The Cultural Logic of the *Kail* (Second Burial) Practice

LEARANE K. AMPAGUEY

ABSTRACT

The *kail* "second burial" is an Ibaloy death-related practice of unearthing, cleaning, and reburying the remains of the dead depending on requests, demands, and complaints conveyed by the dead to the surviving kin. For non-practitioners, there are some aspects of which may be difficult to comprehend, such as the need for exhumation and the offerings. This paper examines the *kail* practice through the lens of cultural logic theory as proposed by Nick J. Enfield (2000), who discusses the importance of representations and mediating structures. I propose that the Ibaloy language, the objects, the *baliy* (house), and the animals used in a kail are the *mediating structures* that equip both the *mambonong* and the practitioners for the formation and continuation of kail's cultural meaning.

Keywords: cultural logic, *kail*, second burial, mediating structures, intersubjective, intercalibration, mambonong, Ibaloy language, cultural continuity

INTRODUCTION

The Theory of Cultural Logic

Linguistic anthropologist Nick J. Enfield's "The Theory of Cultural Logic: How Individuals Combine Social Intelligence with Semantics to Create and Maintain Cultural Meaning" (2000) describes the semiotic processes operative in the combination of representations and mediating structures to form social intelligence in the maintenance and transmission of what is referred to as "cultural logic."[1]

In his model, Enfield identifies three important aspects that underpin cultural logic: representations of meaning, mediating structures, and social intelligence. Here, representations move through three phases to be able to function in the larger cultural milieu: private representation, public representation, and social representation. Private representations are the ideas, thoughts, beliefs, and customs held and practiced by a person (Enfield 2000, 37) that

have to be internalized to enable the individual to reflect on what prompts others to behave or act in a particular way (Fischer 2001, 20). Intersubjectivity through socialization occurs when an individual's internalized and reflected behavior and action conform with private representations of others (Enfield 2000, Fischer 1999, and Levinson 1995) as is the case when at least two individuals agree and share meaning or private representations as in the case in individuals and groups with common cultural, backgrounds, history, past experiences, (Bourdieu 1990, Fischer 1999, and Leung and Cohen 2011), biases—attention and memory (Levinson 1995 253), or *habitus,* which governs the cultural community's minds generates all the "reasonable, common-sense, behaviors" (Bourdieu 1990, 55–56).

These shared private representations, thus, become what Enfield refers to as *public representations,* which are formed through "coordinated focus on some mediating structure," or the provision of fixed reference points that "can provide an individual with evidence for making assumptions about another's private representations" (Enfield 2000, 45) through "backward syllogism" or the reasoning "from situations or events—'effects'—to their causes, " where results are used to figure out the causes as is the case in *post hoc* analysis (Enfield 2000, 39).[2] Without these structures, individuals may never be made aware of shared private representations. Fischer suggests that one needs to *internalize* (2001, 20) private representations to reflect on what prompted the others to behave and act in a particular way.

Private representations, thus enter into a relationship of inter-recursivity such that they rely on each other for repetition or recurrence.[3] The collective mindfulness of private representations of members of the larger community is what Enfield calls *social intelligence*—the ability to be aware and possibly predict the cultural behavior of groups (2000, 38). Fischer adds:

> The development and maintenance of a cultural logic involves a **reflexive indexation** of cognitive preconceptions and predispositions to social and material relations. Through such practical activity, derivative cognitive schemas and their underlying cultural logics are reinforced (when the social and material world **conform to the expectations of an internalized cognitive model**) and are changed (when expectations are not fulfilled and a working hypothesis of a cultural logic must be modified. (2001, 20; emphasis mine)

The transmission and maintenance of culture logic is a complex process, and miscommunication can still occur even if individuals share the same background because of failure to agree on the terms of "what is being focused on" and "where the argument is going at

any one time" as individuals with syntactic knowledge encounter misinterpretation due to linguistic signaling process and extra-linguistic factors (Gumperz 1982, 185–86).[4]

> A particular *cultural logic* weaves together various scripts, behaviors, practices, and cultural patterns around this central theme, giving them a meaning and a certain logical *consistency and coherence* for the people of a culture—even if they may not appear consistent or coherent to people outside the culture, whose worldviews may be organized around a different theme by a different cultural logic. **Because the logic of one culture may contradict the logic of another culture, people standing outside a given culture often do not *get it*.** They fail to understand the sense of coherence in the behavior of people in that other culture. (Leung and Cohen 2011, 508; emphasis mine)

To finally achieve social or community representation, mediating structures or the "external structures—signs—of any kind which may serve as a target of more than one person's common conceptual focus" (Enfield 2000, 42) must be present to allow individuals to have a reference point for interaction or socialization. Enfield elaborates:

> Private representations are distributed across the community of minds via coordinated focus on this mediating semiotic material—this may include **gestures, proxemics, haircut, people's faces, melodies, cultural artefacts, odours, plants, animals, clothing, meteorological phenomena**, among just about anything else that two people can coordinate attention on. With a high enough level of coordinated attention to some mediating structure, two individuals can form via process of mutual interactive exposure, feedback, and revision, very similar private representations. (2000, 42; emphasis mine)

Language and non-linguistic factors are mediating structures that help in the transmission and maintenance of cultural logic (Gumperz 1982; Levinson 1995; Enfield 2000; and Wierzbicka 2003). Language and culture are interrelated, and as posited by the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, one needs to understand the language in order to know the culture. For Enfield, "linguistic signs" and even non-linguistic cultural representations are embedded in the linguistic code and fused in culture (2000, 59). In this manner, cooperative intersubjectivity makes language interpretation possible (Levinson 1995, 253).[5] This would account for why language and the speakers such as diviners and practitioners are important in the maintenance and transmission of cultural logic, and how cultural logic as "the indigenous rationale" is best or "mostly clearly expressed in the narrative of the priest" and decoded by means of an alternative approach of analyzing the

narrative as a whole and not by the partition of "useful *true* events and less useful *mythical* elements" (Levinson 1995, 233; emphasis mine).[6]

Material culture also participates in the operations of cultural logic; thus, the need to highlight the "relevant features of their traditional context of use" (Wierzbicka 2014, 83). For instance, sacrificial animals used in various ceremonies in the different cultures and religions around the world have variable meanings and degrees of importance depending on the ritual to be performed.[7]

The transmission of cultural logic is also reliant on voluntary participation and involvement of key individuals, and the larger community. Socialization, attendance to, and participation in the community's cultural events not only add cultural knowledge but also familiarize the individual the culture's patterns and structure—its cultural logic—since it is through these that culture is "subsequently maintained, through the active role (both conscious and unconscious) of individuals combining semiotic material with social intelligence" (Enfield 2000, 58). Cultural logic is maintained even as gradual changes, expansions, improvements, or revisions occur.

> Patterns of cultural logics (expressed in metaphors, historical narratives, religious beliefs, social sanctions, observed behavior, and in myriad other ways) are received by individuals through the processes of **socialization and ongoing social interaction**, and yet they are also **redefined through these very processes**. Cultural logics are realized (and thus, for the observer, can only be meaningfully analyzed) through practice. And this practice has a marked constructive quality, with new symbolic forms and meanings emerging from the dynamic interaction of individual intention (itself culturally conditioned but not predetermined), cultural norms (variably enforced through reflexive social interaction), and material contingencies (encompassing not only local ecologies but also structural position in global systems of political economic relations). (Fischer 2001, 16; emphasis mine)

The inability to access the "cultural logic" of one's own culture is the reason why the individual may experience a sense of disconnection and unfamiliarity when witnessing another culture's practice and rituals.

Kail, the Second Burial Practice

Burial practices and death-related customs of the Cordillera have been described by various scholars (Chanco 1980; Canol 1981; Leaño 1987; Castro 1988; Lacanaria 2000; and Piluden-Omengan 2004 among others). Ibaloy death rituals and rites have been recorded in different publications (Sacla 1987; Leaño 1987; Lacanaria 2000; Camte-Bahni 2017). Among them is the kail[8] an Ibaloy word, which literally means "second burial" (Ballard 2011, 219).

Kail as a death-related practice is observed when the request of the dead involves exhumation and reburial of the remains of the deceased. The kail[9] is initiated by a *keshaw* (or *kedaw* in Kankanaey, meaning, a request, wish, or demand sent out from the spirit world by the dead), followed by the *kaot* (the exhumation of the remains), the cleaning of the bones/remains, and finally the second burial closing rites.

The dead "communicates" these *keshaw* to the surviving relatives through dreams and other means such as "mediums, omens, songs, or by causing sickness" (Sacla 1987, 60). The *keshaw* is different each time, and the usual demands of the dead include: a) new clothes, *oles* (blankets), and *pilak*/*siping* (money); b) sacrificial animals (pigs, cows, carabaos, and dogs among others); c) performances of the *tayaw*[10] (cultural dance meant for the kail); d) request for reburial at a new location closer to the ancestral house; and e) other requests to improve their status in the afterlife. The deceased may also request for the removal of items made out of plastic, glass, or metal such as *anchokos* (spectacles), coffin glass frames, dentures or prosthetics, synthetic clothing, *dansa* (nails), buttons, zippers, jewelry, and *kangag* (coins).

If the *keshaw* is communicated to a surviving kin of the deceased, the *mambaknew* or *mambonong* (cultural priest) is consulted to confirm the source of the request and ensure that these are not from malevolent spirits disguised as the deceased (Arturo Ago, pers. comm., 28 February 2016). If the outcome of the consultation is unfavorable, the mambonong performs a healing ritual to expel the malevolent spirit before it does more harm. Otherwise, the mambonong and the *mahinbaliy* (host family) discuss the necessary offerings and plans when to carry out the kail based on the availability of the resources, moon formations and the *bilang ni akew* (number of days).

The exhumation is done by a few men in the presence of a cultural leader, the mambonong. If the remains have decomposed, the dark loam on the ground is collected and wrapped in a temporary death blanket (usually the *manta* or white cloth). If the remains are still intact inside the coffin, the entire coffin or the remains are taken to the ancestral house for the cleaning of the bones, offering of clothes, blankets, and animals, and reburial. Adult members of the mahinbaliy wipe off the dirt with a white cloth to clean the *pohel* (bones). With the help of the cultural leaders and elders, the mambonong facilitates the entire cleaning process and ensures that the chronology of events and proper behavior are followed. Once the bones are cleaned, these are arranged and wrapped in a death blanket[11] with the skull slightly peeking out. The mambonong or cultural leaders and elders would speak to the dead to seek guidance on how to fix or arrange the bones. Another death blanket is wrapped around the remains as a second

layer if this was part of the request of the ancestor. In some instances, second layer blankets indicate higher status. Some practitioners claim that the practice of wrapping the dead in a second blanket is reserved for the *baknang* or wealthy families and that the *e-biteg* (poor) family can use only one blanket. Some practitioners believe that the dead should not wear blankets more expensive than their ancestors.

When a new hollow is created in a family grave, the position of head of the remains reburied must follow the positions of the heads of the person previously interred there. If not, the mambonong and the elders decide which cardinal directions the remains are oriented. After the remains are reburied, the mahinbaliy cleanse themselves and prepare other offerings for the dead.

Sacrificial animals such as pigs are carried on the *apay* (a mat of reed on which animals are butchered), that is fixed to the ground facing the front door of the house. The mambonong sprinkles water on the pig, and the respected male elder aims for the pig's heart with an *owik* (a sharp pointed guava stick). The pigs are carried to the *shakilan* (three stones as a tripod with a fire in the middle) where they are roasted. When the pig's skin turns black, the skin is scraped off, and washed. Then the animal is returned to the *apay* for partitioning. The practitioners help butcher the pig, cook the meat, and prepare the meal. When everything is ready, the food and offerings are placed in plates and bowls arranged in a *poni* (plates of rice set on the floor together with bowls of *shigo* (broth), *dokto* (sweet potato), *aba/ava* (taro), chili, *boki* (bundles of meat for takeaway), *tapey* (rice wine), and other drinks. The *watwat* (take-away meat brought back during rituals) will be distributed to all attendees. When everyone finishes eating, the *tayaw ni etiy* and *ba-diw* follow.

The *tayaw ni etiy (*dance for the dead) and ba-diw (chants) are performed if they are part of the *keshaw,* or if the mahinbaliy agrees to include them in the performance of the ritual. The deceased is believed to be honoured in the first dance of the tayaw. This is done by surviving relatives, followed by members of the mahinbaliy. After the mahinbaliy have joined the tayaw, other practitioners and visitors are invited to join. If the ba-diw is also needed, the mambonong, mahinbaliy, and elders leave the tayaw and gather indoors to begin chanting. The mambonong leads the ba-diw while the practitioners chant the *asbayat* (chorus). Before the ba-diw concludes, the mahinbaliy express their gratitude to the mambonong and the attendees (elders, relatives and the practitioners) for their support and help for the day's event. The day ends with the ba-diw or with dinner of leftover meat served to participants.

In some cases, a pig is slaughtered the following day for a *sepnak* (a repeat ritual, especially if omens do not bode well), or the

Figure 1. The *kail* of uncle Stephen at La Trinidad in 1992 (Photo by Linda Ampaguey)

Figure 2. The *kail* of uncle Epifanio at La Trinidad in 1992 (Photo by Linda Ampaguey)

closing ceremony. This is done to ensure that all requirements are met and to correct details that the mahinbaliy and the elders may have previously overlooked. After meals are served and the *watwat* is distributed, visitors and practitioners depart, leaving the mahinbaliy, the mambonong, and the elders behind. When all visitors have left, the mahinbaliy consult the mambonong regarding the schedule of future rituals that may need to take place.[12] In some instances, this is the time other relatives or practitioners consult the mambonong regarding their

Figure 3. The *kail* of uncle Stephen at La Trinidad in 1992 (Photo by Linda Ampaguey)

Figure 4 The *kail* of my paternal grandparents Fidel "Paleng" Ampaguey and Annie Baday Ampaguey at Lubok, Balili, La Trinidad in 2022 (Photo by the author)

personal concerns. The mambonong and the mahinbaliy then cleanse themselves of negativities through the *sha-dop* and the members of the host family must wash their faces with water. After the *sha-dop*, the mahinbaliy may leave or continue cleaning of the house. After the utensils are washed, the tent is disassembled, and the floor indoors and outdoors are swept, the "second-burial" practice ends.

Representations in *Kail*

Representations in a kail involve the mambonong, the mahinbaliy, and the practitioners, all with their internalized private representations. History and past experience facilitate this introspection, as practitioners use past memories and encounters to make these meanings. A hierarchy of diviners and practitioners is called upon to help organize the kail. The highest is the mambonong, followed by the other diviners (*mambaknew, mansi-bok, manchiba),* and the cultural leaders, elders, the mahinbaliy, and finally other practitioners.

The Mambonong and the Diviners

Indigenous priests who are familiar with the belief system are the spiritual leaders of choice in the community (Sacla 1987, 5). It is rare to be chosen as a mambonong, and the choice of who can become one is the prerogative of the gods and ancestors who communicate with chosen individuals through their dreams. Not all of the practitioners become mambonong because they are inadequately familiar with the belief system (Sacla 1987, 5) and practitioners who take on the role of the mambonong without the blessings of the deities endanger their lives.[13] Those chosen must also pass a series of tests (Arturo Ago, pers. comm., 28 February 2016).

Because ancestors and deities or gods work closely with the mambonong, people rely on and follow the advice of the chosen mambonong to ensure the effectiveness of the ritual. The mambonong is consulted to heal the sick, comfort the victims of misfortune, and to thank the deities for good luck and fortunes they receive (. Therefore, the indigenous priests act as counsels to people in times of joy, sorrow, and suffering (Sacla 1987, 5).

The mambonong has overall responsibility for performing rituals and cultural practices and acts as an intermediary between the mahinbaliy and the dead. The mambonong must be familiar with rituals, communicate with ancestors and deities, and ensure that all cultural practices are adhered to. This is a serious task, especially as the mambonong needs to be well versed in the language of the ancestors and the deities.

One of the things a mambonong must remember is to always cleanse the take home meat after a ritual. Arturo Ago, a mambonong, explains that when he returns home from the ritual, he must pray and purify all things he takes home[14] of malevolent spirits or ill will (2019). Prayer is offered so that the *so-showan*[15] and *olpo* can be consumed safely. The mambonong needs to observe sufficient time for rest between performance of two different rituals. In some instances, one ritual requires the mambonong to spend the night at the mahinbaliy's

house. The mambonong's gifts are so rare that they cannot refuse anyone who asks for help. This sacred duty is a lifelong commitment and they are always expected to be ready to accommodate those in need of their services (Arturo Ago, pers. comm., 12 June 2019).[16]

Cultural leaders or elders take the place of the mambonong in facilitating some rituals when the mambonong is unavailable. Instead of the *bonong*, the cultural leader does the *madmad*.[17] There are certain rituals or ceremonies that cultural leaders must perform first before serving others. Significant mistakes by cultural leaders can endanger rituals, and worse, cultural leaders may face the wrath of the deities.

The Mahinbaliy and other Practitioners

The mahinbaliy or members of the host family are the primary practitioners in the ritual. The members extend to the closest surviving kin of the deceased. They are responsible for providing necessary funding observance of the *ngilin* and *pi-jew* (ceremonial taboo) to ensure that everything goes well. They also represent the dead or ancestors during the tayaw and eat with the dead or ancestors at mealtime.

Other practitioners are those who help the mambonong and mahinbaliy in manual labor. Most parts of the kail require community participation. Practitioners who volunteer to participate in the kail play an important role, as their cultural knowledge, familiarity with procedures, and skills are essential to the success of the ritual. They follow the mambonong's instructions and ensure that cultural practices are respected. They have the knowledge and experience to clean the remains of the dead, slaughter sacrificial animals, prepare food, set the poni, distribute the *watwat*, play musical instruments, dance the tayaw, and chant the *owag* (chants accompanying the tayaw). Their language skills and experience gained from participating in the ba-diw or observing the madmad also ensure that the ritual goals are achieved.

The elder assigned to impale the sacrificial animal with the *owik* needs to accurately hit the heart on first attempt. A vertical incision from the chest to the stomach of a pig requires practice and patience to avoid damaging the internal organs, especially the liver and bile. To prepare the poni, the practitioners must know who to serve first, where to put the plate, what part of the *watwat* to give, and where to start the distribution. During the tayaw, the *kalsa* and *solibaw* (gongs and drums) must be properly tuned for the practitioners to play the music. The elder who plays the *kalsa* is responsible for guiding the dancers into a small circle and handing the blankets to the mahinbaliy, cultural leaders and elders, and practitioners.

Figure 5. The mambonong with the mahinbaliy at La Trinidad in 1995 (Photo by Linda Ampaguey)

Figure 6. The mambonong, cultural elders, and the mahinbaliy at La Trinidad in 1992 (Photo by Linda Ampaguey)

Mediating Structures of *Kail*

During the Ibaloy kail, the *mediating structures* that provide reference points which allow cultural logic to work include language, objects, animals, and the *baliy*, or the house itself.

Language as a Mediating Structure

In a kail, the Ibaloy language is most evident in the prayers (*bonong tan madmad),* the chants (*owag tan da-tok*), and the songs (*ba-diw tan asbayat*). As a mediating structure, these Ibaloy prayers, chants, and songs require community participation and involvement that promotes the continuation and maintenance of the kail cultural logic. To participate in conversations, chanting, singing and prayer, a practitioner needs to be familiar with and understand the local language—Ibaloy.

The mambonong Arturo Ago (2019) emphasizes that the language used in the bonong, *owag*, *da-tok,* and ba-diw must be the "*esel ni too'n bayag*" or the language used by the ancestors. Upon hearing the Ibaloy utterances, one immediately assumes that others share the same private representations. Mediating structures that manifest in the *langue* (knowledge of the "grammar" or ritual practices) and the *parole* (songs, chants, prayers) entail participation from practitioners who all share the same cultural representation.

The bonong and/or madmad allows for communication between the mambonong, the practitioners, the ancestors, and deities. All require community participation, so the mambonong does not start the prayers without the mahinbaliy or members of the host family present and unless a nearby practitioner or guest is paying attention. The following is an excerpt from the bonong performed by the Arturo Ago at Poblacion, Atok in 2015:

Si-kajon nankadahay tan nankabakol
Ja nandeka met niya kail shiya baley jo
Kalajo et angken egkayo maingad-aran
On-im iya aanak jo
Nem Eg jo ngo ipapadis iya sahit jo shiya aanak jo
Bantayan jo ngo et ira
say guwaray jo pangi ngadngad-anan
Eknan jo ngo et ira ni panditengan sha
Eknan jo ngo et ira ni panbaknangan sha
Asas jo ngo et ira shiya baley ja
Tan asas jo ngo et ira shima opisina sha
Pakawani jo ira no egshakajo ma-sas
no ma-aspol jo ira
Nem eg jo ira baybay-an.

(You, the male and female elders
Who also performed this ritual (*kail*) in this house, Come

and attend this even if you are not named individually
Look after your children, but do not transfer your sickness to them
Watch after them, so you will be remembered
Give them something for their prosperity,
Give them something that will help them succeed,
Watch after them in this house,
And look after them in their offices,
Forgive them if they cannot see you when you meet them
(or immediately help you when you need them)
But do not leave them alone.))

The bonong, unlike the madmad, is a ritual prayer that directly addresses the ancestors and elders (lines 1 to 4). In other instances, the bonong appeals to the deities and other supernatural beings to help cure illness (lines 5 to 13) or sometimes seeks benefits such as good health, wealth, and good fortune from the ancestors. In line 14 to 15, the mambonong seeks forgiveness of the mahinbaliy's shortcomings and oversights that may have offended and hurt the ancestors and elders. The madmad *flows freely* while the bonong follows a structure. A madmad can be simple utterances where practitioners seek profit even from a non-ritual opportunity. This example is from Lola Tomesa, one of the cultural elders of Poblacion Atok in 2014: *"No sikam itan ja nanpa-sas, eg mo bobotengen ira aanak. Bantayam et ngo ira"* ("If you are the one who showed signs, please do not scare the children. Instead, look after them").

Here, the practitioner immediately assumes that the signs received are from an ancestor. Like the bonong, the madmad acts as a conduit or a mediating tool for the practitioners to gain the support of their ancestors. However, unlike the bonong, the madmad may be voiced by multiple practitioners at the same time. This type of prayer allows the practitioners to express their individual needs and requests.

Another mediating structure is the *owag* and *da-tok* chant pair. The *da-tok* is a blessing bestowed by the mambonong on the pair who completed the tayaw set. The *owag* (chant accompanying the tayaw) is an affirmation of blessings, and participated in by the audience. Below is an example of a *da-tok* by Arturo Ago (2019) and the crowd's *owag:*

Mambonong: *da-tok kak sikayo say enpalad-palad kayo. Mapteng ngo i obda jo tan e-semek kayo ni ka-obdaan jo.* (I'll bless you with good luck. Your work will be good and your co-workers will be supportive.)

Crowd: *O-o-o-way. Hooo— Hooo—* (Acknowledging chant.)

The ba-diw and the *asbayat* performed during a kail are the free-verse songs rendered to honor the deceased. The performance of the ba-diw requires focus and attention from the performers.

> The performers take on a stance that seems to be meditative, in deep contemplation, and highly reflective, especially when the texts are serious, or deep in meaning. Such a sensitive environment is perhaps in view of certain elements relative to the creation and rendition of the *ba-diw*. One of these is the quality and prominence of the signers themselves: leaders, the elders, and respected citizens of the society whose experience and extensive outlook in life provide a high degree of inter-connections and relationships. (Santos 2017, 132)

The *man-atob* (response) repeats certain words or phrases and the same melody is maintained for the chorus (*asbayat*), which nonetheless, also allows for variations in style of delivery.

> Almost everyone has her own way of execution in terms of ornamentation, the slide from one tone to another, vocal nuances, as well as the approach to and the departure from the melodic structure. This kind of group dynamics in the singing of the asbayat creates music that has a shape but does not have specific linear contours. Because of this, the *asbayat* may be construed as a reply or answer to the solo of the manba-diw, but rather a spreading reverberation which provides the musical body to the poetry of the *ba-diw*. (Santos 2017, 133)

There are other songs for the dead such as the *du'dyeng* and *tata-miya* which are well documented by other scholars (Leaño 1987, 213–24; Santos 2017, 126; Valdez 1994, 98–99).

Objects as Mediating Structures

In the kail, the offering of ritual objects has three functions: a) it allows the practitioner to communicate with the deceased; b) it provides information on the needs, desires, professions, conditions, etc. of the ancestors; and c) it symbolizes the strengthened relationship between the mahinbaliy and the deceased.

It is believed that ancestors retain human characteristics when they die, and that their spiritual needs (material and nonmaterial) are the same as living ones (Camte-Bahni 2017, 148). For this reason, offerings such as clothing, blankets, traditional attire, farming tools and hunting tools, and money are provided to ancestors. In any kail, the sight of material offerings immediately implies to a practitioner that the dead or the ancestors have asked for it, as the ancestors also change their clothes. It is also immediately understood that farming and hunting tools are provided to ancestors for use when they take care of their farms or hunt in the spirit world. Money is also given to ancestors so they can buy other things that they need.[18]

If the offering is considered inadequate, then the dead may not be soothed. In some instances, "the soul of the dead person refuses

to go away at the termination of the *okat* because not enough has been sacrificed" (Moss 1920, 331). Further, the requests for removal of certain objects indicate that the dead are also susceptible to injury and capable of feeling pain.

In a kail, ritual objects such as the *owik* and *pangal* (jawbone of sacrificial animals) are displayed on the ceiling of a house as signs and reminders that cultural ceremonies and rituals are being offered to the ancestors. The *owik* is inserted into the ceiling of the house, and practitioners who see it immediately assume that the resident is performing cultural rituals and ceremonies for the dead and their ancestors.

Similarly, the *pangal* or jawbones of the sacrificial animals are adorned on the ceiling and walls of the house. Stacked like a totem pole, the *pangal* pile is a record of all the cultural rituals and ceremonies performed for the deceased and ancestors, showing the number of sacrificial animals offered. A *pangal* suspended on the ceiling or walls identifies the house and resident as a practitioner. It also informs the dead that a ritual took place in this house. In most instances, the *pangal* is burned right after the ritual.

Musical instruments such as the *kimbal, solibaw, kalsa, pinsak,* and *tiktik* are recognized as status symbols. Genuine cowhide and sturdy wooden drum sets and heirloom gongs are a sign of wealth. The presence of these instruments inside houses indicates that the owner plays the instruments and has honored the dead with the tayaw. During a kail, drums heated near an open fire imply that the tayaw in honor of the dead will be performed. The sight of musical instruments being carried from the house serves as an invitation for practitioners to play these instruments, dance the tayaw, and chant or sing the *owag*.

Meanwhile, plastic, glass, and metal items left inside the coffin are also crucial in a kail. Ritual practitioners believe that removing these objects frees the deceased from the added "weight to be carried" to the other world. Practitioners also believe that glass and plastic break and cause discomfort. For these reasons, elaborately-designed "modern" coffins made of glass, plastic, nails and other metals have been replaced by those made of wood.

Animals as Mediating Structures

Animals as mediating structures have two functions: a) sacrificial animals provide information about the deceased and b) acts as vessels to signify the arrival of ancestral spirits if undomesticated animals present in the vicinity of the house during a kail or vessels to aid the mambonong or practitioner in finding the remains of the deceased or the desired reburial location.

During the ritual, domesticated animals (pigs, cows, carabaos) are used as offerings, while untamed animals signal the arrival of the

Figure 7. The material offerings in Poblacion, Atok (Photo by the author)

Figure 8. The *owik* at La Trinidad in 1992 (Photo by Linda Ampaguey)

deceased or ancestral spirits. In the Cordillera region, most indigenous ceremonies and rituals are characterized by animal offerings using pigs, cows, carabaos, dogs, horses, chickens, and ducks. On the other hand, fish, birds, and snakes are not considered sacrificial animals to the Ibaloys. The number of animals used as offerings depends on the requests of the ancestors and the weight of the ritual.

To ensure that the killing of the sacrificial animal is carried out in good faith, the impaling of the sacrificial animal is entrusted to a respected community member, usually a male elder. The pigs offered as sacrificial animals are selected according to the sex and condition of the deceased. The size, length, color, shape, texture, and other

characteristics of the internal organs of the sacrificial animal (bile, lungs, and pancreas) are used to interpret the response of the dead to the mahinbaliy's request or offer.

An *onengal,*[19] a mature male pig used for stud purposes, is preferred when the deceased is an *edakay* (elderly male); a *kaong*, an adult sow that has given birth, is used if the deceased is an *eba-kol* (elderly female). If the deceased is unmarried and has no children, a *dabas*,[20] a young female pig that has not given birth, is offered. A black pig, *direm*, rather than commercially-grown varieties, is the preferred sacrificial animal. A *botbotog* (piglet) is used in some rituals where the requests of the deceased are simple, and if the mahinbaliy have financial constraints. Usually, the *botbotog* serves as a *debon*[21] (preliminary offering or to appease the deceased for the meantime) while the family saves up for a larger ritual to be held in the near future. Sacrificial animals also include dogs. A female dog or *tina* is used when the deceased is female and *botekal,* a male dog, is used when the deceased is male. The only time the gender and age of the sacrificial animals (pigs, dogs, cows, carabaos) are not considered is when these animals were owned by the deceased. Pets and reared animals (cows, horses, rabbits, dogs, etc.) of the deceased may be given as offerings so that they may be reunited with their owner, a belief common to many cultures.[22]

For the Ibaloys, the reading of the sacrificial animal's liver, bile, and pancreas is believed to reveal the deceased's response or reaction to the mahinbaliy's wishes and questions. If the mahinbaliy has plans to travel overseas, finding a "string" or vein attached or hanging near the *apdo* (bile sac) or liver indicates long life and safe journey. The appearance of the leaves covering the bile, or an exposed bile vary in meaning. Overlapping "leaf pockets," which create dents around the *apdo,* augur savings and wealth while a protruding or extended bile is interpreted as good omen depending on what the mahinbaliy has asked. Lacanaria adds that "a gall-bladder half-filled with bile indicates inadequate offering, so other animals must be offered" (2000, 279). An empty bile sac (*paas)* is also seen positively by the mambonong or the elders. Apparent here is David Zeitlyn's concept of "divination provid[ing] a means of asking questions" that allows the practitioners to interpret things as answered prayers (1995, 189). Questions and requests about health, good fortune, well-being, safe travels, and wealth are the common themes during the kail. In the Ibaloy ceremonies, the *so-showan* and the *olpo* (leg and thigh) of the sacrificial animals are marked portions given to the mambonong as payment for facilitating the kail.

Non-sacrificial animals and insects arriving at the front door of the host family during the kail may be interpreted as vessels that the ancestors use to locate the remains, or to announce their arrival. If it is

Figure 9. The mambonong, Arturo Ago prays over the sacrificial animals (Photo by the author)

Figure 10. The sacrificial animal at La Trinidad in 1992 (Photo by Linda Ampaguey)

Figure 11. The reading of the *altiy* at Poblacion Atok in 2019 (Photo by the author)

difficult to find the body of the deceased at the time of the unearthing, as in instances when there is no tombstone to indicate the grave, no evidence of a decomposed body (e.g. small bone fragments or differently- colored soil at the burial site), the cultural leader performs the *peltik* (offering)[23] to ask the ancestral spirits to help locate the remains. The mambonong offers a *kawitan* (male chicken) as a vessel the ancestral spirits may possess to identify the exact location of the remains. The *kawitan* is left to roam the area and the practitioners understand that they will excavate whichever ground was pecked and scratched. The practitioners collect loam soil and the elder carries the *kawitan* to the ancestral house. The *kawitan* is released after the madmad, and told, *"Imahad ka mala"* (You are finally home) which means the deceased through the *kawitan* has been brought home or to the desired reburial ground.

Undomesticated non-sacrificial animals in or near the house are interpreted as a sign of the presence of the spirit of the deceased nearby. Random sightings of snakes, lizards, frogs, *motit* (civet cat), deer, birds, bugs, butterflies, and spiders hovering or running around the house or at the vicinity of the burial site are signs that carry meaning. Practitioners who encounter these animals and insects have been observed to "talk" to the animals and insects, in some instances, asking them to move aside. The belief is that they are asking the deceased and ancestors to move aside so that they are not actually stepped on. Hurting, killing, or eating these undomesticated non-sacrificial animals during the kail is considered a taboo.

The Baliy (Edifice) as Mediating Structure

Some Benguet ethnolinguistic groups have ceremonial homes or ritual houses such as the *abo-nan* or *sayamong* of the Iowak of Domolpos and the *abo-nan* of the Karao of Bokod. The *abonan* of the Karao is a ceremonial structure located in "each Karao sitio where males eat the allocated meat parts during certain rituals or feasts"(Chanco 1980, 155). For the Ibaloys, there is no such ritual house dedicated to rituals and practices. Instead, the baliy (house) or *abong* (nipa hut), especially the vicinity of the ancestral house, turns into a sacred place during a cultural ceremony. The baliy is transformed into a sacred place during the kail which is why most activities (cleaning of the bones, reburial, offering, mealtime, tayaw, ba-diw, and closing rites) are all performed in or near the house. When the ceremony is complete, the house reverts to its original state as a regular abode. The *baliy* is central to any ritual or ceremony as the activities (*kaot*, poni or mealtime, tayaw, *sekbit*, ba-diw, etc.) are performed here. During the kail, the mahinbaliy's daily activities, including work, are automatically disrupted because the cultural ceremonies and practices (cleaning of the bones, reburial, poni, tayaw, and ba-diw) require participation and are done inside, around, and within the vicinity on the baliy. After the ceremony, the house goes back as the "home," and the mahinbaliy go back to their everyday life.

The remains of the dead are usually buried near the house or in the backyard, as the dead prefer to be close to the ancestral house. During the ceremony, the surrounding area of the baliy is also considered a sacred space and people in this area are expected to conduct themselves properly. Within the area, several *pi-jew* (restrictions) such as avoiding rowdy behavior are imposed. The practitioners, especially the elders and those who help the mambonong continue to stay on guard to make sure that no one is seen or heard laughing near the remains, screaming, sneezing, breaking glass, running, or making unnecessary noises that might disrupt the ritual. If people do not conduct themselves with decorum in these areas and continue with their loud noises, then the deceased and ancestors would think that they are being laughed at and not taken seriously. If insulted, the deceased or ancestors may demand additional rituals or a repetition of the current rituals and rites, which will result in added burden for the mahinbaliy (Thomasa Eslao, pers. comm., 28–29 December 2016; Thomasa Eslao, pers. comm., 12 June 2019; Arturo Ago, pers. comm., 12 June 2019). As a precaution, children running around are ushered away while *tapey* and liquor are kept inside the house until the offering has to be done.

The poni is a cultural repast laid out on the floor, and is done inside or outside the house, depending on the request of the dead or

the instructions of the mambonong. The poni consists of plates of rice, bowls of soup, containers of cooked and unsalted meat (*pangal,* internal organs, *pinoneg, bedat*, *namit*, etc.), a *salaw* (jar) of *tapey,* a *kawil* (coconut shell used as container)of chili and salt, and utensils (knives, spoons, cups). There are at least three poni sets prepared. The first poni is designated for the deceased receiving the offerings, the ancestors, and the mahinbaliy. The second poni, usually set away from the house, is for the ancestors who died through unfortunate events (e.g. suicide,[24] accidents, murder, etc.). The third poni located outside the house is for the practitioners and guests. With the first poni, the *am-am* (material offering on a *kiyag* or winnowing tray) are all arranged facing the mambonong who leads the prayer and the mahinbaliy who represents the dead. After the bonong, the mahinbaliy and close relatives partake of the offerings. It is believed that the dead and the ancestors (who died a natural death) dine with their surviving kin with the first poni. After ten to fifteen minutes, the mambonong goes to the second poni where a few plates are offered. After the mambonong prays, the food is thrown away as this is not deemed fit for consumption by the living. This hidden location and uneaten food suggest distance with the living so that no one suffers the same fate as those who died with unfortunate events.

After the second poni, the mambonong signals the practitioners to partake in the third poni and instructs the men to distribute the *watwat*. Once the mahinbaliy are done eating, they need to wrap their meat and they may invite the cultural elders and children inside the house as the food is replenished and new plates of rice are prepared. This subtly identifies the cultural elders from the other practitioners

Figure 12. The poni during a kail at La Trinidad in 1992 (Photo by Linda Ampaguey)

Figure 13. The tayaw at La Trinidad in 1992 (Photo by Linda Ampaguey)

as the elders are given due recognition for being able to perform the madmad.

The *tayaw ni etiy*[25] (dance for the deceased or ancestors) is held near the entrance of the house but if there is no space outside, the tayaw is held inside the house. The deceased is accorded the honor through the first dance. This is done through a representative of the deceased, who dances first, followed by the *tayaw ni mahinbaliy* (dance for the family), and then a general tayaw which is open for participation by everyone. At the end of the *tayaw ni etiy*, the mahinbaliy representing the deceased is ushered inside the house known as the *ki-bit shi baliy*. This means that the deceased has been invited and is welcome anytime. Some believe that if the deceased and ancestors are not invited inside the house, they will manifest this *kechew* through dreams. The other practitioners and guests who participated in the tayaw do not enter the house. Instead, they dance outside the house.

Social Intelligence in *Kail*

As a practitioner, I saw my grandparents, relatives, and parents serving kail several times in our home. Over time, I was able to observe and interview a couple of mambonongs, several elders, and other practitioners, which helped me understand the cultural logic of kail. There are occasional differences in the practice of the rituals, but I had the opportunity to see the patterns and predict the behaviors and actions of other practitioners. The patterns show similarities and recurring customs or practices. As I attended more of these cultural ceremonies, I met other practitioners who shared their stories and experiences and shared similar and different observations on the conduct of kail. This contact with other practitioners and the attendance at the ceremonies helped me become familiar with the chronology of expected events in a kail.

From 2014–2019, while attending some of my relatives' kail in La Trinidad and Atok, I had the opportunity to shift perspective from a member of the host family to a practitioner. Attending a kail not as a mahinbaliy but as a practitioner provided a different insight and understanding of the cultural event. I have observed that some practitioners do not perform the tayaw and the ba-diw together while others do not perform both tayaw and ba-diw at all. Some have a cultural leader or elder instead of a mambonong while some have both. Some perform the kail a few months after the first burial while others are done after ten years or more. Some exhume all of their ancestors while others exhume just one. Some offer at least five or more sacrificial animals while some have at least two. Some conduct follow-up rituals and practices, while others do not. Some cover the remains with more elaborate blankets while others just have the *manta* (white cloth).

Meeting fellow practitioners, and listening to their experiences, and coming to know about how they came to understand the logic behind the rituals has made me realize that I, too, have been visited in my dreams by both my deceased maternal and paternal grandparents like other practitioners who had similarly dreamt of dead relatives. Some practitioners related how they were once non-practitioners who neither believed in their ancestors' spirits nor performed cultural ceremonies, and as a result were beset by illnesses that western medical methods and procedures could not resolve. The general belief was that this was due to requests from deceased relatives, which they did not heed. They claim that their health was restored after complying with the dead's requests and that it was only the performance of this indigenous practice that healed them when they were sick. On the other hand, some shared stories of how they enjoyed prosperity after performing the kail. These accounts were also well documented by

other Cordillera scholars such as Lacanaria (2000) who reports an account of one practitioner:

> We transferred my dead husband whose grave was under the earth. It is a practice done two years after the burial. We believe that the earth has already obtained its part of the dead body so after a certain period the bones of the dead will be transferred to a cemented grave. We butchered three pigs and there was *tayaw.* My husband's spirit was invited to perform the *tayaw* through one of my sons. There was a native priest who did the *madmad.* The prayer focused on asking for good luck, good health, and prosperity. The result is effective in the family. (Lacanaria 2000, 289)

From my experiences and accounts of others who have observed and participated in the kail, I also observed that the alterations and improvements on kail practice are largely in terms of variations in the mediating structures such as the Ibaloy language used in the songs, prayers, and chants (*owag,* ba-diw, *asbayat,* bonong, madmad, *etc.),* the cultural objects (*owik, pangal,* offerings, etc.), the animals (sacrificial and non-domesticated animals), and the baliy (house or ancestral house). Although changes were observed, these mediating structures were, nonetheless, sufficient to provide the mambonong, the diviners (cultural elders and leaders), and the practitioners with a starting point to be able to anticipate and assume the roles required of them during the kail such that the underlying grammar (*langue*) of the performance is maintained. Since these mediating structures guide the conduct of community participation, the practitioners themselves internally accept their own tasks. Watching my parents and grandparents host the kail, as opposed to attending a relative's kail, made me understand the subtle differences between participation as a mahinbaliy and a regular practitioner. For instance, participation as a mahinbaliy, requires that I dine with my parents at the first poni and participate with the *tayaw ni mahinbaliy.* In the same manner, awareness and understanding of the roles I must play and duties as a regular practitioner is also automatic (e.g. follow the order of waiting in the first and second poni, assist in chores such as food preparation and serving, etc., follow order of performance during the tayaw, etc).

"Backward syllogism" or "reasoning from situations or events––'effects'—to their causes" (Enfield 2000, 39), elicits practitioners' continued participation in these cultural events because their efficacy had been proven in the past. Functions and effects are, thus, continually validated, revised or adjusted according to contextual demands, and transmitted in the interactions of and with culturally-informed participants.

Conclusion: Cultural Logic of *Kail*

Private, public, and social **representations** are observed and conveyed through the mambonong, diviners, mahinbaliy, and practitioners who communicate with fellow practitioners and with the ancestors using the Ibaloy language. The mambonong, who are the most experienced and proficient in the Ibaloy belief system, is acknowledged as the primary mediator by both the living and the spirit ancestors. The cultural leaders and elders and the mahinbaliy are practitioners themselves with certain roles to help the mambonong transmit knowledge about and maintain the practice of the rituals. Familiarity and knowledge of the language allows individuals to participate in the madmad, *asbayat*, ba-diw, *owag*, among others as these are performed using only the local language. Furthermore, the cultural artefacts such as the material offerings, ritual objects, musical instruments, and the house as edifice and site also help to convey non-verbal meanings needed for participants to make sense of and guide the performance in the cultural practice. These **mediating structures** allow *inter-recursive representation* by helping practitioners assume and be aware of their private representations they share with others to be able to easily manage their behavior as well as anticipate that of others. In the process of communication and socialization, *intersubjectivity* occurs and a shared cultural logic is thus put to play.

The kail as a second burial is maintained by the practitioners because they share a common history, experience, culture, language, and cultural logic. Variations and modifications in practice are managed through interventions and decisions of mambonongs and diviners to ensure acceptability to foreclose the possibility of adverse change that can threaten practice of the tradition. Hence, **cultural continuity** is ensured.

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The kail has been conducted by members of my immediate and extended family many times in the past: in 1992 for my two uncles Stephen, who died in 1978 and Epifanio, who passed away in 1990. During the bonong, their remains were laid alongside the material offerings (clothes) near our ancestral house. The mambonong, who officiated the kail was Lola Irina of Long Long, Puguis. In 1995, a

kail was done for my paternal great grandparents Lola Alinsheg and Lolo Omas Ampaguey. The remains of my great grandmother Lola Alinsheg were dug up and reburied near the ancestral house at Balluay the remains of my great-grandfather were interred in a cave at Balluay, Saban, Benguet. Their remains were no longer moved to another place because there were signs that they were happy with the relocation of the burial. In December 2012, the kail for my paternal grandfather, who died in 1978 and my maternal ancestors was done at our house in La Trinidad, Benguet. Only the bones of Lolo Fidel and his parents were taken home. The mambonong Jane Lucio led the two-day prayer and ritual. In December 2015 remains of relatives were unearthed from different locations (Shilan, Beckel, and Topdac, Atok) to be buried in one family grave near the ancestral house at Topdac Atok. The cultural elder, Lola Tomesa facilitated the madmad since no mambonong was present during the said ceremony. Tayaw and ba-diw took place after the reburial. In May 2017, I attended another kail at Puguis La Trinidad. Cultural elders (Lola Laria's sisters) facilitated the kail. Tayaw and ba-diw were led by the cultural elders, who were close relatives of the mahinbaliy. Recently, in 2022, a kail was held in La Trinidad for my paternal grandparents Fidel Ampaguey and Annie Ampaguey.

NOTES

1. The concept of cultural logic was first introduced by James L. Heap (1986), Heap considers cultural logic as a state of mind (knowledge and reasoning) which enables an individual to anticipate and produce appropriate expectations. He argues that cultural logic formulates meaning from connecting and retrieving information, ideas, and concepts in the brain to equipping a person with "what should be said when making sense of someone" and "what should be said when making sense of something" (Heap 1986, 78). For Anne Swidler (1986), cultural logic is a *toolkit* where people draw a basis for *strategies of actions* (273), assessment, decision-making, inferring, forming meaning, and comprehending concepts. Anthropologist Edward F. Fischer (1999) adds that cultural logic should be regarded from the constructivists' point of view that culture continuously changes, improves, and expands. He emphasizes that cultural logic is not a "hard-and-fast rule" but rather "dynamic shared predispositions that inform behavior and thought" (Fischer 1999,15; emphasis mine).
2. Backward syllogism, or the process of deriving assumptions from the results, is conditioned by the quality of the "resultant experiences" (Levinson 1995; Enfield 2000). If the experience is positive, action is reinforced and repeated in similar instances in the future. On the other hand, negative experiences result in avoidance or

non-repetition of previous actions (Levinson 1995; Enfield 2000).

3. Enfield writes:
   P is a cultural representation if and only if p is a private representation, and p is carried by both x and y, and both x and y assure the other carries the private representation p, and both x and y assume they themselves are assumed by the other to carry the private representation p. (Enfield 2000, 45)
4. Furthermore, Angela K.-Y. Leung and Dov Cohen note that in human psychology, individuals with diverse cultures are not the only ones that differ because even those with the same cultural background differ at some point (2011, 507) and as such, the "distribution and *intercalibration* of private representations via mediating structure" must occur (Enfield 2000, 46). Leung and Cohen have been credited for the CuPS or Culture X Person X Situation approach, which is explained in the following manner: culture, person, and situation, CuPS allow an individual to understand cultural logics that gives meaning and "frame people's choices… to capture more of the within—and between—culture variation" of human behavior (Leung and Cohen 2011, 524).
5. Wierzbicka recognizes cultural logic in understanding conversations, and languages. She emphasizes that each language shows not only natural logic, or natural logic combined with historical accidents but also cultural logic (Wierzbicka 2003, 62).
6. For instance, Haskell notes that the Tarascan state follows two *elementary categories*—the Chichimecs and the Islanders—the former more superior than the latter. This concept justifies and provides the basis for the "legitimacy of the king and the royal dynasty" and the "position of the lower nobility" (Haskell 2008, 239; emphasis mine).
7. Records reveal a variety of animals used for sacrificial offerings to achieve various purposes: oxen and pigeons to honor the dead and to restore one's health after childbirth (Petropoulou 2008, 30); as offering to the deities (Hamilakis and Konsolaki 2004; Scheid 2012), goat, sheep, cattle, horse, and ram for various occasions (Puhvel 1978). The Hindu have tantric and tantra-influenced rituals which use animal blood as a means to "nourish a deity" or to calm and placating the wrath of a deity (Zeiler 2019, 379), placating spirits, ensuring fertility, or marking boundaries in a house (Groot 2009, 154–55). This practice is also prevalent in indigenous communities, where animal sacrifices are used in healing rituals (Salmi, Äikäs, Spangen, Fjellström, and Mulk 2018; Zhang 2016); divination during which the Indonesian *rato* (native priest) examines the relevant organs of sacrificial animals to interpret the future, fortune, and causes of sickness of the person whom the divination is being performed (Sachs, Mulvahil, and Dapawol 2005), a practice which is also prevalent among Cordillera ethnolinguistic groups.

8. The kail practice is often associated with other death-related practices or rites such as *keshaw* (requests, wishes, or demands of the deceased) and *okat* (exhumation of the deceased) among others. This implies that not all requests or *keshaw* involve exhumation or reburial. Other rites such as the *am-am* without the kail are acceptable if the deceased is satisfied with offerings accompanied by the mambonong's prayer. Elsewhere, Lacanaria (2000) identifies *keshaw* as a preventive ritual performed to appease the ancestor's anger and to avoid possible illness to the surviving kin (289).
9. Ballard defines kail:
   [T]he second burial…When (someone) dreams of a dead relative, the body is often exhumed, the bones cleaned, put to order, redressed and wrapped in a new death blanket. It is traditionally believed that the dead relative's *kaleshing* spirit had need of new things, or is uncomfortable due to such as water or roots in the grave" (2011, 219).
10. Sacla writes:
    The *kedaring* (spirit of the deceased) needs new clothes or material offerings from the family members or wants to be honored with a tayaw (cultural dance) at the ancestral house…the spirits do not ask for material [things] but in addition, would like to be honored with a dance, tayaw, at the house of the concerned family. The ritual becomes a bigger ritual. This requires the playing of the ritual instruments, *gangsa*, tayaw, chanting of the *day-day-eng*, and lasts for one to two days. (1987, 60–61)
11. Death blankets vary from a simple *kolebaw* (off-white with black edging and stripes) to more colorful blankets.
12. The *kawedo* (eighth day) or the *sawal teddo* (thirteenth day) may be held because the family dreamed of the deceased or the ancestors dancing. In other instances, if the *sepnak* is done on the first day, then the *toktok* or head of the sacrificial animals' are cooked on the next day. The mambonong Ago (2019) says *benat* means "to stretch or extend the blessings received from the deceased or ancestors" which is usually attended by the family, elders, and the mambonong
13. .A report by Josefa Bansen, elder of Kabayan, describes how an Ibaloy disguised as a mambonong was hired by a family to perform a ritual (Lacanaria 2000, 282–83). The fraud mambonong angered the gods because he did not have the necessary power and blessings of the gods and did not know which prayer to recite correctly in the ritual performed (Lacanaria 2000, 282–83). The fraud mambonong quickly collapsed and almost died, and it took a long time to finally recover (Lacanaria 2000, 282–83). Without the blessings of the gods, and because of personal selfish intentions, the gods did not allow him to proceed with the ceremony (Lacanaria 2000, 282–83). After the incident, he refused to repeat the fraud act (Lacanaria 2000, 282–83).

14. The mambonong takes the *sho-showan* or the sacrificial animal's *olpo* (the hind leg which is impaled during the *owik*) home after the event.
15. Ballard defines *so-showan* or *sho-showan* (2011) as "one hind quarter of a pig that is given to the mambonong price as his wages for officiating at a ritual feast" (467).
16. Other practitioners with this rare gift of communicating with the spirits are the *mansi-ok* and the *manchiba*. The *mansip-ok* (Kn. *mansi-bok*) is a person gifted with powers "to determine illness, death, and misfortune and prescribes the appropriate ritual cure" (Sacla 1987, 5). This is to make sure that the deceased are those who manifested themselves in dreams and are the ones asking for the *kechaw* and not malevolent spirits pretending to be the deceased. In rituals, the *mankotom* (Kn.) and *manchiba* (Ib.) interpret omens and signs which the *mansip-ok* and the mambonong may not decide (Sacla 1987, 5). The *mansi-bok* employs a variety of tools for divination (e.g., pendulums, *tapey*, raw eggs, sticks, feathers, plants (Lacanaria 2000, 58), candle wax, and others).
17. The bonong is the prayer chant for the mambonong or "native priest" while the madmad is for laypersons, cultural elders, or practitioners (Ballard 2011).
18. I remember an anecdote related to me where a surviving kin confronted the dead. The kin was asked if it is possible for the ancestors to just "steal" or take what they need from shops and stores. The dead responded that such a thing is not possible since the products are being looked after by the ancestors of the shop owners.
19. Lee Ballard (2011) defines *onengal* as an "uncastrated male pig" (334).
20. Ballard (2011) defines *dabas* as a "gilt—female pig that has not farrowed young" (122).
21. The difference of the *debon* and *keshaw* is explained in "Ibaloy Beliefs and Values in Healing and Death Practices" by Rosella Camte-Bahni (2017).
22. Such belief of pets reuniting with the dead in the afterlife is similar to Roman funerary areas in Tiel-Passewaaij, Netherlands where animal bones discovered indicated that pets were sacrificed and buried with the dead (Groot 2009, 163–64).
23. The *peltik* is performed by a mambonong to offer a drink, usually *tapey*, to the deceased or ancestral spirits who are called. The mambonong pours a few drops of the drink to the ground.
24. Isabel Leaño in "Going Home to the Spirit World" (1987) explains that those who died of suicide and victims of accidents are considered inferior spirits and "malevolent" ones who try to recruit persuade the living to follow their tragic death (194).
25. The tayaw is the general term referring to the traditional dancing and specifically to the male dancer's steps while sarong refers to the female dancer's steps.

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