

HOME LIFE IN TETEP-AN

Some Notes on Family and Food in a Western Bontoc Village of Northern Luzon in the Philippines

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1. Behaviour between relatives—avoidance

Siblings have no avoidance among themselves before reaching puberty. Brothers after reaching puberty should not go to play or sleep in the same *ebgan*.² They should not be playmates or members of one group of boys and girls who are exchanging labor (*ob-obbo* or *ol-olog*).

A brother avoids looking at his sister's private body parts, and vice versa. A brother avoids joining a group of boys and girls who are exchanging labor if his sister is a member, and vice-versa. A brother should not sleep in his sister's *ebgan*. A brother and his sister avoid sleeping near each other under any circumstances, talking about sex acts, and talking about private body parts. Moreover, it is strictly taboo for a married person to sleep on his married brother's or sister's bed.

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2 A kind of girls' dormitory freely visited by young men during the night for purposes of courtship.

Children should avoid looking at their parents' private parts. When children reach the age of puberty, their parents avoid looking at their private parts. Parents avoid talking with their children about sex acts and the private body parts. Children avoid taking part in the conversation if one of their parents is talking with another person. It is strictly taboo for parents to sleep on their married children's bed. It is also taboo for them to sleep on the bed of their married relatives of the same generation as their children. Also, for children to sleep on their parents' bed after they have worn a G-string or skirt is taboo although this taboo is less observed at the present time.

Any person avoids looking at the private body parts of another person he respects.

2. Behaviour between relatives—duties

The duties of the husband are making a house and terraces; fetching and splitting wood for fuel; repairing a house, stone walls and any household baskets; providing meat, fish, baskets (by weaving or purchase) and tools, such as axes, bolos, spading forks, shovels, knives, etc.; plowing and harrowing the fields; participating in the exchange of labor for building houses; carrying home *palay* (unthreshed rice) which he and his wife have harvested (both carry at the end of the day's labor); planting sugar cane and making sugar and wine out of it; fencing *kaingins* (swiddens) and gardens; doing all work for about two weeks after his wife has a child.

The duties of the wife are planting *palay*, camotes, millet, and vegetables; cleaning weeds out of the fields and *kaingins*; cleaning the house and yard; gathering camote leaves for the pigs; skinning camotes; making *tapey* (rice wine); preparing food for her husband's companions making sugar cane wine; gathering vegetables; weaving cloth and sewing clothing; gathering such odd food as snails, shellfish, tadpoles, etc.

Duties expected of both husband and wife are fetching water; harvesting and pounding rice and millet; harvesting corn; directing water to the rice paddies; cooking food; cutting up camote leaves for pigs; feeding chickens and pigs; removing pig and chicken manure; waking up to start the fire.

The duties of children are generally to help the parent of the same sex. They are also bound to the duties expected of

the parents. It is the duty of children to be subject to their parents and to their elder siblings. They are to obey any old person telling them to do something, or they will be beaten.

Disobedience or avoidance of taboos or duties have no punishment except being looked down on as stupid, crazy or lazy.

3. Behaviour among relatives—privileges

The husband has the privilege of going to the *dap-ay*³ in the morning, afternoon or evening, and during rest days while his wife stays behind. His wife can also go out to the meeting place called *ag-aggongan* (lit., gossiping place) and chat with her neighbors. Children have the privilege of seeing their playmates during rest days. Old people enjoy the privilege of sharing the meat, fish, tadpoles, etc., of their nearest relatives. In fact, they are entitled to all *kimot* (the body of fowl after the head, wings, legs and intestines are removed) killed by their offspring.

4. Bodily cleanliness—bathing

In bathing, the body is rubbed against a smooth flat stone so that the dirt will be removed from the body, or a small smooth stone is used to rub the dirt from the skin. Clean flowing water in a river, in a brook, from a field, or from a spring is used for bathing. Bathing takes place almost every day after working. Bathing takes place after working in the rice fields, in the camote fields, cutting wood, building a house, etc. However, there are some kinds of work done in the fields which need only a partial bath, i.e., washing of legs, face, arms and hands, such as harvesting and planting rice, corn, beans or millet, digging out camotes, and some other work in which soil does not adhere to all parts of the body. During rest days a person takes a bath if he feels like bathing as long as no taboo prevents. A young unmarried woman does not like to take a bath in the presence of a young unmarried man, and vice-versa.

³ A kind of men's club, political tribunal, and dormitory for unmarried males.

A young unmarried woman as well as a young unmarried man may take a bath in the presence of either or both married men or women. A married man or woman, especially old, takes a bath in the presence of anybody. A partial bath is taken by anybody in the presence of anybody.

A person whose spouse died does not take a bath for nine days afterwards. During his first bath after the death of his spouse, he must not rub all the dirt off his body and he must not rub a stone on his body either, lest a scratch made on his body bleed and spread into a big wound and leave a wide scar. He must always take a bath in a brook or in a river so that the water will wash his dirt away. If he takes a bath in the fields, the water does not wash his dirt to the bottomless ocean because the fields hold the dirt. He may take a bath anywhere after three months from the time his spouse died. A widower whose wife died when delivering a child waits for the other people to finish bathing or else the people taking a bath will leave. Their wives might die of the same cause as his if they take a bath with him. This taboo is observed for about three months.

A couple who perform a wedding feast do not take a bath for ten days after the first day of their wedding ceremony. During their first bath, they don't rub all the dirt off their bodies. Bathing must take place in the fields. They must not take a bath in a brook or in a river, lest their soul and future prosperity be washed away by the brook or river water. After three months from the time of their wedding ceremony, they can take a bath anywhere.

5. Bodily cleanliness—care of the hair

The hair is washed with a red, white, pink or yellow kind of soil (*kadso*) as soap. This soil is very soft when it is wet. Rice-stalk ashes are also used for washing the hair. Washing the hair with these materials is only once or twice a month although the hair may be washed without these materials every day after working. Men use pork fat as pomade after they have eaten pork. Women's hair is never cut. Men's hair is cut with a pair of scissors at irregular intervals, say, once or twice in one-and-a-half months.

The hair of a man whose wife died when delivering a child is never cut unless the ceremonial haircut (*kelet di nasaneng*)

is done to him. (*Kelet*: haircut; *nasaneng*: widower whose wife died in childbirth.) On any of the days between the sixth and ninth days after his wife's death, the ceremonial haircut is performed. The men go out for *kayew* (an omen-seeking trip), and then perform *Begnas* (a former headtaking feast). During the *Begnas*, the men from each *dap-ay* go for *toling* (ceremonial bathing) in Totolingan. The widower goes along with them. When all the men coming from every *dap-ay* arrive, the ceremonial haircut takes place. An old man, while the widower sits near him, stands up, brandishes defiantly a headax and strikes the spike against a stone, making a sharp noise. The old man at the same time shouts at the top of his voice, saying:

*Kelet di nasaneng; linayog et
din apomi id Am-amdo et alana
din makedse ay kapin-po-on
namab-a-os is nasaneng sakpay
pama-os ken sik-a.*

Widower's haircut; our ancestor descended in Am-amdo and killed a strong person who ten times performed the haircut ceremony and now I perform it for you.

The old man does this three times. Then he says the *toling* prayer. In the prayer he calls, as usual, the victims of enemy headhunters to come to eat the salt pork (*etag*). He asks them to protect the inhabitants from headhunters and sickness, and to help the people's crops flourish and domestic animals to increase so that there will be something to eat when performing *Begnas*, something which they will be called to share. After the prayer the people leave for their *dap-ay*. Thus the ceremonial haircut ends.

After six months from his wife's death, the widower may have his hair cut. The person who cuts the widower's hair for the first time must be a man whose wife died of the same cause. If a single man, a married man whose wife is living, or a widower whose wife didn't die in childbirth cuts his hair, that man's wife might die of the same cause. A man whose wife died of natural causes (i.e., not accident, headtaking, etc.) does not have his hair cut for a month or two, but there is no ceremony that takes place before it, and another widower whose wife died of sickness cuts his hair for the first time before anyone else cuts his hair. If a single man or a married man whose wife is still living cuts his hair, that man might soon become a widower. A widower whose wife is a victim of headhunters, like the widower whose wife died when delivering a child, does not have his hair cut for six months although there is no ceremonial haircut for him.

Another man whose wife was killed by headhunters must be the first one to cut his hair before anyone else may cut it. If there is no available widower like him, an old man is asked to cut his hair. If a single man or a married man in his prime cuts his hair for the first time, that man's wife might soon become a victim of headhunters.⁴

Men cut off whatever beard they have with a pair of scissors when the hairs are long enough, maybe one- or two-eighths of an inch. The scissors one used may not be his, but he may have borrowed from another person, for everyone does not possess scissors.

6. Bodily cleanliness—vermin

The head louse is removed by constant washing of the hair with *kadso* or rice-stalk ash. When the hair dries, the hair is combed with a close-teeth comb, and someone may hunt for lice and remove louse eggs stuck to the hair. The body louse is removed by hunting for them in the clothes, by washing the clothes and by putting the clothes in the sun. Head and body lice are killed by squeezing them between the thumbnails, or between a thumbnail and any hard material.

7. Bodily cleanliness—elimination

After bowel-movements, people wipe themselves by backing up against stones which protrude. Such stones are usually available, but if not, leaves are used. Small children are wiped by their mothers with leaves.

Although bowel-movements and urinating are done in public, the private body parts are not exposed more than necessary. In the case of women, the skirt hides the private parts, while men generally turn their backs to companions of either sex and urinate against something. To urinate facing other men nearby would be disrespectful. If a man urinating is too much in the open, he squats. No man shows his private parts publicly unless

⁴ No actual examples of headtaking have occurred in Tetep-an since before the First World War.

doing certain work, such as working in muddy fields, building dams, catching fish or bathing. In these cases he removes his G-string without embarrassment, but he would never walk from his house to this work without his G-string; if anybody did so, he would be considered crazy.

8. Bodily cleanliness—other

The teeth are washed with the use of the forefingers, say once or twice in two weeks, when bathing. After eating lean meat, the teeth are cleaned with a toothpick-like stick.

The ears are cleaned whenever they feel clogged with wax with a toothpick-like stick either by one's self or by another person. The nostrils are cleaned with any of the fingers daily or many times a day, especially if one has a cold.

The finger- and toenails are never cut for they are worn down due to hard work in the soil. Fingernail dirt is removed with the thumbnails, which are longer than the others because of being used less vigorously; when dirty every time the hands are washed before meals.

9. A list of common foods

Ballogo (corn) is boiled corn taken off the cob. It is eaten alone at any time. During my parents' childhood it was eaten instead of rice at mealtime.

Basa ((blood) is boiled blood with meat, cooked rice and lard. It is eaten with rice and not eaten alone.

Binaklay or *inneles*, is soft-boiled rice-powder with meat, tadpoles, or small fish. It is eaten with rice at lunch time in the rice field during rice-planting.

Bina-od is boiled rice-powder in a cake with meat, fish or tadpoles inside and covered with squash, taro or sayoti leaves. It is prepared during the annual sacrifice, *Say-at*. It is eaten as meat at mealtime.

Dinengdeng is boiled vegetables. It is eaten with rice, camotes or *tinappian* (q.v. *infra*) at mealtime. It is not eaten alone.

Isda (meat) is boiled meat or fish. It is eaten with rice, camotes, or *tinappian* at mealtime. It is not eaten alone.

Linogaw is soft boiled rice. It is cooked for a baby or sick person, although anybody can eat it.

Makan is boiled rice. It is eaten at mealtime, and may be eaten alone if there is no *sibo* (*q.v. infra*).

Moting (fine rice particles) is rice powder boiled to a liquid. It is eaten with camotes, rice or *tinappian* at mealtime. It is not eaten alone.

Obi (camote) is boiled camotes. It may be eaten alone at mealtime if there is no *sibo*.

Sabeng is fermented beverage made from boiled water, or boiled rice water, and uncooked sliced camotes left a week to sour. It is prepared and drunk during dry season.

Sibo is any boiled food and its broth. It is eaten with rice, camotes or *tinappian*. It is not eaten alone.

Sinabsab-ang is sliced camotes boiled until soft. It is eaten at any time.

Sinalopposop is boiled camote-powder in a cake. It is eaten at any time.

Sinnapa-an is boiled glutinous rice with sugar. It is prepared during important Christian feast days. It is eaten with coffee, tea, cocoa or milk, or it may be eaten alone.

Tinappian is boiled rice with sliced camotes (dried or fresh), taro, or anything else that is boiled with rice. It is eaten alone or with *sibo* at mealtime.

Tobo is boiled glutinous rice cake in woven sugarcane basket. It is prepared for lunch when going to perform a sacrifice on the mountain (*men-ayag*). *Tobo* is used by the people as a gift for a couple in another barrio who invited them to a wedding feast.

10. How food is prepared

Rice is taken from the *kewkew* (or *kamowan*), a roughly jar-shaped basked about 15 inches tall and about 6 inches across the mouth. There it has been stored. The rice is put in a pot, water added and boiled. Five chupas of rice are boiled about an hour over a wood fire. When the rice is cooked, the pot is removed and put somewhere near the stove to dry the rice and make it fluffy. When the rice is served, it is taken out of the pot, using a bone spatula (*bakkong*) about $12 \times 3 \times 1/8$ ", and put on a round basket-plate (*giyag*) which the rice is eaten

from with the fingers. When sliced camotes (about an inch or $1 \times 2 \times \frac{1}{4}$ "), are boiled with rice, they are mashed with a wooden spatule (*kidlo*), about $18 \times \frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{4}$ ", after it is cooked and removed from the stove and before it is served.

Millet is taken from the *kewkew*-basket and is boiled like rice, although it requires more attention lest it burn. If sliced camotes, or rice and sliced camotes are boiled with millet, they are mashed. It is served like rice.

Vegetables are cooked by putting water in a pot for boiling vegetables and by putting the pot on the stove over the fire and the water boils before the vegetables are put in. When the vegetables are cooked, salt is added. After a minute of boiling, the broth is tasted to see if it has enough salt. When it has enough salt, the fire is put out and the pot is left on the stove. If leafy vegetables are boiled, they are cut up first. If not, they are sliced. If dried beans are boiled, they are taken from a *kewkew*-basket, tin-can, or bamboo container, and put in a pot when the water is boiling. After they are cooked, salt is added. Meat, if there is any, is boiled with the beans and added when the beans are half-cooked. Lard, if there is any, is added at any time before they are cooked. In taking vegetables from the pot, a dipper made of wood or coconut shell is used. They are put in a bowl made of wood or coconut shell and their broth is sipped from the bowl.

Camotes are taken from a round basket (*lowa*), about 30" in diameter and about 5" deep, with a square base about 25" wide. The camote roots and stem are removed before the camotes are put in the pot. Water is put in the pot until it is half full. The pot is put on the stove and the fire is started. When the camotes are cooked, the fire is put out. Later, the pot is removed from the stove and is turned upside-down with the lid on to pour the water off. The camotes are taken out of the pot with the hand and are put on a basket-plate from which they are eaten. Gabi (taro) is boiled like camotes. In fact, it is boiled with camotes if preferred.

Meat is boiled like vegetables. If meat is salted, it is taken from a hard earthen jar (not the kind of jar used for storing rice wine), and a bamboo tube or a gourd in which it has been stored and put in the pot. Water is put in the pot, then the pot is put over the fire. If fresh meat is boiled, salt is added. When the meat is cooked, the fire is put out. The meat is taken out of the pot by using a wire hook (*kawit*) or a dipper. The meat

is cut up with a bolo or *pangga*, a kind of knife made of one piece of iron by local blacksmiths with a blade elevated about 10-12" above the ground on a stem-like stand with a foot at the bottom on which the user places his own foot to hold the *pangga* rigid, leaving his hands free to manipulate the meat against the edge of the blade which is upward. Then the meat is distributed to the people. Its broth is sipped from a bowl. If there are vegetables and the meat is not used for sacrifice, the vegetables are boiled with it.

Corn is taken off the stalk, and husked. The hair is removed also. It is put in a pot and boiled like camotes. The grain is removed from the cob and boiled with rice or alone, and sometimes it is boiled with camotes. If the corn is dried, it is pounded three times in a mortar with a pestle before it is boiled. The pounded corn is boiled like rice although it takes longer. Dried corn is also valued for chicken feed.

11. Kinship terms

- a-abbilat*: the spouses of a person's own spouse's siblings.
a-al-ita-o: used in addressing a group of men apparently of one's grandparents' age.
a-aliwid: old friends.
a-am-a: used in addressing a group of men apparently of one's parents' age.
a-ammasang: men whose wives are dead.
a-an-ak: used in addressing a group of persons apparently of one's children's age.
a-apo: leaders, chiefs.
abbilat: any spouse of a person's own spouse's siblings.
abi-ik: one who has the same name.
agi: a person having blood relationship, usually applied only to distant relatives.
akay: a baby boy.
aket: a baby girl.
alita-o: a grandfather; also used in respectful address to any man apparently of one's grandparents' age.
al-ita-o: grandfathers; also used in respectful address to men apparently of one's grandparents' age.
aliwid: an old friend.
ama: father, stepfather by courtesy; used in respectful address

- to any man apparently of one's parents' age.
- am-a*: all male relatives of same generation as parents.
- amam-a*: old men.
- am-ama*: an old man.
- ammasang*: a man whose wife is dead.
- anak*: a son or daughter; also used in friendly address to any child apparently of one's child's age.
- an-ak*: sons or daughters or a son and a daughter; also used in friendly address to children apparently of one's children's age.
- apak*: a twin.
- apil*: a twin.
- apo*: any ancestor except parents and grandparents, and any descendent except children; also: headman, leader, chief.
- ap-o*: all ancestors except parents and grandparents, and all descendents except children.
- asawa*: spouse.
- as-awa*: spouses.
- baba-i*: female.
- bab-alo*: an unmarried man of marriagable age.
- babbaba-i*: females.
- babbalasang*: unmarried women of marriagable age.
- babbalo*: unmarried men of marriagable age.
- babbakes*: old women.
- bakbakes*: an old woman.
- bakes*: an old woman.
- balasang*: an unmarried woman of marriagable age.
- balbalasang*: a young girl about to reach the age of puberty.
- balbalo*: a young boy about to reach the age of puberty.
- balo*: a person whose spouse is dead.
- binnayan*: a young married man.
- bibinnayan*: young married men.
- boblon*: a member or members of the same *ebgan* (girls dormitory).
- boso*: enemy.
- dinmawing*: a person married in and living in another barrio.
- domawing*: to marry in and live in another barrio.
- etad*: a sibling.
- et-ad*: siblings.
- gagayam*: a girl-friend or boy-friend.
- gagayyem*: friends; used in respectful address to persons apparently of one's age.

- gayyem*: a friend; used in respectful address to a person apparently of one's age.
- i-ikit*: parents' mothers; also used in respectful address to women apparently of one's grandparents' age.
- i-illekas*: women whose husbands are dead.
- ikit*: a grandmother or any female ancestor except mother; also used in respectful address to any women apparently of one's grandparents' age.
- illekas*: a woman whose husband is dead.
- impidwa*: a second spouse after the death of the first.
- i-in-a*: used in addressing a group of women apparently of one's parents' age.
- ina*: mother, stepmother by courtesy; also used in respectful address to any woman apparently of one's parents' age.
- in-a*: all female relatives of same generation as parents.
- inannapo*: children's spouses; by courtesy, the spouses of sibling's children.
- inannoy-a*: elder siblings; also used in respectful address to persons apparently of one's older siblings' age.
- inan-odi*: younger siblings; also used in respectful address to persons apparently of one's same generation.
- innapo*: a child's spouse; by courtesy, a spouse of a sibling's child.
- inin-a*: old women.
- in-ina*: an old woman.
- innodi*: a younger sibling; used in respectful address to a person apparently of one's younger sibling's age.
- inoy-a*: an elder sibling; used in respectful address to a person apparently of one's older sibling's age.
- ka-amma-an*: any of one's parents' brothers.
- ka-annakan*: a brother's or a sister's child.
- kababbayan*: a female relative of the same generation; also used in respectful address by a male to any female of the same generation.
- ka-idang*: a divorced spouse.
- ka-ilian*: a barriomate, a villagemate.
- ka-ising*: a parent of a daughter's husband or a son's wife.
- kaka-ilian*: barriomates, villagemates; used in direct address.
- kaka-ising*: parents of children's spouses.
- kakaplis*: children of a second marriage after the death of the first spouse.
- kakassod*: the spouses of siblings.

- kakatogangan*: spouse's relatives of preceding generation or, loosely, spouse's relatives of all preceding generations.
- kakayong*: relatives of same generation except siblings.
- kakkababbiyan*: female relatives of the same generation; also used in respectful address by a male to a group of females of the same generation.
- kakkalallakiyan*: male relatives of the same generation; also used in respectful address by a female to a group of males of the same generation.
- kalallakiyan*: a male relative of the same generation; also used in respectful address by a female to any male of the same generation.
- kaplis*: child of a second marriage after the death of the first spouse.
- kassod*: a spouse of a sibling.
- katogangan*: a spouse's parent or parents.
- kayong*: any relative of the same generation except siblings.
- lakay*: an old man.
- laklakay*: an old man.
- lalaki*: male.
- lallakay*: old men.
- lallaki*: males.
- lalampong*: children whose parent or parents are dead.
- lampong*: a child whose parent or parents are dead.
- masin-agi*: the relationship between two relatives of the same generation except siblings.
- masin-ama*: the relationship between a male and any of his relatives of the next generation except his own children, and the relationship between any person and any of his male relatives of the preceding generation except his own father.
- masin-am-a*: the relationship between men and all their relatives of the next generation except their own children, and the relationship between persons and all their male relatives of the preceding generation except their own fathers.
- masin-apo*: the relationship between a person and any of his relatives of any generation before his own parents or after his own children except direct ancestors and descendants.
- masin-ap-o*: the relationship between persons and their relatives of any generation before their own parents or after their own children except direct ancestors and descendants.
- masin-etad*: the relationship between two relatives of the same generation except siblings.

- masin-et-ad*: the relationship among relatives of the same generation except siblings.
- masin-ina*: the relationship between a female and any of her relatives of the next generation except her own children, and the relationship between any person and any of his female relatives of the preceding generation.
- masin-in-a*: the relationship between women and all their relatives of the next generation except their own children, and the relationship between persons and all their female relatives of the preceding generation except their own mothers.
- masinka-ising*: the relationship between a person and any of his children's spouses' parents' relatives of the same generation except those parents themselves.
- masinkakayong*: the relationship among relatives of the same generation except siblings; the same as *masin-et-ad*.
- masinkayong*: the relationship between two relatives of the same generation except siblings.
- ngongoso*: children whose parent or parents are dead.
- ngoso*: a child whose parent or parents are dead.
- onga*: a young child.
- ong-onga*: a young child.
- ongong-a*: young children.
- oyek*: a baby.
- pangabong*: a spouse, or a person having blood relationship, usually applied only to distant relatives.
- pangam*: a person or persons having blood relationship, usually applied only to distant relatives; also, *agi*.
- pangbon*: a member or members of a *dap-ay* (men's clubhouse and political ward).
- pidpidwa*: the relationship between siblings' descendants in the second generation.
- pilpilma*: the relationship between siblings' descendants in the fifth generation.
- pingpingsan*: the relationship between children of siblings.
- pingsan*: any of siblings' children.
- pinpin-em*: the relationship between siblings' descendants in the sixth generation.
- pinpinpo-o*: the relationship between siblings' descendants in the tenth generation.
- pinpinsiam*: the relationship between siblings' descendants in the ninth generation.

- pinpinwa-o*: the relationship between siblings' descendants in the eighth generation.
- pippip-at*: the relationship between siblings' descendants in the fourth generation.
- pippipto*: the relationship between siblings' descendants in the seventh generation.
- pitpitlo*: the relationship between siblings' descendants in the third generation.
- sin-abi-ik*: the relationship between two persons having the same name.
- sin-agi*: the relationship between two siblings.
- sin-ag-i*: the relationship among siblings.
- sin-ama*: the relationship between a father and any of his children.
- sin-am-a*: the relationship between a father and his children; the relationship among distant relatives.
- sin-apak*: the relationship between twins.
- sin-apil*: the same as *sin-apak*.
- sin-apo*: the relationship between a person and any of his grandchildren.
- sin-ap-o*: the relationship between persons and their grandchildren.
- sinba-ey*: the relationship among distant relatives.
- sinboblon*: the relationship among members of an *ebgan*.
- sinboso*: the relationship between two barrios of enemies.
- sin-etad*: the relationship between two brothers or two sisters or a sister and a brother; also, the relationship between two halves of a long figure.
- sin-et-ad*: the relationship among siblings; also, the relationship among more than two halves of long figures.
- sin-ina*: the relationship between a mother and any of her children.
- sin-in-a*: the relationship between a mother and her children.
- sinka-idang*: the relationship between a divorced husband and wife.
- sinka-ising*: the relationship between either parent of a man and either parent of his wife.
- sinkassod*: the relationship between a person and any of his siblings' spouses.
- sinkatogangan*: the relationship between a parent and any of his children's spouses.
- sinpangabong*: the relationship between husband and wife, or

the relationship between distant relatives.
sinpangbon: the relationship among members of a *dap-ay*.
sinpangam-a: the relationship among distant relatives.