

# The Scatic Categories of the Tlingit Verb

A Whimsical Treatment of Tlingit Verb Paradigms

(Made Painless with Laughing Gas)

by

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Dedicated to the Memory of John Peabody Harrington  
who inspired younger generations of Tlingit linguists  
with his paradigms of “piss”

In response to many requests for easily digestible lessons in Tlingit, we have cooked up the following introductory treatment on the nature of nouns and verbs in Tlingit and English. Tlingit and English are quite different from each other, and are often the opposite of each other. In fact, speakers of each accuse speakers of the other of having it all backwards. So, this paper applies to the back side of language.

Many people who want to learn Tlingit (and even many people who do not want to learn Tlingit) imagine that Tlingit is just like English, but with different words and an unnecessarily complicated alphabet to write them with. Not true. While there are certain universals in language and culture, the most important things are usually culture-specific. For example, eating is a human universal, done in order to stay alive. But what is considered food and how it is prepared and the rules for consuming it are usually culture-specific. In this paper, we will show some interesting examples of how Tlingit and English come out differently from each other. As everyone can sense, a paper such as this on grammar runs the risk of being very dry—drier than the proverbial popcorn fart. As an end run around this problem, and to encourage the reader to stick with the matter at hand, the Tlingit paradigm of farting is the bottom line in the paper. We will begin with English, and then move to Tlingit.

Lesson One  
Nouns and Verbs

Everybody knows you have to begin with nouns and verbs. We know this because teachers have been telling us this for generations. So, we start with nouns and verbs. Let's take the word "run." Is it a noun or verb? English teachers always run around asking things like that, and telling you that a noun is a name of a person, place, or thing. This is supposed to be a hint, which is nice to know if "run" is a noun, as in:

a run

He made a run.

She had a run in her nylon.

The Governor's Cup Fun Run was wet.

But what about:

I run.

We run.

Ahah! Now "run" is a verb, the English teachers tell us. Also as in:

He runs.

She runs.

But not as in

the runs

which gets even more interesting when you compare:

He hit the runs.

He had the runs.

You can say

He hit a run

but not

He ran a hit.

But it's ok to say:

a hit and run

I made a hit.

Likewise, you can say:

I ran a light.

The cop ran me in.

The cops ran in the race.

The cops ran in the crook.

Hmmm. Well, it turns out that English is like this all the time. It gets kind of messy, and the English teachers want to have it both ways, making up the rules as they go and wiping out the ambiguities by denying the problem. But it won't go away.

To prove it, here's another word like runs: "fart." Is it a noun or a verb? It all depends in English on what's in front of it, what leads up to it, what causes it:

I fart                  verb

a fart                  noun

Even then, you need a complete passage to know the answer:

the old fart                  (unclear)

The old fart.                  verb

See what a difference the capital letter and period make? It turns out, in the second example above, that the adjective "old" is really a noun and the subject of the sentence, and that the difference is in how you pronounce the period. To make it really clear that the adjective is a noun and the noun is a verb, you need an adverb:

The old fart often.

To change it back to a noun, you use a real verb, like "runs."

The old fart runs.                  noun

It was drier than a popcorn fart.      noun

If you have a bunch of farts together, it is what linguists call a "paradigm." It rhymes with "pare a dime." Here is a noun paradigm in English.

the fart                  singular (only one)

the farts                  plural (more than one)

the fart's                  singular possessive (of the one fart)

the farts' plural possessive (of more than one fart)

Paradigms are always abstract, so it helps to put the words in context of a complete passage.

Farts often smell. (noun-adverb-verb)

The fart's smell was bad. (singular possessive)

The farts' smell was bad. (plural possessive)

Isn't it interesting how smell is a verb in the first example, and a noun in the second example? Here's a verb paradigm.

1st person singular I fart

2nd person singular you fart

3rd person singular he/she/it farts (3 farts\*)

1st person plural we fart

2nd person plural y'all fart

3rd person plural they fart

\*Note. You of course noted the asterisk at 3 farts above. This does not mean that you would be an ass to risk asking what it means. In grammar, the "persons" are numbered: I is 1<sup>st</sup>, you-singular is 2<sup>nd</sup>, and he-she-or-it is 3<sup>rd</sup>. We is 1<sup>st</sup> person plural, you-all is 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural, they is 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural. Tlingit does not distinguish gender in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person. Because it is awkward to write "he, she, or it" or codes such as "s/he," linguists like to use a shorthand that takes up less space: 3. So "3 farts" is not a noun with the number 3 in front of them telling you how many (like 1 potato, 2 potato, 3 potato, 4), but a linguistic code for "he, she, or it is farting." This may seem unclear at first, but you only have to recall how hard it is at times to know who is really farting. So, it's ok. Of course, English no longer distinguishes you-singular (one of you: thou, thee, thine) and you-plural (2 or more of you: ye, your) except in the south (y'all, y'all's), so there may be confusion there, too, but you can't have it all. If you want clarity, learn Tlingit.

This is easy enough to do with paradigms, but analysis is difficult in English because the categories of nouns and verbs usually overlap. As you can sense, with "farts" as

with the case of "runs," the true nature of what's happening depends on what comes before and after. Linguists might call this situational grammar. It goes through the whole system in English:

He is farting. .... noun

Farting is fun..... noun

He's running for office..... verb

The running of the Salmon Derby is fishy..... noun

Ready for the quiz? Here is the quiz for Lesson One. Are the underlined words nouns or verbs or adjectives?

a fart

I fart

the popcorn

I pop corn.

drier than a popcorn fart

If you pass, you get to go on. Even if you don't pass, you still get to go, because with farts and runs, passing and not passing are equally important, and especially if you pass, it's often socially more correct to keep a low profile and quietly move on.

Lesson Two  
On Translation

Having run through some basic examples of English, we now turn to Tlingit. Tlingit words often express a wide range of subtle nuances difficult to express in English. For example, not only is the issue of farts no exception, it is also very rich. Tlingit, like English, has nouns and verbs. But the Tlingit conceptual categories of farts are more far-reaching than English. Here are some basic noun forms, with approximate English translation.

gwáal' .....big and deadly fart  
kóotl' .....silent, but deadly fart  
kóoch' .....small, but deadly fart  
tóol' .....big sounding fart

These basic nouns can be modified further for nuances of shape and size.

yéi kusagwáal' .....3 is letting a long and skinny, sharp-sounding fart  
yéi kudlagwáal' .....3 is letting a fat, wide, big and deadly fart

English lacks this range of subtle nuances, but English does have a second important verb, "to pass gas," which basically means "to fart in polite company." In fact, if one must fart at all in English, it is more polite to pass gas; but it is even better to fart in Latin, to flatulate. This verb is not in the dictionary, but it means "to fart in intellectual or medical company, or among Classical scholars." The noun form appears in many forms in the dictionary, including: flatulence (1. presence of excessive gas in the digestive tract; 2. Self-importance; pomposity [i.e., full of hot air]); flatulent (of, afflicted with, or caused by flatulence); flatus (gas expelled from the digestive tract, especially the stomach or intestines). According to the American Heritage Dictionary, the Latin *flatus* means wind or fart, and comes from the verb *flare*, to blow. The Indo-European stem is bhle\* (with modern English reflexes in blow, blast, inflate, flavor, and soufflé).

Modern English fart, on the other hand, comes from Middle English *farten* and Old English *feortan*. The Indo-European stem is *perd\** (from which come old Germanic words for fart as well as the modern English partridge). In this paper, we would like to put forth the theory that the Latin stem *f-l-t* is related to the Germanic stem *f-r-t*. This example shows vowel movement, and the metathesis of liquids (a kind of linguistic metamucil). The antiquity of these words proves that the subject at hand has been part of human history for a very long time, that people have been farting and talking about it for generations. People have also been writing about it, and Chaucer's "The Miller's Tale" (written about 1386) contains an early literary documentation that English speaking people farted way back then.

In the dark of night, a wannabe lover stands outside the bedroom window begging a kiss. His rival, already in bed with the woman of his desire, moons him and farts.

"Spek, swete brid, I noot nat wher thou art."

This Nicholas anon leet flee a fart.

(Speak, sweet bird, I know not where thou art."

This Nicholas anon let fly a fart.)

Chaucer, "The Miller's Tale," lines 619-20.

Of more recent vintage, "The Gas We Pass" is destined to become a neo-classic of Kiddie Lit.

Lesson Three  
More on English Verb Paradigms

Before turning to the full scale of Tlingit verb paradigms, a brief review of English paradigms is helpful. If it's a verb paradigm, language teachers call it a "conjugation," and if it's a noun paradigm, they call it a declension. In most languages, some verbs are regular and some are irregular. Here are two examples of verb conjugation paradigms in English.

<b>an irregular (strong) verb</b>	<b>a regular (weak) verb</b>
I run .....	I fart
I ran .....	I farted
I have run .....	I have farted
I had run .....	I had farted
I will run .....	I will fart
I will have run .....	I will have farted
I would run .....	I would fart
I would have run .....	I would have farted
I am running .....	I am farting
I was running.....	I was farting
I will be running.....	I will be farting
I would be running.....	I would be farting
I would have been running.....	I would have been farting
you better run .....	you better fart
you better not run .....	you better not fart
Get running! .....	Get farting!
I am being run .....	I am being farted (on or at)
I was being run .....	I was being farted (on or at)

The last two above show that verbs can be active or passive. Here are some other examples.



**active**

**passive**

she plans ..... it is planned  
she planned..... she was planned  
she will plan..... it will be planned  
she has planned ..... it has been planned  
she had planned..... it had been planned  
she is planning..... it is being planned  
she was planning..... it was being planned  
she will be planning ..... it will be being planned  
she would plan ..... it would be being planned  
she would have planned ..... it would have been being planned

Here are some examples in sentences:

The fry bread would have been being cooked, but the cook ran out of oil.

The deer stew would have been being cooked, but the cook ran out.

This goes on all through the English language.

I have  
I had  
I have had  
I had had  
I would have had  
I was being had  
I was had.  
You are being had.

## Lesson Four

### Tlingit Verb Paradigms

There are several ways to illustrate Tlingit verb paradigms. First, in Lesson Four, we will show how the various kinds of farts operate in various persons in the “present,” which is more technically called the “imperfective” in Tlingit, because the action is not yet completed, but is still underway. Then, in Lesson Five, we will select some of the many farts for further analysis, and do a more complete conjugation, running them through the entire system.

English and Tlingit both have parts of words called affixes. These are in the form of prefixes and suffixes, things that come before and after the fart. In both Tlingit and English, the stem for fart can be a noun stem or a verb stem. The prefixes and suffixes determine how it comes out. In linguistic jargon, these are called the arguments. The Tlingit stems introduced this far are:

gwáal’ .....big and deadly fart  
kóotl’ .....silent, but deadly fart  
kóoch’ .....small, but deadly fart  
tóol’ .....big sounding fart

We will begin with the stem gwáal’ and see how it sounds when we add arguments to it, such as who is doing it.

#### **Example 1. (gwáal’ – a big one)**

1st person singular .....I am farting ..... aḡagwáal’  
2nd person singular .....thou art farting ..... eegwáal’  
3rd person singular .....he/she/it is farting ..... agwáal’  
4th person singular .....somebody is farting ..... adugwáal’

1st person plural .....we are farting ..... atoogwáal’  
2nd person plural.....you-all (ye) are farting ..... aygwáal’  
3rd person plural .....they are farting ..... has agwáal’

**Example 2. (kóotl' – a silent but deadly one)**

1st person singular .....I am farting ..... aḵakóotl'

2nd person singular .....you are farting..... eekóotl'

3rd person singular .....3 is farting ..... akóotl'

4th person singular .....somebody is farting ..... adukóotl'

1st person plural .....we are farting ..... atookóotl'

2nd person plural.....you-all are farting ..... aykóotl'

3rd person plural .....they are farting ..... has akóotl'

**Example 3. (kóoch' – a small one)**

1st person singular .....I am farting ..... aḵakóoch'

2nd person singular .....you are farting..... eekóoch'

3rd person singular .....3 is farting ..... akóoch'

4th person singular .....somebody is farting ..... adukóoch'

1st person plural .....we are farting ..... atookóoch'

2nd person plural.....you-all are farting..... aykóoch'

3rd person plural .....they are farting ..... has akóoch'

**Example 4. (tóol' – a loud one)**

1st person singular .....I am farting ..... aḵatóol'

2nd person singular .....you are farting..... eetóol'

3rd person singular .....3 is farting..... atóol'

4th person singular .....somebody is farting ..... adutóol'

1st person plural .....we are farting ..... atootóol'

2nd person plural .....you-all are farting ..... aytóol'

3rd person plural .....they are farting ..... has atóol'

A Note about Subject Pronouns and the Thematic Prefix “a”

Linguists enjoy sniffing out the parts that make up the forms of a verb. They enjoy this so much, in fact, that they have special terms for this process and special names for all the parts. This is called “morphology,” or the study of forms. The particular parts we find in these verbs are subject pronouns and a special thematic prefix. The thematic prefix is “a.” You have noticed by now that it is the first letter or sound in most of the forms above. This special thematic prefix indicates that the verb is intransitive—not to be confused with the direct object pronoun “a” which marks the verb as transitive. You know that this is not the object pronoun because the “a” theme can appear with the 1s subject pronoun, whereas the 3s object pronoun never appears with the 1s subject pronoun. Just as English has its “s” which does lots of different things, Tlingit has its “a.” Go it goes.

When you identify and take out the “a,” this leaves you with the subject pronouns:

- xa .....I
- ee .....you-singular; thou
- nothing .....he, she, it; 3<sup>rd</sup> person
- du.....unspecified other person
- too .....we
- yi .....you-plural; y’all
- has plus nothing.....they.

You already know this, of course, since you are students of Tlingit. But a few words may be in order. In the second person singular, the “a” is absorbed by the “ee” and doesn’t show up. The 3<sup>rd</sup> singular subject pronoun is what the linguists call “zero,” meaning the presence of nothing. Needless to say, it is not pronounced and therefore not written, although linguists write it as Ø when being technical. The plural marker is “has,” so “has” in front of nothing gives you what you’ve got. The 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural pronoun is “yi” or “yee”, but in these verbs, it contracts with the “a” and the vowel falls out.

## Lesson Five

### Principal Parts

All of the examples thus far are in the imperfective, which is like the English “present” tense, used when somebody is doing something now. Tlingit is rich in other possibilities. Unfortunately, not all of these are easily predictable. But once you know or memorize some basic forms, many other forms can be predicted. The basic forms that cannot be predicted and should be memorized for each verb in the language are called “Principal Parts.” On the following pages are the principal parts for the four verbs introduced above. The principal parts are give in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular—the “he/she/ it” form. As we will show later, other persons can be predicted from these.

The grammatical terms are explained below, with an approximate English translation. As noted above “3s” stands for 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular—the “he, she, it” form.

3s imperfective (positive)	3 (s/he, it) is farting
3s imperfective (negative) (tléil)	3 is not farting
3s perfective (positive)	3 farted
3s perfective (negative) (tléil)	3 did not fart
3s perfective habitual (simplex)	3 always farts/ would fart/ farts every time
3s imperfective habitual (composite)	3 always farts (farts all the time)
3s future	3 will fart; 3 is going to fart
3s potential attributive:	[tlél aadé _____ yé], no way 3 can fart
3s potential decessive	(if ..., 3 would have ___) 3 would have farted
2 singular imperative	Fart! (singular; to one person)
2 plural imperative:	Fart! (plural; to many people)
3s hortative	Let 3 fart; may 3 fart
2s imperfective prohibitive (líl)	Don't fart! (singular; to one person)
2p imperfective prohibitive (líl)	Don't fart! (plural; to many people)
3s progressive imperfective	3 is farting along; in the process of farting
3s repetitive (secondary)	1) 3 farts repeatedly, routinely, habitually
imperfective (positive)	2) 3 keeps trying to fart; farting in vain
(list as many as occur)	3) 3 farts plural farts, one after another, etc

Table 5.1 Template for Active and Stative Verbs  
-Gwaal'

**English:** fart (to fart a big and deadly one)

N-S Dictionary format: ya-gwaal'

Leer-Edwards format: a-( ) Ø gwáal'~

3s imperfective (positive)	agwáal'	3 is farting
3s imperfective (negative)	tléil oogwáal'	3 is not farting
3s perfective (positive)	aawagwáal'	3 farted
3s perfective (negative)	tléil awugwáal'	3 didn't fart
3s perfective habitual (simplex)	oogwáal'ch	3 farts every time
3s imperfective habitual (composite)	agwáal' nuch	3 farts all the time*
3s future	akgwagwáal'	3 will fart
3s potential (as attrib. in phrase:	tléil aadé oogaagwáal'i (yé)	no way 3 can fart
3s potential decessive	oogagwáal'in	(if ..., 3 would have ___) 3 would have farted
2 singular imperative	agwáal'	Fart!
2 plural imperative:	aygwáal'	Y'all fart!
3s hortative	agagwáal'	May 3 fart; let 3 fart
2s imperfective prohibitive (líl)	líl eegwáal'xik	Don't you fart!
2p imperfective prohibitive (líl)	líl aygwáal'xik	Don't y'all fart!
3s progressive imperfective	yaa anagwáal'	3 is farting along
3s repetitive (secondary)	agwáal't	3 is farting a (series of farts)
imperfective (positive)	agwáal'x	3 is farting (continuously)

\* You may encounter regional and personal vowel length variation in the main and helping verbs here.

Table 5.2 Template for Active and Stative Verbs  
-Koot'

English: fart (to fart a silent, but deadly one)  
 N-S Dictionary format: ya-koot'  
 Leer-Edwards format: a-( ) Ø kóotl'~

3s imperfective (positive)	akóotl'	3 is farting
3s imperfective (negative) (tléil)	tléil ookóotl'	3 is not farting
3s perfective (positive)	aawakútl'	3 farted
3s perfective (negative) (tléil)	tléil awukóotl'	3 didn't fart
3s perfective habitual (simplex)	ookóotl'ch	3 farts every time
3s imperfective habitual (composite)	akóotl' nooch	3 farts all the time
3s future	akgwaóotl'	3 will fart
3s potential (as attrib. in phrase:	tléil aadé oogakóotl'i yé	no way 3 can fart
3s potential decessive	oogakóotl'in	(if ..., 3 would have ___) 3 would have farted
2 singular imperative	akútl'	Fart!
2 plural imperative:	aykútl'	You people fart!
3s hortative	agakóotl'	Let 3 fart; may 3 fart
2s imperfective prohibitive (líl)	líl eekóotl'ik	Don't fart!
2p imperfective prohibitive (líl)	líl aykóotl'ik	Don't youse fart!
3s progressive imperfective	yaa anakútl'	3 is farting along
3s repetitive (secondary)	akútl't	3 is farting several in a row
3s imperfective (positive)	akútl'x	3 is continuously farting

Table 5.3 Template for Active and Stative Verbs  
-Kooch'

English: fart (to fart a small, but deadly one)  
 N-S Dictionary format: ya-kooch'  
 Leer-Edwards format: a-( )-Ø-kóoch'~

3s imperfective (positive)	akóoch'	3 is farting
3s imperfective (negative) (tléil)	ookóoch'	3 is not farting
3s perfective (positive)	aawakúch'	3 farted
3s perfective (negative) (tléil)	awukóoch'	3 did not fart
3s perfective habitual (simplex)	ookóoch'ch	3 farts every time
3s imperfective habitual (composite)	akúch' nuch	3 farts all the time
3s future	akgwakóoch'	3 will fart
3s potential (as attrib. in phrase:	tlél aadé oogaakooch'i yé	no way 3 can fart
3s potential decessive	oogakóoch'in	(if ..., 3 would have ___) 3 would have farted
2 singular imperative	akúch'	Fart!
2 plural imperative:	aykúch'	Fart, y'all!
3s hortative	agakóoch'	may 3 fart; let him fart
2s imperfective prohibitive (líl)	eekóoch'ik	Don't fart!
2p imperfective prohibitive (líl)	aykóoch'ik	Don't fart (plural)!
3s progressive imperfective	yaa anakúch'	3 is farting along.
3s repetitive (secondary)	akúch't	3 is farting (a series)
imperfective (positive)	akúch'x	3 is farting (continuously)



Table 5.4 Template for Active and Stative Verbs

Tool'

English: fart (to fart a big, noisy one)

N-S Dictionary format: ya-tool'

Leer-Edwards format: a-( ) Ø - tóol'~

3s imperfective (positive)	atóol'	
3s imperfective (negative) (tléil)	tléil ootóol'	3 is not farting
3s perfective (positive)	aawatúl'	3 farted
3s perfective (negative) (tléil)	tléil awutóol'	3 did not fart
3s perfective habitual (simplex)	ootóol'ch	3 farts every time
3s imperfective habitual (composite)	atóol' nooch	3 farts all the time
3s future	akgwatóol'	3 will fart
3s potential (as attrib. in phrase:	tlél aadé oogaatool'i yé	no way 3 can fart
9. 3s potential decessive	oogatóol'in	
2 singular imperative	atúl'	
2 plural imperative:	aytúl'	
3s hortative	agatóol'	Let 3 fart; may 3 fart
2s imperfective prohibitive (líl)	líl eetóol'ik̄	Don't fart!
2p imperfective prohibitive (líl)	líl aytóol'ik̄	Don't fart (plural)!
3s progressive imperfective	yaa anatóol'	3 is farting along
3s repetitive (secondary)	atúl't	
imperfective (positive)	atúl'x	

## To be continued.....

Sorry, folks. Gotta run. We've been sitting on this draft for a long, long time. The first version dates from March 1993, and was called "Passing Traditions in X-Cultural Settings." After intermittent revisions in August 1994, June 1997, and May 1999, a revised draft was issued 10 years later in April 2003 with the present title. We hoped since then to let loose with full paradigms for all the verbs, but this full-blown edition has not yet come to pass. But here are some previews of thrilling episodes and epimodes to come.... The data from here on out needs to be double-checked.

### Lesson FIX System Paradigms

We will now take the verb illustrated above and show how it operates throughout the system. The order follows the charts on pages 450-455 of *Haa Tuwunáagu Yís* and pages 212-215 of *Beginning Tlingit*.

#### Part 1. Some basic forms

Imperfective ..... he/she is farting.....agwáal'  
..... we are farting.....atoogwáal'  
Perfective..... he/she farted.....aawagwál'  
..... somebody farted.....awuduwagwál'  
..... we farted .....

Future..... he/she will fart.....akgwagwaal'  
..... we will fart .....

Progressive ..... he/she is farting along  
..... we are farting along

Occasional ..... he/she would fart.....oogwaal'ch  
..... we would fart.....

Potential ..... he/she can fart .....

..... we can fart.....

Durative..... he/she farts (daily).....  
..... we fart (daily) .....

## Part 2. The larger Syntax System

These and other forms appear in various parts of Tlingit sentences, and they can be positive or negative. Here are some of the possibilities.

Negative ..... He/she doesn't fart.....  
..... We don't fart.....

Decessive ..... He/she used to fart .....agwál' nookjeen  
..... We used to fart

Main clause ..... He's farting.....  
..... Are you farting?.....

Subordinate clause  
..... We know he's farting  
..... I know you're farting

Attributive..... a farting place .....

Verbal noun ..... the farting smelled

Indicative ..... He is farting.....

Imperative..... Fart!.....agwál' ???  
..... Don't fart!.....eegwáal' tsé ??

Disiderative ..... Let's fart!

Optative ..... Let him/her fart.  
..... Don't let him/her fart.....tlél eegwal'xeek [??]  
..... I hope she farts.

Participial ..... We know he farted. ....Wutusikóo awugwál'i  
..... I know you're farting

Purposive..... in order to fart .....agagwáal'it [??]

Sequential..... as he was farting

Conditional..... if he farts .....agwál'ni

Contingent..... whenever he farts .....agwagwál'ín

Part 3. Misc. unanalyzed data gathered from the field.

1. He is beginning to fart..... yaa anagwál'
2. He began to fart..... kei akawligwál'
3. He kept farting..... agwaal'
4. He farted occasionally..... oogwaal'ch
5. He farts in between. .... (a x'áax) yaa aklagwál'ch
6. He farted consecutively..... woosh toox akawligwál'
7. He'd fart along. .... yaa akaklagwál'ch
8. He'd fart around. .... at akanalgwál'ch
9. When he farted, it smelled. .... awugwaal'i lichán
10. He always farts. .... agwál' nooch
11. He always used to fart. .... agwál' nookjeen

CHECK: is there a difference?

Don't fart (just right now) ..... tlél eegwáal'ik

Don't fart (ever, at all) ..... tlél eegwal'xeek

Also check variant translations in the data:

decessive: he used to fart (agwál' nookjeen)

perfective habitual: he farted from time to time (oogwaal'ch)

imperfective habit: he always farts (agwál' nooch)