

# **A Grammar of The Dokhorian Language**

**Dókhor Dhzóshtozhu Dhzoshto-Magíbiwgh**

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## 0 - Preface

Although work on Dokhorian officially only started in November of 2024, the language's true beginnings go back further than that. Around the middle of 2023, after attempting—and failing several times—to make a naturalistic language, I decided to start work on yet another conlang, with the intent of adhering to naturalism throughout the entire process and double-checking that what I was doing made sense. Unfortunately, I was still young and inexperienced at the time, and quickly fell into the same trap that I had fallen into with my previous conlangs, and forwent the frequent naturalism checks that I had sworn to do as I worked on the language. This version of the language, named "Enos," despite being well made, ultimately fell short of what I wanted it to do, and I ended up scrapping the project around the first quarter of 2024. In November of 2024, however, armed with more linguistic knowledge and the will to procrastinate on homework than ever, I started work on the precursor language to Dokhorian, what today I call Proto Dorozhan. Around December, I finished Proto-Dorozhan's basic grammar and set out to make the grammatical and phonological changes that would lead me to Dokhorian, which at the time I called Anos as a reference to my latest work at the time, Enos. Around February of 2025, I finished the basic grammars and phonologies for the intermediary stages between Proto Dorozhan and Dokhorian, what are today known as Proto Sorman, Proto Anosian, and Middle Dokhorian, and sometime in the first half of March of 2025, I began writing the complete Dokhorian grammar, which leads us to today, where I have finally finished writing the grammar of the language after a month of review and analysis both by myself and by a few others who helped me nail down my conventions and make sure my grammatical structures were sound.

– *Yarema Mushkevych*

# 1 – Overview & History

Dokhorian is a Sorman language that ultimately descends from Proto-Dorozhan, spoken roughly 5,000 years ago. Currently, Dokhorian is the second most spoken language in the world, with roughly 400 million L1 speakers and 800 million L2 speakers, for a total of 1.2 billion speakers. Like its linguistic relatives, Dokhorian is a primarily SOV language with Topic-Comment marking and Nominative-Accusative alignment, but is also fairly conservative in its grammar.

Dokhorian is an official language in the Republic of Dokhor, the Republic of Ekhay, and the Kingdom of Ineyon, among others. It is spoken as a minority language in several other countries worldwide.

## 1.1 – Proto-Dorozhan

Proto-Dorozhan is the oldest ancestor language to Dokhorian and the other Dorozhan languages. It was spoken roughly 4000 years ago, and not much is known about it.

## 1.2 – Proto-Sorman

Proto-Sorman is the ancestor to all Sorman languages, including Dokhorian. During this period in Dokhorian's development, roughly 3000 years ago, the language underwent large grammatical changes, setting the foundation for the grammar of most modern Sorman languages.

## 1.3 – Proto-Anosian

Spoken roughly 1800 years ago, Proto-Anosian is the ancestor to all Anosian languages, including Dokhorian. It is the first Sorman language to use writing. During this period of the language, it loaned many words, especially those relating to government, into other languages as a result of the Ánverian Empire's conquest of the Dorozhan peninsula.

## 1.4 – Middle Dokhorian

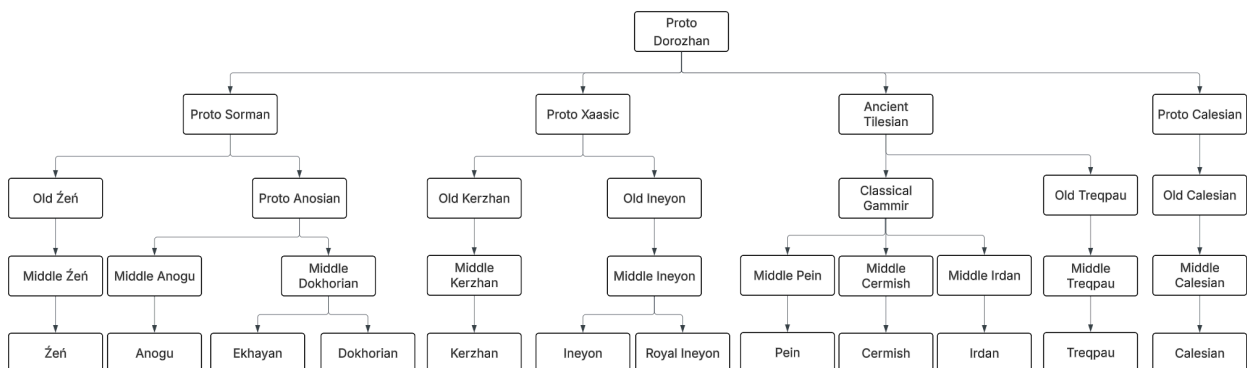
Middle Dokhorian, spoken roughly 700 years ago, contains some of the most influential grammatical and phonological shifts in the language's history. During this period of development, Dokhorian gained several loanwords as a result of increased global trade.

## 1.5 – Differences and Similarities with Other Sorman Languages

Dokhorian shares several similarities, but also several differences with its fellow Sorman languages. Its closest linguistic neighbor, both geographically and genetically, is Ekhayan, which split off from Middle Dokhorian along with Modern Dokhorian. Although the two languages have only just recently diverged, there are still massive differences between the two. While Dokhorian's lexicon is phonologically nearly identical to that of Middle Dokhorian, the Ekhayan lexicon, at least phonologically, is drastically different. Ekhayan also has a smaller case system and generally simpler grammar.

Unlike all other Sorman languages, Dokhorian has retained the dental fricatives /θ, ð/, is one of two Sorman languages with vowel harmony, and is also the only Anosian language to have fully lost the dual number, although due to influence from Dokhorian, Ekhayan is also slowly losing the dual.

## 1.6 – Dorozhan Family Tree





## 2 – Phonology

In this section, and in the document going forward, slashes (/ /) will be used to represent phonemes, or the surface level sounds of a language, and brackets ([ ]) will be used for allophones, or the true pronunciation of a sound that surfaces during speech.

Dokhorian has a total of 29 consonants and 5 vowels.

The consonants split across labial, dental, alveolar, palatal, and velar places of articulation. In total, Dokhorian has 3 nasal vowels /m, n, ŋ/, 6 plosive consonants /p, b, t, d, k, g/, 4 phonemic affricates /ts, dz, tʃ, dʒ/, 10 plain fricatives /f, v, θ, ð, s, z, ʃ, ʒ, x, ɣ/, 2 palatalized fricatives /θ<sup>j</sup> ð<sup>j</sup>/, 1 tap /ɾ/, and 3 liquids /w, l, j/.

Dokhorian's 5 vowels are /i, e, u, o, a/.

### 2.1 – Allophony

In the standard dialect of Dokhorian, the following allophony occurs. Allophony does vary slightly across dialects, but in general the following rules are mostly adhered to.

In most cases, nasal codas will assimilate to the place of assimilation of the following consonant; however, in some cases, nasals will become [ŋ] before /v/, and [n] before /w/.

The high-mid vowels, /e, o/, are often [ɛ, ɔ], or rarely [ɛ, ɔ], when after velar consonants.

The palatal consonants /tʃ, dʒ, ʃ, ʒ/ are often [tɕ, dʒ, ɕ, ʒ] when before /i/.

The back vowels /u, o/ are often [ʊ, ɒ], or rarely [y, ø], when after /j/

/j/ is sometimes pronounced as [j], or rarely [j̥], when before /i/.

/ɾ/ is pronounced as [d] when geminated.

/g/ is often [j] when before /i/

/i/ is often [ɪ], or rarely [i] after [j]

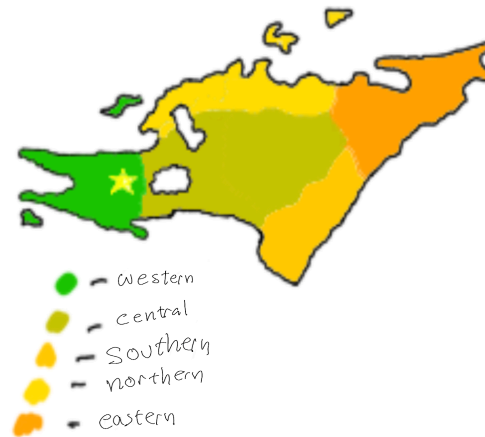
/s/ and /z/ are [ʃ] and [ʒ] after /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ respectively, and vice-versa

voiceless plosives /p t k/ aspirated to [p<sup>h</sup> t<sup>h</sup> k<sup>h</sup>] before /r/  
 /x/ is [ç] before /i/

## 2.2 – Diaphonemes

Dokhorian has many different dialects, each with its own quirks. Although this document will focus only on the standard dialect, it is important to recognize these differences, especially in pronunciation. The several dialects of Dokhorian have been, for the purposes of simplicity, condensed into one of 5 groups based on their rough geographical position; West, Central, East, North, South. The standard dialect spoken in the capitol is used as a basis.

### 2.2.1 – *Rough Map of Dokhorian Dialect Distribution*



#### Key:

Western  
 Central  
 South  
 North  
 East

### 2.2.2 – *The Western Dialect*

The Western dialect is the closest geographically to the standard version of Dokhorian, and as such is phonologically quite similar. In the west

/aa, oo, ee, ii, uu/ are [aə, oə, eə, iə, uə] or [əa, əo, əe, əi, əu] depending on stress

/n, t, d, l/ are dental [n̪, t̪, d̪, l̪]

some instances of /v/ are pronounced as [ʋ], or [β] by older speakers

### 2.2.3 – *The Central Dialect*

The Central dialect is probably the most divergent dialect of Dokhorian, both phonologically, and grammatically. In the Central dialect,

/e/ is [ə] word-finally when unstressed

/pp, tt, kk/ are pronounced as [p', t', k'] word initially

/d/ is a tap [ɾ] after voiced fricatives

some instances of /v/ are pronounced as [ʋ], or [β] by older speakers

some instances of /w/ are pronounced as [ʉ], or [ɥ] by older speakers

/a/ is pronounced [ə] when unstressed

/ej, uj, ov/ are pronounced as [ɪj, ʊj, ʊv]

some instances of /e, o/ are [ɛ, ɔ], or [æ, ɒ] by older speakers

### 2.2.4 – *The Eastern Dialect*

The Eastern dialect of Dokhorian is one that has interacted with Ekhayan for a large portion of its development, to the point where the phonology of the Eastern dialect can at times be closer to that of Ekhayan than standard Dokhorian. In the east,

/x/ is pronounced as [h]

/ɣ/ is pronounced as [w]

/rw/ and /wr/ are merged into [w]

Middle Dokhorian /y/ and /ø/ are preserved as [ø] and [a], with many younger speakers shifting [ø] to [ə]

/e/ is pronounced as [ɛ]

/i/ is pronounced as [i]

/b, d, g/ are [b<sup>h</sup>, d<sup>h</sup>, g<sup>h</sup>], or sometimes even [β, ð, ɣ] intervocalically.

/θ, ð/ are [ʂ, ʐ]

/r/ is [r] when geminated, not [d]

### 2.2.5 – *The Northern Dialect*

While the Eastern dialect received a lot influence from Ekhayan, the Northern dialect received some influence from Žeń. In the north,

/θ/ and /ð/ are [t̪] and [d̪]

/ʃ/, /ʒ/, /tʃ/, /dʒ/ are retroflex [ʂ], [ʐ], [tʂ], [dʂ]

/ŋ/ is regularly merged with /n/—although some speakers still make a distinction by pronouncing it as [n<sup>v</sup>] or sometimes [ɰ~ũ]—except before velar consonants where it remains /ŋ/

/n<sup>j</sup>/ and /nj/ are fully palatal [ɲ]

unstressed vowels between plosives and /r, l, j, w/ are lost, or reduced, with /o, a/ going to [ɐ], /u, e/ going to [ə], and /i/ going to [i̯]

### 2.2.6 – *The Southern Dialect*

The Southern dialect is phonologically quite similar to the Western dialect leading many to consider them the same dialect on a superficial level. In the south,

some instances of /v/ are pronounced as [ʋ], or [β] by older speakers

/l/ is merged with /r/, with both often being [ɭ] or [w]

/pp, tt, kk/ are pronounced as [p, t, k] word initially, and /p, t, k/ as [p<sup>h</sup>, t<sup>h</sup>, k<sup>h</sup>]

/n, t, d, l/ are dental [ɲ, ɬ, ɖ, ɭ]

/aa, oo, ee, ii, uu/ are [wa, wo, je, ji, wu]

## 2.3 – Phoneme Charts

### 2.4.1 – *Consonants*

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Nasals	m	(ɲ)	n (n <sup>v</sup> )		ŋ	
Stops	p b (p <sup>h</sup> b <sup>h</sup> )	(ɬ ɖ)	t d (t <sup>h</sup> d <sup>h</sup> )	ʃ	k g (k <sup>h</sup> g <sup>h</sup> )	
Affricates			ts dz	tʃ dʒ (tɕ dz) tɕ dʒ		
Fricatives	f v (β)	θ ð θ <sup>j</sup> ð <sup>j</sup>	s z (ʃ ʒ)	ʃ ʒ (ʃ z) ɕ ʒ <sup>j</sup>	x ɣ	(h)
Taps & Trills			r (r)			
Approximants	w (β~v)	(ɭ)	l (ɭ)	j	(ɬ~ɰ) (ũ)	

2.4.2 – *Vowels*

	Front	Central	Back
High	i <i>ɪ</i> ~ <i>i</i>		u <i>ʊ</i> ~ <i>y</i>
Mid-High	e <i>ɛ</i> ~ <i>ɛ</i> (ø) (ɛ)	(ə)	o <i>θ</i> ~ø, <i>ɔ</i> ~ɔ
Low		a	

Italicized phonemes are allophones.

Phonemes in parentheses are diaphonemes, only present in certain dialects.

2.5 – Romanization2.5.1 – *Consonants*

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Nasals	m		n		ń
Stops	p b		t d		k g
Affricates			ts dz	ch j	
Fricatives	f v	th dh th' dh'	s z	sh zh	kh gh
Taps & Trills			r		
Approximants	w		l	y	

## 2.5.2 – Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid-High	e		o
Low		a	

/θ:, ð:, θʰ:, ðʰ:, ts:, dz:, tʃ:, dʒ:, ʃ:, ʒ:, x:, ɣ:/ are romanized as «thh, dhh, thh', dhh', tts, ddz, cch, ddj, shh, zhh, khh, ghh»

Stressed vowels are romanized with acute accents «í, é, ú, ó, á» as they are phonemic

If two vowels are next to each other, they are pronounced as 2 separate vowels instead of a single long vowel.

Romanization does not reflect allophony, nor does it reflect the in-world spelling of the language.

2.6 – Vowel Harmony

Dokhorian exhibits front-back, or palatal regressive vowel harmony, where vowels can only be front /i, e/ or back /u, o/ if the final vowel in the root is front /i, e/ or back /u, o/.

The vowel /a/ is transparent and doesn't harmonize, although if it is the final vowel in a root, the root is considered back.

Vowel harmony doesn't affect consonants, and consonants do not affect vowel harmony. Additionally, although allophony will often make some vowels that were previously back, front, and vice-versa, this does not affect vowel harmony.

## 2.7 – Phonotactics

Dokhorian allows for fairly complex syllables, with few restrictions.

At most, a syllable can consist of three consonants in the onset, and three consonants in the coda, with a nucleus of no more than two vowels, which can be one of the following pairs, /uu, ie, uo, ia, ua, ii, ee, ei, ou, oo, ai, au, aa/, or any of the base vowels, /i, u, e, o, a/.

Within each consonant cluster

- voiced fricatives are unable to follow or precede voiced plosives,
- voiceless stops are unable to precede other voiceless stops
- sonorants cannot cluster word-initially
- /nr, nd, dn/ are illegal word-finally
- /mv, mb, wm, vm, bm/ are illegal word-finally
- Consonants assimilate in voicing with the last consonant in the cluster.

Sometimes, /v/ can assimilate to /f/ when after voiceless obstruents and at the end of a cluster.

In general

- nasals cannot occur word-finally
- coda /j/ can only follow /e/, /o/, or /a/, except for word-finally, where it can follow any sound, except /i/, which it can never follow when in coda position.
- If a suffix or prefix results in an illegal cluster, an epenthetic /e/ or /o/ is inserted based on the vowel harmony of the root word
- If more than 2 vowels come into hiatus, or if an illegal hiatus occurs, a variety of fixes are employed based on the word
  - If the word originally ended in a nasal, the nasal is restored
  - If the final vowel of the word is /i/ or /u/, it is replaced with /j/ or /w/
  - /ea, ae, eo, oe, eu, oa, ao/ go to /e, e, e, e, i, a, o/, before harmonizing
  - If all else fails, an epenthetic /-l-/ is inserted



## 2.8 – Phonological History of Dokhorian

The phonological history of Dokhorian that lead to the aforementioned rules and phonemes is split into 5 distinct phases, *Proto Dorozhan*, *Proto Sorman*, *Proto Anosian*, *Middle Dokhorian*, and *Dokhorian*, each with varying levels of complexity and depth. All changes are of the form INPUT > OUTPUT / ENVIRONMENT.

### 2.8.1 – *Proto Dokhorian* → *Proto Sorman*

1. i, i:, u, u:, ε, ε:, ɔ, o: > ε, e:, ə, o:, ɔ, o:, a, a: / C[+uvular](C[+liquid])\_
2. b, d, g, ɠ > β, ð, ɣ, ɣ / \_
3. <sup>m</sup>b, <sup>n</sup>d, <sup>ŋ</sup>g, <sup>ŋ</sup>ɠ > b, d, g, ɠ / \_
4. C[+plosive]j > C[+plosive]<sup>j</sup> / \_
5. r<sup>j</sup>C[+plosive] > rC[+plosive]<sup>j</sup> / \_
6. ʌC[+plosive] > lC[+plosive]<sup>j</sup> / \_
7. k, k<sup>h</sup>, g > k<sup>j</sup>, k<sup>hj</sup>, g<sup>j</sup> / {i, i:, ε, e:}\_
8. q, q<sup>h</sup>, ɠ > k, k<sup>h</sup>, g / \_
9. p<sup>h</sup>, t<sup>h</sup>, k<sup>h</sup> > p, t, k / \_C[+plosive]
10. p<sup>hj</sup>, t<sup>hj</sup>, k<sup>hj</sup> > ϕ<sup>j</sup>, θ<sup>j</sup>, x<sup>j</sup> / \_
11. p<sup>h</sup>, t<sup>h</sup>, k<sup>h</sup> > ϕ, θ, x / \_
12. r<sup>j</sup> > z / \_
13. ʌ > ʒ / \_

### 2.8.2 – *Proto Sorman* → *Proto Anosian*

14. m, n > ŋ / \_C[+velar]
15. m, ŋ > n / \_C[+alveolar]
16. n, ŋ > m / \_C[+labial]
17. t, d > t<sup>j</sup>, d<sup>j</sup> / \_{i, i:, ε, e:}
18. l, r > z / \_{i, i:, ε, e:}
19. ϕ, ϕ<sup>j</sup>, β > f, f<sup>j</sup>, v / \_
20. k<sup>j</sup>, g<sup>j</sup> > ts, dz / \_
21. xj, ɣj, x<sup>j</sup>, ɣ<sup>j</sup> > ʃ, ʒ, ʒ, ʒ / \_

- 22. tʲ, dʲ > tʃ, dʒ / \_
- 23. i:, u: > Ø / C[+obstruent -voice]\_C[+obstruent -voice]
- 24. i:j, ij, ej, e:j, u:j, uj > i:
- 25. a:j, ɔj, o:j > e:
- 26. əw > o:
- 27. r > r \_
- 28. V: > V \_CC
- 29. V[+front] > Ø / \_#
- 30. v, ð, ʒ, ɣ > w, l, j, l / \_#
- 31. f, θ, ʃ, x > v, ð, ʒ, ɣ / \_#
- 32. b, d, g > v, ð, ɣ / \_#
- 33. p, t, k > b, d, g / \_#

### 2.8.3 – Proto Anosian → Middle Dokhorian

- 34. ɣ > g / V\_V
- 35. sj, zj > / ʃ, ʒ \_
- 36. C[-voice] > / C[+voice] \_C[+voice]
- 37. C[+voice] > / C[-voice] \_C[-voice]
- 38. Ø > e / r\_C
- 39. Ø > u / l\_C
- 40. {f, v, θ, ð}ʲu > {f, v, θ, ð}y / \_
- 41. {f, v, θ, ð}ʲo > {f, v, θ, ð}ø / \_
- 42. fʲ, vʲ, θʲ, ðʲ > f, v, θ, ð / \_i
- 43. ft, ftʃ, vd, vdʒ > θ, ʃ, ð, ʒ / \_
- 44. fk, fts, vg, vdz > x, sts, ɣ, zdz / \_
- 45. sp, spʲ, zb, zbʲ > f, fʲ, v, vʲ / \_
- 46. sk, sts, zg, zdz > x, sts, ɣ, zdz / \_
- 47. xp, xpʲ, ɣb, ɣbʲ > f, fʲ, z, zʲ / \_
- 48. xt, xtʃ, ɣd, ɣdʒ > s, ʃ, z, ʒ / \_
- 49. fp, fpʲ, vb, vbʲ > f, fʲ, v, vʲ / \_
- 50. st, stʃ, zd, zdʒ > s, ʃtʃ, z, ʒdʒ / \_

51. xk, xts, yg, ydz > x, s, ʏ, z / \_
52. θj, ðj > θ<sup>j</sup>, ð<sup>j</sup> / \_
53. u > ə / \_
54. ɔ > o / \_
55. xəj > çej / WHEN STRESSED
56. ə > a / WHEN MONOSYLLABIC
57. ə > Ø / WHEN UNSTRESSED
58. ə > o / WHEN STRESSED
59. ʏj > j \_ /
60. xj > ç \_ /
61. V > Ø / \_ C[+obstruent][-voice]\_C[+obstruent][-voice]
62. u, e, ε, o, a > {y, i, i, ø, e} / \_ (C)C{i, e, y, ø, j}
63. u, o > y, ø / \_ (C)CV(C)C{i, e, j}

#### 2.8.4 – Middle Dokhorian → Dokhorian

64. x > ç / \_i(:)
65. ç > ʃ / \_
66. p<sup>j</sup>, b<sup>j</sup>, f<sup>j</sup>, v<sup>j</sup> > p, b, f, v / \_
67. f, v > φ, β / \_u
68. vb > βb / \_
69. C[+fricative + voice]C[+plosive + voice] > C[+fricative + voice]: / \_
70. C[+plosive][-voice] > C[+fricative] / \_C[+plosive -voice]
71. C[+plosive + voice]C[+fricative + voice] > C[+plosive + voice] / \_
72. fp > φp / \_
73. i:, y:, e:, ø:, u:, o: > ej, uj, i, y, ow, u / \_
74. a: > e / j\_
75. a: > o / w\_
76. a: > e / \_V[+front]
77. a: > o / \_
78. ɪ, ε > e, a / \_
79. i, u, e, o > e, o, a, a / \_C(C){a, o}

80. ea, ae > e / \_
81. eo, oe > ø / \_
82. eu > y / \_
83. oa > a / \_
84. ao > o / \_
85. y, ø > i, e / \_
86. ij > i / \_
87. Ø > e / #\_C[+sonorant]C[+sonorant]
88. nr, nd, dn > ðr / \_#
89. mu, mv, mb, wm, vm, bm > vu / \_#
90. C[+sonorant]1C[+sonorant]2 > C[+sonorant]2: / \_#
91. xw, wx, fx, xf > f / \_
92. VC{l, r} > V{l,r}V{l, r} / \_#
93. rr > dd / \_
94. w > v / \_
95. l, ww > w / \_
96. ll > l / \_
97. ϕp > ap / C\_
98. ϕp > p / \_
99. {i, e}β: > {u, o}β: / \_
100. β(:) > w / \_
101. {i, u, e, o, a}C[+nasal] > i, o, i, o, o / \_#
102. #C'V# > #CCV# / \_
103. #CC'V# > #CVC'V# / \_
104. #V'C# > #V'CV# \_
105. #V'CC# > #V'CV# / \_
106. #V'# > #V# / \_
107. rr > dr / \_
108. ww > uw / \_
109. ll > ul / \_

*NOTE: All example sentences in the document are written in the IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet) for ease of readability by linguists and linguistics enthusiasts and to show allophony and deeper-level phonotactics in action. If you are unable to read the IPA, or need help reading the IPA, please consult other resources—Wikipedia is excellent for this—before reading the doc. If you do not particularly care, feel free to continue reading, although be warned that you may not be able to appreciate the deeper phonemic analyses.*

## 3 – Morphosyntax

### 3.1 – Syntax

Dokhorian exhibits a basic SOV word order, with strong head-final directionality, and Nominative-Accusative Alignment.

Adjectives precede nouns,  
Nouns precede relative clauses,  
Adverbs precede verbs,  
Possessors precede possesseees,  
Nouns precede postpositions.

Beneficiaries (Indirect Objects) and inanimate patients are placed after the verb. In more archaic writing, if both the agent and patient are inanimate, the word order is VSO, although this is fairly rare and is becoming less popular, even in academia.

### 3.2 – Glossing

#### 3.2.1 – *Nouns*

FOC = Focus Marker

NOM = Nominative Case

ACC = Accusative Case

GEN = Genitive Case

LOC = Locative Case

SG = Singular Number

PL = Plural Number

1; 1P = 1st Person

2; 2P = 2nd Person

3; 3P = 3rd Person

AUG = Augmentative

DIM = Diminutive

MASC = Masculine

FEM = Feminine

LCTV = Locativizer

### 3.2.2 – *Adjectives, Adverbs, etc.*

ADJ = Adjectival

STV = Stative

REL = Relative Clause Agent

ADV = Adverbial

PROX = Proximal

DIST = Distal

OBV = Obviate

ORD = Ordinal

CARD = Cardinal

### 3.2.3 – *Verbs*

INF = Infinitive Mood

COND = Conditional Mood

VOL = Volitive Mood

ABL = Abilitive Mood

IMP = Imperative Mood

AGT; ACTV = Agentative; Active Voice

PASS.FOC = Focus Passive; Focus Phrase marker

NEG = Negative

TRANS = Transitive

ITRANS = Intransitive

PST = Past Tense

PRS = Present Tense

FUT = Future Tense

PFV = Perfective Aspect

IPFV = Imperfective Aspect

HAB = Habitual Aspect

NMLZ = Nominalizer/ Nominalized

CONV = Converb

INST = Instrumental

CIRC = Circumfix

RSLT = Resultative

### 3.2.4 – Symbols

'-' for separating affixes from words and other affixes

'\_' for when one Dokhorian word can be expressed as multiple English words

'.' for separating subsections of an affix

'Ø' for null morphemes; affixes that are blank and not present in speaking/writing, but are technically, grammatically, there.

'=' for clitics; words that can only exist in conjunction with other words. e.g, 'm in English *I'm*

'\' for internal mutation

### 3.3 – Nouns

All nouns in Dokhorian must conjugate for one of five 'cases', either *Nominative*, *Accusative*, *Genitive*, *Locative*, or *Focus*, along with one of two numbers, either *Singular* or *Plural*.

The Nominative Case is used to mark the agent of a transitive verb and the Sole of an intransitive verb.



The Accusative Case is used to mark both the patients and beneficiaries of a transitive verb. The Accusative Case is also used as an instrumental case if the marked noun helps to do the verb. It acts kind of like a Comitative.

e.g,

*I killed a spider with a friend*

çi	nádvo	-xus	faagqonúzo	-zoz	θéçi	-çis	ejb
1SG.NOM	spider	-ACC.SG	kill	-NOM.PST.PFV	friend	-ACC.SG	with

The Genitive Case is used to mark possessors in possessive phrases. The Genitive Case is also used as an instrumental case if the marked noun is directly used to do the verb.

e.g,

*I killed a spider with a knife*

çi	nádvo	-xus	faagqonúzo	-zoz	ðáfovð	-zu	ejb
1SG.NOM	spider	-ACC.SG	kill	-NOM.PST.PFV	knife	-GEN.SG	with

The Locative Case is used in adpositional phrases, except for the adpositions “of” and “with,” which both use the Genitive Case.

The Focus marks a noun as the 'focus' of a clause; it functions similarly to emphasis in English, such that in the clauses "**she** stole my cow" and "she stole my **cow**," the focus would mark 'she' and 'bike' respectively for the two clauses. In matrix clauses, the second noun is always marked with the Focus. A noun marked with the Focus is always the first noun in the clause. Unless the focus is usually marked with the nominative case, the clause is placed in the passive voice.

e.g,

*I saw him eat*

**kfu**    yvežðérezð -ðer            çí            fa -zoz            -ojer  
**3SG.FOC** eat                    -ACC.PRS.PFV 1SG.NOM SEE -NOM.INF.PST.PFV -PASS.FOC

*She stole my cow*

**kfu**    iv            θfux -xus            júag -ozoz  
**3FOC.SG** 1SG.GEN COW -ACC.SG steal -NOM.PST.PFV

*She stole my cow*

iv            θfuy -Ø            kfo            júag -ozoz            -ojer  
 1SG.GEN **COW** -**FOC.SG** 3SG.NOM steal -NOM.PRS.PFV -PASS.FOC

### 3.3.1 – Case-Number Table

Case ↓ / Num. →	Singular	Plural
Topic	--	tsej- tsoj-
Subject	-Y	-uvv -ivv
Accusative	-xus -çis	-θ
Genitive	-3u	-tso -tsi
Locative	-z	-dz

### 3.3.2 – Relative Clauses

Relative clauses in Dokhorian consistently follow the nouns they modify, and unlike other related languages, Dokhorian does not distinguish between different types of relative clauses. In order to mark a sentence as a relative clause, the prefix /ve-/ or /vo-/, depending on vowel harmony, is attached to the primary noun in the sentence, indicating it to be the agent of a relative clause. Relative clauses can include pronouns, but they are not required if the subject is already explicitly stated.

e.g,

*The man who sleeps*

**vo-** juáy -γ (kf') = uágnav -Ø  
**REL-** man -NOM.SG (3SG.NOM) = sleep -NOM.PRS.PFV

### 3.3.3 – Matrix Clauses

In Dokhorian, most matrix clauses function in an S[SOV]V where the embedded clauses act as the object for the first clause. In reality, the structure is more of [SOV]SV accounting to Focus fronting, but for simplicity, the matrix clause is S[SOV]V.

If the number of subjects exceeds 2, the structure becomes SV[S[SOV]V], or SV[SO[SV]], accounting for topic fronting. If all 3+ subjects are different, then the ‘innermost’ subject is focused, otherwise, the least present subject is focused.

e.g,

*I thought I saw him working*

çi        mo    -zoz                    kfuó    gejn̄ered -der            çi  
1SG.NOM think -NOM.INF.PST.PFV 3SG.FOC work -ACC.PRS.IPFV 1SG.NOM

fa    -zoz  
see -NOM.INF.PST.PFV

*He thought I saw him working*

foj̄e    fa   -vov̄y                    k̄o        gejn̄ered -der            kfo  
1SG.FOC see -ACC.INF.PST.PFV 3SG.ACC WORK        -ACC.PRS.IPFV 3SG.NOM

mo    -zoz  
think -NOM.INF.PST.PFV

### 3.4 – Pronouns

Pronouns in Dokhorian can conjugate for any of the five cases or two numbers, and can either be in the *first*, *second*, or *third* person. Pronouns do not distinguish between gender, animacy, or any other noun class.

If the clause lacks an object—that is, it only contains a subject and verb—and if the pronoun acting as the subject ends in a vowel, assuming the following verb begins with a vowel, the pronoun can form a clitic onto the verb. If this occurs, the final vowel of the pronoun is deleted, and the pronoun is merged with the verb, but does not agree with the vowel harmony of the verb.

e.g.

*It is ripening*

kf' =        óðvo -gɔw

3SG.NOM = ripen -NOM.PRS.IPFV

### 3.4.1 – Pronoun Chart

	1.sg	1.pl
Focus	ʃojə	ɣɔr
Nominative	çi	ɣa
Accusative	mo	ɣvov
Genitive	iv	vi
Locative	θo	du

	2.sg	2.pl
Focus	ɣuo	guogɔr
Nominative	ɣo	guow
Accusative	wɔv	ejer
Genitive	zig	ka
Locative	dovv	kfaw

	3.sg	3.pl
Focus	kfuó	zvur
Nominative	kfo	zvu
Accusative	kɔ	ʝɪ
Genitive		nov
Locative	jaw	o

### 3.4.2 – Gender

While 3rd person pronouns generally lack gender, if gender cannot be determined from context alone, /-θa/ can be suffixed on to indicate feminine gender, and /-ju/ to indicate masculine gender.

Compare

*Markus. She is a woman*

Márkuz -ʝ      **kfo**      θa      -xus      newíi

Markus -NOM.SG. **3NOM.SG** woman -ACC.SG be\NOM.INF.PRS.PFV

and

*Markus. He is a woman*

Márkuz -ʝ      **kfo**      **-ju**      θa      -xus      newíi

Markus -NOM.SG. **3NOM.SG -MASC** woman -ACC.SG be\NOM.INF.PRS.PFV

### 3.4.3 – Reflexivity

In Dokhorian, if the agent and patient of the verb are both the same, regardless of whether they are nouns or pronouns, the verb is categorized as reflexive. In order to mark that the second pronoun is in fact referring to a different party, the second pronoun is marked with the obviate demonstratives /yuy/ or /ŋo/ for the singular and plural respectively.

Compare

*He sees himself*

kfo      kɔ      fa -Ø  
3SG.NOM 3SG.ACC SEE -NOM.PRS.PFV

And

*He sees him*

kfo      yuy      kɔ      fa -Ø  
3SG.NOM OBV.SG 3SG.ACC SEE -NOM.PRS.PFV

### 3.5 – Adjectives

Adjectives always precede nouns in Dokhorian and agree with the nouns they modify for case and number. Unlike nouns and pronouns, however, adjectives do not have a separate marking for the focus. If a noun is marked with the focus, the adjective is marked with that noun's "default case." Adjectives also have a specific marking for when the adjective doesn't completely describe the noun, similar to the suffixes ‘-ish’, or ‘-like’ in English. These markings do not mark for case, only for number.

## 3.5.1 – Case-Number Table

	singular	plural
Nominative	-d	-ew -ow
Accusative	-(V)r	-g
Genitive	-zið -zuð	-γ
Locative	-γur -gur -γir -jir	-do -de

-ish	singular	plural
Suffix	-ðð	-ð

Compare

*A red cow*

γovγ -ð                      θfu -γ  
red    -ADJ.NOM.SG COW -NOM.SG

and

*A reddish cow*

γovγ -ð                      -oðð    θfu -γ  
red    -ADJ.NOM.SG -ish.SG COW -NOM.SG



3.5.2 – *Stative Adjectives*

When stating that a noun is a specific adjective, for example, "he is fast," the adjective in this sentence, in this case "fast," is treated as a noun and given noun marking, but also assumes a separate root form than its regular counterpart.

Compare

*A fast tree*

zafájəvɣ -ɔd            jaw -uɣ  
**fast**            -ADJ.NOM.SG tree -NOM.SG

And

*The tree is fast*

jaw -uɣ        zeeʃejejeɣ -ɣ        newíi  
 tree -NOM.SG **fast.STV**    -NOM.SG be\NOM.INF.PRS.PFV

If the adjective comes from a verb, the noun is prefixed with the relative clause prefix and the adjective is treated as a verb.

e.g.

*The rising sun*

vo- ggoɣɣ -oɣ        ɲanzáwor -ɣow  
 REL- SUN    -NOM.SG rise            -NOM.PRS.IPFV

### 3.5.3 – *Adjectival Order*

Adjectives in Dokhorian must come in a very specific order. This order, which can never change, is

Number  
 Size, Weight, & Shape (in any order)  
 Color  
 Material  
 Age  
 Purpose, Use  
 Origin  
 Personality (Angry, kind, etc.)  
 Opinion (ugly, cute, etc.)

where an adjective higher up on the list appears earlier than an adjective lower down.

### 3.5.4 – *Demonstratives*

While Dokhorian lacks articles of any kind, as it lost them fairly early on in its history, it still retains a wide variety of demonstratives. Demonstratives come before the noun they modify, as well as any adjectives that modify that noun. However, in some cases, numerals will precede demonstratives. Demonstratives mark for distance, whether *Proximal*, *Obviate*, or *Distal*, English "here, there, yonder," as well as the typical *Singular* and *Plural* numbers.

	Singular	Plural
Proximal	ɣaw	xɔ
Obviate	ɣuɣ	ɲɔ
Distal	ɟɪɾ	rɪv

3.5.5. – *Numerals*

Dokhorian uses a base-12, or dozenal, counting system. Numerals do not perform agreement of any sort, and are distinguished solely into their cardinal (1, 2, 3...) and ordinal (1st, 2nd, 3rd...) forms.

	Cardinal (1, 2, 3...)	Ordinal (1st, 2nd, 3rd...)
1	zaw	zákxɔ
2	u	úwuxɔ
3	ga	góxɔ
4	voð	váθxɔ
5	so	sájxɔ
6	saw	sáwuxɔ
7	tso	tsónxɔ
8	θag	θóxɔ
9	el	íwuxɔ
10	ʒov	ʒófo
11	ɣaw	ɣáwuxɔ
12 (10 <sub>12</sub> )	vor	vároxɔ

13 (11 <sub>12</sub> )	váزال	varazákxɔ
14 (12 <sub>12</sub> )	vóruw	vorúwɔxɔ
15 (13 <sub>12</sub> )	véreɣ	varagóxɔ
16 (14 <sub>12</sub> )	váravoð	varaváθxɔ

17 (15 <sub>12</sub> )	váraso	varasáŋxɔ
18 (16 <sub>12</sub> )	várasaw	varasáwuxɔ
19 (17 <sub>12</sub> )	vórotsu	varatsónxɔ
20 (18 <sub>12</sub> )	véreðð	varaθóxɔ
21 (19 <sub>12</sub> )	vírel	vurójuxɔ

24 (20 <sub>12</sub> )	ówɔvor	owuvárxɔ
36 (30 <sub>12</sub> )	gávor	gvárxɔ
48 (40 <sub>12</sub> )	váðvor	vaðvárxɔ
60 (50 <sub>12</sub> )	sámor	samvárxɔ
72 (60 <sub>12</sub> )	sáwɔvor	saluvárxɔ
84 (70 <sub>12</sub> )	tsámvor	tsmvrárxɔ
96 (80 <sub>12</sub> )	θágvor	θkvárxɔ
108 (90 <sub>12</sub> )	áwɔvor	uwuvárxɔ

144 (100 <sub>12</sub> )	θag	θókxɔ
1728 (1000 <sub>12</sub> )	su	sówuxɔ

### 3.5.6 – Fractions

Single fractions (e.g.  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{3}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$ , etc.) are made by taking the cardinal and applying /-kév/.

More complex fractions like  $\frac{3}{4}$  or  $\frac{5}{8}$  are done by listing the first number in the ordinal, and then placing the second in the cardinal and adding /-kév/.

### 3.5.7 – *Time-Telling*

When keeping time, hours go first, ranging from 0-23 and in the ordinal, followed by the word for "hour" /ujo/, the word for "and" /ovg/, and finally the minutes, calculated as either 1 quarter, 1 half,–also written as 2 quarters–or 3 quarters, plus or minus (/yáaw/ or /gáðyo/) some number of minutes, in the cardinal, until the desired time is achieved.

e.g.

7:17 a.m.

tsónxə ujə ovg voθ =kév yáaw\_u  
7.ORD hour and 4 =SECTION plus 2.CARD

2:30 p.m

vorúwəxə ujə ovg θovror  
14.ORD hour and half

### 3.5.8 – *Adjectival Negation*

In order to negate an adjective. That is, say that a noun does not possess a certain quality, the adjective in question is negated by means of a prefix, either /ib-/ or /eb-/, depending on the vowel harmony of the root.

### 3.5.9 – *Comparatives & Superlatives*

Comparatives in Dokhorian are formed with the suffix /-jog/.

Superlatives are formed with an auxiliary before the adjective. The auxiliaries are /vuómovy/ for maximal superlatives, and /wóvovy/ for minimal superlatives.

### 3.5.10 – *Adverbs*

Adverbs in Dokhorian stem from adjectives, but unlike adjectives, they modify verbs instead of nouns. Adverbs agree with the verbs they modify in case and nothing else.

For adverbs in the nominative case, the suffix /-zuŷ/ or /-ziŷ/ is applied to the adjective.

For adverbs in the accusative case, the suffix /-zuvo/ or /-zive/ is applied to the adjective.

For adverbs in the locative case, the suffix /-zuv/ or /-ziv/ is applied to the adjective

For adverbs in the genitive case, the suffix /-zi/ or /-zo/ is applied to the adjective.

In some dialects, the suffixes for the accusative and locative case are both /-zuv/ or /-ziv/

## 3.6 – Verbs

Verbs in Dokhorian are one of the most complex parts of speech. Verbs conjugate for 3 aspects, *Perfective*, *Imperfective*, and *Habitual*. 2 tenses, *Past* and *Non-Past*, with the future being marked by a set prefix, and 4 cases, *Nominative*, *Accusative*, *Genitive*, and *Locative*. Just like in adjectives, if a noun is marked with the focus, the verb is conjugated for the noun's “default case.” The nominative case is used most often, the accusative is used with passives, while the genitive and locative cases are seldom used, only really showing up in relative clauses and adpositional phrases

e.g,

*To the grazing cow*

vo- θfuy -z      γvezðérezð -yi      xφy  
REL- COW -LOC.SG graze      -LOC.INF.PRS.IPFV to

*With the grazing cow*

vo- θfuy -zu      γvezðéreθ -çiγ      ejb  
REL- COW -GEN.SG graze      -GEN.INF.PRS.IPFV with

### 3.6.1 – Tense-Aspect Table

		Past	Present	Future
Nominative	Perfective	-zoz -zez	Ø	3e- -θiw 3o- -θuw
	Imperfective	-ga	-γVw -gVw	3o- -γVw 3o- -gVw 3e- -γVw 3e- -gVw
	Habitual		-ið -uð	3o- -ið 3o- -uð
Accusative	Perfective	-vovγ -vevγ	-ðor -ðer	3o- -ðor 3e- -ðer
	Imperfective	-bow -bew	-dor -der	3o- -dor 3e- -der
	Habitual		-bivi -buvu	3e- -bivi 3o- -buvu

Genitive	Perfective	-kə -kə	-il -ul	3e- -il 3o- -ul
	Imperfective	-iw -uw	-xuɣ -çiɣ	3o- -xuɣ 3e- -çiɣ
	Habitual		-tʃ	3o- -tʃ 3e- -tʃ
Locative	Perfective	-x	-vv	3o- -vv 3e- -vv
	Imperfective	-g	-ɣi	3e- -ɣi
			-ɣi	3e- -ɣi
			-ɣu	3o- -ɣu
			-gu	3o- -gu
	Habitual		-θ	3o- -θ 3e- -θ

### 3.6.2 – Moods

Verbs can also mark for mood. By default, a verb is in the infinitive, but can be conjugated for either the *Volitive*, *Abilitive*, *Imperative*, or *Conditional* by means of an auxiliary before the verb.

	Auxiliary	Use
Volitive	rúfa	When the subject <i>wants</i> to do something
Abilitive	rúfuv	When the subject <i>can</i> do something
Imperative	rúvuw	When the subject <i>needs</i> to do something
Conditional	druvv	<i>If</i> the subject can do something



### 3.6.3 – Type-II verbs

Because Dokhorian has changed its verb system multiple times, often changing it beyond recognition, some verbs, especially ones that have been used very frequently, do not use the "standard" verb conjugation template, but instead rely on an older system. These verbs, known as type-II or type-2 verbs, conjugate for case, tense, aspect, and mood all in one suffix.

### 3.6.4 – Type-II Nominative Conjugation Table

		Past	Present	Future
Infinitive	Perfective	-zoz -zez	-Ø	3e- -θiw 3o- -θuw
	Imperfective	-ga	-ȳVw -gVw	3o- -ȳVw 3o- -gVw 3e- -ȳVw 3e- -gVw
	Habitual		-ið -uð	3o- -ið 3o- -uð
Volitive	Perfective	-foo -fee	-(V)r	3o- -(V)r 3e- -(V)r
	Imperfective	-n	-v	3o- -v 3e- -v
	Habitual		-xq -xe	3o- -xq 3o- -xe
Abilitive	Perfective	-ŋq -ŋe	-iv -uv	3e- -iv 3o- -uv
	Imperfective	-ȳqð -gqð -ȳeð -geð	-3Vw	3o- -3Vw 3e- -3Vw
	Habitual		-xuv -çiv	3o- -xuv 3e- -çiv

Imperative	Perfective	-gɔʒʒ -geʒʒ	-ʏɔv -gɔv -ʏɛv -geɛv	ʒo- -ʏɔv ʒo- -gɔv ʒe- -ʏɛv ʒe- -geɛv
	Imperfective	-ʒʒ	-ʒomu -ʒemi	ʒo- -ʒomu ʒe- -ʒemi
	Habitual		-(V)w	ʒo- -(V)w ʒe- -(V)w
Conditional	Perfective	-ʏið -ɰið -ʏuð -guð	-z	ʒo- -z ʒe- -z
	Imperfective	-çi -xu	-ʒ	ʒo- -ʒ ʒe- -ʒ
	Habitual		-ð	ʒo- -ð ʒe- -ð

### 3.6.5 – Type-II Accusative Conjugation Table

		Past	Present	Future
Infinitive	Perfective	-vovʏ -vevʏ	-∅	ʒo- -ðor ʒe- -ðer
	Imperfective	-bow -bew	-dor -der	ʒo- -dor ʒe- -der
	Habitual		-bivi -buvu	ʒe- -bivi ʒo- -buvu
Volitive	Perfective	-ʏav -gav	-gɔ -ge	ʒo- -gɔ ʒe- -ge
	Imperfective	-ʏ	-ʒu	ʒo- -ʒu

			-zi	3e- -zi
	Habitual		-ŋoʒ -ŋeʒ	3o- -ŋoʒ 3e- -ŋeʒ
Abilitive	Perfective	-dzo -dze	-θfidz -θfudz	3e- -θfidz 3o- -θfudz
	Imperfective	-ji -gu	-goʒ -geʒ	3o- -goʒ 3e- -geʒ
	Habitual		-no -ne	3o- -mo 3e- -me
Imperative	Perfective	-ʒuʒ -ziʒ	-ʒ	3o- -ʒ 3e- -ʒ
	Imperfective	-xuz -çiz	-gur -jir	3o- -gur 3o- -jir
	Habitual		-jig -gug	3e- -jig 3o- -gug
Conditional	Perfective	-vib -vub	-rov -rev	3o- -rov 3e- -rev
	Imperfective	-zo -ze	-vow -vew	3e- -ði 3o -ðu
	Habitual		-j -i u	3o- -j 3e- -i 3o- -ui

## 3.6.6 – Type-II Genitive Conjugation Table

		Past	Present	Future
Infinitive	Perfective	-kø -kẹ	-il -ul	3e- -il 3o- -ul
	Imperfective	-iw -uw	-xuʏ -çiʏ	3o- -xuʏ 3e- -çiʏ
	Habitual		-tʃ	3o- -tʃ 3e- -tʃ
Volitive	Perfective	-daw	-zodz -zedz	3o- -zodz 3e- -zedz
	Imperfective	-zo -ze	-novz -nevz	3o- -zo 3e- -ze
	Habitual		-vo -ve	3o- -ʏ 3e- -ʏ
Abilitive	Perfective	-ð(V)r	-gø -gẹ	3o- -gø 3e- -gẹ
	Imperfective	-nov -nev	-ʏug -gug -ʏig -ɰig	3o- -ʏug 3o- -gug 3e- -ʏig 3e- -ɰig
	Habitual		-to -ti	3o- -to 3e- -ti
Imperative	Perfective	-ɰ -ɰu	-az	3o- -az 3e- -az
	Imperfective	-gow	-kø -kẹ	3o- -kø 3e- -kẹ

	Habitual	-gęw	-pov -pev	30- -pov 3e- -pev
Conditional	Perfective	-wu -wi	-po -pi	30- -po 3e- -pi
	Imperfective	-gu -ji	-m	30- -m 3e- -m
	Habitual		-điw -đuw	3e- -điw 30- -đuw

## 3.6.7 – Type-II Locative Conjugation Table

		Past	Present	Future
Infinitive	Perfective	-x	-vđ	30- -vđ 3e- -vđ
	Imperfective	-g	-yi -ji -yu -gu	3e- -yi 3e- -ji 30- -yu 30- -gu
	Habitual		-θ	30- -θ 3e- -θ
Volitive	Perfective	-ov -ev	-xq -xę	30- -xq 3e- -xę
	Imperfective	-wɛl -wɔl	-duw -diw	30- -duw 3e- -diw
	Habitual		-(V)r	30- -ro 3e- -re
Abilitive	Perfective	-d	-θo	30- -θo

			-θe	3e- θe
	Imperfective	-nez -noz	-ðol -ðel	3o- -ðol 3e- -ðel
	Habitual		-gvaw	3o- -gvaw 3e- -gvaw
Imperative	Perfective	-erer -oror	-ð	3o- -ð 3e- -ð
	Imperfective	-xqror -xerer	-uaz -iaz	3o- -uaz 3e- -iaz
	Habitual		-su -si	3o- -su 3e- -si
Conditional	Perfective	-bov -biv	-gqr -ger	3o- -gqr 3e- -ger
	Imperfective	-wqv -wev	-jov -jev	3o- -jov 3r- -jev
	Habitual		-xu -çi	3o- -xu 3e- -çi

3.6.8 – *Negation*

Negation in Dokhorian is expressed by a prefix that encodes transitivity, voice, and the type of negation, whether weak (no) or strong (never).

		Transitive	Intransitive
Active Voice	negative	θo- θe-	yi- yu-
	strong negative (never)	ðag-	ɣɣ- geɣg- guɣ- goɣg-
Passive Voice	negative	ɣaw-	
	strong negative (never)	tɕi- tʃu-	

Compare

*I am running*

ɕi        rovovojtsóðvo -ɣow  
1SG.NOM run                      -NOM.PRS.IPFV

and

*I am not running*

ɕi        ɣu-                      rovovojtsóðvo -ɣow  
1SG.NOM ACT.ITRNS.NEG- run                      -NOM.PRS.IPFV

3.6.9 – *Interrogative Statements*

Interrogative statements, also known as questions, are formed by inserting the appropriate interrogative demonstrative, *Who*, *What*, *When*, *Where*, or *How* into a specific point in the sentence. These do not take marking for case or number.

e.g,

*Who do you like*

η' =        **enjed** xánoy -∅  
 2SG.NOM = **who** like -NOM.PRS.PFV

*What did you eat*

ηφ        **ya**    yvezðérezð -zez  
 2SG.NOM **what** eat        -SUB.PST.PFV

If using the demonstrative *Why*, it is placed before the sentence.

e.g,

*Why did you lose?*

**jéçiy** ηφ        zzóo -∅  
**why** 2SG.NOM lose -NOM.PRS.PFV

When using demonstratives that mean "what kind" or "how many," the demonstratives are treated as adjectives

e.g.



*How many birds?*

ynáw            -q̣w            vvódd -uvv  
 what\_number -ADJ.NOM.PL bird    -NOM.PL

*What kind of bird?*

yyékçir    -ed            vvóddo -y  
 what\_kind -ADJ.NOM.SG bird    -NOM.SG

When using questions that in English require “do,” the word for “no” is placed at the end of the clause.

e.g,

*Do you (regularly) swim ?*

ŋə            noróqov -uð            píyil  
 2SG.NOM swim    -NOM.PRS.HAB no

It is important to know that in casual speech, /píyil/ is often /píil/ or simply /pil/

### 3.6.10 – Conditionals

Conditionals in Dokhorian are usually formed by starting the main clause with the word for "if," and placing the agent of the dependent clause in the topic case, as well as conjugating the primary verb of the main clause in the conditional mood.

If, however, the conditional is one in which the main clause doesn't necessarily need to be fulfilled in order for the dependent clause to be done, the object of the dependent clause is placed in the topic case.

In both cases, the verb in the main clause is placed in the habitual aspect

e.g.

*If I had food, I would eat it*

**kkuv** çi      **yágŋa -yuð**      **bázvox -xus**      **ʃoʃe**      **kə**  
 if    1SG.NOM **have** -NOM.COND.PST.HAB, food    -ACC.SG **1SG.FOC** 3.SG.

**ʒe-** **yvezðérefθ -θiw**  
 CIRC- eat      -NOM.INF.FUT.PFV

*If I was hungry, I would eat food*

**kkuv** çi      **waxsánjeŋ -ŋ**      **rífçi**      **bázvoy -Ø**  
 if    1SG.NOM hungry.STV -NOM.SG **be** \NOM.COND.PST.HAB, food    -FOC.SG

çi      **ʒe-** **yvezðérefθ -θiw**      **-ejer**  
 1SG.NOM CIRC- eat      -NOM.INF.FUT.PFV -PASS.FOC

### 3.6.11 – Time & Converbs

Optionally, if a clause contains 2 verbs, one of the verbs can be expressed in terms of when it happened in relation to the other verb. These converbs come in two varieties, the *Imperfective* and *Perfective* converbs, for verbs that happen during and after another verb, respectively.

The imperfective converb is the suffix /-tsu/, or sometimes /-tsi/, depending on vowel harmony. The perfective converb is the suffix /-ew/, or sometimes /-ow/, depending on vowel harmony.

e.g.

*I ran and fell; I fell while running*

çi      yěj -zes      -tsi      rovovojt[óðvo -zoz  
1SG.NOM fall -NOM.PST.PFV -CONV.IPFV run      -NOM.PST.PFV

*I ate food, and then went to sleep*

çi      yvežðérezð -zez      -ew      bážvox -xus      uágjav -zoz  
1SG.NOM eat      -NOM.INF.PST.PFV -CONV.PFV food      -ACC.SG sleep      -NOM.PST.PFV

### 3.6.12 – Transitivity

All verbs in Dokhorian are inherently transitive, that is, they can take both a subject and a direct object, or intransitive, that is, they can only take a subject, but not a direct object. Dokhorian, however, also has methods of getting around this limitation, of making intransitive verbs transitive. This is accomplished with the suffix /-f/, which turns any intransitive verb into a transitive verb. The newly transitive verb may not necessarily have the same meaning as its original, intransitive form.

e.g,

*I dropped the knife*

çi      yěj -zes      -f      ðáfofθ -xus  
1SG.SUB fall -NOM.PST.PFV -TRANS knife -ACC.SG

3.6.13 – *Passive Voice*

In Dokhorian, there are two passive voices, the *Focus Passive*, and the *True Passive*. The focus passive is applied via a suffix, /-ejer/ or /-ojor/, to the main verb of the clause when the focus is applied to a noun that wasn't originally marked with the nominative. The second, 'true' passive is applied by changing the case of the verb ending to be in the accusative instead of the nominative.

When the passive voice is applied to a clause, the ordering of constituents does not change. That is, the word for a passive clause is no different than the word order for the corresponding active clause; the nouns marked with the nominative and accusative cases are in the same positions as they would be if the clause was in the active voice.

e.g,

*I eat food*

bázvoy -Ø	çi	γvezðérezð -Ø	-ejer
food	-FOC.SG 1SG.NOM eat	-NOM.INF.PRS.PFV	-PASS.FOC

*I am eaten by food*

çi	bázvox -xus	γvezðérezð -ðer
1SG.NOM food	-ACC.SG eat	-ACC.INF.PRS.PFV

*I am eaten by food*

bázvoy -Ø	çi	γvezðérezð -ðer	-ejer
food	-FOC.SG 1SG.NOM eat	-ACC.INF.PRS.PFV	-PASS.FOC

### 3.6.14 – *Irregular verbs*

Although a majority of verbs in Dokhorian are regular and follow either the type-I or type-II verb conjugation pattern, a select few verbs are irregular, not fully conforming to either.

The most common type of irregular verb is the split-conjugation verb that takes some of its marking from the type-I conjugation and some marking from the type-II conjugation.

Although irregularities most often appear in tense-aspect-mood marking, there are also a handful of verbs that are irregular in their nominalization affixes.

The most commonly used irregular verb is the verb "to be," which not only has 2 separate forms, one for 1st and 2nd person and one for 3rd person pronouns and inanimate subjects, but it's also been used so much that the tense-aspect-mood affixes have practically fused with the verb.

## 3.7 – Phrasality

### 3.7.1 – *Coördination*

In order to coördinate clauses, a variety of coordinating conjunctions are employed.

When conjoining two nouns or independent clauses, /ovg/ is inserted between them.

When conjoining two clauses by means of a “But” or “However,” /zuðuŷ/ is inserted between them

When conjoining two clauses by means of a “Because” or “Therefore,” /guru/ is inserted between them.

e.g,

*Husband and Wife*

d33ađ<sup>i</sup> -γ      **ovg** θa -γ  
 husband -NOM.SG **and** wife -NOM.SG

*I ran, but he walked*

çi      rovovojtʃóđvo -zoz      **zuđuy** kfo      đuóvd3 -3oz  
 1SG.NOM run      -NOM.PST.PFV **but**      3SG.NOM walk      -NOM.PST.PFV

*I was happy because it was warm*

çi      nejyénjey -γ      róvzoz      **guru**      xỏfojyỏjdzóxθojɰ -γ  
 1SG.NOM happy.STV -NOM.SG be\NOM.INF.PST.PFV **because** warm.STV      -NOM.SG

newíi

be\NOM.INF.PST.PFV

### 3.7.2 – Subordination

When placing a clause into a state of subordination, the subordinate clause is placed after the main clause, and the main verb is placed in the conditional mood, like in a conditional phrase.

e.g,

*After I wake up, I eat*

çi	<b>druvv</b>	texévvī	-ið	<b>zo</b>	γveʒðérezð	-ið
1SG.NOM	COND	wake_up	-NOM.PRS.HAB	after	eat	-NOM.INF.PRS.HAB

### 3.7.3 – Time & Temporal Relations

In Dokhorian, almost all temporal states can be described using adpositions of location. If an event happens at a specific time, the adposition /ga/, meaning “on,” is used. If the verb is in the imperfective, however, the adposition /θóvu/, meaning “in” is used instead. If an event happens before or after a specific time, the adpositions /zov/, and /zo/, meaning “before” and “after,” respectively, are used. If an event takes place within a specific time window, the adposition /dduð/, meaning “while,” is used. For long windows of time, /wídʒib/, meaning “within,” can be used instead.

e.g,

*In the morning, I eat*

zágoγ	-γur	<b>ga</b>	çi	γveʒðérezð	-ið
morning	-LOC.SG	on	1SG.NOM	eat	-NOM.INF.PRS.HAB

*In the evening, I am running*

zi      θóvu çi      rovovojt]óðvo -yow  
 evening in 1SG.NOM run -NOM.PRS.IPFV

*Before I go to sleep, I brush my teeth*

ç' =      uágnav -Ø      zov      çi      iv      zðérezðja -θ  
 1SG.NOM = sleep -NOM.PRS.PFV before 1SG.NOM 1SG.GEN teeth -ACC.PL

fov -Ø  
 clean -NOM.PRS.PFV

*After I kill someone, I dispose of the body*

çi      bábiç -çis      faagoñúzo -Ø      zo      çi      tiðík -çis  
 1SG.NOM someone -ACC.SG kill -NOM.PRS.PFV after 1SG.NOM body -ACC.SG

gaðyó -Ø  
 dispose\_of -NOM.PRS.PFV

*While I eat breakfast, I drink milk*

çi      zagoyázvox -xus      yvezðérezð -Ø      dduð çi  
 1SG.NOM breakfast -ACC.SG eat -NOM.INF.PRS.PFV while 1SG.NOM

vozóθ] -xus      θow -Ø  
 milk -ACC.SG drink -NOM.PRS.PFV



*While one is a baby, they drink their mother's milk*

juáy -γ vaxółx -xus newíi wídzib kfo kq  
 person -NOM.SG baby -ACC.SG be\NOM.INF.PRS.PFV **within** 3SG.NOM 3SG.GEN

bbavz -zu vozóθf -xus θow -Ø  
 mother -GEN.SG milk -ACC.SG drink -NOM.PRS.PFV

### 3.8 – Adpositions

Dokhorian places its adpositions after nouns, making them postpositions. Each postposition places the noun into either the genitive case—for “with” and “of”—or the locative case—for all other postpositions

#### 3.8.1 – *Satellite Framing*

Dokhorian is a satellite-framing language, meaning that the motion of a verb is encoded in a postposition instead of in the verb of motion.

### 3.9 – Derivational Morphology

Dokhorian uses a plethora of derivational morphology to form new words. A majority of this morphology is nominalization, but other affixes do exist.

#### 3.9.1 – *Nominalization*

The instrumental nominalizer, /-u/ or /-i/, turns the affected verb into a noun used to perform that action.

The agentative nominalizer, /-ju/ or /-ja/, turns the affected verb into a noun, generally a person, that does that verb.

The locative nominalizer, /-fox/ or /-fex/, turns the affected verb into a location where that verb occurs

The general nominalizer, or gerund, /-yi/ or /-yu/ or /-ji/ or /gu/, turns the verb into a noun with no special characteristics. This nominalizer is slowly falling out of use as a Verb→Noun marker and is becoming increasingly more common as a nominalizer for Verb Phrases.

The resultative, /-rejer/ or /-rojo/ turns the verb into the result of that verb's completion or ongoing action.

### 3.9.2 – *Verbing & Denominalization*

The primary denominalization affix is /-to/ or /-te/

### 3.9.3 – *Adjectivization*

The primary adjectivization affix is /dvuw-/ or /dviw-/

### 3.9.4 – *Other Derivational Morphology*

The augmentative is /moγ-/ or /mey-/ and can work on both adjectives and nouns, but is more common on nouns.

The diminutive is /-θi/ or /-θoj/, and can work on both adjectives and nouns, but is more common on nouns.

The locativizer, /-sog/ or /-seg/, turns the noun into a place where said noun can commonly be found/stored.

The 'study of' marker /-roo/ or /-ree/ turns a noun into the science/study associated with that noun

### 3.10 – Affix Order

The order of affixes in Dokhorian, although usually not that big of a deal, can in some cases play a crucial role in the grammar of a clause.

#### 3.10.1 – *Verbs*

For verbs, the order is as follows

[negation]-VERB-[tense + aspect]-[converb]-[transitivity]-[voice]-[nominalization]

If, however, the transitivity marker is being used as a causative, the order is

[negation]-VERB-[-transitivity]-[voice]-[tense + aspect]-[converb]-[nominalization]

#### 3.10.2 – *Nouns*

For nouns, the order is as follows

[relativization]-[augmentative]-NOUN-[-diminutive]-[case + number]

#### 3.10.3 – *Adjectives*

For adjectives, the order is as follows

[negation]-[augmentative]-ADJECTIVE-[case + number]-[diminutive]-[comparative]-[adverbializer]

## 4 – Writing

Dokhorian is written in the *Dokhorian Script*, a mixed script that uses a logograph for content words and an alphabet for grammatical functions, proper nouns, and onomatopoeia, among other things.

### 4.1 – Dokhorian Alphabet

#### 4.1.1 – *Written Consonants*

Dokhorian has 25 consonant characters. Most consonants are written how you'd expect them to be, with a few caveats. Namely,

1. palatalized consonants are written as their regular counterparts followed by an iotated vowel. If the palatalized consonant is not followed by a vowel, then the character for /j/
2. The character for /l/ is written as 2 of the character for /w/
3. The character for /w/ can be written as 2 of the character for /v/, or as its own symbol
4. The velar nasal /ŋ/ is written as its alveolar counterpart /n/ when before velar consonants

#### 4.1.2 – *Written Vowels*

Dokhorian has 12 vowel characters that represent 5 distinct vowels. When writing in the Dokhorian Alphabet, neither i-umlaut, nor a-umlaut, nor vowel harmony is expressed, and is to be inherently known by the reader or be interpretable from context. Old vowel length is not marked in writing, but doubled vowels are.


## 4.1.3 – Visual Representation of the Alphabet

<sup>a, a:</sup> ㄣ	<sup>b</sup> ㄤ	<sup>d</sup> ㄨ	<sup>d2</sup> ㄗ	<sup>d3</sup> ㄛ	<sup>ʒ</sup> ㄹ	<sup>e, e:</sup> ㄷ	<sup>ε</sup> ㄱ	<sup>f</sup> ㄴ
<sup>g</sup> ㄲ	<sup>ɖ</sup> ㄴ	<sup>ɰ, i:</sup> ㄷ	<sup>ɰ</sup> ㄷ	<sup>ɰe, e:</sup> ㄷ	<sup>ɰa, b:</sup> ㄷ	<sup>ɰε</sup> ㄷ	<sup>ɰi, ɰi:</sup> ㄷ	<sup>k</sup> ㄷ
<sup>l</sup> ㄷ	<sup>m</sup> ㄷ	<sup>n</sup> ㄷ	<sup>ɲ</sup> ㄷ	<sup>o, o:</sup> ㄷ	<sup>b, b:</sup> ㄷ	<sup>p</sup> ㄷ	<sup>r</sup> ㄷ	<sup>s</sup> ㄷ
<sup>ʃ</sup> ㄷ	<sup>t</sup> ㄷ	<sup>ts</sup> ㄷ	<sup>tʃ</sup> ㄷ	<sup>θ</sup> ㄷ	<sup>u, u:</sup> ㄷ	<sup>ɰ, ɰ:</sup> ㄷ	<sup>v</sup> ㄷ	<sup>w</sup> ㄷ
<sup>x</sup> ㄷ	<sup>z</sup> ㄷ	<sup>ʒ</sup> ㄷ	<sup>ɰ</sup> ㄷ	<sup>?</sup> ㄷ	<sup>!</sup> ㄷ	<sup>,</sup> ㄷ	<sup>:</sup> ㄷ	<sup>!!</sup> ㄷ








*Note that the pronunciations given for each sound correspond to their Middle Dokhorian pronunciation*

## 4.1.4 – Variations On The Alphabet

The Dokhorian Alphabet, due to its many nuances, has had many attempt to standardize it, to no avail. These attempted standardizations however, left behind alternate spellings of some words which are sometimes used in literature, as well as alternate ways to write some characters. For example, the letter for Dokhorian /a/ (Middle Dokhorian /ε/) is usually written

as , but is sometimes written as

## 4.2 – Dokhorian Logography

The Dokhorian logography is the primary means of communication when writing Dokhorian. Symbols can either be *Pictographic*, *Ideographic*, or *Phono-Semantic*. Pictographic logographs are ones such as "eye"  where the logograph comes directly from an image of that word. Ideographic logographs like "eat"  convey meaning not via direct images, but by visual analogies. This can be seen in the composition of "eat", as it is a combination of "mouth"  and "food" , which can be interpreted as food going in the mouth, or eating. Phono-Semantic logographs are comprised of two other logographs, one of which represents the meaning associated with the logograph, and another which represents the approximate pronunciation of that logograph. Because the logographs were borrowed from another language, the phonological component of Phono-Semantic compounds often plays no active role. An example of a Phono-Semantic compound would be the character for "ash" , where the semantic role is filled by the character for "fire" , and the phonetic role is filled by the character for "eye" . This implies that in the language that Dokhorian borrowed its logography from, the word for "ash" and the word for "eye" are phonologically close to each other.

Dokhorian logographs are often stylized with extra strokes when writing calligraphy, or informally such as on the banners of street-side stands.,

Although the Dokhorian logography is borrowed from another language, and by extension another country, some Dokhorian-exclusive logographs have been made to keep up with the growing number of modern inventions and discoveries.

