

The centripetal deictic marker *-me* occurs after a verb and after the repetitive marker *mwa*, and before any overt arguments (see 4a) or following "serial" verbs (see 3). *-me* is not only about space relative to the speaker (see 1a, 1b), but also about destinations most salient at the moment of speech. This means the rail's home in 2a, the boat in 2c, the recipient of the war money in 4a, and the school in 5d, which had been the topic of the whole text (note the presence of *-me* when speaking of her home in 5b and its absence in the contrastive example 5d).

(1)

- a. nyada-**me**
send-ME

'Give it to me.'
- b. ta-**me** xhwi-aman!
go.up-ME eat-something

'Come [up/to the house] eat!'

(2) a. (2016-11-15 Le poulpe et le rat)

go tha ja ta mwa **me**
then ASS ? go.up 'rep' ME

'Then he went back up (home)'

b. (2016-11-15 Le poulpe et le rat)

go go=thuang-o ta-**me** na yo e=feta-**me**-ko can
? 2SG=joke-1SG go.up-ME TOP 1SG 1SG=bring-ME-2SG in
a=thake nyada-**me** i=thaagan kon a=thake-a
3SG=throw send-ME DEF.SG=tentacle ? 3SG=hit-3SG

"'You make a fool of me, [while] I take you back", he threw a tentacle and hit him '

c. (2016-11-15 Le poulpe et le rat)

cama han-mwa-**me** khii ma hma-ca-mwa-**me** paa cika
when go-REP-ME rail SUBR arrive-?-REP-ME PFV NEG.EXIST
mwa wâng
REP boat

'When Rail came back, there was no more boat'

- (3) (vamale-170811-recit_de_peche-SG 00:03:34-00:03:42)

na cama i=pupwaale-nabe na ya bwa ju na bwa
 TOP when DEF=European-PL.EXCL.POSS TOP 3SG IPFV really TOP IPFV
 fe nyu ta-me can jaati ta-**me** ciini bwa xwhiu na bwau
 take fish go.up-ME in? sea go.up-ME grill IPFV eat ? ?

‘? Our European he really took the fish up from the sea, went up to grill them and ate?’

- (4) a. Tipije 1

go le=fwade-a nya-mwa-la koe ya mwa
 then 3PL=seach.ANIM-3SG because? 3SG container hand-3SG.POSS
 si-n i=mwan.hmat ko i=vaa a=hnyada-**me** ka daahma
 for DEF.SG=war 3SG=send-ME AGT chief

‘They were looking for him at that time. It was him, he had the money for the war that the chief had sent.’

b.

...ko na a=nyada-**me** ka Bwaxat tha i=hmat-aen
 because TOP 3SG=send-ME AGT B. ASS DEF=money-DEM

‘Because this money had been sent by Bwaxat’

c.

...hê fwadai ca vukin hapi na vukin Bwaxat.
 yes search.inanim NSPEC cause SUBR TOP cause B.
 hupwa-**me** i=wâng. le=bwa vii hapi na ya
 come.down.REP-ME DEF.SG=boat 3PL=IPFV say SUBR TOP 3SG
 ya thapoke i=vaa
 3SG begin DEF.SG=war

‘Yes, looking for a cause [for the war], that the cause was Bwaxat. The boat came down. They were saying that he, he had started the war.’

- (5) a. (2017-10-30 École et punition)

tha abe xhwi-aman cama sinan xhwi-aman
 ASS 1PL.EXCL eat-something whenever hour eat-something

‘We ate when it was time to eat.’

- b. apre batebwen abe hupwa-**me**
 after evening 1PL.EXCL go.down.REP-ME

‘Then in the evening we went back down [home]’

- c. tha abe han abe koin sohmun
ASS 1PL.EXCL go 1PL.EXCL finish school

‘We left, we had finished school.’

- d. tha abe ta-me hut ta-**me** hut fine thoatit
ASS 1PL.EXCL go.up-ME go.down go.up-ME go.down every day

‘We went up, down, up, down every day.’