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 /ɣ̈/. 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

8600 speakers of CC. They live in twenty villages listed here roughly in north to south order:

47.	Otenep	58.	Simsakar
48.	Masim	59.	Sinakat
49.	Muepis		
50.	Nanew	60.	Kayerin
51.	Piramat	61.	Pirimapun
52.	Maus	62.	Aorket
53.	Manair	63.	Saman
54.	Taworo	64.	Emine
55.	Maintamor	65.	Tareo
56.	Nertamor	66.	Semenoro
57.	Mayun		

The Casuarina Coast Asmat distinguish amongst themselves two regional groups, the Matia and the Sapan. The Matia number about 5200 living in thirteen villages (nos. 47-59); the Sapan count about 3200 and live in seven villages (nos. 60-66)[36]. As far as can be judged from the meagre lexical data in hand these groups speak slightly different dialects, as may appear from the short list below:

	Matia	Sapan
cassowary	piru	puru
afraid	sone	son
crocodile	ö	ee
leaf	ye	ee
nail of finger	fiki	fiti
thatch	one	wene
tree	ose	wese

To date the only report on mutual intelligibility of CC and other Asmat languages is from Bromley: working with both CC and CA speakers at a translators course, he found that they 'reacted as if they were dealing with different languages, with some, but limited, mutual intelligibility (Bromley, personal communication).

6.2. Phonology and Lexicon

The CC lists contain practically no grammatical information but since most of them have been recorded on tape they at least allow an

[36] According to the Asmat census of cultural groups quoted in Van Amelsvoort 1964:192.

impressionistic account of the phonemic system. It looks as if CC has ten consonant phonemes and seven vowels: p, t, k, m, n, f, s, w, y, r; i, ü, e, o, a, ö, u. The language has quite distinctive pitch patterns - my Yepem informants never failed to emphasise those when they imitated the CC speakers - but whether they represent intonational or tonal features, or both, is as yet impossible to say.

So far the most interesting part of CC seems to be its lexicon. Firstly, more than in CA or CI one finds in CC unexpected sound correspondences. Thus instead of the expected regular forms sako *bird* and fiti *nail* we find sato and, in Matia, fiki. Secondly, several CC words contain a final consonant (t) or a final syllable (to, ke, kot) which does not appear in the corresponding words in CA and CI and only occasionally in the cognates in the other languages of the family. Thus:

pronged arrow CC apato; CA apan, apene; SE[37] apate; KA apoko[38]
mouse CC pereto; CA per, pero, piro; CI pirao
bag CC esake; CA, CI, NA ese, esa; IR eseka[39]
skinny CC fatokot; CA faco, fato, foro; CI fato
unripe CC ofokot; CA ofo.
cold CC yufuto; CA yufo, yufu; NA yufur; SE ifa-ko[40]
dumb CC okorot; CA okor
dry CC sosot; CA soso; CI sösö; IR sosota
sharp CC farot; CA fero, faro; CI faro; SE fero-ko[40]
slippery CC yutut; CA yico, yuto, yuru; CI yuru; SE ititi-ko[40]

It is possible that we have here the remanants of an old class marking system. Some evidence that -t, -to, -ne, -ke and perhaps -kot

[37]For the other members of the Asmat-Kamoro Family I have used the following abbreviations: SE = Sempan, KA = Kamoro, IR = Iria-Asienara. A few times I have found reason to use data of Mombum (MO) as well.

[38]KA k : SE, CC, CI, CA, NA t is a regular correspondence. SE apate means *split*, KA apoko = *pronged spear.*

[39]Compare the case of CC tia, tie *belly* mentioned above, chapter 4, p. 29. In this word CC seems to have lost the final syllable still present in NA and SE (tiake, teake).

[40]SE -ko appears with many adjectives and probably has the same function as KA -ko and the CA (KW) particle ko(r) that is, of indicating a high degree of a quality. Thus KW awut ko *very big*; KA toto-ko *very dry*. This -ko as far as I can see has nothing to do with the -t, -to, -kot found in the CC words listed here.

are petrified suffixes can be found when comparing the Asmat languages with other members of the family, especially Iria-Asienara (cf. chapter 8, nos. 11,20,25,34,39,56,79,109,122,128,217,221,243,252, 323,337,340,344,359,395). The investigation of this possibility however falls outside the scope of the present paper.

CC has further retained several lexical items which have been lost and replaced by new forms in CA and CI but which have been preserved in at least one of the other languages of the family:

afraid CC son, sen, sone; SE honae; KA tono
bamboo CC isim, yisim; SE ihimi
banana CC tayi, tai, teyi; KA kau (?)
cockatoo CC tur, turu; SE tiiro; IR ature
tail CC mepe; NA mep, mepe; SE mepe, KA mipi
hungry CC yor; the only possible cognate of this word is found in Mombum (MO): or

Fuller data can be found in the list of reconstructions, chapter 8, nos. 3, 27, 29, 77, 192, 364.

Lexically therefore CI has a distinctly 'archaic' character which may be a sign that the Casuarina Coast Asmat have lived in relative isolation from their Asmat neighbours for a long time. This agrees with the fact that they have developed (or preserved) a number of striking cultural peculiarities, such as the custom of keeping the skulls of deceased relatives, the carving of large crocodile-like figures used during initiation ceremonies, and the general absence of permanent ceremonial houses. Cultural influence of CA is only noticeable in the three northern villages of Otenep, Masim, and Muepis (Trenkenschuh 1970, Van Kessel 1961).

7. PROTO-ASMAT PHONOLOGY

By comparing the phonological data in CA, NA, CI, and CC it is possible to reconstruct with some confidence the main features of the phonology of their ancestor language, Proto-Asmat (*PA). These features and the changes that took place in them during the development of the daughter languages form the subject matter of this chapter. Word structure, stress and tone, and segmental phonemes will be dealt with in this order.

7.1. Word Structure

Proto-Asmat appears to have had a simple word structure. At least in monomorphemic words it lacked consonant clusters. If such clusters