

## 7 Coordination

### 7.1 NP coordination

There is no conjunctive particle ‘and’, or even a ‘with’ postposition used in translation equivalents of conjunctions. Instead, conjuncts are simply juxtaposed, with prosodic modifications used to express conjunction. There is an ‘or’ particle *má* (and variants), also used in polar questions.

#### 7.1.1 NP conjunction (‘X and Y’) by dying-quail final intonation

##### 7.1.1.1 Non-iterative NP conjunction

Conjoined NPs including pronouns are juxtaposed without an overt conjunction. The normal articulation is with a **dying-quail** intonational ending. The final segment (vowel or sonorant consonant) is prolonged with a slowly falling pitch over the syllabic nucleus (§3.xxx). Dying-quail prosody is indicated by *∴* after the relevant word, which is otherwise transcribed with its ordinary tones and vowel-length.

This intonation pattern is mostly conspicuous when both conjuncts are short, as in pronoun conjunction (xx1).

- (xx1) a. [wó ∴ kó ∴] tô:-n bè â: oêw, ...  
[3Sg Nonh] Recip-Sg 3PIS.L catch.Perf.HL all, ...  
‘When he and it (=lion) had seized each other, ...’ **2004.3.2**
- b. émé ∴ ú ∴  
**1Pl 2Sg**  
‘you-Sg and us’

In (xx1.a), for example, the conjunction is pronounced [wô:∴, kô:∴], i.e. [wóôô, kóôô] with exaggerated lengthening and a long, arc-ing pitch decline on both coordinands, and with an intonation break in between. This is standard for pronominal conjunctions.

A pronominal conjunction [X ∴ Y ∴] behaves like a nonpronominal NP. In particular, when the conjoined NP as a whole functions as (alienable) possessor, the pronominals take their usual independent form, and the NP is followed by Possessive *mà*. (xx2) shows this with noun-like postposition *gǎn̄n̄* ‘between’.

- (xx2) [émé ∴ é ∴] mà gǎn̄n̄  
[1Pl 2Pl] Poss **between**  
‘between us and you-Pl’

A logophoric may be a coordinand (xx3).

- (xx3) ñě-m [ú ∴ èné bé ∴] cí-cêw gá-bà  
 woman-Pl [2Sg Logo Pl] same say.Impf-3Pl  
 ‘The women will say that you-Sg and they are the same.’ 2004.3.3  
 [i.e., they will call you (a man) no better than a woman]

NPs, including simple nouns, are also conjoined in this way (xx4). In (xx4.c), the coordinands are normally adverbials, but are here used as nouns.

- (xx4) a. àr<sup>n</sup>-úm ∴ ñě-m ∴  
 man-Pl woman-Pl  
 ‘men and women’
- b. [tájù ∴ sî-sèg]≡î∴  
 [basket Rdp-filtering.basket]≡it.is  
 ‘It is tightly woven baskets and (coarse) filtering baskets’ 2004.3.6
- c. [yá∴ ∴ íjé ∴] kǎw≡kò  
 [yesterday today] different≡be.Nonh  
 ‘Yesterday and today are quite different.’ 2004.3.19

In (xx4.b), which ends in underlying /sî-sègú ∴≡y/, the contraction of stem-final ú and clitic ≡y to F-toned ≡î∴ more or less swallows up the second ∴ intonational segment.

in (xx5), a pronoun is conjoined to a noun. Here, as often, a conjunction phrase functions as complement of gǎn<sup>n</sup> ‘between’.

- (xx5) [kó ∴ ùjùbǎy ∴] mà gǎn<sup>n</sup>  
 [Nonh ground] Poss between  
 ‘between it and the ground’ 2004.3.6

When the second coordinand is complex, the special final intonation is always still possible. However, in natural speech its expression can range from clear to weakly audible to inaudible. In (xx6), the special intonation is clear in the initial coordinand (a pronoun), which suffices to characterize the construction as a conjunction, even though the expected ∴ following the longer second coordinand was not audibly realized.

- (xx6) ... bón bè kúnô∴-∅,  
 ... name 3PlS.L put.Impf-Ppl.Nonh,  
 [[kó ∴ [ñě-m mà àjùwò-sǔm-∅]  
 [[Nonh [woman-Pl Poss new.mother-wash-VblN]  
 mà kû∴<sup>n</sup>] èmǎ-n tégé  
 Poss about] 1Pl-Dat speak.Imprt



Verbs are not conjoined using the dying-quail prosody, but nominalized verbs denoting actions are occasionally conjoined (when functioning syntactically as nouns, e.g. as object of *kár<sup>n</sup>á-* ‘do’). An unusual combination meaning ‘going and coming’ is illustrated in (xx11); it is based on the unsuffixed verb stems with a tonal change.

- (xx11) [yá ∴ yérè ∴] kár<sup>n</sup>á=kò  
 [going coming] do.Impf≡be.Nonh  
 ‘It (=cobra) makes back-and-forth movements (while spitting)’ (yǎ: -, yèré-) **2004.3.5**

#### 7.1.1.2 Ordering of conjuncts

The ordering of elements is not rigid. However, the predominant patterns are those in (xx1).

- (xx1) Ordering of conjuncts
- pronoun precedes nonpronomial NP
  - X precedes possessed [X’s Y]
  - if both are pronouns, 1st < 2nd < 3rd

Examples are in (xx2).

- (xx2) a. mí ∴ ñě-m ∴  
 1Sg woman-Pl  
 ‘me and the women’
- b. á:mádù ∴ [wò dè: ∴]  
 Amadou [3SgP.L father.HL]  
 ‘Amadou and his father’ (inalienable possessor)
- c. á:mádù ∴ [wó ìjú ∴]  
 Amadou [3SgP dog]  
 ‘Amadou and his dog’ (alienable possessor)
- d. mí ∴ ú ∴  
 1Sg 2Sg  
 ‘me and you-Sg’
- e. émé ∴ é ∴  
 1Pl 2Pl  
 ‘we and you-Pl’
- f. ú ∴ wó ∴  
 2Sg 3Sg

‘you-Sg and he/she’

### 7.1.1.3 Distributive NP iteration in conjunction form

A noun (or NP) in generic sense may be conjoined with itself, expressing a distributive sense, roughly ‘from) X to X’ or ‘among X’s’.

- (xx1) [àná ∴ àná ∴ ], [ùjùbǎy ∴ ùjùbǎy ∴ ],  
[**village village**], [**country country**],  
íné-m tô:-n yèré mèy céjé-bà  
person.Pl Recip-Sg come and meet.Impf-3Pl  
‘Village to village, country to country, people come and encounter each other’ **2004.3.15**

Such iterative conjunctions often serve as complements of gǎnnè ‘between, among’ (xx2), cf. §8.xxx.

- (xx2) [émé dòyò-àná]  
[1PIP Dogon.L-village]  
[[ùrò-dú: ∴ ùrò-dú: ∴ ] mà gǎnnè] jéy bé:-yà-Ø,  
[[**family family**] Poss **among**] fight happen-Perf-3SgS  
[[iné-m ∴ iné-m ∴ ] mà gǎnnè] jéy bé:-yà-Ø dèy  
[[**person-PI person-PI**] Poss **among**] fight happen-Perf-3SgS if  
‘In our Dogon villages, (when) a squabble breaks out among (extended) families, (or) when a squabble breaks out among people’ **2004.4.6**

### 7.1.1.4 Conjunction with final quantifier

Infrequently, an NP conjunction ends with a quantifier that expresses the summed cardinality of the two coordinands. Most often the quantifier is the numeral ‘two’, as in (xx3).

- (xx3) mâ:n [[ [ú ∴ mâ:ⁿ ∴ ] mà gǎnnè ]  
so-and-so [[[**2Sg so-and-so two**] Poss between]  
à:-lí-Ø] jà:ⁿ-lá-Ø  
be.caught-Perf.Neg-3SgS] be.right-Neg-3SgS  
‘(They will say:) “So-and-So<sub>x</sub> (vocative)! That things be bad (“not taken”) between the two of you-Sg<sub>x</sub> and So-and-So<sub>y</sub> (=another person) is not right.’  
**2004.4.6**

### 7.1.2 NP conjunction with bé ⇒... bé ⇒

An alternative mechanism for conjoining NP’s X and Y is of the form (xx1).

(xx1) [X bé ⇒] [Y bé ⇒]

This construction is optional. It is most common when both X and Y are plural nouns, when both are abstractions (including Verbal Nouns in abstract sense). It can also be used with singular personal names or other NPs in lists. By “list” I mean a conjunction of referents that involve no coordinated activity of the ‘A and B went to Bamako (together)’ type. Lists are generally found when multiple referents are introduced into the discourse.

The final intonation represented by ⇒ involves prolongation, but maintains a steady high to mid pitch. This differs from the falling pitch of the dying-quail conjunction pattern described above. Of the two, the type with two bé morphemes is more restricted and is less common in texts, but nonetheless well-attested.

The bé morpheme is related to 1PI bé and to 3PI pronoun bé. One of the conjuncts may be 3PI bé itself, resuming a just-mentioned referent, resulting in bé bé ⇒ (xxx.a). A conjunct may also be a plural NP of the form [noun bé], in which case we get [noun bé bé ⇒], sometimes shortened to [noun bé ⇒] (xx2.a).

(xx2) a. [bé bé ⇒] [bè nâ: (bé) bé ⇒] mà gàn≡î:  
 [3PI **PI**] [3PIP.L mother.HL (PI) PI] Poss between≡it.is  
 ‘It is between them (=girls) and their mothers.’ **2004.3.18**

b. íjé [àrá:jô: bé ⇒]  
 today [radio **PI**]  
 [cè: kó tímé-sà-∅ bé ⇒]  
 [thing.L NonhO resemble-Reslt-Ppl.Nonh] PI]  
 kár<sup>n</sup>-á:r<sup>n</sup>à-m yó≡kò  
 do-Habit-Ppl.PI exist≡be.Nonh  
 ‘Today they do the radio and what resembles it (=and so forth).’  
**2004.3.20**

c. [ìnè nùmò-bíré sà:-rá-n ké]  
 [person.L hand.L-work have-Neg.Ppl.Sg Topic]  
 àkòrò-jà-ý<sup>n</sup> bé ⇒, kó bé ⇒  
 well.L-dig-VblN **PI**, Nonh **PI**  
 [kùr<sup>n</sup>â:<sup>n</sup> mà sũŋ] [àná bérè], *goudron*  
 [electricity Poss cord] [village in], paved.road  
 cě: kán tí mèy<sup>n</sup> ↑ mà gǎ:-n-∅ bé ⇒.  
 thing do Link and Poss pass-Caus-VblN **PI**,  
 [pò<sup>n</sup>sé bérè] mà lòyò mà gò<sup>n</sup>-ý<sup>n</sup> bé ⇒  
 [ditch(<*fossé*) in] Poss filth Poss remove-VblN **PI**  
 ‘(For) someone who doesn’t have a (skilled) occupation [topic], there’s digging wells, there’s that (and) there’s doing something to take

electrical wires across streets in the town, and there's removing filth from (=cleaning out) the ditches, ...' **2004.5.3**

- d. [lármé kò-rú ìnè nû:-m],  
 [army Nonh-Inst person.L enter.Impf-Ppl.PI]  
 [B bé ⇒], [A bé ⇒]  
 [B PI], [A PI]  
 'those who enlisted in the (colonial) army, (namely) B and A [names of two men].' **2004.421**

The [X bé ⇒] [Y bé ⇒] construction is distinct from cases where one of two coordinands happens to end in PI bé. In this case, the dying-quail intonation (including a slow fall in pitch) is applicable to bé as well as to the other coordinand (xx3).

- (xx3) á:mádù ∴ [wò déré bé ∴ ]  
 A [3SgP.L elder.sibling.HL PI]  
 'Amadou and his brothers.'

### 7.1.3 Pronominal conjunction of type [X wó≡ŷ] 'X and them'

An alternative to the prosodically symmetrical [X ∴ Y ∴] form of pronominal conjunction is a type with clitic ≡ŷ (§11.xxx) added to the second coordinand. The first coordinand is a plural pronoun in L-tone (1PI èmè, 2PI è, 3PI bè). The second coordinand takes the invariant 3Sg form wó but has third plural reference.

- (xx1) a. kó≡ŷ [è wó≡ŷ] [[ [pòn-sũŋ t̀̀r̀̀] lá-m]  
 Nonh≡it.is [2PI 3Sg≡it.is] [[[pants.L-cord one.L] not.be-Ppl.PI]  
 mà ñè-m ]≡î :  
 Poss woman.PI]≡it.is  
 'That is, you-PI and they (a caste of women) are not women of the same belt-cord (=extended family).' (t̀̀ú̀ú̀ 'one') **2004.3.3**
- b. èmè wó≡ŷ  
 1PI 3Sg≡it.is  
 'us and them'
- c. bè wó≡ŷ  
 3PI 3Sg≡it.is  
 'them and them'

My assistant rejected #mî wó≡ỵ ‘I and them’ (because of the singular first conjunct), and also rejected #ẹ̀ṃẹ̀ ú≡ỵ ‘we and you’ (second conjunct other than wó).

#### 7.1.4 Relativization on one of two conjoined NPs.

A single coordinand cannot be directly relativized on (with its tones dropped as relative head, leaving the other coordinand unaffected). However, a noun can be fronted just to the left of a conjunction phrase, its place taken by a resumptive pronoun within the conjunction. In (xx1), ìnè ‘person’ is coindexed with one or other of the 3Sg wó conjuncts. Note that the participle is singular.

(xx1) [ ìnè [ wó ∴ wó ∴ ] yâ: -n kù<sup>n</sup> lè ],  
 [person.L [3Sg 3Sg] go.Perf.HL-Ppl.Sg Def with]  
 wó bô:nó wò kân [wó yéré] wá  
 3SgO call.to 3SgS.L after [3SgS Imprt] say  
 ‘He called out to the man with whom he had gone (lit., “the person who he and he went”), and told him to come.’ **2004.3.4**

My transcription assistant had misgivings about this example, without rejecting it outright. The original speaker may have the same misgivings, since shortly thereafter in the same text he produced an alternative construction with bé lèy ‘the two of them’ instead of wó ∴ wó ∴, hence ìnè [bé lèy] yâ: -n kù<sup>n</sup> ‘the man with whom he had gone (lit. “the person who the two of them went”).

#### 7.1.5 “Conjunction” of verbs or VP’s

Verbs and VPs can be combined in chain (=serial) constructions. These lack an explicit ‘and’ conjunction. See §15.xxx.

While verbs and VPs (as such) cannot be conjoined using the dying-quail intonation or the [... bé ⇒ ... bé ⇒] construction, a **relative clause** ending in a verb-like participle is syntactically a NP and may therefore be conjoined. In (xx1), both coordinands are of this type.

(xx1) [dî: <sup>n</sup> yé-lé è yâ: -∅ ∴ ]  
 [manner.L there 2PIS.L go.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh]  
 [è yérè-∅ ∴ ]  
 2PIS.L come.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh]  
 ‘(Tell us) how you-Pl went there (=to Algeria), (and how) you came (back).’  
**2004.5.1**

**Clause**-level conjunction is especially important in English within conditional antecedents, where it is important to understand that both clauses are conditions for

the consequent to be realized. In Jamsay, however, one can simply juxtapose two conditional antecedent clauses ending in *dèy* ‘if’ to express the intended sense.

- (xx2) sél1lé sà-m dèy, àr<sup>n</sup>á mìl-lí-Ø dèy,  
 health have-1SgS if, rain fall-Perf.Neg-3SgS if,  
 yìrú sùmó-m̄  
 clothes wash.Impf-1SgS  
 ‘If I’m healthy, (and) if it doesn’t rain, I will wash the clothes.’

Subordinated clauses in nominalized form, e.g. with a Verbal Noun, may be coordinated. This occurs, for example, in complements of ‘leave’ in the sense ‘cease (doing)’ (xx3).

- (xx3) [nùŋ-nũŋ-Ø ∴ gò:-gò-ý ∴] dáyá-tì-Ø  
 [song-sing-VbIN dance(noun)-dance-VbIN] leave-Perf-3SgS  
 ‘He/She has ceased (“left”) singing and dancing.’

Higher-clause verbs like *túmnó-* ‘begin’ that normally take bare-stem (=infinitival) complements do not have this option. This can be circumvented by using nominals with verb-like meaning instead of clausal complements (xx4.a). Alternatively, if the context permits, the two or more “conjoined” lower verbs can be chained, so only the last of these is directly under the syntactic influence of the higher-level verb (xx4.b).

- (xx4) a. [é:<sup>n</sup> ∴ pé: ∴] túmnó-tì-Ø  
 [weeping crying] begin-Perf-3SgS  
 ‘He/She began to weep and cry.’  
 b. [yǎ: yèr é] túmnó-tì-Ø  
 [go come] begin-Perf-3SgS  
 ‘He/She began to go and come’.

## 7.2 Disjunction

### 7.2.1 ‘or’ (má, mà)

The disjunctive particle is phrase- or clause-final *ma*, with variable pitch and vocalic duration (probably due to overlaid intonation contours). The most common form is phonetic [má : ] with long, high-pitched vowel. However, the duration and perhaps even the pitch are arguably intonational rather than lexical in nature. The duration is often exaggerated, prompting to me use the symbol ⇒.

The disjunctive particle can be used with sentences as well as with NPs and adverbials. In general, low-pitched *mà* ⇒ tends to occur when the particle is grouped

prosodically with the second coordinand, i.e. in [X, [mà ⇒ Y]. This is typical of clause-level disjunction. On the other hand, high-pitched and prolonged má ⇒ is usual when there is no prosodic break, or when the particle is grouped prosodically with the first coordinand, i.e. in [X má ⇒(,) Y]. This is typical of disjunction at the subclausal level, with NPs or adverbials.

In [noun + numeral] combinations, the noun is repeated (i.e., there is no “conjunction reduction”). For example, ‘one or two chickens’ is expressed as “one chicken or two chickens.” Examples are given just below.

má (mà) is also used clause-finally in interrogatives, especially polar interrogatives (those with ‘yes/no’ answers). There is a logical connection between the two functions, since except in rhetorical questions a polar interrogative (‘Did you see them?’) asks for a response choosing between a positive and a negative alternative (‘Did you see them, or didn’t you?’). One could therefore take the sense ‘or’ as basic. Alternatively, one could interpret a disjunction as an interrogative (‘is it X, or is it Y?’), and take the interrogative sense as primary.

### 7.1.2 NP (and adverbial) disjunction (má)

(xxx) illustrates the maximal type [[X má ⇒] [Y má ⇒]] with má ⇒ following both coordinands. Compare English *either ... or ...* constructions, and more relevantly French *ou ... ou ...* and other symmetrical disjunctions. Since the Focus clitic comes after the second má :, (xx1) also shows that the entire disjunction can be treated as a constituent.

- (xx1) a. [[dây má ⇒] [nùw<sup>n</sup>ó má ⇒]]⇒y<sup>n</sup> dènê:-Ø  
 [wealth **or** death **or**]=Foc want.Impf-3SgS  
 ‘Either wealthiness or death [focus] is what he wants.’
- b. [bû:d nũ:y<sup>n</sup> má ⇒] [bû:d pérú  
 [riyal five **or**] [riyal ten  
 má: ⇒] [ñù:-sèy<sup>n</sup> dáγá]  
**or**] [millet.L-grain.L small]  
 ‘(Either) five riyals (=currency unit), or ten riyals, or a little millet grain’  
 (bú:dù) **2004.3.19**
- c. [èné bé] [[íné-m pén-này<sup>n</sup> má] [pén-nù:y<sup>n</sup> má]  
 [Logo Pl] [person-Pl ten-four **or**] ten-five **or**  
 mà *nombre*] bèl-l-á dèy ↑  
 Poss number] obtain-Perf.Neg.3PlS if  
 ‘They themselves [topic], if they haven’t gotten the number of forty or fifty people (=police), ...’ **2004.5.5**

More often, there is only one disjunctive particle, located between the two coordinands. In the case of NPs, including those with numerals, and in the case of

adverbials, there is either no prosodic break between the coordinands, or the particle is grouped prosodically with the first coordinand. In either case, the particle usually has high pitch and exaggerated duration (symbol ⇒).

The seamless construction is exemplified in (xx2).

- (xx2) a. [èñé túrú] má ⇒ [èñé lèy] cê:<sup>n</sup>-Ø  
 [chicken one] or [chicken two] slaughter.Impf-3SgS  
 ‘He will slaughter one chicken or two chickens.’
- b. tǎ:n má ⇒ này<sup>n</sup>  
 three or four  
 ‘three or four’

Prosodic grouping with the left coordinand is seen in (xx3), if I correctly interpret the first mà as the disjunction and the later ones as Possessive mà.

- (xx3) [[ànà é:ŋ kù<sup>n</sup> bérè] mà, [é pòn-sũŋ túrù-m]] mà,  
 [[village.L near Def in] or, [2PIP pants-cord one-HL-PI]] Poss  
 ìnè gǎ-n mà ìnè nínáy-n, wó≡y ú:r<sup>n</sup>ó mèy ↑  
 person.L old-Sg Poss person.L respectable-Sg, 3Sg=Foc get.up and  
 ‘The oldest, (most) respectable man within the village or who is of the same  
 belt cord (=kin group) as you-PI (=people in a dispute) [topic], it’s he [focus]  
 who will get up and ...’ **2004.4.6**

An extended disjunction is (xx4). After three long relative clauses each ending in má with exaggerated lengthening (⇒), the speaker realizes that the series is over, and begins the next intonation group with lè ‘with’ to make the whole disjunction into the complement of a postposition.

- (xx4) pàŋá nám ké, gá:rá bú:dù sâ-n má ⇒,  
 power owners Topic, more money have.HL-Ppl.Sg or,  
 gá:ra [tèg-ù érù] gòr<sup>n</sup>ó-ñ má ⇒,  
 more [speak-VblN sweet] be.able.Impf-Ppl.Sg or,  
 [gá:rá tỳ<sup>n</sup>ó tímé-sâ-Ø] tégé bèr é-ñ  
 [more truth resemble-Reslt-Ppl.Nonh] speak can.Impf-Ppl.Sg  
 má ⇒, lè yǎ: dònò-ŋó mèy<sup>n</sup> ↑  
 or, with go finish-Caus and  
 ‘(If the dispute reaches the government), the government people will go and  
 finish (=decide) it based on who has the most money, or who is capable of  
 the sweetest words, or who can speak in a way that sounds the most truthful.’  
**2004.4.6**

The disjunction **can be omitted** entirely, when parallel NPs with quantitatively adjacent numerals represent a range rather than a forced choice. Again, note that the modified noun ‘month’ in (xx5) is repeated. The fact that conjunctions (‘X and Y’) are

marked either by dying-quail intonation or by final bé in both conjuncts makes it easier to interpret cases like (xxx) as disjunctions ('X or Y'). Compare also colloquial English *three four months* with no audible disjunction. In (xx5.b), Reciprocal tô:-n is added to the disjunctive numeral phrase.

- (xx5) a. [[ě: tǎ:n] [ě: nǎy<sup>n</sup>] bǎ:]  
 [[month three] [month four] since]  
 'for (a duration of) three or four months' **2004.3.9**
- b. kàrgù-î:<sup>n</sup> [lěy tǎ:n] tô:-n mǎ:-tu:-∅ dèy  
 brick.L-child [two three] Recip-Sg build-Perf-2SgS if  
 'when you-Sg have built (the wall) two or three bricks (high)' **2004.3.25**

Another example of this is (xx6). Here the coordinands are focalized in parallel. The concluding fú: 'all' is a point of contact between this construction and that of disjunctive conditional antecedents ('whether X or Y, ...') (§16.xxx).

- (xx6) [pér≡î: pél-lěy≡ỹ ∴ fú:] ô:-w  
 [ten≡Foc twenty≡Foc all] give.Impf-2SgS  
 'You-Sg will give (something), be it ten or twenty (riyals).' **2004.3.20**

### 7.1.3 Clause-level disjunction

Clause-level 'or' is not easy to distinguish from clause-final interrogative má (mà) (§13.xxx), and a case can be made that they are the same morpheme. Both can be prolonged clause-finally (symbol ⇒), and both show variation in pitch. The disjunction, however, has a greater tendency to show low pitch. If there is an intonation break, it may be grouped prosodically with the second clause, as in (xx1.a).

- (xx1) a. [màlfâ:<sup>n</sup> nám] yǎ: wǒ-t tǎ:<sup>n</sup> ó:-bà,  
 [rifle owners] go 3Sg-Dat shoot give.Impf-3PIS,  
 mà ⇒ màlfâ:<sup>n</sup> yàŋá méy yǎ: tǎ:<sup>n</sup>-∅  
**or** rifle take and go shoot.Impf-3SgS  
 'Gun owners [topic], they will go and shoot (an animal) and give (it) to him, or else he (himself) will take the rifle and go and shoot.' (wò-rú)  
**2004.3.16**
- b. [mâ:n ∴ mâ:n ∴ lèy] èl-lá-bá àyà-m  
 [so-and-so so-and-so two] sweet.L-Neg-3PIS hear.Perf.L-1SgS  
 mà: jèyé-tù-bà àyà-m  
**or** fight-Perf-3PIS hear.Perf.L-1SgS  
 '(suppose) I've heard that the twosome of So-and-so and So-and-so (=two people) are not sweet (=are in conflict), or I've heard that they have had a fight' **2004.4.6**

- c. *garde de cercle*≡î: [bé gǔnnè] dìmè,  
 military.guard≡Foc [3Pl behind] follow.Perf.L,  
 núŋòèỵ<sup>n</sup> [òrù mòñú jín] kô:-Ø má:  
 Dem≡Foc [thing.L bad like] be.Nonh.HL-Ppl.Nonh or  
 [òrù kà<sup>n</sup>-ú jà:<sup>n</sup>-lá-Ø jín]  
 [thing.L do-VblN be.acceptable-Neg-Ppl.Nonh like]  
 kô:-Ø cêw, bé dàyá kà<sup>n</sup>à-w<sup>n</sup>à-gó-Ø  
 be.Nonh.HL-Ppl.Nonh all, 3PIOleave do-Caus-Impf.Neg-3SgS  
 ‘It was a military guard [focus] who followed behind them (=Malian  
 conscripts). If that (action) [deictic] was like a bad thing, or something  
 that it was not right to do, he wouldn’t let them do it.’ (in military  
 training) **2004.4.22**

Disjunction at the level of VP was not observed. Efforts to elicit e.g. ‘he wants [either to go away or to die]’ resulted in various paraphrases not involving VP disjunction as such.

#### 7.1.4 ‘Or else’ (wâl-mà)

A form wâl-mà is recorded in the sense ‘or (else)’. The initial wâl- belongs to a large set of regional forms of the form wala or the like meaning ‘or’, cf. Maghrebi Arabic awella ‘or’.

- (xx1) [gùjú mánà], bé ìñì-w<sup>n</sup>é-bà,  
 [skin on], 3PIO lie.down-Caus.Impf-3PIS,  
 kà: [kàrá mánà] bé ìñì-w<sup>n</sup>è-j-é,  
 but [mat on] 3PIO lie.down-Caus-Impf.Neg-3PIS,  
 wâl-mà [céwé mánà] bé ìñì-w<sup>n</sup>é-bà  
**or.else** [plank on] 3PIO lie.down-Caus.Impf-3PIS  
 ‘They (=elders) have them (=circumcised boys) sleep on hides, but they don’t  
 let them sleep on mats; or else they have them sleep on wooden planks.’  
**2004.3.18**

7	Coordination.....	1
7.1	NP coordination.....	1
7.1.1	NP conjunction (‘X and Y’) by dying-quail final intonation .....	1
7.1.1.1	Non-iterative NP conjunction .....	1
7.1.1.2	Ordering of conjuncts.....	4
7.1.1.3	Distributive NP iteration in conjunction form.....	5
7.1.1.4	Conjunction with final quantifier.....	5

7.1.2	NP conjunction with bé ⇒... bé ⇒.....	5
7.1.3	Pronominal conjunction of type [X wó≡y] ‘X and them’ .....	7
7.1.4	Relativization on one of two conjoined NPs.....	8
7.1.5	“Conjunction” of verbs or VP’s.....	8
7.2	Disjunction.....	9
7.2.1	‘or’ (má, mà).....	9
7.2.2	NP (and adverbial) disjunction (má) .....	10
7.2.3	Clause-level disjunction.....	12
7.2.4	‘Or else’ (wâl-mà) .....	13

