

- (16) a. *Kejar/ *ngejar kak Icanya!*
 ϕ -chase/ N-chase TRU.older.sibling Ica-DET
 ‘Chase Ica!’ (EXPDAL; 28:4)
- b. *Potong/ *motong kuenya!*
 ϕ -cut/ N-cut cake-DET
 ‘Cut the cake!’ (MOTHIZ; 34:4)
- c. *Tulis/ *nulis ‘Praba’, ‘Mas Praba!*
 ϕ -write/ N-write Praba EPIT Praba
 ‘Write ‘Praba’, ‘Mas Praba’!’ (EXPOKK; 24:4)

Furthermore, BJI speakers rarely use N-verbs in imperatives. This fact is reflected in the result of the observation of a corpus extracted from the JFS data base which shows that, out of 394 child directed utterances containing N-verbs, there are only 21 imperatives (5.3%).^{12,13}

The fact that N-verbs are restricted from imperatives suggests that sentences with N-verbs are actually statives. This conjecture is based on the argument that only non-statives can occur as imperatives (Dowty, 1979 (as cited in Levin and Rappaport Hovav, 1996, and Soh and Nomoto, 2009)). The possibility that sentences with N-verbs are statives contradicts the possibility that N- also functions as a progressive viewpoint aspectual marker.

The assumption that N- also functions as a progressive viewpoint aspectual marker is also refuted by the fact that sentences containing N-verbs can be modified, not only by *lagi*, which is a progressive aspectual marker (PROGRESS), but also by *dah/ udah*, which is a perfective aspectual marker (PFCT), as shown in (17). Note that *dah/ udah* can also modify active sentences containing verbs which are affixed by the null affix, as shown in (18).

- (17) a. *Ya kan Ica udah make juga tuh.*
 yes KAN Ica PFCT N-use also that
 ‘But you’ve already had one on you.’ (MOTRIS; 24:2)
- b. *Kamu dah nyuci?*
 2sg PFCT N-wash
 ‘Have you washed?’ (JINBRIS; 39:6)
- (18) a. *Nih, nih, Opanya udah, udah pake baju tuh.*
 this this grandpa-DET PFCT PFCT ϕ -use garment that
 ‘Look, look, Grandpa has got dressed, look.’ (EXPYAN; 23:1)

¹² The corpus under observation consists of the utterances containing N-verbs produced by adult participants (speakers between 12 and 80 years old) in the RIS data set. The observation was restricted to the N-verbs which were not affixed by the suffix -IN or the determiner -NYA.

¹³ The reason why the number of N-verbs that can appear in imperatives is quite high is because the N-verb in 11 out of 21 imperatives with N-verbs is *nulis* ‘write’, which is derived from the stem *tulis* ‘write’. In active sentences, *tulis* can be affixed by either N- or the null affix. However, BJI speakers tend to produce *nulis* instead of *tulis*. This is reflected in the fact that, in the corpus under observation, there are 48 non-imperative utterances containing *nulis*. In contrast, there is only one non-imperative utterances containing *tulis*.

