It is interesting to note that Sawuj shares a number of cognates exclusively with languages spoken south of the mouth of the Digul river and on Fredrik Hendrik island:

... [DOM, JELMEK, KIMAGHAMA, MAKLEW, MOMBUM, RIANTANA]

The sharing of a cultural term like 'bow' [DOM, MOMBUM, RIANTANA] and the formal similarity of the words make it likely that these languages have been in direct contact at some point in their history. This, combined with the fact that also the Kajagar languages show traces of contact with these same groups, and the fact that a Marind-type language is spoken in two enclaves in Asmat territory (Warkai-Bipim, see below) makes it clear that in the past considerable migrations must have taken place in the area.

- Voorhoeve 1971:89, n. 2.

The villages Warkai and Bipim form two linguistic enclaves within the Asmat language area. The two villages speak one language, which belongs to the Marind Stock. Warkai is situated on the Farec river, about 5 miles upstream of the Asmat village Omadesep. Bipim is on the As (Kampong) river, three miles upstream of the Asmat village Ar-Danim. The villages are small; Warkai counted 115 people in 1960, Bipim 79. Their present size seems about the same. A few generations ago the two villages still lived together, presumably near the source of the Farec river. In Warkai the memory of the former unity with Bipim is still alive; in Bipim the informants denied to know anything about it.


The first word list collected in Warkai dates from the late fifties; it was collected by one of the early missionaries in the area, either Father von Pey, or Father von Kessel. Subsequent lists were recorded in 1961 and in 1970 by the present writer, who also collected a word list in Bipim. The three lists, taken in chronological order, show an increase in Asmat loan words. ... Since the introduction of Mission and Government frequent contacts have developed between Warkai, Bipim, and the neighbouring Asmat villages. It can be expected that the Warkai-Bipim language will in the future be heavily influenced by Asmat. Warkai-Bipim is now separated from the other languages of the Marind Stock by languages of the Awju and Kajagar Families. It may have been in contact with several of these languages as is shown by the following probable loans ...
... Warkai-Bipim is spoken by a few hundred people living in two small villages, Warkai and Bipim, near the southern border of the Asmat language area. It is separated from Yaqay by languages of the Auyu and Kayagar Families ... - Voorhoeve 1975b:360-361.

200-300 [speakers]
Villages: Warkay, Bipim.
Comments: Bipim separated from Warkay a few generations ago. They form small enclaves of a Marind type language on the border of the Asmat and Sawuy language areas.
- Voorhoeve 1975f:23.

**Warkay-Bipim** (Bipim; Bipim As-so)
POP: +/- 300
LOC: South coast area west of Sawi. Warkay is on the Farec River, Bipimas and Bipimso are on the Assuwe (Kampong) River.

... VILLAGE(S):
Warkay -- 80
Bipimas -- 120
Bipimso -- 90
- Silzer & Heikkinen 1984:80.

(Bipim; Bipim As-so)
300
LOC: South coast area west of Sawi. Warkay is on the Farec River, Bipimas and Bipimso are on the Assuwe (Kampong) River.

**Warkay-Bipim**: 250 speakers reported in 1978, in the south coast area on the lower Eilanden River, Irian Jaya. Also called Bipim As-So or Bipim. ...

South coast area bordering Asmat to east and Sawi to west, lower Eilanden River, 3 villages. ...

**WARKAY-BIPIM (BIPIM AS-SO, BIPIM)** ... 300 (1993 R. Doriot UFM). South coast area bordering Asmat to east and Sawi to west, lower Eilanden River, 3 villages. ...
- Grimes 1996.
lower Eilanden River, 3 villages. Linguistic affiliation: Trans-New Guinea, Main Section, Central and Western, Marind, Yaqay. 50% of speakers somewhat bilingual in Indonesian or Asmat.

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<td>400? Marind (Foley 1986)</td>
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<td>WARKAI-BIPIM</td>
<td>300 Voorhoeve 1971, 1975</td>
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<td>WARKAY-BIPIM</td>
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<td>250 Yaqay (Grimes 1992, Wurm 1994)</td>
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**BIPIM = WARKAY-BIPIM**

Bipim -- WARKAI-BIPIM | Voorhoeve 1971
Bipim -- WARKAI-BIPIM | Voorhoeve 1975, Silzer & Clouse
Bipüm -- WARKAI | Simmons et al 1967
Mbipim = Bipüm -- WARKAI | Simmons et al 1967

**BIPIM AS-SO = WARKAY-BIPIM**

Bipimas -- WARKAY-BIPIM | Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Bipimso -- WARKAY-BIPIM | Silzer & Heikkinen 1984

Warkai -- WARKAI | Simmons et al 1967
Warkai -- WARKAI-BIPIM | Voorhoeve 1971, Silzer & Clouse
Warkay -- WARKAY-BIPIM | Voorhoeve 1975, Silzer & Heikkinen 1984

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