

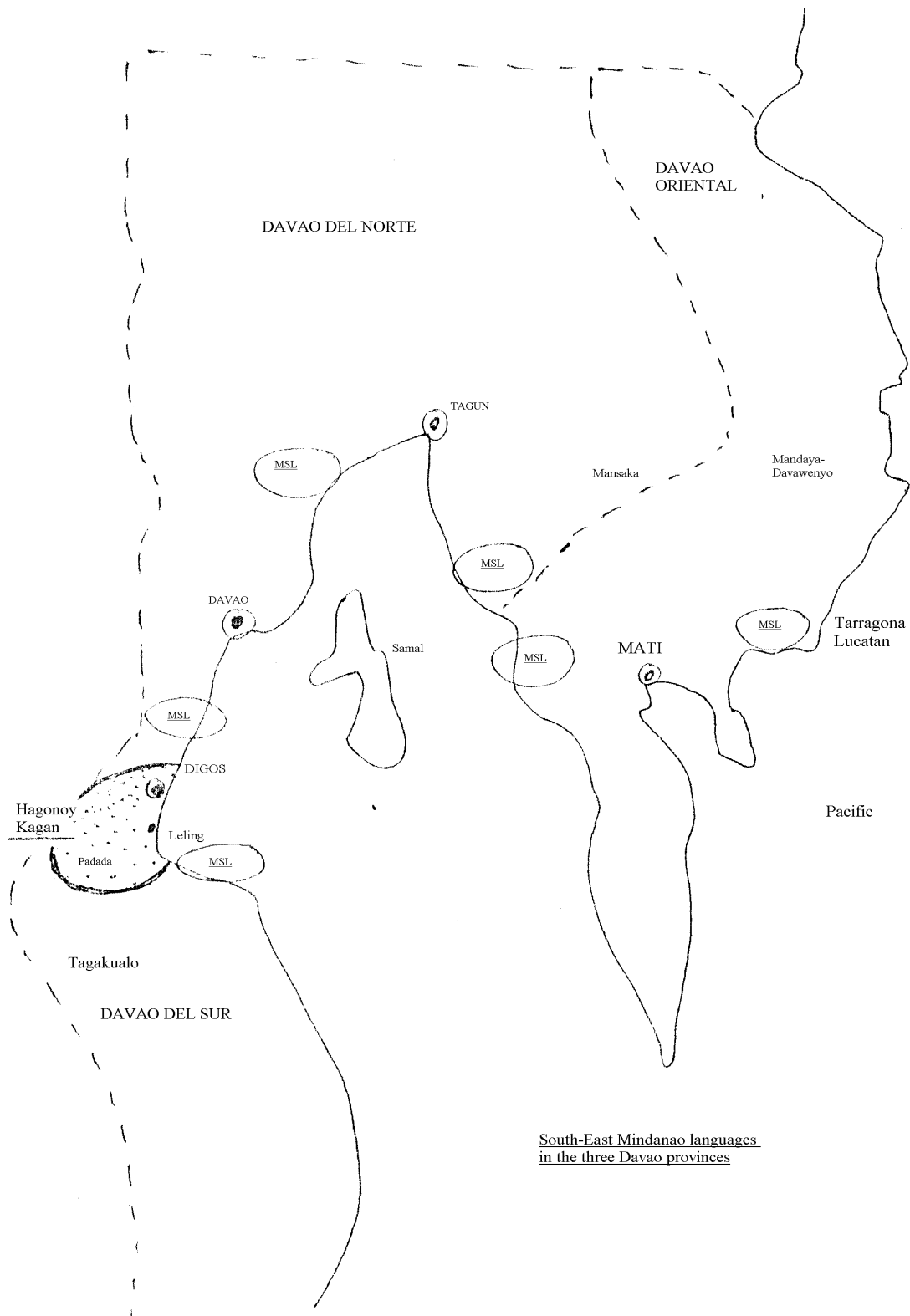
Report on Kagan-Kalagan

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Contents

- 1 Introduction
 - 2 Background
 - 2.1 Demographic profile
 - 2.2 Linguistic classification of Kagan
 - 3 Murray/Regier report (1973–1974)
 - 3.1 Assessment of needs
 - 3.2 Comments on the Murray/Regier report
 - 4 The Kagan project started
 - 5 Impressions of assimilation
 - 5.1 Early accounts
 - 5.2 Present impressions
 - 6 Reevaluation of the Kagan program
 - 7 The Nickoll survey (1979) SEM (Casad)
 - 7.1 Questions asked regarding Kagan
 - 7.2 Comments on the 1979 report
 - 8 Sociolinguistic survey (1981)
 - 8.1 Questions and answers
 - 8.2 Comments on major points
 - 9 Recent observations
- Bibliography



1 Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to give a brief summary report on the cultural community of Kagan-Kalagan, on our work with this group 1977–1980, and on the reevaluation and phase-out of our program among them for reasons of what we perceived to be linguistic and cultural assimilation into the majority culture.

2 Background

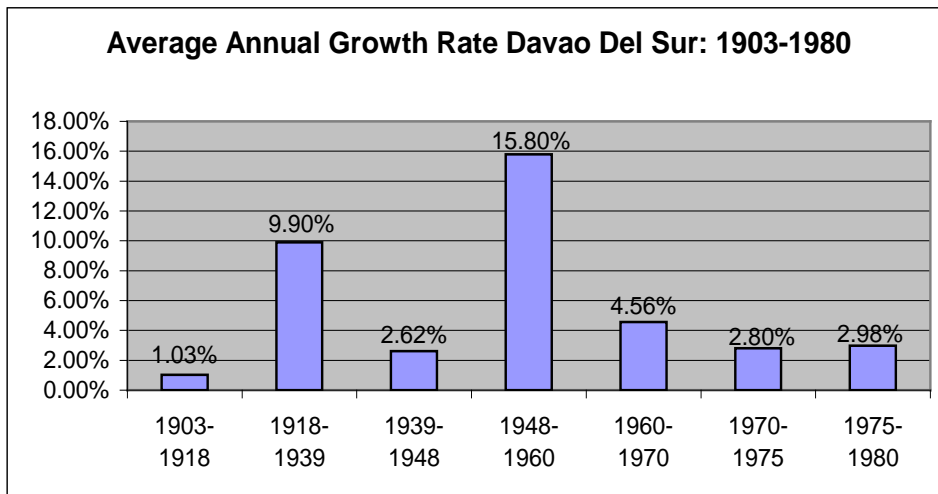
2.1 Demographic profile

2.1.1 Davao del Sur province

It is assumed that in 1918 the population of the tribal people were still in a majority in Davao del Sur, but around that time the government was encouraging Philipinos from the Visayas and Luzon to settle on Mindanao, and the annual population growth rate which was around one percent from 1903–1918 increased to 9.9% from 1918–1939. During the war years the rate was down to 2.6%, but from 1948 to 1960 it went up to 15.8%. Since 1960, immigration has gone down again, and the rate is now at around three percent.

The two immigration waves have changed the demographic profile of the province dramatically, and today about seventy percent of a population of about 523,000 are claiming Cebuano as their native language.

The major cultural communities account for about twenty-six percent of the total population. They are represented by Bilaan, Bagobo, Tagakaulo, and Manobo.



2.1.2 Kagan Area

Fay-Cooper Cole claimed in 1910 that the Kagans represented a branch of Tagakaulo and that they were residing at the northern end of Tagakaulo territory until around 1860.

The Tagakaulos were living between the Bilaans in the mountains and the Sarangani Manobos and Muslims on the coast, and their territory stretched from the southern end of the Sarangani peninsula towards inland Malalag.

In about 1860, the Kagans united under a warrior called Pugauk and moved north to the Padada area where they were able to settle after a successful war on the Bagobos.

The Jesuit Father Pastell said in 1886 that the Kagans were living on a reduction near Digos (now the capital of Davao del Sur).

In 1910 Cole claimed that the Kagans were practically all living on the Americans' plantations around Digos. The Kagans then seem, for a brief period, to have been in control of the fertile Digos-Padada area but have soon come under pressure, and today they are living in scattered pockets in this area with only occasional contact with one another. The Kagan area is one of those hardest hit by immigration. An indication of this is that the population density in the municipality of Hagonoy where we were staying was 379 people per km² (1980). The national average was 160 per km², and the average of the province was 126.

In the municipality of Hagonoy, which has the heaviest concentration of Kagans in this area, the tribal groups together account for about twelve percent of the total population of about thirty thousand; the Kagans alone account for about 2.5%.

Barangay Leling where we were allocated is probably the most solid Kagan Community, with about twenty-six percent of the barangay population belonging to a Kagan household. However, as will be seen from our sociolinguistic survey data, about ninety percent of Kagans below 35 years marry non-Kagans, so most of these households have non-Kagan members. (If we can go by the provincial average, people below 35 years of age represent about eighty-five percent of the population.)

The barangay-captain of a neighbouring barangay estimated that maybe fifty of the approximately seventy Kagan households were diluted with non-Kagans.

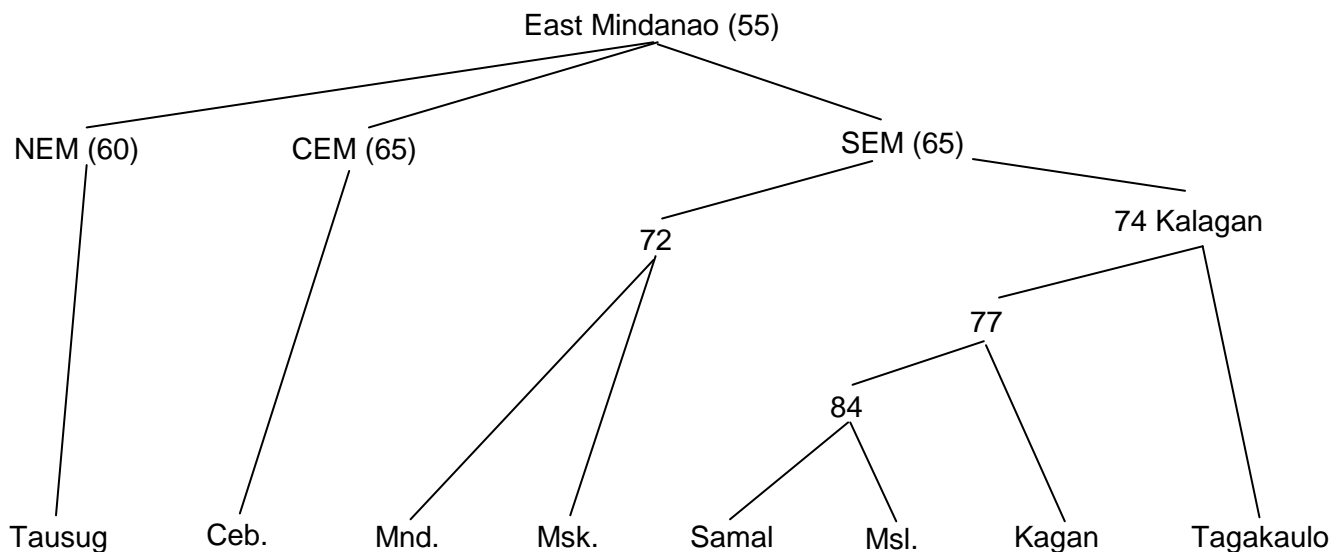
As to the total Kagan population, it is difficult to give an exact figure, as the data from the National Census and Statistics Office (NCSO) do not differentiate between Muslim-Kalagan [kqe] and Kagan-Kalagan [kli]. The total figure for 1975 (both groups) as quoted by MacFarland, is 4,400. The figure for 1980, subtracting known Muslim groups leaves about 230 households of Kagans, or about 1200 individuals. However, PANAMIN-figures for 1982 (also probably combining Muslim and non-Muslim Kalagans), list about nine thousand.

The divergence may be an indication of the assimilation that is taking place. Children of mixed marriages may be given different designations according to attitude and situation.

2.2 Linguistic classification of Kagan

Walton (1977) classifies Kagan as a member of the South East Mindanao group, together with Tagakaulo, Muslim-Kalagan (piso), Kalagan Samal, Mansaka, and Mandaya. Cebuano belongs to the neighbouring node of Central east Mindanao; Tausug to North East Mindanao.

The figures given below are cognate percentages according to the 572 Reid meaning list.



Both Tagakaulos, Kagans, and Muslim speakers of Davawenyo may refer to themselves as Kalagans. This seems to be a prestige term, and as such probably originating from the time when Carraga was the dominating town in the Davao districts. The Spanish started settlement of the Carraga in the early 17th century.

3 Murray/Regier report (1973–1974)

3.1 Assessment of needs

The purpose of the Murray-Regier survey was to classify all the Kalagan dialects on the basis of Casad [recorded text tests of intelligibility...ed.] in order to decide literature development and literacy needs, and to see how widely the Tagakaulo materials could be used.

They came up with four groups of Kalagan: Tagakaulo, Kagan, Davawenyo (Muslim), and Samalenyo. Intelligibility tests and cognate counts were made for these four groups, and for Mansaka and Cebuano.

The results were as follows:

		intell.	cognate
a. Kagan:	Ceb	66	54
	Msl	82	57.7
	Msk	79	71.4
	Sml	93	83.7
	Tag	64	74
b. Msl:	Ceb	86.8	52
	Kag	91.4	57.7 (69)
	Msk	91.5	78
	(Sml)	—	84)
	Tag	64.9	74.4
c. Sml	Ceb	65.4	(58)
	Kag	81	83.7 (73)
	Msl	73	80 (84)
	Msk	71	71.4
	Tag	58.3	68.6
d. Tag	Ceb	78	50
	Kag	54	74
	Msl	84	69
	Msk	73	64
	Sml	76	68.6

On the basis of the intelligibility figures, the report concludes that there is a literature development need both for Kagan and Samalenyo, whereas the Muslims have a score that indicates that they can handle Cebuano. Kagan-Kalagan Digos is suggested as a reasonable place to start a language development project with a view to the strategy for the whole Kalagan area.

3.2 Comments on the Murray/Regier report

We were quite impressed by the report, but early questioned the Cebuano intelligibility score among Kagans (sixty-six percent).

We feel that with the varying testing situations, group attitudes, and even varying quality of test-texts, Casad figures should be used with care. They may be good as an initial indicator but may need rechecking in some cases.

An indication that the figure was skewed was that, e.g., Tagukaulo-Mainit with fewer Cebuanos around and a lower cognate count scored twelve percent higher than the Kagans in Digos. Davawenyo Piso (Muslim) with approximately the same situation as Leling with regard to Cebuano majority and with 57.7% cognates scored 91.4% on the Cebuano intelligibility, and we feel that gives a truer picture of the situation. A later Casad recheck on Kagan in Leling confirmed this, as the score was above ninety percent.

As to Samal, I have visited the area only once. I interviewed a few people, a human developments officer, two barangay-captains (one Samalenyo, one immigrant), and a school teacher. The impression is much the same as for Kagan. They are lowland Christians living among a majority of Cebuanos with whom they intermarry, reportedly to a considerable extent. The teacher was married to a Cebuano wife, and he claimed his children would speak Samalenyo to him, and Cebuano to their mother. According to census figures they do not in any barangay constitute more than thirty percent of the population.

The area seems heavily churchd, and schools are within easy reach of any area. We are presuming that they have neither literature development nor literacy needs, but it would be good if one of the Kalagan teams could spend some time there to assess the situation more closely.

4 The Kagan project started

When Andy and Sherry Gallman began work, they first wanted to go to a Mandayan location in the municipality of Carraga. However, when surveying the area Andy was relieved of excessive luggage by friendly rebels and decided it wasn't the place to settle with a family at that time.

Their next choice then was Leling among the Kagan-Kalagans, as suggested in the Murray report. With Andy's studies on South East Mindanao, I guess he had a strategic view of the area from the very beginning, that we got only after we transferred to Lucatan and got in close contact with Davawenyo/Mandaya.

Andy and his family stayed for about three months in Leling before he was asked to help in administration. We were then asked to consider the project and moved in there in April 1977 after a short visit in January.

5 Impressions of assimilation

5.1 Early accounts

Oral tradition claims that the Kagans got help for their war on the Bagobos from the Sarangani Manobos with whom they afterwards had a lot of contact. Cole says that the Kagans were constant borrowers and that they intermarried with the Manobos and Muslims along the coast. He says they even copied the dress of the Muslims which was red with yellow stripes, and evidently had this as their tribal costume, without turning to Islam.

It seems that they have also early been at good and receptive terms with Spanish and Catholic Christianity. Father Pastell in 1886 refers to the Mandayans as cannibals, but to the Kagans as friendly and good people. He says that the Kagan chief and all his family had been baptized.

Because of the closeness to and daily interaction with Cebuano neighbours, we early got the impression that Kagans were bilingual. Our barrio-captain said with some pride that “Kalagans are experts in Cebuano.”

Some early observations may serve to illustrate the heavy pressure on Kagan, from Cebuano:

There was a marked difference between ideal and real language, e.g., when translating our first book, we probably used too conservative language, as Cebuano loans were weeded out. This also, at least in the beginning, was the case with our language learning. One man accused (or complemented me) on speaking like his grandfather.

A couple of Cebuano speakers at Nasuli commented on the language of our language helpers and said they could understand most of it. One termed it “creolizing.”

With Cebuano speakers in attendance, Kagans would either switch to Cebuano or mix languages.

Quite a few young Kagans are more at home with Cebuano than Kagan. This was the case with a neighbouring barrio-captain, a lady about 30 years old and with the youngest daughter of the barrio-captain in Leling. The eldest daughter spoke Kagan very well. The age difference between the two is maybe seven years.

In one neighbouring family the daughter learned to speak Kagan, the son didn't.

In yet another neighbouring family the father was Ilonggo. He didn't know how to speak Kagan, even though he had stayed in Leling for maybe ten years. However, he could understand at least some Kagan. He would talk to his five year old son in Cebuano, and the boy would answer him in Kagan.

5.2 Present impressions

One barrio-captain said that some parents wouldn't teach their kids Kagan, because then they would be hard up at school.

Kagan kids go to school with and play with Cebuano children, and language learning is a one-way street; Kagan children learn Cebuano, Cebuanos don't learn Kagan.

Most households are mixed with non-Kagans: Kagan communities seem too small to provide enough marriage partners for young Kagans.

Most of the men have to work outside the Kagan area, as their land is generally too small to completely support a family.

When our barrio-captain would explain to others about our work, he would say that we had come to revive their culture. At a later stage he said that if they didn't get the New Testament in Kagan, their language would die out.

6 Reevaluation of the Kagan program

To us this was a perplexing situation. Probably our situation was somewhat unique; I believe we were the only team on Mindanao working with a lowland Christian tribal group. To do that we felt we should meet and accept people where they were. It might be good to emphasize the tribal identity and heritage—where the tribe is still a functioning cohesive unit. With the lowland acculturating Kagans, would it be right or necessary to work on cultural revival?

Talking to senior translators about this situation we were advised to at least go ahead and translate one book. Our leaders agreed to this, and we translated the book of Mark before 1980. In the next year we wrote a report where we tried to state the need for reevaluation of Kagan literature development.

7 The Nickoll survey (1979) SEM (Casad)

7.1 Questions asked regarding Kagan

As we started on Kagan, we viewed that as an isolated project that needed literature development. The survey with Tom Nickoll in 1979 helped put Kagan in strategic perspective as part of the South East Mindanao languages. Apart from the goal of completing the linguistic picture of the SEM languages, it was also stated as a goal there to clarify whether we ought to transfer from Kagan in Leling to a group speaking the Muslim-Kalagan dialect.

During the survey we visited barangay Lucatan in Tarragona which was about ninety-five percent Kalagan Muslim and decided that the place would be ideal as a base.

According to PANAMIN figures, there are about fifty thousand speakers of Muslim-Kalagan. NCSO figures only list Davawenyo as about one hundred twenty thousand with no difference as to Muslims and non-Muslims.

The comment was made that there was mutual intelligibility within the Kalagan languages (excluding Tagakaulo), and that Muslim-Kalagan might be the most prestigious dialect.

7.2 Comments on the 1979 report

The questions about a transfer to the Muslim-Kalagan group were not definitely answered by the survey.

After a later Casad test, it was confirmed that intelligibility of Cebuano was good. Muslim-Kalagans were deemed bilingual with Cebuano, but culturally relevant would probably be necessary.

According to this then, we should take a serious look at the Muslim-Kalagan option.

8 Sociolinguistic survey (1981)

8.1 Questions and answers

In 1980–1981, we got a letter from Director, Len Newell, as a response to our reevaluation report. He said there that literature development needs should be determined not only in terms of bilingualism, but also in terms of biculturalism. This letter caused us to do a brief sociolinguistic survey right after we came back from home leave. We interviewed about fifty people in two municipalities and three barangays.

Age: Group (a) 20–35, (b) 36–50, (c) above 50. The telephone numbers represent the groups in succession (abc) bin stands for Visayan, klg stands for Kalagan.

a.	Birth	present loc. 87.5-100-83	elsewhere 12.5-0-17	
b.	Subsistence	farm 7-21-31	fishing 33-14-19	other 60-64-50
c.	Land-owner	no land 93-67-11	1 ha 7-20-61	three or more 0-13-22
d.	Religion	Protestant 47-40-61	Catholic 53-60-49	
e.	Why Kalagan	Parents 94-73-59	tribe 6-20-41	
f.	Tribe, father	klg 100-71-94	other 0-29-6	
g.	Tribe, mother	klg 81-100-88	other 19-0-12	
h.	Tribe, spouse	klg 8-40-88	other 92-60-12	
i.	Ig. of non-klg spouse	klg 38-33-33	binisaya 46-33-33	klg/bin (mixed) 16-33-33
j.	Ig. in home	klg 35-64-69	bin 21-14-0	mixed 43-24-6
k.	No. of children	3 or less 64-30-7	4 or more 36-70-93	no children 31-13-17
l.	Tribe of children's spouse	klg -0-15	bin -55-42	other -45-43
m.	Ig. of non-klg. spouse of child	understands klg -78-70	can speak klg -11-10	no knowledge of klg -11-20
n.	Diff. bin/klg	no diff 41-27-22	diff 59-73-78	

o.	Diff. cust.	same 42-40-39	diff 58-60-61		
p.	Lg. Knowl.	klg/bin 100-100-100	Bagabo 40-33-53	Tagakualo 19-20-35	other 50-45-53
q.	Father's lg.	100-100-100	25-35-41	25-21-18	50-50-47
r.	Children's lg.	klg/bin 38-42-81	mixed 23-29-13	no/little klg 38-29-6	
s.	Preferred lg.	klg 76-80-83	no pref. 24-14-17	bin 0-6-0	
t.	Can read	yes 93-86-43	no 7-14-56		
u.	Grade	finished prim. 62-40-6	HS/college 19-20-0	finished 2/3 19-31-30	no grade 0-20-61
v.	Reading mat. at home	Bible 42-43-56	no 57-57-64		
w.	Desired marriage for children	It's up to them 100			
x.	Future no klg	maybe/uncertain 45-56-29	no 55-28-52	yes 0-14-18	
y.	Advice to children	Behave well 100			

Comments on Kagan-Kalagan attitude survey October 1981.

This survey was taken in the beginning of October 1981 in four places where Kalagan live, Guihing, Leling, Balagulan, and Puntabiyaw, all within 15–20 minutes from Digos (Davao del Sur)—on a motorbike. The purpose of the survey was to determine Kalagan attitudes to their own culture and patterns of change in this group.

Our impression from early stages of our stay in Leling was that Kalagans use and understand Cebuano quite well. They are a lowland group that lives scattered among a majority of Visayans and has very little left of what makes them different from their Visayan neighbours.

An intelligibility test, Kalagan–Cebuano, taken in Leling in 1980 as a supplement to our East-Mindanao survey 1979 confirms our impression of bilingualism, as the score was above ninety percent.

The respondents were grouped according to age: Group (a) 20–35 years, group (b) 36–50, and group (c) above 50.

The number of people interviewed were sixteen in group a, fifteen in group b, and eighteen in group c, in all forty-nine.

a. Place of birth

This shows that there has been very little movement to the places where the interviews took place. The results say nothing of movement from the locations. I asked a number of people of groups b and c where their married children lived, and the great majority of them have left the place where they were born.

b. Subsistence

Very few young people are farmers. The figure of group a correlates with the answers to question three which shows that most young people do not have any land. An increasing number, it seems, are making a living from fishing. The other category represents people who work on plantations, people who work in the fields, who make nipa-thatch, etc.

c. Land

The scores indicate that Kalagans are losing their land. Groups a/b may still inherit from group c, but land-area to be inherited is small, and if portioned out to several heirs will be minimal. Some people said they had, e.g., twenty trees, which I suppose is the result of this kind of thing. One ha. should have 100–120 trees. Maximum land for group b was three ha., maximum land for group c was eleven ha. (One person only had that much. Otherwise two had four ha., and one had five in this group.)

d. Religion

This is not significant. All Kalagans in Leling are Protestants, as far as I know, but I don't think we met anyone in the three other locations that was not a Catholic. Kalagan Catholics are probably in a much greater majority than indicated by the percentages here.

e. "Why do you say that you are a Kalagan?"

The responses "My parents are Kalagan" or "That's my tribe" seem to indicate more awareness of parents' tribal identity in group a if groups a and c are compared. However, reference to parents may very well indicate awareness of their own tribal identity.

f,g. Tribe of mother and father

Those interviewed were pure Kalagans. The great majority had two Kalagan parents.

h. Tribe of spouse

This shows that only eight percent of young Kalagans marry within their own tribe. The tendency to marry outside their own group is also seen in group b where forty percent married within their own tribe, whereas in group c eighty-eight percent married within their own tribe.

i. Language of non-Kalagan spouse

The response here shows that quite a few claim that they know how to speak Kalagan (thirty-eight percent for the young group). This should be compared with question thirteen and eleven of non-Kalagan spouse of child. The score here is quite a bit lower. The reason is indicated in the comments to question one, where it is stated that a majority of young people who marry make their home somewhere else. My impression is that the language of the couple will frequently be that of the group they will live among. So quite a few Cebuano wives in Kalagan locations will use Kalagan. If they live among a Bagobo group (which quite a few do), they will often use that language. However, for group a, a majority will use Cebuano, even if they live among Kalagans. The mixed group is classified as such apparently because they use more Cebuano words than the norm for pure Kalagan permits.

j. "When you talk together at home, what language do you use?"

Of the young group, quite a few speak the mixed (sagol) variety, forty-three percent. The percentage of those who use Kalagan in this group, seems to correspond to the lg. use of the non-Kalagan spouse in question 9 (thirty-five percent). An extra category has been added here because of inconsistency in marking. The bin/klg-group represents people who would say, e.g., "sometimes Kalagan, and sometimes Visayan." One lady of the first group would speak Visayan to her kids, but Kalagan with her mother. One of our neighbours is Ilonggo, with a Kalagan wife. He uses Visayan in the home, but his youngest kid used to talk to him in Kalagan. (The little fellow has just started school now, so the situation may be changing.)

k. "How many children do you have?"

The percentages for the no-children group are calculated from the number of all those interviewed. The percentages for the two groups with children are calculated from the number of people in those two groups only.

l. Group a is too young to have married children, it seems.

No child of group b has married within his own tribe, whereas fifteen percent of the children of group c have. The reason for this may be that, the groups of Kalagans are fairly small and scattered, so those who are of marriageable age don't have a lot of choice. Also, if our location (Leling) is typical, people within these groups are frequently related through marriage, so marriageable children are often related to each other.

m. The information is second hand, given by the in-laws of the non-Kalagan spouse in question. They claim a high percentage of understanding of klg (seventy percent or above), but relatively few can speak it.

n. "Is there any difference between a Visayan and a Kalagan?"

The great majority say there is a difference, except maybe for group a where a high percentage (forty-one percent) say there is no difference. This underscores that Kalagans still have a fairly strong group feeling.

o. "Do you have customs that are different from the Visayans?"

The majority claimed they had different customs. If asked to exemplify, very few could point to anything specific. Those who did mentioned customs of their forefathers that are no longer practised, e.g., taking warnings from the limukun bird before going anywhere. However, three or four mentioned their ancestral religion. The last balyan (spirit-mediator) in Leling died a few years ago, but there are reportedly still some practising balyans in Guihing and Aplaya Digos. I have not met any of them, but will make an effort to do so. Some said (in Leling), that Visayans worship idols. I take this to mean that the protestant Kalagans in Leling feel that they are different from the Catholics.

p. "What languages do you know?"

It was interesting to note a lot of people claimed they knew Bagobo. The other group is represented by a variety of languages, e.g., Ilonggo, Bilaan, Tagalog.

q. "What languages did your father know?"

I had expected to find less than one hundred percent for the Visayan, at least for group c. Some old people indicated that their father's knowledge of Visayan was limited. One old lady told how there would be problems and fighting in the old days because Visayans and Kalagans could not communicate.

r. "What is the language of your children?"

This shows a clear movement away from the use of klg. If groups a and b are seen together against group c, the movement is also seen from b to a but not so clearly.

s. "What language do you prefer, Kalagan or Visayan?"

The great majority prefers their own language.

t. An earlier survey indicated that about eighty percent of the Kalagans were literate. Group a and b scored a very high rate here, ninety-three and eighty-six percent. Group c scored only forty-three, so the average is seventy-four percent.

u. "What grade did you finish?"

One MEC official said they only considered people literate if they had finished grade four. This standard would make the klg literacy rate considerably lower. "Finished primary" and "HS/Col" should be taken together: It means that eighty-one percent of group a finished primary school, and that forty percent of group b did. In group c only six percent finished primary, and sixty-one percent had no grade at all. However, a number of people have attended literacy classes, and that is the reason for the slightly lower percentage for this group in question twenty who said they could not read.

v. "Do you have any reading materials at home?"

Quite a lot of people have a Bible, otherwise they have nothing.

w. "Would you want your child to be married to a Kalagan or a Visayan?"

One hundred percent responded that it was their child's decision, but some people, when pressed, would accept my hypothetical situation that they could decide for their children and they would then prefer klg.

x. "Do you think the time will come when there will be no more people speaking Kalagan?"

Very few would say "yes." For the "no" group, my impression is that they spoke more to their own use of their lg. than to a hypothetical future: "I will not lose my language, even if I go to the States." This speaks for a positive attitude to their own language.

y. "If you had to leave your children for a long time, and maybe you would not be able to return (e.g., if you were a soldier), what kind of advice would you give to your children?"

The universal response was: "Behave well." If asked to specify, they would say, e.g., "Don't roam around," "Don't steal," "Take care of your siblings," "Cook food." One person said: "Study your language so you will not lose it."

8.2 Comments on major points

The significance of the marriage pattern may be highlighted by a couple of quotes:

"Intermarriage is probably the best indication that to a considerable extent the process of cultural integration has already taken place." (Hunt 1954)

"A people is any segment of society that marries chiefly within itself." (Montgomery/McGavran 1980)

According to this, it seems that Kagan should be considered as an integrated member of the lowland Christian Cebuano culture.

Another significant development is that seen in relation to possession of land. As Kagans are losing land, it seems that one of the strongest and (maybe last) cohesive elements of Kagan culture is disappearing.

As to language use, there is a clear development to the use of Cebuano or mixed language, even in the home.

Against the above developments are attitudes that a majority of people still have an appreciation of their own language and a sense of being different.

9 Recent observations

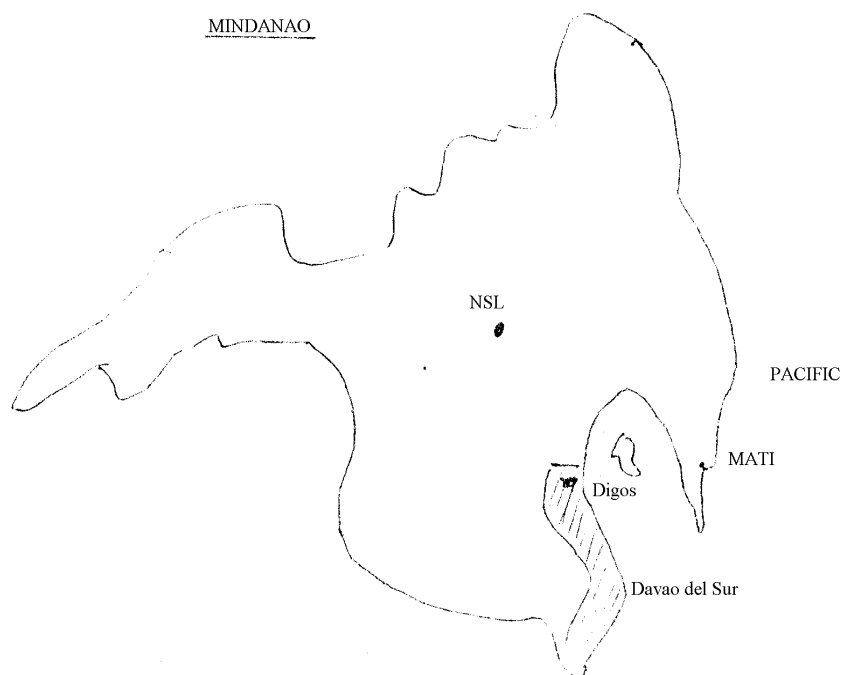
On the whole, we believe our partial program with the Kagans has been beneficial to the group there. Andy relates that people would rebuke him if he talked to them in Kagan outside of Leling. It was evidently not prestige to be identified as a non-Cebuano. We found that people talked to us freely and even demonstratively in Kagan anywhere. We credit this to the limited literature production program and a more healthy Kagan self-image.

Also, Cebuano neighbours were showing more interest in the Kalagan language as literature was produced. (In addition to the Scripture materials, we had five other small books printed, and a 3000-word dictionary in the form of bound computer print-outs were given to a few friends.)

A previous municipal councillor residing in Leling hardly spoke a word of Kagan when we first came there. The last time we met him, he conversed freely in Kagan.

We see the situation in Kagan-Cebuano areas as that of a stew rather than a clear-cut mosaic. With a Kagan flavour it might be both edible and good tasting.

We would also like to express our thanks to our Kagan friends who welcomed us so well and who didn't like to see us go—and to Andy Gallman and Hart Wiens who were directing our programs and giving help and advice.



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