

ASMAT, NORTH

KE-ENOK-GROEPE:

RIVIER	KAMPONG	...
Noord West rivier of		
POMAR	SA-A	
	E-ER	
	ERMA	
	SONNA	

Lorentz rivier of	
OENIER	MOENOE
	MANEP
	SIMI

POR rivier JIPE-ER
- Verhey van Wijk 1959 Ts:1.
 * * *

Het Keenok-dialect wordt gesproken aan de bovenloop van de rivieren Pomatsj en Unir (in dit dialect Pomar en Winir), in de dorpen Saa waarmee samenwonend Eer, Erme met Sono, Mbuu met Esem, Jam, On en Tese, Akani met Mbiar en Mbinomo, Komor met Amor, Par, Jiper met Air, Mbirip en Oarer, Mbonep met Aus, Oari, Simi en Paip, Mbunu met Wairu, Zemek en Sumat, Tomor met Saka, Iram. Ze tellen same ongeveer 7000 zielen. ...

- Drabbe 1963:3.

[Drabbe 1963]

The Keenok dialect is spoken on the upper course of the Pomatsj and Unir Rivers ... in the villages of Saa, with which lives Eer; Erme with Sono; Mbuu with Esem, Jam, On and Tese; Akani with Mbiar and Mbinomo; Komor with Amor, Par; Jiper with Wairu, Zemek and Sumat; Tomor with Saka, Iram. Taken together, there are about 7,000 souls. ...

- Eyde 1967:4.

[Map]

KEENOK:
Saa-Eer
Erme-Sono
Akani
Mbuu
Jipeer
Komor-Amor
Mbonep
Mbunu
Tomor-Saka

- Drabbe 1963

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2. Upstream Asmat peoples and Asmat dialects
2 cultural sub-groups and sub-dialects.
 - a. Keenok or Jopmagau 13 villages with 7169 inhabitants

along the upper parts of the Northwest river, Pomátsj and the Lorentz river, Undír.

- Amelsvoort 1964:192.

2. Upstream group
23 villages, 8.949 inhabitants
Jopmagau or Keenok:
Agani
Awemu
Bu
Erma
Jipajer
Komor
Manep
Momogo / Sagopo
Monu
? Pupis
Saowa
Tjemor
? Wejo

- Amelsvoort 1964:193.

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... Drabbe [1963] does not discuss the linguistic classification of the smaller villages which lie upstream from the Keenok villages he lists: Momogo, Pupis, Sagapo, and so forth. Van Amelsvoort (1964:193) classifies most of them as Keenok. I agree. At least, the people of Momogo and Pupis speak a language mutually intelligible with that of the Keenok villages mentioned by Drabbe.

- Eyde 1967:5.

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35.000 + [speakers]

Dialects: There are at least five main dialects, spoken in the following villages:

...

3. (Northern or Keenok dialect): in Sauwa, Erma, Bu, Agani, Komor, Yipayer, Manep, Monu, Temor, and perhaps also the upstream villages Awemu, Momogo, Pupis, Weyo, Ti, and Yesoko; (+ 7000 speakers);

...

Comments: Between the Upper Momac and Kolff Rivers near the foothills of the central ranges Asmat dialects are reported to be spoken by numerous small nomadic groups.

- Voorhoeve 1975f:30.

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:

Komor

Yipaer
Sawa-Erma
Mu-Akani
Manep
Monu
Temor
- Voorhoeve 1980:27.

The interior to the north of CA [Central Asmat] is still largely unexplored territory. ... Part of the population has settled in more permanent villages and these have been contacted by the Government and Mission. But even now they are only on a fringe-contact level (Trenkenschuh 1970:19). These villages are:

Sagapo	Pupia
Ti	Weyo
Yenesoko	Emo-Espeno
Awemu	Irogo
Momogo	Yakapis

There is, and was in the past, regular contact between the southernmost NA villages and their Keenok neighbours. At least in Momogo and Pupis there are people who know some Keenok. Trenkenschuh (1970:19) reports of Sagapo that its language is 'different from but still, with difficulty, understood by Keenok speakers'. Since formerly Sagapo and Momogo formed one village some knowledge of KN can be assumed to be present in Sagapo as well. ...

There must be a considerable number of semi-nomadic bands of people in the area. Van Dongen (1970:26) reports fifteen names of such groups obtained from informants of Monu and Mu-Akani. They are: Weagu, Amson, Etogo, Wegu, Tiraman, Keke, Itmo, and Yerepmo on the Unir River; Amamu and Evesayi on the Veyo River, and Tomu, Teiyen, Yur, Epin, Yurak, on the Pomac River. From people of Manep he obtained eleven names: Biro, Keiri, Fagan, Anipit, Bor, Yuno, Ofin, Bener, Tames-Sogoni, Yoigin, and Beag (1970:25). Van der Schoot (1969:14) mentions the following groups and their locations: the Nafarepi on the Akimuga River; the Warowe and Waituku on the Cemara River; the Owapu on the upper Owap (Oost Kasteel) River; the Epame and Itamwe on the / Pocakap (Kleine Bloemen) River; the Etoko on the Poc (Bloemen) River. The name Nafarepi or Navaripi has become current as a common name for all the people inhabiting the interior between the Asmat and Sempan language areas.

- Voorhoeve 1980:31-32.

... I have shown that lexicostatistically the Momogo, Pupis, and Irogo lists seem to represent one language which is separate from but closely related to Central Asmat, Citak Asmat, and Casuarina Coast Asmat. If however Trenkenschuh's remark on the intelligibility of NA to speakers of KN is right, this would point to NA being a dialect of CA rather than a separate language.

- Voorhoeve 1980:32.

The figures presented below have been taken from the 1967

census as quoted in the **Asmat Sketch Book**, vol. 2, 1970:111-112.

Some gaps have been filled by taking figures of the 1961 District Health Centre Census quoted in Van Amelsvoort 1964:192-194. Only for Ayam ... a recent figure was available [C. Roesler, p.c., 1979] The villages Mecew ..., Yuni ..., and Muet ... have been assigned their correct place in the list according to the dialect information received from C. Roesler ...

- Voorhoeve 1980:169.

Keenok	6,200
Komor	746
Yipaer	701
Sawa-Erma	1,779
Mu-Akani	1,158
Manep	432
Monu	1,042
Temor	255

...

- Voorhoeve 1980:169-170.

North Asmat	?
Sagopo	91
Ti	40
Yesoko	?
Awemu	?
Momogo	?
Pupis	119
Weyo	45
Emo-Espeno	?
Irogo	182
Yakapis	?

- Voorhoeve 1980:172.

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Asmat, North (Keenok)

POP: +/- 7,000

LOC: On the west, near the headwaters of the Paterle Cocq River to the Unir River on the east, reaching up to near the foothills in some places

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VILLAGE(S):

Sagopo/Sakapu -- 90

Ti -- 40

Yesoko/Yenesoko

Awemu -- 100

Momogo -- 200

Pupis -- 120

Weyo -- 100

Emo-Espeno

Irogo/Eroko -- 180

Yakapis -- 110

- Silzer & Heikkinen 1984:68.

(Keenok)

1,000

LOC: On the west, near the headwaters of the Paterle Cocq River to the Unir River on the east, reaching up to near the foothills in some places

- Silzer & Clouse 1991:39.

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(ASAME) (linguistic designation) = **NORTH ASMAT (cf S&C)**

EMARI DUCUR (cultural group) -- NORTH ASMAT (cf S&C)

Jakapis

Ipam

Waitok (Sumapero)

Esmapan

Iroko

Weo

Pupis

Momogu

Avenu

- Konrad 1996:18-19.

(ASAMAE) (linguistic designation) = **NORTH ASMAT/CENTRAL ASMAT (cf S&C)**

UNIR EPMAC (cultural group) -- NORTH ASMAT (cf S&C)

Yeniseko

Kopa

Tio

Sagapu

Tomor

Suro

Yuni -- **CENTRAL ASMAT (cf S&C)**

Buet-Kwor -- **CENTRAL ASMAT (cf S&C)**

- Konrad 1996:18-19.

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ASMAT, NORTH (KEENOK) ... 1,000 (1991 SIL). Near the headwaters of the Paterle Cocq River to the west, to the Unir River to the east, to the foothills in some places, Merauke Kabupaten, Sawa-Erma Kecamatan. ...

- Grimes 1996.

ASMAT, NORTH (KEENOK) ... 1,000 (1991 SIL). Near the headwaters of the Paterle Cocq River to the west, to the Unir River to the east, to the foothills in some places, Merauke Kabupaten, Sawa-Erma Kecamatan. Linguistic affiliation: Trans-New Guinea, Main Section, Central and Western, Central and South New Guinea-Kutubuan, Central and South New Guinea, Asmat-Kamoro.

- Grimes 2000.

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[ASMAT]

(Asmat of Manowé)

Bewar, Ats, Kaimo, Desepe, Jow, Kawat, Tjiwen, Us, Seper, Bariten, Amorep, Jepim, Warse, Jao, Jamat, Suroh, Bu, Agatsj, Simai, Ewar, Namin, Biwar, Sinne, Manep, Djipawar, Epit, Jofer, Komor, Sana, Erma, Agani, Jufri, Juni, Jumas, Pek, Ambir-Kaimes, Beni, Jet, Aman-Namkai, Saowa, Erema, Mbu, Akani, Jao-Sokor (+ 30.000 zielen).

- Galis 1955-56:175.

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The Asmat language area begins about 60 kilometers west of Sempan, where the Jac River forms its western boundary. Between the Jac and the Sirac (Eilanden) River, Asmat occupies almost the whole coastal plain. Its eastern and southern border runs roughly parallel with the Sirac at a distance of 30-40 kilometers east and south from it. Only near [sic] and along the coast has the language area an extension further south: in a gradually narrowing strip it extends as far as the northern entrance of the Digul River. Drabbe distinguishes five main dialects within Asmat: a Northern dialect on the upper Lorentz and Noord Rivers; a Central-Coast dialect; a Southern or Casuarina Coast dialect; a Central dialect on the lower Sirac and As (Kampong) Rivers; and the Citak dialect east of the confluence of the Wildeman and Sirac Rivers. This is a very global division, still in need of much refinement. The total number of Asmat speakers is estimated at 40,000.

- Voorhoeve 1975b:372.

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Asmat

3 dialects

POP: +/- 40,000

- Silzer & Heikkinen 1984:67.

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ASMAT

Village names:

Sawa-Erma

Yowun-Yuferi

Ewer

Ayam

Becow

Yuni

Suru

Yepem

Uwus

Amborep

Warse

Yaosakor

Damen

Biwar (hutan)

Kaimo

Awok

Fos
Serew
Biwar (laut)
Kawet
Kapi
Yamas
Per (Kaye-Minipir)
As-Atat
- Voorhoeve 1986:124.

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In spite of much cultural common ground the Asmat form no ethnic and linguistic unit. They rather divide into four related but distinct languages and into a series of dialects. Altogether, the Asmat now comprise about 50,000 people, of whom more than 30,000 are Central Asmat. The latter are divided into three dialects and into several sub-dialects. Nevertheless, they acknowledge a common origin: the term Asmat means both 'we, the true [sic, true] people' and 'men, originated from a tree'. ...
- Hanser 1989:75.

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40,000
- Silzer & Clouse 1991:39.

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Identification. ... The term "Asmat" (or "As-amat") means "we the tree people." ...

Location. The Asmat live within the Indonesian province of Irian Jaya ... The geographic coordinates are approximately 6° S and 138° E. ...

Demography. It is estimated that there are approximately 50,000 Asmat people. ...

Linguistic Affiliation. The determination of which scattered groups constitute the Asmat is, in part, an artifact of outside intervention and classification processes dating to the pre-1963 era of Dutch occupation. Five dialects are spoken in the Asmat language, which is a member of the Asmat-Kamoro Family of Non-Austronesian languages. ...

- Van Arsdale & Van Arsdale 1991:19.

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ASMAT	Drabbe 1953
ASMAT	30,000 Zegwaard 1953a(1955)
ASMAT	21,250 Zegwaard 1953b(1955)
ASMAT	c. 30,000 Galis 1955-56
ASMAT	Galis 1960; Salzner 1960; Capell
ASMAT	33,840 Wurm 1971
ASMAT	35,000+ Voorhoeve 1975
ASMAT	40,000 Asmat-Kamoro (Silzer &
ASMAT	40,000 Asmat (Foley 1986)
ASMAT	50,000 Hanser 1989
ASMAT	50,000 Asmat-Kamoro (Van Arsdale
	& Van Arsdale 1991,

ASMAT = CENTRAL ASMAT d of ASMAT Silzer & Heikkinen 1984

ASMAT, NORTH	700	Asmat-Kamoro (Wurm &
ASMAT, NORTH	1,000	Asmat-Kamoro (Silzer &
ASMAT, NORTH -- d of ASMAT	7,000	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
ASMAT, NORTH -- d of CENTRAL ASMAT		Grimes 1992

DEKAI KABI Louwerse 1988

YOMAGAU = ARAMATAK -- ASAMUR =

CENTRAL ASMAT	Konrad 1996 (cf S&C)
JOPMAGAU -- ASMAT	Lapre 1959 Ts
JOPMAGAU = KEENOK ASMAT	Amelsvoort 1964
YOPMAGAU -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1980

KE-ENOK	Verhey van Wijk 1959 Ts
KEENOK = NORTH ASMAT	Silzer & Clouse 1991; Grimes 1996, 2000

KEENOK -- d of CENTRAL ASMAT	Drabbe 1963, Voorhoeve 1980, Wurm & Hattori 1981, Wurm 1982, Grimes 1992
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KEENOK -- ASMAT	7,169 (Amelsvoort 1964)
KEENOK = NORTHERN d of ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1975

KEENOK = NORTH ASMAT d of ASMAT	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
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KEENOK = UNIR SIRAN ASOMOR = CENTRAL ASMAT	Konrad 1996 (cf S&C)
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SÜDKÜSTE (138-141°) Meyer 1908 (Bauer)

Agani -- POMATSJ SOEROW	Haar 1940(1993)
Agani -- ASMAT	Galis 1955-56
Agani -- JOPMAGAU ASMAT	Lapre 1959 Ts
Agani -- KEENOK ASMAT	Amelsvoort 1964
Agani -- KEENAK ASMAT	Simmons et al 1967
Agani -- NORTHERN (KEENOK) ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1975
Akani -- ASMAT	Zegwaard 1953a,b(1955), 1953 Ts

Akani -- ASMAT	Galis 1955-56
Akani -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Drabbe 1963
Akani = Agani -- KEENAK ASMAT	Simmons et al 1967
Air -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Drabbe 1963
Ambir-Kaimes -- ASMAT	Galis 1955-56
Amor -- ASMAT	Zegwaard 1953 Ts
Amor -- KOMOR ASMAT	Zegwaard 1953a(1955)
Amor -- JOPMAGAU ASMAT	Lapre 1959 Ts
Amor -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Drabbe 1963
Aus -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Drabbe 1963
Awamo -- JOPMAGAU ASMAT	Lapre 1959 Ts
Awemu -- KEENOK ASMAT	Amelsvoort 1964
Awemu -- KEENAK ASMAT	Simmons et al 1967
Awemu -- ? NORTHERN (KEENOK) ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1975
Awemu -- NORTH ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1980
Awemu -- NORTH ASMAT d of ASMAT	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Awemu -- EMARI DUCUR ASAME = NORTH ASMAT	Konrad 1996 (cf S&C)
Bariten -- ASMAT	Galis 1955-56
Beriten -- BISMAM ASMAT	Thooft 1957 Ts
Beriten -- CENTRAL COAST (KAWENAK) ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1975
Beriten -- BISMAM ASMBAT = CENTRAL ASMAT	Konrad 1996 (cf S&C)
Beritten -- BISMAM ASMAT	Lapre 1959 Ts
Berdjitem -- PIRI ASEMAT	Haar 1940(1993)
Meriten -- KAWENAK CENTRAL ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1980
Meriten -- CENTRAL ASMAT d of ASMAT	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Beni -- ASMAT	Galis 1955-56
Mbiar -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Drabbe 1963
Mbinomo -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Drabbe 1963
Mbirip -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Drabbe 1963
Boe -- POMATSJ SOEROW	Haar 1940(1993)
Boe -- JOPMAGAU ASMAT	Lapre 1959 Ts
Bu -- ASMAT	Galis 1955-56
Bu -- KEENOK ASMAT	Amelsvoort 1964
Bu -- KEENAK ASMAT	Simmons et al 1967

Bu -- NORTHERN (KEENOK) ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1975
Mbu -- ASMAT	Zegwaard 1953 Ts, 1953a,b(1955);
Mbu = Bu -- KEENAK ASMAT	Simmons et al 1967
Mbuu -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Drabbe 1963
Mbonep -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Drabbe 1963
Bu Agani -- UNIR SIRAN ASOMOR = CENTRAL ASMAT	Konrad 1996 (cf S&C)
Mu-Akani -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1980
Mbunu -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Drabbe 1963
DEKAJU-ANIM -- d of ASMAT	Salzner 1960
Desep -- ASMAT	Galis 1955-56
Djipawar -- ASMAT	Galis 1955-56
Jipajer -- JOPMAGAU ASMAT	Lapre 1959 Ts
Jipajer -- KEENOK ASMAT	Amelsvoort 1964
Jipajer -- KEENAK ASMAT	Simmons et al 1967
Jipawer -- ASMAT	Zegwaard 1953 Ts, 1953a,b(1955)
Jipawer = Jipajer -- KEENAK ASMAT	Simmons et al 1967
Jipe-er -- KE-ENOK	Verhey van Wijk 1959 Ts
Jipeer -- KEENOK ASMAT	Drabbe 1963
Jiper -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Drabbe 1963
Yipaer -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1980
Yipawer -- UNIR SIRAN ASOMOR = CENTRAL ASMAT	Konrad 1996 (cf S&C)
Yipayer -- NORTHERN (KEENOK) ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1975
DOJU'USSI -- d of ASMAT	Salzner 1960
E-er -- KE-ENOK	Verhey van Wijk 1959 Ts
Eer -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Drabbe 1963
Er -- WOWI ASMAT/MANOWE	Tijdschrift "Nieuw-Guinea" 1949-50
Er -- ASMAT	Zegwaard 1953 Ts
Er -- SAOWA ASMAT	Zegwaard 1953a(1955)
Er -- JOPMAGAU ASMAT	Lapre 1959 Ts
Er = Sawa -- UNIR SIRAN ASOMOR = CENTRAL ASMAT	Konrad 1996 (cf S&C)
EMARI DUCUR -- ASAME = NORTH ASMAT	Konrad 1996 (cf S&C)
Emo-Espeno -- ? CENTRAL COAST	

(KAWENAK) ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1975
Emo-Espeno -- NORTH ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1980, Silzer & Clouse
Emo-Espeno -- NORTH ASMAT d of ASMAT	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Epit -- ASMAT	Galis 1955-56
Erema -- POMATSJ SOEROW	Haar 1940(1993)
Erema -- SAOWA ASMAT	Zegwaard 1953a(1955)
Erema -- ASMAT	Zegwaard 1953 Ts, Galis 1955-56
Erema = Erma -- KEENAK ASMAT	Simmons et al 1967
Erma -- ASMAT	Galis 1955-56
Erma -- KE-ENOK	Verhey van Wijk 1959 Ts
Erma -- KEENAK ASMAT	Simmons et al 1967
Erma -- NORTHERN (KEENOK) ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1975
Erma -- UNIR SIRAN ASOMOR = CENTRAL ASMAT	Konrad 1996 (cf S&C)
Erme -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Drabbe 1963
Erma/Sonna -- JOPMAGAU ASMAT	Lapre 1959 Ts
Erme-Sono -- KEENOK ASMAT	Drabbe 1963
ERMA -- sub-d of CENTRAL ASMAT	Wurm & Hattori 1981
ERMA -- sd of KEENOK d of CENTRAL ASMAT	Wurm 1982
Eroko = Irogo -- NORTH ASMAT d of ASMAT	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Esem -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Drabbe 1963
Esmapan -- EMARI DUCUR ASAME = NORTH ASMAT	Konrad 1996 (cf S&C)
IMUMA -- d of ASMAT	Salzner 1960
Ipam -- EMARI DUCUR ASAME = NORTH ASMAT	Konrad 1996 (cf S&C)
Iram -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Drabbe 1963
Irogo -- KAINAK ASMAT	Simmons et al 1967
Irogo -- ? CENTRAL COAST (KAWENAK) ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1975
Irogo -- NORTH ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1980
Irogo -- NORTH ASMAT d of ASMAT	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Iroko -- EMARI DUCUR ASAME = NORTH ASMAT	Konrad 1996 (cf S&C)
Jakapis -- EMARI DUCUR ASAME = NORTH ASMAT	Konrad 1996 (cf S&C)
Yakapis -- NORTH ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1980, Silzer & Clouse

Yakapis -- NORTH ASMAT d of ASMAT	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Jam -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Drabbe 1963
Jamat -- ASMAT	Galis 1955-56
Jao -- ASMAT	Galis 1955-56
Yenesoko = Yesoko -- NORTH ASMAT d of ASMAT	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Yeniseko -- UNIR EPMK ASAME = NORTH ASMAT	Konrad 1996 (cf S&C)
Jesoko -- KEENAK ASMAT	Simmons et al 1967
Yesoko -- ? NORTHERN (KEENOK) ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1975
Yesoko -- NORTH ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1980
Yesoko -- NORTH ASMAT d of ASMAT	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Jet -- ASMAT	Galis 1955-56
Tjiwen -- ASMAT	Galis 1955-56
Jofer -- ASMAT	Galis 1955-56
Jumas -- ASMAT	Galis 1955-56
KOMOR -- ASMAT	Zegwaard 1953a(1955)
Komor -- OENJIR SOEROW	Haar 1940(1993)
Komor -- ASMAT	Zegwaard 1953 Ts, Galis 1955-56
Komor -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Drabbe 1963
Komor -- KEENOK ASMAT	Amelsvoort 1964
Komor -- KEENAK ASMAT	Simmons et al 1967
Komor -- NORTHERN (KEENOK) ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1975
Komor -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1980
Komor -- CENTRAL ASMAT	Silzer & Clouse 1991
Komor -- UNIR SIRAN ASOMOR = CENTRAL ASMAT	Konrad 1996 (cf S&C)
Komor-Amor -- KEENOK ASMAT	Drabbe 1963
Komor-Amor-Por -- ASMAT	Zegwaard 1953b(1955)
Komor/Amor/Por -- JOPMAGAU ASMAT	Lapre 1959 Ts
Komor-Amor-Por = Komor -- KEENAK ASMAT	Simmons et al 1967
Kopa -- UNIR EPMK ASAME = NORTH ASMAT	Konrad 1996 (cf S&C)

MANEP -- sub-d of CENTRAL ASMAT	Wurm & Hattori 1981
MANEP -- sd of KEENOK d of CENTRAL ASMAT	Wurm 1982
Manep -- ASMAT	Zegwaard 1953 Ts, 1953a,b(1955);
Manep -- KE-ENOK	Verhey van Wijk 1959 Ts
Manep -- KEENOK ASMAT	Amelsvoort 1964
Manep -- KEENAK ASMAT	Simmons et al 1967
Manep -- NORTHERN (KEENOK) ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1975
Manep -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1980
Manep -- UNIR SIRAN ASOMOR = CENTRAL ASMAT	Konrad 1996 (cf S&C)
Manep/Simnee -- JOPMAGAU ASMAT	Lapre 1959 Ts
Momogo -- JOPMAGAU ASMAT	Lapre 1959 Ts
Momogo -- ? NORTHERN (KEENOK) ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1975
Momogo -- NORTH ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1980
Momogo -- NORTH ASMAT d of ASMAT	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Momogu -- EMARI DUCUR ASAME = NORTH ASMAT	Konrad 1996 (cf S&C)
Momogo/Sagopo -- KEENOK ASMAT	Amelsvoort 1964
Momogo-Sagopo -- KEENAK ASMAT	Simmons et al 1967
Momogu-Saghopu = Momogo-Sagopo -- KEENAK ASMAT	Simmons et al 1967
Monoe -- ASMAT	Zegwaard 1953b(1955)
Monoe -- JOPMAGAU ASMAT	Lapre 1959 Ts
Monu -- ASMAT	Zegwaard 1953a(1955)
Monu -- KEENOK ASMAT	Amelsvoort 1964
Monu -- KEENAK ASMAT	Simmons et al 1967
Monu -- NORTHERN (KEENOK) ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1975
Monu -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1980
Moeno -- KE-ENOK	Verhey van Wijk 1959 Ts
Munu -- UNIR SIRAN ASOMOR = CENTRAL ASMAT	Konrad 1996 (cf S&C)
Oarer -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Drabbe 1963
Oari -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Drabbe 1963
On -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Drabbe 193
Paip -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Drabbe 1963
Par -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Drabbe 1963
Por -- ASMAT	Zegwaard 1953 Ts
Por -- KOMOR ASMAT	Zegwaard 1953a(1955)

Por -- JOPMAGAU ASMAT	Lapre 1959 Ts
Pek -- ASMAT	Galis 1955-56
? Papis -- KEENOK ASMAT	Amelsvoort 1964
Papis -- KAINAK ASMAT	Simmons et al 1967
Papis -- ? NORTHERN (KEENOK) ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1975
Papis -- NORTH ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1980
Papis -- NORTH ASMAT d of ASMAT	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Papis -- EMARI DUCUR ASAME = NORTH ASMAT	Konrad 1996 (cf S&C)
Sa = Sawa -- UNIR SIRAN ASOMOR = CENTRAL ASMAT	Konrad 1996 (cf S&C)
Sa-a -- KE-ENOK	Verhey van Wijk 1959 Ts
Saa -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Drabbe 1963
Saa-Eer -- KEENOK ASMAT	Drabbe 1963
Sagapo -- JOPMAGAU ASMAT	Lapre 1959 Ts
Sagapu -- NORTH ASMAT	Silzer & Clouse 1991
Sagapu -- UNIR EPMAC ASAME = NORTH ASMAT	Konrad 1996 (cf S&C)
Saghopu = Sagopo -- KEENAK ASMAT	Simmons et al 1967
Sagopo -- KEENAK ASMAT	Simmons et al 1967
Sagopo -- NORTH ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1980
Sagopo -- NORTH ASMAT d of ASMAT	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Sakapu = Sagopo -- NORTH ASMAT d of ASMAT	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Saka -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Drabbe 1963
Sana -- ASMAT	Galis 1955-56
Sanam = Sanem -- SAPAN CASUARINE COAST ASMAT	Simmons et al 1967
Sanem -- SAPAN-SAMAT	Maturbongs 1959 Ts
Sanem -- SAPAN-SAMAT ASMAT	Krosschell 1961 Ts
Sanem -- SAPAN CASUARINE COAST ASMAT	Simmons et al 1967
Sanem -- SAFAN ASAMAT = CASUARINA COAST ASMAT	Konrad 1996 (cf S&C)
Saoamu -- KAÜNAK ASMAT	Drabbe 1963
Saowa -- ASMAT	Zegwaard 1953 Ts, Galis 1955-56
Saowa -- KEENOK ASMAT	Amelsvoort 1964
Saowa -- KEENAK ASMAT	Simmons et al 1967
Saowa -- KEENAK	Gajdusek et al 1978
Sauwa -- NORTHERN (KEENOK) ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1975

Sauwa/Er -- JOPMAGAU ASMAT	Lapre 1959 Ts
Sawa -- UNIR SIRAN ASOMOR = CENTRAL ASMAT	Konrad 1996 (cf S&C)
Sawa-Erma -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1980
Sawa-Erma -- ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1986
Sawa-Erma -- CENTRAL ASMAT	Silzer & Clouse 1991
Saowa-Erema-Sona-Er -- ASMAT	Zegwaard 1953b(1955)
Seper -- ASMAT	Galis 1955-56
Serew -- ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1986
Simi -- KE-ENOK	Verhey van Wijk 1959 Ts
Simi -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Drabbe 1963
Simné -- ASMAT	Zegwaard 1953 Ts, 1953a,b(1955)
Simnee -- JOPMAGAU ASMAT	Lapre 1959 Ts
Sinne -- ASMAT	Galis 1955-56
Sona -- ASMAT	Zegwaard 1953 Ts
Sona -- SAOWA ASMAT	Zegwaard 1953a(1955)
Sona = Erma -- UNIR SIRAN ASOMOR = CENTRAL ASMAT	Konrad 1996 (cf S&C)
Sonna -- JOPMAGAU ASMAT	Lapre 1959 Ts
Sonna -- KE-ENOK	Verhey van Wijk 1959 Ts
Sono -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Drabbe 1963
Sumapero = Waitok -- EMARI DUCUR ASAME = NORTH ASMAT	Konrad 1996 (cf S&C)
Sumat -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Drabbe 1963
Temor -- NORTHERN (KEENOK) ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1975
Temor -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1980
Tjembor -- ? SAFAN ASMAT	Lapre 1959 Ts
Tjemor -- KEENOK ASMAT	Amelsvoort 1964
Tjemor -- KEENAK ASMAT	Simmons et al 1967
Tjemor/Sagapo -- JOPMAGAU ASMAT	Lapre 1959 Ts
Tjimor -- SAPAN-SAMAT	Maturbongs 1959 Ts
Tomor -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Drabbe 1963
Tomor -- UNIR EPMAK ASAME = NORTH ASMAT	Konrad 1996 (cf S&C)
Tomor-Saka -- KEENOK ASMAT	Drabbe 1963
Tese -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Drabbe 1963
Ti -- KEENAK ASMAT	Simmons et al 1967
Ti -- ? NORTHERN (KEENOK) ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1975
Ti -- NORTH ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1980

Ti -- NORTH ASMAT d of ASMAT	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Tio -- UNIR EPMAK ASAME = NORTH ASMAT	Konrad 1996 (cf S&C)
UNIR EPMAK -- ASAMAE = NORTH ASMAT/CENTRAL ASMAT	Konrad 1996 (cf S&C)
UTUMBUWE'E -- d of ASMAT	Salzner 1960
Wairu -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Drabbe 1963
Waitok -- EMARI DUCUR ASAME = NORTH ASMAT	Konrad 1996 (cf S&C)
Weo -- EMARI DUCUR ASAME = NORTH ASMAT	Konrad 1996 (cf S&C)
? Wejo -- KEENOK ASMAT	Amelsvoort 1964
Wejo -- KAINAK ASMAT	Simmons et al 1967
Weyo -- ? NORTHERN (KEENOK) ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1975
Weyo -- NORTH ASMAT	Voorhoeve 1980
Weyo -- NORTH ASMAT d of ASMAT	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Zemek -- KEENOK CENTRAL ASMAT	Drabbe 1963

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