Chart VII

	Otenep	Pirimapun	Aorket	Tareo
Ot		79	38	40
Pir	99		58	63
Aor	94	96		43
Tar	97	97	100	

Number of items

Percentages

2.4. Summary

The lexicostatistical figures presented above allow us to distinguish within the Asmat area four closely related languages whose mutual relationships lie between 69%-79%. They are: Central Asmat (CA), Casuarina Coast Asmat (CC), Citak Asmat (CI), and North Asmat (NA). Central Asmat is spoken in four dialects: Kawenak (KW), Keenok (KN), Keenakap (KP) and Sokoni (SO). They share between 84% and 90% cognates. No further division into subdialects as claimed by Drabbe is apparent in KW. Lists representing one and the same dialect share 93%-100% cognates.

The data in CC are still insufficient to signal the presence of dialects. The same applies to CI and NA.

3. CENTRAL ASMAT

I shall begin this chapter by presenting some general observations on the phonology and grammar of Central Asmat. We shall need this information when discussing the CA dialects and when we compare CA with CC, CI, and NA.

The sections following those observations will be devoted to a more detailed discussion of each of the four dialects. They will be further defined in terms of their phonological, lexical and grammatical characteristics and where the data allow it something will be said about subdialectal differences. Also the dialect boundaries will be tentatively established. The element of uncertainty is due to the fact that we still need to rely partly on local opinion, that is on what people in one village say about the language spoken in other villages known to them but not represented in the language samples.

3.1. Phonological Observations

3.1.1. Syllable and word structure

Six types of syllables are found in Central Asmat: V, CV, VC, CVC, VCC, and CVCC (V = vowel phoneme, C = consonant or semivowel phoneme). Nasal consonants can occur as peak of phonetic syllables; on the phonemic level they form part of the complex phonemes /m/ and /n/ (cf. 3.1.2.2.): [a'tɑpmbɔɣɛs] = /atapmores/ *they planted it*[14]. VCC and CVCC-type syllables are found only in the KN dialect. Consonant clusters are always non-geminate[15]. In all dialects they occur intervocalically and only in KN also word-finally. Word-medial consonant clusters usually are the result of compounding, derivation, or flection. In monomorphemic words they are rare and when they occur comparative evidence often shows that the two consonants originally were separated by a vowel or that they signal an old morpheme boundary. Vowel sequences seem to be restricted to two vowels[15].

In KW, monomorphemic words seldom count more than two, and never more than three syllables. Three-syllable words probably have a polymorphemic origin. In the other dialects monomorphemic words of three syllables are much more common; they always end in a vowel. Comparative evidence shows that these final vowels have been dropped in KW. Thus many CVCVC words in KW have a corresponding form CVCVCV in the other dialects.

3.1.2. The Sound System

3.1.2.1. The CA phonemes

The following phonemes are common to all CA dialects:

p	t	k		
m	n		i	u
f	s		e	o
w	y		a	
	r			

In addition, KW has an alveopalatal stop /c/ and a central vowel /ə/. Only the phonology of this dialect has been analysed in some depth. The data in KP, KN, and SO are insufficient for such an analysis and therefore several problems could not be solved. Thus it seems possible that all three dialects have a phonemic voiced

[14]Unless stated otherwise I have taken the examples from my Suru (KW, Mm) data.

[15]See the postscript (p. 122), point 1.

labio-dental fricative /v/, that KP and SO have two rounded front vowels /ü/ and /ö/ and that SO has a voiceless glottal fricative /h/. On the basis of the present evidence I have analysed [ɓ] as an allophone of /w/, and SO [h] as a separate phoneme /h/, while the status of [ü] and [ö] remains undetermined.

3.1.2.2. The allophones and their distribution

In view of the fact that the phonologies of KN, KP, and SO have not yet been analysed in detail I shall in this section distinguish between two kinds of statements:

1. statements which seem to hold for all CA dialects;
2. statements concerning features which I have observed in only one or some of the dialects. They leave the generality of these features out of consideration, and probably will have to be modified when more data come to hand.

The latter are set off from the general statements by double space and indentation.

/p/: [p, b, ɸ, ɓ, p^w, p^m][16]

Word-initially and medially in consonant clusters: [p].

In KW, [p^w] is found in word-initial position preceding /e/, especially in the speech of old people. The younger generation tends to replace [p^w] by [p][17].

Word-finally: [p] which often is unreleased.

In Suru and Yepem (KW, Mm) final /p/ sometimes has a nasal release [p^m] when it is followed by a hesitation pause.

Intervocalically the following allophones alternate: [p,b,ɓ,ɸ]. The voiced and fricative allophones occur much more frequently in the KN and SO data than in the KW and KP data. It seems that although all

[16] For practical reasons I have adopted the phonetic notation of Pike 1947; see Appendix IV.

[17] Possibly due to the influence of the Indonesian language which has been the language of education in the Asmat area from the first introduction of schools in 1952.

dialects have the same range of allophones of /p/ in this position, dialectal differences in frequency do exist[18].

> In Sawa-Erma (51, KN) intervocalic /p/ is [p] when morpheme-initial as is often the case in polymorphemic verb stems[19]. When morpheme-medial, /p/ is realised as [ɓ] if the next consonant is /r/ or /n/ - except when preceded by morpheme-initial /p/. In such a case [p] is found. In other consonantal environments [p], [b], [ᵽ], and [ɓ] seem to alternate freely[20].

/t/: [t, d, t^{y}, t^{n}]

In all positions: [t]. In word-final position [t] is often unreleased.

> In KW, final /t/ sometimes has a nasal release [t^{n}] when followed by a hesitation pause[18].
>
> In KN, [t] alternates with a lightly palatalised allophone [t^{y}] when preceding /i/.

/k/: [k, q, g, $k^{ŋ}$, $q^{ŋ}$, x, ɢ, ɠ]

The backed allophones are restricted to a vocalic environment of low-central and mid-back vowels (/a/, /o/). In such an environment one hears almost always the backed allophones and seldom the non-backed allophones. [k] and [q] occur in all positions. Word-finally they are often unreleased.

> In KW, final /k/ can have a nasal release [$k^{ŋ}$, $q^{ŋ}$] when preceding a hesitation pause.

Intervocalically, [k] and [q] alternate with the voiced and the fricative allophones.

[18] See the postscript (p. 122), point 2.

[19] Note the parallel with the distribution of the reflexes of Proto-Asmat *t in KN (section 7.4.5). The hypothesis advanced there, that the distribution reflects an earlier stage in which the polymorphemic verb stems of today were close-knit verb phrases and that what is now morpheme-initial position was then word-initial position, applies here too.

[20] For example, Sawa [dži'biř] *man*, [pi'piř] *edge of fire place*, [mi-'piř-amis] *go to sleep*, [u'pu, u'bu, u'ɓu] *coconut shell;* [bap] *in front*, ['bab-a] *to the front*.

/m/: [b, ^{m}b, mb, m]

In KW and probably in all dialects of CA /m/ is a complex phoneme whose allophones include a voiced bilabial stop [b], its weakly prenasalised variant [^{m}b], the homorganic cluster [mb] and a voiced bilabial nasal [m]. Word-initially we find [b], [^{m}b], and [m]. In all dialects except KW, [b] seems to be the most frequently occurring allophone, [^{m}b] and [m] turning up only sporadically in the data.

> In Suru (14) and Yepem (15), [b] alternates freely with [^{m}b] in this position. However, when a nasal consonant follows, the alternation is between [b], [^{m}b] and [m], the latter being the most frequently occurring allophone in this environment.
> In Uwus (17), Meriten (18), Yow (27) (KW) I always noted initial [m] whereas in Amisu (24), Omanesep (28) [KW] [m] was noted in some words, [b] or [^{m}b] in others[21].

Intervocalically, we find [m] or [mb]. The most frequently occurring allophones, at least in KN, KP and SO, seems to be [m].

> In Ayam (7), Suru (14) and Yepem (15) in the KW area, [mb] alternates with [m] unless a nasal consonant follows. In that case only [m] occurs. The same rule applies in 14, 15 to /m/ as the second member of a consonant cluster.

In final position, and as the first consonant in a cluster: always [m].

/n/: [d, ^{n}d, nd, n]

Like /m/, /n/ seems to be a complex phoneme in all dialects. The allophonic distribution is similar to that of /m/. Word-initially we find [d], [^{n}d], and [n]. In all dialects except KW, [d] occurs most frequently in the data; [^{n}d] and [n] occur only sporadically. In KW, prenasalisation of [d] is more common.

> In Suru (14) and Yepem (15) [^{n}d] occurs almost exclusively. When a nasal consonant follows, we find [^{n}d] and [n] alternating. In 27 (KW) I noted only initial [n].

[21] Admittedly this could be an indication of the phonemisation of initial [m] and [b,^{m}b] - we shall see that this has happened in Citak Asmat (chapter 5) - but the data in hand are not sufficient to decide the matter here.

Intervocalically: the allophone most frequently encountered in this position is [n]. Very few instances of [nd] were noted.

> In 14, 15 [nd] alternates with [n] if no nasal consonant follows. In the latter case only [n] is found.

In final position and as the first consonant in a cluster: always [n].

/f/:

In all positions [f]. /f/ in word-final position is found only in KW. In the other dialects this phoneme is restricted to initial and medial positions.

/s/: [s, s̬, s̻, θ, ^{t}s]

All allophones except [^{t}s] occur as alternants in all positions; [s] and [s̬] are more common than [s̻] and [θ].

> In part of the Mecəmup area of the KW dialect (22, 24, 28) the fronted and interdental allophones [s] and [θ] are quite common; together they make up about half the instances of /s/ noted. In 37, 39 (KN) I observed a few cases of initial [^{t}s]. In KW and KN /s/ sometimes appears as a very weak fricative which to me sounds very much like a weak glottal fricative [h][22].

/r/: [r̬, r̃]

/r/ does not occur in word-initial position nor as the second member of a consonant cluster. The most commonly occurring allophone is [r̬]; the [r̃], found especially in the speech of younger people possibly is an introduction from the Indonesian language which has been used as the medium of education since the introduction of schools by the Roman Catholic Mission in 1952.

/w/: [w, v]

/w/ occurs in all positions, but in medial and final position this phoneme is well attested only in KW.

[22] However, deliberate pronunciation of intervocalic /s/ as [h] always met with a good deal of merriment on the part of my informants.

I noted [v] in word-initial position in KN, KP, and SO and tentatively assigned it to /w/ since in a few cases alternation of [v] and [w] occur in the data. However, [v] seems to have phonemic status in Citak Asmat (see Chapter 5.2) and the possibility cannot be excluded that such is the case in KN, KP, and SO as well.

/y/: [j, ǰ, z, ž, dz, ð, dð]

The greatest variety of allophones is found in initial position but not all allophones are found in all dialects. In KW one finds only [j] and [ǰ]; in KN, KP, and SO they occur too, but more common are the voiced sibilants [z, ž, dž]; [ð] and [dð] seem to be restricted to SO.

Medially and finally only [j] occurs.

/c/: [č, tʏ]

As mentioned above (3.1.2.1) this phoneme is restricted to the KW dialect. It occurs in all positions except as the first member of a consonant cluster. When compounding, derivation or flection cause a final /c/ to become part of a cluster it is replaced by /t/. The allophone [tʏ] is found only in final position where it alternates with [č].

/h/: [h]

I have tentatively set up this phoneme to account for the frequently occurring intervocalic [h] in the Sokoni (SO) data. Historically at least part of the instances of [h] reflect an earlier *s or *f (see sections 7.4.2, 7.4.3). Still, both /s/ and /f/ occur in SO intervocalically. Although no clear cases of contrast with [h] have been found, they do not seem to be mutually exclusive either.

/u/: [u, ŭ, ů, ü]

Generally [u] is found in open syllables and [ŭ] in closed syllables. In an environment of dental and/or palatal consonants they alternate with the fronted allophones [ů] and [ü]. The data in hand suggest that in all dialects dental and palatal consonants have a fronting effect on the back vowels.

In 14, 15 (KW) the fronted allophones occur when /u/ is preceded and followed by a dental or palatal consonant (/t, c, s, n, r, y/).

/i/: [i, ɪ, ü]

Generally [i] is found in open syllables, [ɪ] in closed syllables.

In 14, 15 (KW) [i] alternates with a rounded allophone [ü] when /i/ is followed by /w/. An [ü] which is not an allophone of /u/ and which is not tied to a following /w/ (although this seems to have been the case at an earlier stage of the language, see 7.4.9, 7.5.1) was noted in the KP and SO dialects. It is possible that in these dialects it is a separate phoneme. The case is parallel to that of [ö], see below.

/o/: [o, ɔ, ë]

Generally [o] is found in open syllables, [ɔ] in closed syllables. The fronted allophone [ë] I noted only in the KW and KP dialects. It seems to be restricted to an environment of alveodental and alveopalatal consonants.

In 14, 15 (KW) [ë] alternates with [o, ɔ] when /o/ is preceded by /s/, /t/, or /y/ and followed by /s/, /t/, /c/, or /r/.

/e/: [e, ɛ, ö]

Generally [e] is found in open syllables, [ɛ] in closed syllables. [ö] is an allophone of /e/ in KW; in the other dialects its phonemic status is uncertain[23].

In KW the rounded allophone [ö] occurs only preceding /w/ in closed syllables. In the KP and SO dialects the presence of [ö] is not tied to the presence of a following /w/ (although this seems to have been the case at an earlier stage, see 7.4.9, 7.5.3) and it possibly has to be set up as a separate phoneme. The case is parallel to that of [ü], see above.

/a/: [a, ɑ, æ]

Generally the low-central allophone [ɑ] is found in closed syllables, the fronted [a] in open syllables.

In 14, 15 (KW) [a] alternates with a raised allophone [æ] when /a/ is preceded and/or followed by /i/.

[23]See the postscript (p. 122), point 3.

/ə/: [ə]

In my analysis of the Suru/Yepem variety of the Kawenak dialect (Voorhoeve 1965) I tentatively set up a central phoneme /ə/, occurring in initial and medial position. The mid-central vowel [ə] is found in all dialects but the data in hand are insufficient to establish its phonemic status.

3.1.2.3. Stress and tone

Stress and pitch phenomena have only been studied in the KW dialect. In this dialect stress appears to be phonemic. In my analysis of KW as spoken around Flamingo Bay (Voorhoeve 1965) I found no evidence of phonemic pitch except for a few puzzling cases in which monosyllabic homonyms when contrasted in isolation seemed to carry different tones. Testing in frames however failed to yield supporting evidence. This contrasts with the analysis of the Ayam variety of KW by C. Roesler of the Evangelical Alliance Mission, who distinguishes two tones, a low and a high one. Recently M. Bromley found in Citak Asmat evidence for a tonal system restricted to monosyllabic words, bi-syllabics having phonemic stress (see chapter 5, section 2). In the light of his findings a renewed study of stress and pitch phonomena in KW is certainly needed.

3.2 Some Features of CA Grammar

I shall deal here only with such features of CA grammar as are relevant to the discussion in the rest of this paper. They are primarily features of verb morphology. The description is based on data collected in KW, KP, and KN (see the starred names in the list of p. 4, chapter 1). No grammatical data have been collected in Sokoni but the few verb forms in the Sokoni list are morphologically not different from comparable forms in the other dialects. One can expect that most of what is written below will hold for SO as well. The examples have all been taken from my Suru data.

Central Asmat is a morphologically complex language. As in most languages of the Central and South New Guinea Stock the morphological complexity is entirely found within the verb system. There is little morphology outside the verb class. Verbs take prefixes as well as suffixes. Prefixes mark a variety of aspects or modes (prioritive, completive, explicative, prohibitive, interrogative, requisitive). A verb contains either one or no prefix. Suffixes mark aspect or mode, tense, object, and subject, generally in this order. Subject

marking distinguishes between 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person singular, dual, and plural, but only in KP and KN. In KW dual forms are archaic and are not used except in traditional texts. CA further has the capacity of forming verb stems of considerable morphological complexity. A verb stem can consist of a single root, several roots, or one or more roots plus a number of formatives expressing voice (benefactive, causative, transitive), mode (tentative) or aspect (comitative, completive). A few verb roots can take infixed formatives, e.g. fiw *enter*, fomiw *enter in the company of*. A few verbs undergo vowel changes in the stem according to the number of the object, e.g. tew *to take one thing*, taw *take many things*; a few have suppletive roots instead: mit *stab (one object)*, faw *stab (more than one object)*. Reduplication of verb roots marks repetitive action.

Examples of polymorphemic verb stems are:

yik-tam-por *tie up* - benefactive - tentative = *to try to tie (something) up for somebody*, containing one root and two formatives.

si-sim-ka-kami-m-tiw *to wash ashore many objects* which contains the reduplicated root sim *to push*, the reduplicated root kami *press (heavily) on*, a causative marker m and the root tiw indicating that the verb object is lying on the ground as a result of the action denoted by the verb.

There is a category of verb forms which indicates that the action is followed by another one by the same actor(s). They have different markers according to the tense, distinguishing recent past versus immediate past-present-future. The recent past forms could perhaps be called medial verbs - I at least have never found them at the end of a sentence. The immediate past, etc. forms, however, do occur sentence-finally and then have a hortative or imperative sense: mar atow e-ac-om, ... *ball play do-after-we = after we have played soccer (we'll go home)*; mar atow e-ac-om-a! *Let's first play soccer!*

These 'anteriority forms' as I labelled them (Voorhoeve 1965:114) do not seem to occur in the KP dialect (Drabbe 1963:58)[24].

Outside the verb system there is very little morphology. Nouns can take one or two diminutive suffixes and a few nouns have morphologically marked plural forms:

cem *house*, cem-nakap *small house*, cem-nakap-iriw *very small house*; ar-epus *his older brother*, ar-epucewes *his older brothers*. In a few cases -nakap derives adjectives from nouns: yiwi *child*, yiwi-nakap

[24]See the postscript (p. 122), point 4.

small. The same suffix can be added to adjectives and then signals a high degree of smallness: fano *narrow*, fano-nakap *very narrow*.

Personal pronouns take three suffixes indicating exclusion, inclusion, and opposition: nor *I*, nor-pa *I only*, nor-am/nam *I too*, nor-ma *I myself*[25].

3.3. The Dialects

The four lexicostatistically established dialects of CA appear to have a number of phonological, grammatical and lexical characteristics which by themselves or in combination with each other define the dialect boundaries. The regional distribution of those features is shown by the isoglosses drawn in map IV.

I shall describe the features characterising the CA dialects in strictly synchronic terms. After the description of each feature I have added a reference to the corresponding isogloss on map IV.

Later, in chapter 7, we shall see that several of these features can be formulated more simply in diachronic terms. The isoglosses of historically diagnostic features are given in map V.

3.3.1. The Kawenak dialect

The Kawenak dialect is the coastal dialect of Central Asmat. It is spoken by about 13,000 people divided into four regional groups: the Kainak, Simai, Mismam, and Mecəmup (map III). At least twentyfive villages speak the KW dialect[26]. To these may perhaps be added the three upstream villages Mecow (10), Yuni (11) and Muet (12). Government reports quoted in Van Amelsvoort 1964:192, and Van der Schoot 1969:14, include them in the Simai group but Drabbe (1963:4) assumed that Mecow (Drabbe: Mbatiö) and Muet belong to the Keenakap dialect. Since neither linguistic data nor local opinion is available to guide us here we must leave the matter undecided[25].

The villages where KW is spoken are listed below, ordered according to the regional groups. The village numbers correspond to those on map III.

[25] See the postscript (p. 122), point 5.

[26] The KW dialect is also spoken in one or two villages situated on one of the islands in the delta of the Digul River. They consist of people of the Sarew, Yokor, and Sesakam clans of the Simai group, whose ancestors migrated at the beginning of this century from their village on the lower Sirec River to their present location. There still is a fair amount of contact between them and the people of Amorep.

Kainak[27]

1. As-Atat
2. Nakai
3. Kapi
4. Ao
5. Yamas
6. Yaun-Yuferi

Simai

7. Ayam
8. Warse
9. Amorep

Mismam

13. Ewer
14. Suru
15. Yepem
16. Per
17. Uwus
18. Meriten

Mecəmup

19. Miwar (laut)
20. Atamuc
21. Ac
22. Amanamkai
23. Ar-Nanim
24. Amisu
25. Cowew-Yamew
26. Kawet
27. Yow
28. Omanesep

Simai or KP

10. Mecow
11. Yuni
12. Muet

(However, see the postscript, p. 122, point 5.)

The most important phonological characteristic of KW is the presence of the alveopalatal /c/ which corresponds to /t/ in KP and to /t/ or /r/ in KN and SO. It is a feature KW speakers are well aware of and the change of /c/ into /t/ figures prominently in their mimicking of other dialects.

KW is further characterised by the absence of the [v] allophone of /w/ (isogloss 2) and the presence of only two of the seven allophones of /y/, [j and ǰ] (isogloss 3).

Grammatically KW distinguishes itself from KN and KP by the lack of productive dual number of verbs (cf. 3.2) (isogloss 4).

We have seen that Drabbe distinguishes four subdialects in KW, coinciding with the four regional groups (chapter 1, p. 2).

[27] It is known that in the past As, Atat, and Nakai formed one settlement, and also Ao and Kapi once formed one village. According to local tradition Nakai and Yaun are linked with the Mismam group, and Kapi, Ao, Yamas, and Yuferi with the Simai. However, the available linguistic evidence does not confirm such a division of the Kainak group.

The data on hand only partly support this view. The only systematic differences between local varieties of KW which seem to coincide with regional groups are the general absence of intervocalic and word-final /w/ in Kainak - a feature it shares with KN, KP, and SO - and the frequent raising of /o/ to /u/ and /a/ to /e/ in Mismam (isoglosses 5, 6). But the areas in which we find /m/ realised only as [m], and /s/ with interdental allophones [s,θ], do not coincide with regional groups. The former cuts across the Mismam-Mecəmup border, the latter seems to cover only part of the Mecəmup area (isoglosses 15, 16).

3.3.2. The Keenakap dialect

It is certain that this dialect is spoken in the following villages:

29. Namen
30. Miwar (hutan)
31. Yaosakor
32. Kaimo
33. Awok
34. Fos

As mentioned above (3.3.1) KP possibly is also spoken in the villages Mecow, Yuni, and Muet[28]. The total number of KP speakers is at least 1500 and about 1900 if the three latter villages can be included.

Lexicostatistically KP seems somewhat closer related to KW than to KN (cf. chart I and section 2.3.3). This agrees with the historical tradition of the coastal Asmat according to which the ancestors of the KW and KP speakers came down the Sirec River in one canoe. The popular expression is: *we are* **ci cowak somot** *(canoe-one-people), people of one canoe.* The percentage shared with Sokoni (chart V, p. 12) is perhaps a bit inflated by mutual contacts between speakers of SO and KP. My impression is that SO is about equally closely related to the other dialects and does not form a subgroup with any of them.

The only phonological feature diagnostic of KP is that KP /t/ corresponds to KW /c/ and /t/, and to KN, SO /t/ and /r/ (isogloss 8). On the grammatical level lack of anteriority forms is perhaps diagnostic for KP (cf. 3.2; isogloss 9).

[28]But see the postscript (p. 122), point 5.

With SO, KP shares the possibility that ü and ö are separate phonemes (cf. 3.1.2.2). If this can be established it will set them off from both the KW and KN dialects.

3.3.3. The Keenok dialect

Keenok is the dialect of the Yopmagau group (Van Amelsvoort 1964:193) and is reported to be spoken by about 6200 people living in seven villages:

35. Komor
36. Yipaer
37. Sawa-Erma
38. Mu-Akani
39. Manep
40. Monu
41. Temor

All but the last village, Temor, are represented in the data on hand. Monu and Mu-Akani are represented by only a few words.

KN is the only dialect which features word-final consonant clusters (isogloss 10). Historically these came about by the loss of ultimate and penultimate vowels when the last consonant was /n/ and the preceding one /t/, /p/, or /m/, resulting in the clusters /tn/, /pn/, /mn/.

There are two other features which set off KN from at least the neighbouring KW and KP dialects. Both concern KN /r/. The first is found only in Komor, Yipaer, and Sawa-Erma. Here we find that in many words /r/ corresponds to KW, KP /r/. Corresponding words in Manep and Mu-Akani lack /r/. If we label /r/ in these cases r_1, then we can say that KN is divided into two subdialects, KN_1 and KN_2 characterised by presence or absence of r_1 (isogloss 12). The position of Monu and Temor in this respect is not known to me, but I think it likely that they belong to KN_2. The second feature is found in all of KN: in many words KN /r/ corresponds to KW /c/ or /t/ (isogloss 11). These cases of /r/ I have labelled r_2. As we shall see in chapter 7, r_1 and r_2 have different origins.

It appears that word-final consonant clusters occur less frequently in KN_2 than in KN_1. In the former subdialect the penultimate vowel has sometimes not been lost in words which have lost it in KN_1. Thus to KN_1 **metn** *armband* corresponds KN_2 **meren**; KN_1 **wetn** *spear* is KN_2 **waren** (for the t : r correspondence in these cases see section 7.4.5).

The lack of data hampers the establishment of lexical isoglosses. The only word so far which seems to be restricted to the KN dialect is 35 poro, 36, 37 pero, 39 paa *chest*.

In the north KN borders on North Asmat. An interesting fact is that although lexicostatistically a language border runs between KN and NA, the two share their main phonological characteristics. I shall return to this point in chapter 4.

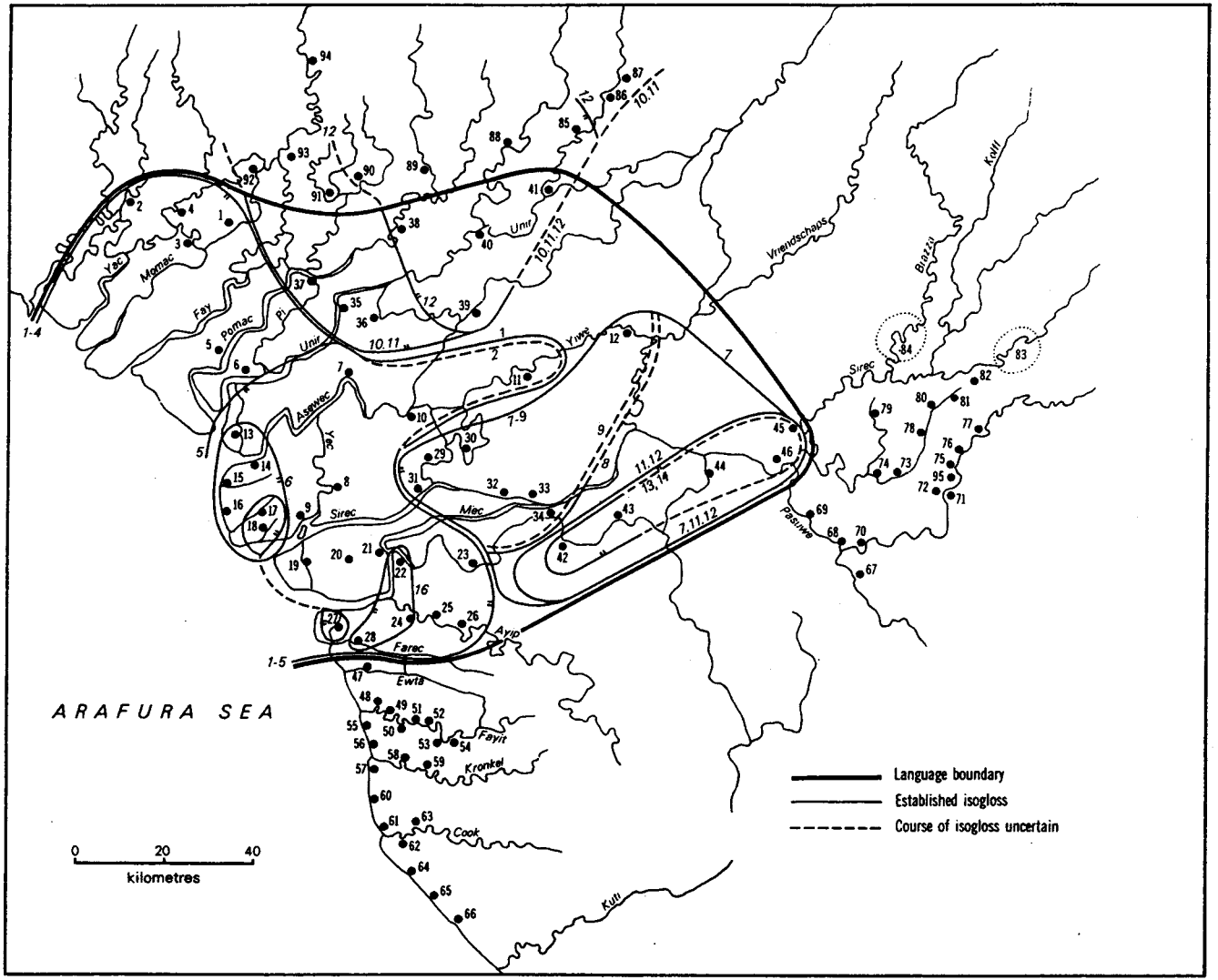
3.3.4. The Sokoni dialect

The linguistic data collected in Mine (42) and Sokoni (43) on the upper As River show that in these villages a separate dialect of CA is spoken. The Sokoni people claim that their dialect is the same as the one spoken in Wakanu (44). No data have been collected in Wakanu, but according to Eyde (1967:80) this village was formerly also situated on the As River, downstream of Mine. The information given by the Sokoni people most probably is correct. The short word lists collected in Yinak (45) and Wooi (46) by Van Arsdale (1974) show that the SO dialect is spoken in these villages as well. Van Arsdale reports that the language of Yinak is very difficult to understand for the coastal Asmat but that communication is still possible (1974:13). This is not surprising since as we shall see later SO has undergone sound changes which sometimes have drastically altered the shape of its words.

What makes SO interesting is that it shares its two most important phonological characteristics with KN_2. That is, it has an r_2 corresponding to KW /c/ or /t/, and KP /t/, and lacks an r_1 corresponding to KW, KP /r/ (isoglosses 11, 12). This suggests that in the past speakers of SO and of KN_2 formed one group or at least were in close contact with each other. However, the cognation percentages of chart V do not show a closer link between SO and KN than between SO and the other dialects. Also the fact that SO and KN have developed phonological features of their own, viz. the word-final consonant clusters in KN and the /h/ phoneme in SO, shows that their separation cannot be of recent date.

Three other features, the presence of /h/ (isogloss 13), [ð] and [dð] as allophones of /y/ (isogloss 14) and the possible presence of /ü/ and /ö/ (isogloss 7) appear only in recordings made in Mine and Sokoni. Whether they are characteristic of SO as a whole can only be ascertained after more data have come to hand.

MAP IV ISOGLOSSES IN THE CA AREA



Legend to Map IV

Isogloss No.		Defining feature of:
1.	Presence of /c/	KW
2.	Diaphone /w/ lacks [v] allophone	KW
3.	Diaphone /y/ has two allophones, [j, j]	KW
4.	Absence of dual number in verbs	KW
5.	Presence of medial and final /w/	Ka [1]
6.	Frequently /u/ : /o/ elsewhere, /e/ : /a/ elsewhere	Mm
7.	Possibly presence of /ü/, /ö/	KP/SO
8.	/t/ : KW /c, t/, KN, SO /t, r/	KP
9.	Absence of anteriority forms in verbs	KP (SO?)
10.	Presence of word-final consonant clusters	KN
11.	r_2 : KW /c, t/, KP /t/	KN, SO
12.	Absence of r_1(r_1 : KW, KP /r/)	KN_2, SO
13.	Presence of /h/	SO
14.	Diaphone /y/ has [ð,dð] as allophones	SO
15.	Diaphone /m/ is always [m]	-
16.	Diaphone /s/ has [s̻, θ] as allophones	-

[1] This isogloss sets off Kainak from the remainder of KW.

The information contained in the postscript, point 5, 2nd paragraph, has been incorporated in the map.