builders. Each carpenter, however, was paid three pesos per day — something new for Bubog.

Then came the *palipat* (from *lipat*, 'transfer'), a celebration marking the couple's moving into a home of their own and designed to invite prosperity. Guests were invited to partake of



the food and tubâ, the latter supplied by the husband's brother-in-law. A pig, slaughtered for the occasion, came from the husband's parents.

*Ritual kinship.* In practice only one godparent sponsors the baptism or confirmation of a child, and the sponsor's sex corresponds to the sex of the child. Wedding sponsors, on the other hand, are usually a husband and wife who enjoy prestige in their community. The reciprocal terms *kumpare* (male coparent) and *kumare* (female coparent) are used vocatively and referentially between godparents and parents of the sponsored child or couple. However, if one's coparent was a kinsman prior to the ceremony — as is most often the case for baptism and for confirmation — the coparent, godparent, and godchild terms are not invoked; the primate consanguineal or affinal terms continue in use. The term *kumpare* (and *kumare*, 'co-mother') has a number of wider applications both in the ritual context and outside of it: when it is applied to a coparent, it is also extended to the siblings of the coparent and to their spouses; distant relatives presumably of the same generation but unable to determine which of the two should rightly be called *kakâ*, will compromise by calling each other by the coparent term; the visitor to Bubog whose age is not known may be addressed in the same manner.

Godchildren and the children of their godparents at baptism or confirmation use the reciprocal term *kinakapatid* ('made a sibling'). Likewise, a male godparent is referred to as *inaamá* ('made a father'), but addressed as *tata* — the same term used for uncles. The godmother is referred to as *iniina* ('made a mother'), but addressed as *nana* — the same term used for aunts. A godparent refers to its godchild as *inaaná* ('made a child') and addresses the latter by name. All these terms, of course, are employed in the absence of any consanguineal or affinal relationships. Godparents are expected to give gifts to their godchildren at Christmas time. The children reciprocate with obedience, the performance of tasks, and great respect, one manifestation of this deference being the godchild's taking the godparent's hand and pressing it to his forehead in greeting.

The same respect behavior characterizes the

relations between a couple and their sponsors at marriage, referred to as *padrino* and *madrina*, but addressed by the uncle (*tata*) and aunt (*nana*) terms. Marriage sponsors are chosen for the economic security they bring to the young couple, as well as to the parents of the couple. Selection is made of those persons who are of higher socioeconomic position than those choosing, the most common choice being of relatively wealthy and prestigious residents of a nearby town. By means of the tie thus created between the new couple and the sponsors, the latter assume the obligation to assist the young husband in achieving his economic goals, particularly in getting a job when this is necessary.

### Notes

The author is an associate professor, Department of Anthropology, University of the Philippines. The research on which this article is based was done 1957–58 and resulted in the author's M.A. thesis in anthropology (University of Chicago, 1959). The present article is a revised version of that thesis. More recently Mr. Evangelista completed the academic requirements for the Ph.D. in anthropology at the University of Hawaii. He is currently finishing his doctoral dissertation, which reports on an archeological site in Palawan.

Professor Evangelista's study appeared earlier in mimeographed form as Data Paper No. 2 of the department of anthropology, University of the Philippines (Diliman), and is published here with permission of the author and the department chairman, Dr. F. Landa Jocano.

At the time Mr. Evangelista did his fieldwork in Bubog (1957–58), the official exchange rate was US\$1.00 equals RPP 2.00. Peso prices and values given in the text must be understood in these terms.

1. Tagalog as spoken at Bubog seems to have 19 segmental phonemes, or meaningful sound units; namely: / p b t d k g ʔ m n ŋ l s h w r y i a u /. There is also a combined stress-length phoneme.

The orthography used in this article follows as closely as possible the National Language orthography learned by every Filipino student. Spelling is generally phonemic with these exceptions:

(1) The allophone, or phonetic variant, [e] of phoneme /i/ is written as "e" (e.g., "babae" for /babá'i/;

(2) Phoneme /u/ is written as "o" when it occurs in word-final syllables (e.g., "apó" for /'apú/);

(3) The velar n/ŋ/, pronounced like the "ng" sound in the English word "sing," is written with the two-letter symbol "ng";

(4) Primary stress-length is not written when it occurs on the penult (this is the position where stress-length most commonly occurs in Tagalog); otherwise it is marked with an acute accent (´); for example "hilot" for /hílot/ but "iná" for /'iná/;

(5) Glottal stop in word-initial or word-medial *intervocalic* position is not written; otherwise word-medial glottal stop is shown by a hyphen (-) and word-final by a grave accent (`) over the symbol for the preceding vowel; thus we write "amá" for /'amá/, "mabaít" for /maba'ít/, "kamag-anak" for /kamag`-ának/, and "batà" for /bátà`/;

(6) Where both stress-length and glottal stop are word-final, the two symbols (´ and `) are combined into a circumflex accent (ˆ); thus /walá?/ is written "walá," and /tubá?/ as "tubá";

(7) The plural indicator /maŋá/ is written as "mga";

(8) For proper names, the official or generally accepted spelling is retained (e.g., "Hagonoy"); and

(9) Capitalization and punctuation follow Philippine National Language (and English) usage.

2. *Bálana* is apparently a shortened form of *bahalà na* (from *bahalà*, 'take care of, provide for'), a phrase which generally means something like "Who cares?" or, in more colloquial English, "What the hell!" In the present context it means something like "Jack-of-all-trades." Despite the widespread acceptance of the alternative folk derivation, the word root *bahalà* is definitely *not* traceable to the Sanskrit base *bathalà*, 'deity.'

3. Further details on consanguineal kinship terminology will be found in the Appendix.

4. Further details on courtship and marriage will be found in the Appendix.

5. Further details on ritual kinship will be found in the Appendix.

6. Horton points out (1943: 207) that alcohol is oxydized in the body with liberation of energy, and therefore functions as a food. But the energy so derived is apparently utilized chiefly as heat.

7. In Paombong pulutan is any solid food (it is only rarely found in soup form) that is taken along with alcoholic drink. Pulutan and tubà are considered inseparable. One eats some pulutan each time he takes a glass of tubà "to remove the taste of the sap from his mouth."

8. This marks the termination of the care given a mother and her baby by the *hilot*, or local midwife. The term is derived from the Spanish *cerrar*, to close. For 30 days after delivery, a first-born and its mother are under the care of the *hilot*. This diminishes to 25 days for the second-born, 20 days for the third-born, and so forth.

9. The writer was told that in certain cases the mother was made to sit on a flat stone that had been

previously heated "to restore the natural color of her genitalia."

10. Although there is no official provision for the *sitio* lieutenant in the revised administrative code of the Philippines, municipal authorities sanction these elections. If challenged, they might justly appeal to the code's provision for the election not only of *barrio* lieutenants, but also of deputies to the number needed for the *barrio*. *Barrio San Isidro*, of which Bubog is a *sitio*, is made up of separate *sitios*, and since the period of agrarian unrest following the Second World War even Bubog has been split into Big Bubog and Little Bubog. This latter division was made for "security purposes" during the ascendancy of the Hukbalahap (*Hukbong Bayan Laban sa Hapón*, 'People's army against the Japanese'), a guerrilla force which in postwar years fought against the Philippine government.

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