It is possible that Sempan and Central Asmat are connected by a dialect chain, only partly represented in the now available data. I shall accept here the lexicostatistical result and classify NA as a separate language pending the outcome of further research.

5. CITAK ASMAT
5.1. General

Citak Asmat (CI) is spoken by about 4900 people living in the area directly east of the confluence of the Sirec and Pasuwe Rivers. In the east and south CI borders on languages of the Awyu-Dumut Family. Culturally the Citak people appear to have been influenced more by the inhabitants of the highlands in the north than by their Asmat neighbours (Van Arsdale 1974:30). They contrast with the coastal Asmat by having a rudimentary swidden horticulture and a relative non-reliance upon sago (Van Arsdale 1975:19). The Government census of 1967 lists twenty-nine villages but only seventeen of these could be identified with villages on Drabbe's dialect map (Drabbe 1963), leaving fourteen village names on the map unmatched with names mentioned in the census list.

The list below contains the twenty-nine village names of the Government census list. Only those villages whose location could be ascertained with the help of Drabbe's map have been numbered and are shown on maps III-V.

Citak Villages

Location known:	Location not known:
67 Senggo	Sumasma
68 Tamanim[31]	Wowi[31]
69 Epem	Daiwar
70 Abao	Agauw
71 Fasera	Tomauw
72 Tiurubis	Tayao
73 Vabak	Ver
74 Wautu	Somnak
75 Tiau	Bina

[31]See the postscript (p. 123), point 6.

Location known:	Location not known:
76 Binerbis	Bidneo
77 Vau	Amer
78 Zuanakup	Dianem
79 Birako	
80 Togomau	
81 Wagis	
82 Ziobok	
95 Ekau	

Almost all the CI language data available to me have been collected in the dialect of Senggo. In this village both the Roman Catholic and Protestant Missions have established posts[32]. The only information on other dialects in the region comes from M. Bromley (1975) who states that in Tiau (where the ZGK[33] has established a mission post) 'a somewhat different but mutually intelligible dialect is spoken'. The short lists collected on the upper Sirec and the Brazza Rivers (nos. 83 and 84, map III) also seem to represent dialects of Citak Asmat (Van Arsdale 1975:18).

There are several reports on the intelligibility of CI to speakers of Central Asmat. Those of the nearby villages Wooy and Yinak (SO dialect of CA) say that they 'understand little of the Citak dialect' (Van Arsdale 1974:32). They are 'able to understand isolated words but not able to conduct a normal conversation' (Van Arsdale 1975:18). The coastal Asmat (KW speakers) 'find the Citak dialect to be largely unintelligible' (Van Arsdale 1974:19). Citak speakers find that past the first Asmat (SO?) villages they cannot communicate very well (Bromley, personal communication).

These reports seem to lend support to the lexicostatistical classification of CI as a separate language. Further support can be found when we look at the phonological data. We shall see below that a whole bundle of phonological isoglosses runs between CI and CA.

[32]That is, the Sacred Heart Mission and the Evangelical Alliance Mission.

[33]The Dutch Mission of Reformed Churches (Zending Gereformeerde Kerken).

5.2. Phonology

We are fortunate to have for Citak Asmat a tentative phonological analysis from an authoritative source: M. Bromley's reports on a suggested Citak orthography (1973, 1975). His analysis, although by no means final, shows that the Citak phonemic system is richer than that of any of the other Asmat languages. The following outline is based on Bromley's reports.

The phoneme inventory tentatively set up by Bromley counts 16 consonants, 7 vowels, and 3 tonemes. The consonants and vowels together with their main allophones have been set out in chart VIII.

There still are several areas of uncertainty in the analysis. The phonemic status of /b/ and /d/ is clear only in word-initial position, and even there the number of cases of contrast with /p, m/ and /t, n/ respectively is very low. Word-medially, [b] and [d] seem to be allophones of /p/ and /t/ respectively[34]. Other contrasts which have not been established with certainty are: /f/ : /v/ in medial position and /z/ : /y/ in initial position. The /g/ phoneme seems to be a loan phoneme at least in the Senggo dialect.

If only bi-syllabic words are taken into account, the prosodic phenomena can be described as contrastive stress. However, on mono-syllabic words Bromley found three contrastive pitch patterns: 1. short low or downglide; 2. short and high; 3. long upgliding high. The three tone patterns are more clearly recognisable in the Tiau dialect than in the Senggo dialect, Bromley observed. In the latter the contrast between 1. and 2. is no longer recognised by part of the speakers, many of whom maintain the contrast between the first two versus the third in terms of syllable length. Others also have the contrast between patterns 1 and 2 realised as pitch contrast in Tiau and by some Senggo speakers, but for these others the contrast is realised as a matter of the ballistic character of the syllables, syllables with surging onset contrasting with syllables with sharp, ballistic onset[35]. A similar system including some evidence of tonal contrasts, where much of the system could be described as exhibiting stress contrasts, may perhaps also be found in the KW dialect of CA (cf. 3.1.2.3).

[34]Bromley, while acknowledging that there are problems keeping /p/ and /b/ apart in this position still considers [b] here an allophone of /b/. In my opinion there are strong grounds for considering intervocalic [b] an allophone of /p/.

[35]Bromley, personal communication.

CHART VIII: Citak Phonemes and Their Main Allophones

| | Allophones: | | |
Phoneme	word-initially	medially	finially
p	p	p,b,ʙ[1]	p, ʙ[2]
b	b,ᵐb[3]	(b,ʙ)[1]	-
m	m	m, M[8]	m
f	f	f	-
v	v	(v)[4]	-
w	w	w	w
ü̶	ü̶	ü̶	ü̶
t	t	t, d[1]	t, d[2]
d	d, ⁿd[3]	(d)	-
n	n	n	n
s	s	s	s
z	z,ž,ᵈz,ᵈž[5]	z, ž[5]	-
y	(y)[4]	y	y
r	-	ř,l,ḷ	ř
k	k	k, g[1]	k, g[2]
g	(g)[6]	(g)[6]	-

	open syllables	closed syllables
i	i	ɩ
ü	ü	ü
u	u, ʋ[7]	u, ʋ[7]
e	e	ɛ
ö	ö	ə̈
o	o	ɔ
a	a, ɑ	ʌ

1. At least in some words alternating intervocalically.
2. The voiced fricative occurs only when followed, within the same phonological phrase, by an initial vowel.
3. Only one out of several informants prenasalised the voiced stops.
4. Not well attested in this position.
5. Freely alternating allophones, but dz and dž appear especially before high front vowels.
6. Only a very few examples were recorded in the Senggo dialect, and then only in words borrowed from another dialect.
7. The fronted allophone appears only after /s/ and /z/.
8. Voiceless /m/ is found only in the cluster /fm/.

Citak Asmat, like Central Asmat, allows only word-medial consonant clusters but unlike CA it allows clusters of three consonants in polymorphemic words. They always have a syllabic nasal as the second consonant, e.g. [tapmapm:de] *I planted some*. Bromley suggests that the nasal in such clusters could be analysed as a sequence of /u/ + /m/ or /n/. This would bring CI word structure into line with the other Asmat languages who do not allow sequences of more than two consonant phonemes (cf. 3.1.1).

It appears then that there are at least five important phonological isoglosses separating CI from CA: those representing /b/, /d/, /g/, /z/, and /ÿ/. The presence of such a bundle of isoglosses between CI and CA lends support to the result of the lexicostatistical analysis. Three other phonemes, /v/, /ü/, and /ö/ possibly occur in the KP and SO dialects of CA as well (cf. 3.1.2.2, 3.3.2, 3.3.4); the isoglosses representing them therefore may run across the CA – CI language border and at least for the present cannot be used to set off CI from CA.

6. CASUARINA COAST ASMAT
6.1. General

Casuarina Coast Asmat (CC) is spoken in a narrow coastal strip between the Ewta and Kuti Rivers. In the north this strip is about twenty kilometres wide but it tapers off towards the south and between the Cook and Kuti Rivers all CC villages are situated on the sea shore. In the north CC borders on Central Asmat, in the east its neighbours are Sawuy, one of the languages of the Awyu-Dumut Family, and two languages of the Kayaghar Family: Kaugat and Kaigir. There are about