

## Caregivers and Babies in Interaction: A Study of Two Families in Wonosobo, Central Java

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### ABSTRACT

*Parentese in each community has its own characteristics. This study aims to describe the interaction between caregivers and infants with a case study in two Javanese families living in the Wonosobo urban area (mother, babysitter, grandmother, and baby aged 0;4 [K1] and 1;6 [K2]), Central Java. This research used the ethnographic method through observation involving both families. The results showed that knowledge of the competence and cognition ability of the baby became the background for caregivers to adjust themselves so as to create an asymmetrical position. This places the caregiver as the party who "dominates" the interaction. In interaction, elements of caregiver contribution can be done by providing verbal stimuli to the baby, giving verbal responses to the baby's behavior, imitating the baby's behavior, shedding, role-playing as a baby, and inviting the baby to do simple games. Meanwhile, babies contribute to vocalizations and kinesic interactions. This study concluded that various interactions between caregivers and infants in two families in the urban environment of Wonosobo, Central Java are evidence that caregivers include babies in interaction activities. That is, caregivers do not wait for the baby to reach the verbal stage for them to start interacting verbally with the baby.*

*Keywords: parentese; baby; interaction; caregivers*

### INTRODUCTION

Children face a sociocultural environment that requires linguistic competence as a medium for their existence in the society in which they live (Lee and Bucholtz, 2015). Therefore, interaction is important in children's language acquisition. Related to this, Gleason (1975) stated that children do not acquire language alone, but interaction with caregivers helps their language acquisition.

The philosophical basis regarding the purpose of an interaction, as stated by Grice (in Borge, 2013), is that speakers always hope that their speech partners can understand or understand their speech. Adherents of Grice's view argue that when interlocutors have less ability to understand speech, they actually address the speech to themselves. From this view, they assume caregivers monologue when interacting with their babies.

This view was criticized by Borge (2013), who stated that mothers invite children to participate in interactions. This view is based on the results of Holzman's (1984) study of mother-child prelinguistic interactions, which show that mothers include children in interactions. This can be seen from the change in the mother's verbalizations and the child's

vocalizations and responses, such as cooing, babbling, laughter/smiles, and the child's eyes. This opinion is also in line with the results of Snow's study (1977), which stated that even though there are differences in cognition and the child does not really understand the mother's speech, the mother still thinks the child is responding to her speech so that the mother continues to show her speech to the child.

Based on these opinions, interactions aimed at children and how adults make their speech can be understood by children by adjusting the frequency to the child's cognitive abilities. Speakers have provisions when speaking to babies/children. Borge (2013: 426) states that a kind of impulse makes speakers choose the right form when speaking to children in the language acquisition stage. Therefore, the language of parenting (hereinafter referred to as parentese) spoken deliberately to children/babies, then supports Grice's views (Borge, 2013: 426–427).

Furthermore, controversy regarding the characteristics of BPA was raised by Schieffelin (2008: 3). The findings of Schieffelin, who researched the Kaluli community (in Ochs and Schieffelin, 2008: 3) and Ochs, who researched the Samoan community (in Ochs and Schieffelin 2008: 3) found that when interacting with children, caregivers used language like that addressed to adults in general. In both cultures, the primary focus of caregivers is to ensure that children demonstrate and understand appropriate behavior in particular social situations (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986: 173–74). The main purpose of parentese in both cultures is socialization, and children need to adapt themselves to the language used by adults. From these findings, Ochs and Schieffelin (2012: 10) then divided the communication orientation center in language socialization into two, namely child-centered (with characteristics as stated by Borge and previous psycholinguistic experts) and situation-centered (as they found in society Samoa and Kaluli).

In Java, interactions between caregivers and babies were studied by Smith-Hefner (1988). Smith-Hefner (Smith-Hefner, 1988: 170) compared the interaction between mother and baby in the Ciliwung community as a representation of urban Javanese society and the Tengger community as a representation of rural Javanese society. According to Smith-Hefner (Smith-Hefner, 1988: 174), there is little verbal interaction between caregivers and prelinguistic babies; Chatting with babies who are in the prelinguistic stage is rarely done by Javanese caregivers. This is caused by the belief that prelinguistic babies are considered clueless, 'not yet understanding'. Therefore, conversations between caregiver and baby are rare. When the baby begins to speak, the caregiver begins to socialize the Javanese language and socialize the baby's social position. Language socialization is carried out by caregivers greeting third people around them, such as neighbors, fathers, and so on. Smith-Hefner (Smith-Hefner, 1988: 194–195) states that the pattern of language socialization in Javanese society is in accordance with one of the socialization patterns coined by Ochs and Schieffelin, namely that babies must be able to adapt to the social situation around them, not the people around them, which adapts the situation to suit the baby's cognitive abilities.

However, Saraswati's research showed different results. In her research, Saraswati uses the term parentese and departs from an anthropological point of view on BPA in Java, precisely in Demak. The study focused on *ngudang*, which is the activity of playing with babies by making distinctive sounds and doing various movements that have been commonly shown by older people. This study found that *ngudang* is a form of communicative speech addressed by adults to infants, one of which has the function of language socialization. Based on the meaning of the word used, it is concluded that *ngudang* in Javanese society is grouped into *gadhang* (hope), *ngalem* (praise), and *ngujar-ujari* (advise). Meanwhile, based on the baby's age, *ngudang* can be in the form of press speech (pressure on certain parts of speech), *nyédhal*, and *timang beralun* speech (Javanese and Islamic songs).

Kurniawati's research conducted in a young family in Sleman, DIY found that direct, literal, explicit speech acts are the most widely used speech acts in BPA, which is mostly Indonesian. The goal is to make it easier for children to understand their parents' speech. This is evidence that parental interaction in children aged 4-5 years in the Sleman area has a child-centered orientation. From the analysis of speech acts, Sleman urban children are socialized with linguistic competence in various sentence modes and communicative competence in cooperation principles and implications in conversation. In addition, various sociocultural functions are indexed in BPA, such as politeness, life skills, the identity of self and others, expression of affection or affection, logic, and consequences for children's behavior through reward and punishment.

From these studies, further studies are still needed on babysitter-child interactions in Javanese society, one of which is in the Wonosobo region. Wonosobo is one of the regencies in the central part of Central Java Province. The regional language spoken in this region is Javanese which is influenced by the Banyumasan dialect and the Solo-Yogyakarta dialect (Wijayanti 2017) However, in the family realm, based on these pre-research observations, young parents choose Indonesian as the main code of communication with their children (compare: Kurniawati, 2021). Thus, this study seeks to answer the question, "How is the interaction of caregivers and preverbal babies in Wonosobo, Central Java?" This is particularly concerned with the forms of caregiver-infant interaction and the implications of using these forms of interaction(Wijayanti 2017)

## METHODOLOGY

The data used in this research are interactions that occur between caregivers and babies. Participants in this study were two Javanese families living in the urban area of Wonosobo, Central Java, who were expected to describe two cases of parentese use in Javanese families by mothers and/or caregivers for babies aged 0-1 years (0;4 and 1;6 years) in Wonosobo. Mothers and caregivers who became participants were based on the reason that they were the closest people to the baby in the early stages of life. The choice of baby age 0-1 year is to determine the characteristics of caregiver-infant interactions in the prelinguistic period.

The method used in this research is a method in psycholinguistics which is called the observational-natural method (Dardjowidjojo, 2000; 2008) and the interview method. In anthropology and language socialization, this method is called the ethnographic method. Observations in this study were carried out in three settings: when the caregiver bathed and then dressed the baby, when the baby ate/drank/fed, and when the baby and caregiver played together. This setting is three of the four situations that are the best background for interaction between children and caregivers as stated by Duursma (2016), namely at mealtime, (bathing and) dressing, reading books, and playing.

In this observation method, audio and video recording equipment is needed to record interactions between caregivers and babies so that analysis can reach the meaning of speech because kinesics and prosodic aspects are inseparable sources in an interaction. Besides that, notebooks are also used to record important information during the data collection process that cannot be recorded on a recording device. The question instrument in the structured interview is also designed to obtain the speaker's views, knowledge and intentions when interacting with the baby. The aim is to obtain an adequate explanation regarding the answers to questions from the formulation of this research problem.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

As stated by Clark (1994: 988–995), there are four elements involved in an interaction, namely (1) personnel elements, (2) shared background, (3) joint actions, and (4) contribution to the interaction. The personnel elements or people involved in a joint activity consist of speakers and speech partners (speakers and addressees), listeners (side participants), people who have access to the conversation and whose presence is acknowledged (bystanders), and eavesdroppers (eavesdroppers). Meanwhile, the element of shared background refers to the assumption that the speaker and speech partner have the same presuppositions and knowledge regarding the topic of conversation. The element of joint action refers to actions that basically have rules that are known to both the speaker and the speech partner. The contribution element is related to the existence of two stages in this joint activity process, namely the presentation stage by the speaker and the understanding stage by the speech partner. This includes conversational sequencing, adjacency pairs, and speech turns ('preference' and the organization of turn-taking).

In this research, the personnel elements involved in the interaction are caregivers (mother, babysitter, grandmother) and baby. In Family 1 (abbreviated as K1) there are mother (P11), caregiver (P12), grandmother (P13), and baby (B1). Meanwhile, those involved in the caregiver-baby interaction in family 2 (K2) were the mother (P21), caregiver (P22), grandmother (P23), and baby (B2). Babies in K1 are 0;4 years old. At this age babies are still in the preverbal stage. B1 can show expressions through crying, cooing, smiling, laughing, looking at their eyes, kicking their legs, holding their hands, or other movements. Meanwhile, B2 is 1;6 years old. Physically, he can walk well and coordinates his limbs well. From a linguistic perspective, B2 is starting to be able to pronounce holophrastic speech by pronouncing the final syllable of the word.

Apart from babies and caregivers, there are also other participants who can be involved in the interactions that occur between them, whether they are just listeners, have access to the conversation and have their presence acknowledged, eavesdroppers, or participants who are actively involved in the interaction. The participants were other caregivers, older siblings (Ka1, Ka2), fathers (A1, A2); whose existence has an influence on the interactions that occur. To limit the scope of the research, the participants' statements were not included as data in this study.

Meanwhile, the common background in this research is an understanding of the setting which is dominated by the caregiver's knowledge and understanding of the baby's competence and the baby's cognitive abilities in interaction. Based on Piaget's Cognitive Development Theory (in Santrock 2010: 24), newborn babies up to around 2 years old are in the sensorimotor stage, namely the stage where babies build an understanding of the world by coordinating sensory experiences (such as seeing and hearing) with physical and motor actions. Therefore, caregivers' understanding of the baby's development allows them to make adjustments when interacting with the baby.

The element of joint action in this research data, especially due to the baby's limited cognition, creates an asymmetrical position that places the caregiver as the more "powerful" party in the interaction. Because of this, caregivers can be more dominant or can also adapt in interactions.

Finally, the element of contribution is related to the presentation and understanding stages. This element creates a sequence of conversations, pairs side by side, and turns of speech whose presence can overlap. In this element, when the caregiver gives stimulants, the baby can react by staring, moving body parts, smiling, and so on. On the other hand, when the baby acts or reacts, the caregiver can give praise, comments, and so on.

For greater clarity, the various forms of interaction carried out by caregivers and babies in this study are presented in the following table.

TABLE 1. Various Forms of Caregiver and Infant Interaction

| Pengasuh                                 | Bayi  |
|--|---|
| Providing verbal stimulus                | Crying (B1, B2)   |
| Asking                                   | Smile (B1, B2)  |
| Telling Something                        | Laughter (B1, B2)   |
| Giving directions, invitations           | Looking (B1, B2)  |
| Give verbal responses to baby's behavior | Focus on self-activity (B1, B2)   |
| Praising                                 | Kicking (B1)  |
| Asking                                   | Grasping (B1)   |
| Forbiding                                | Cooing (B1)   |
| Imitates baby's behavior                 | Carrying out various independent activities (closing bottles, throwing things, pushing chairs) (B2) |
| <i>Ngudang</i>                           | Saying holophrastic speech (one word with the final syllable) (B2)                                  |
| Playing with babies (peek-a-boo, etc.)   | Ask and answer questions with one/two words at the end of a word (B2)                               |
| Play the role of a baby                  |   |

#### GIVING STIMULUS IN VERBAL FORM

Even though babies cannot interact verbally like adults in general, in these two families the caregivers appear to actively invite the babies to interact verbally. When interacting with babies, caregivers appear to use various verbal utterances as a form of stimulation in the interaction. Based on the data, these utterances are asking, telling, and giving directions.

#### ASK

Questions are a form of speech used by caregivers when interacting with babies. Cross-sectionally, the form of questions addressed to B1 are rhetorical questions. Consider the following example (1).

(1) P11: “*Anak siapa ini yang ganteng ini?*”

B1: (*menatap wajah P11 sambil menggerakkan tangan dan kaki*) (K1, 01/02/2022)

P11: ‘Whose handsome son is this?’

B1 : ‘(stares at P11's face while moving hands and feet)’ (K1, 01/02/2022)

(2) P12: “*Sama siapa, hem? Jalan-jalan sama siapa?*”

B1 : (*mendekut*)

P12: “*Sama Bapak?*” (K1, 01/02/2022)

P12: ‘With whom, hm? Who are you hanging out with?’

B1 : (cooing)

P12: ‘With Dad?’ (K1, 01/02/2022)

In both examples above, the caregiver does not require answer B1 (0;4). This question is asked as a form of stimulant in the interaction. In example (1), P11 stimulates B1 with a rhetorical question. B1's gaze is considered a contribution made by B1. Meanwhile, in example (2), B1's cooing is considered by P12 as a contribution so that P12 continues the interaction by asking another question, thereby making the interaction between P12 and B1 continue.

Meanwhile, stimulants in the form of questions addressed to B2 are questions that generally require answers. This is because L2 competence can already produce one-word utterances.

- (3) P21 : “*Ayahe siapa? Hmm? Ayahe siapa ... ayahe Dek Alisha siapa?*”  
B2 : “*Api....*” (K2, 04/04/2022)

P21: ‘Who is your father? Hmm? Who's daddy... Who's Alisha's daddy?’  
B2: ‘Api...’ (K2, 04/04/2022)

- (4) P25: “*Ikannya tu, Dek ... ikan opo? (menunjuk gambar ikan) he ... he ... apa to ini? (menunjuk gambar kuda)*”  
B2 : “*Uda hi....*”  
P23 : “*Gigi kuda ... kudanya siapa?*”  
P25 : “*Kudanya siapa?*”  
B2 : “*Tun.*” (K2, 04/04/2022)

P25: ‘That’s a fish, Dik... what kind of fish? (pointing to a picture of a fish) he... he... what is this?’ (points to a picture of a horse)  
B2: ‘Horse hi...’  
P23: ‘Horse teeth... whose horse is it?’  
P25: ‘Whose horse is it?’  
B2: ‘Tun.’ (K2, 04/04/2022)

In example (3) above, the question asked by P21 to B2 is a question that requires a response in the form of an answer. In this example, P21 asks B2 about his father's name, P21 repeats the question several times to attract attention and encourage B2 to answer the question. B2 then answered the question by saying his father's name "Api" 'Apri'. As for example (4), P25 asked the names of the animals in the picture book that B2 was playing with. When B2 did not answer P25's question, P23 repeated the question to encourage B2 to answer his question. From the two examples above, it appears that paraphrased repetition shows the caregiver's dominance in the interaction.

#### TELLING SOMETHING

When providing stimulants in interactions with babies, it is also common for caregivers to tell babies certain information. Although for B1 this is less relevant because he may not be able to understand, in the data there are various utterances that function to inform. Look at the two examples below.

- (5) P11: “*Emran dibedong biar anget.*” (K1, 01/02/2022)

P11: ‘Emran was swaddled to keep him warm.’ (K1, 01/02/2022)

- (6) P11: “*Emran renang ... di Ceria ... besok setelah imunisasi ....*” (K1, 01/02/2022)

P11: ‘Emran is swimming... at Ceria... tomorrow after immunization...’ (K1, 01/02/2022)

In both examples, P11 tells B1 about the thing or information that is being discussed. In example (5) P11 speaks to B1 while swaddling him. P11 explained the reason he swaddled B1. Meanwhile, in example (6), P11 tells the planned activities that B1 will carry out the next day.

In these two examples, B1 is positioned as a speech partner who can understand the information conveyed by the caregiver. Even though they are still in the prelinguistic period, the caregiver positions it as if the baby can understand the caregiver's speech.

Meanwhile, in example (7) below, P23, P24, and B2 are looking at the family photo album. P23 and P24 pointed to photos of family members while saying their names to B2. B2 was able to understand the information provided by the caregiver and B2 also responded by pointing to photos of family members who were informed by the caregiver while answering questions by saying their names.

- (7) P24 : *"Lagi, ini Alisha, ini kakak."* (menunjuk foto Alisha dan kakak Alisha)  
P23 : *"Ini Mbak Ivana"* (menunjuk foto Ivana)  
B2 : *"Ana ... Tatak ..."* (menunjuk foto Ivana dan kakak Alisha)  
P24 : (menunjuk foto Alisha) *"ini siapa?"*  
P2 : *"Sa..."* (K2, 31/04/2022)

P24: 'Again, this is Alisha, this is brother.' (points to a photo of Alisha and Alisha's sister)

P23: 'This is Mbak. Ivana' (pointing to Ivana's photo)

B2: 'Ana... Tatak...' (pointing to the photo of Ivana and Alisha's sister)

P24: (pointing to Alisha's photo) 'Who is this?'

P2 : 'Sa...' (K2, 04/31/2022)

#### GIVING DIRECTIONS, INVITATIONS

When providing verbal stimulation, caregiver data was also found in the form of giving directions and invitations. The following are examples in question.

- (8) P22: *"Duduk, ya ... Sini, duduk sini, sambil duduk ... Maem sambil du ... duk ... Sini!"* (menepuk kursi di sebelahnya) (K2, 04/04/2022) "

P22: 'Sit down, okay... Here, sit here, while sitting... Eating while sitting... Come here!' (K2, 04/04/2022)

In data (8), P22 instructed B2 to sit down because B2 was eating. The caregiver repeats the speech several times until the child sits according to the caregiver's directions. Afterwards, the caregiver patted the empty space next to him as a command with "Come here!" so that B2 sits in that place.

In the following example, there is a statement containing commands and prohibitions which are intended to stop B2 from doing things that could possibly endanger himself.

- (9) P23: *Basah ya Sha. Ambil tisu, Sha! Ambil tisu ...* (K2, 28/03/2022)

P23: "It's wet, Sha. Grab a tissue, Sha! Grab a tissue..." (K2, 03/28/2022)

In this example, P23 gives orders to B2 to get a tissue. As in several other examples, the caregiver also repeats the utterance more than once until L2 does what he is told.

Meanwhile, giving directions is not often found in interactions between caregivers in K1 and B1 because B1 is still aged 0;4. However, invitations and prohibitions as in the following example are found in P11's interactions with B1.

- (10)P11: *"Dung ... Dung ... Bangun ayo bangun ... jangan tidur lagi...."* (K1,01/02/2022)

P11: “Dung... Dung... Wake up, come on, wake up... don't sleep anymore....  
“ (K1,01/02/2022)

In this example, the caregiver asked B1 to wake up from sleep, then forbade him to sleep again with "don't sleep again" because bath time had arrived.

#### GIVING VERBAL RESPONSES TO BABY'S BEHAVIOR

As babies get older, they experience development through various stages. As stated by Piaget (in Santrock, 2010: 24), at the age of 0-2 years, babies are in the sensorimotor stage, namely the stage when they build an understanding of the world by coordinating sensory experiences (such as seeing and hearing) with physical and motor actions. B1 at the age of 0;4 is in the first habit substage and primary circular reaction (Santrock, 2010: 174). He can now grasp and suck (anything can be put in his mouth and sucked). Meanwhile, B2 is in the tertiary circular reaction substage, novelty and curiosity (Santrock, 2010: 174). B2 becomes interested in the many properties of objects and the many things that can be realized for objects; B2 also experiments with new behaviors, such as dropping glasses or corking bottles.

In terms of communication, long before babies utter recognizable words, they produce a number of vocalizations to practice making sounds, communicating, and to attract attention. The sequence pattern according to Sachs (in Santrock, 2010: 263) is crying (from birth), cooing (2-4 months), babbling (6 months); and vocabulary acceleration begins (B2; 1;6). Every development that B1 and B2 go through then produces a reaction from the caregiver, one of which is a verbal reaction. The caregivers' responses/comments can be in the form of praise, questions, prohibitions, or other comments.

Praise

In the following example, it can be seen that the baby's action of kicking (moving his legs) gives rise to a speech containing praise from P12.

(11) P12: “*Nggejol... nggejol ngono ya.... Pinter ya... Keri...keri.... Geli... geli mamak... geli ngono mamak....*” (K1, 01/02/2022)

P12: “Kicking... Kicking..., isn't it... Smart huh... ticklish... ticklish.... It's ticklish... it's ticklish, mamak... it's ticklish mamak...’ (K1, 01/02/2022)

(12) P23: *Oo ... Ditutup ... Pintere ... Anak pinter ya....* (K2, 04/04/2022)

P23: ‘Oo... You Close it... so smart... Smart kid huh...’ (K2, 04/04/2022)

In the two examples above, expressions that generally consist of praise for trivial things appear hyperbolic when conveyed to adults. However, in line with the baby's growth and development, the small developments that the baby goes through are a sign that the baby continues to grow and develop. Therefore, caregivers praise the baby's behavior.

In addition to giving praise as a caregiver's response to the baby's behavior, caregivers also give praise to the baby in response to their appearance. The following are examples of the praise in question.

(13) P11: *Alah ... alah ... wis ganteng ... wis cakep ...* (K1, 01/02/2022)’



P11: "Alah... alah... so handsome... so cute..." (K1, 01/02/2022)

(14) P23: *Anak pintar ya ... Alisha anak pintar ... Alisha cantik ...* (K2, 04/04/2022)

P23: Smart child... Alisha is a smart child... Alisha is beautiful... (K2, 04/04/2022)

In example (13), P11 praised B1 after B1 was neatly dressed after taking a shower. Meanwhile, in example (14) the caregiver praises B2 who is sitting calmly when P23 is holding her lap.

#### ASKING QUESTIONS

Not only with praise, the caregiver also gives responses to the baby's behavior in the form of questions. Consider the following two examples.

(15) (*terdengar suara kentut B2*)

P23 : "Hih, ngentut ... Siapa yang ngentut? Ini bunyi tut gitu."

P22 : "Siapa yang ngentut? Siapa yang ngentut, Dek?" (K2, 18/02/2022)

(B2's fart sound is heard)

P23: 'Hey, farting... Who's farting? It's a tut sound like that.'

P22: 'Who's farting? Who's farting, bro?'

(16) B2 : (*Menumpahkan teh*)

P22 : "Tu ... awas ... awas ... (*mengelap lantai*) (B2 mendekati P22) Ini siapa yang numpahin? Ini siapa yang numpahin ya?'

B2 : (Spills tea)

P22: 'Tu... watch out... watch out... (*wipes the floor*) (B2 approaches P22) Who spilled this? Who's the one who spilled it?'

In example (15), P23 and P22 commented on B2 who had just passed wind. P23 asked B2 which was repeated by P22. Both of them commented on B2's actions. Meanwhile, in example (16), P22's question to B2 is not intended to obtain an answer. Question, Who is this who spilled it? Who's spilling this? intended to warn B2 not to approach P22 who was wiping the floor.

Meanwhile, in the example below, comments on the baby's behavior are intended to elicit answers.

(17) B2 : (*tersedak*)

P22 : (*mengelus dada B2*) "Wuh ... wuh ... wuh ... pelan-pelan ... dah ... pelan pelan ... (*menunjukkan karet gelang di depan B2*) Ini apa ini? Ini apa? Ini ... ini apa namanya? ... Ka ...?"

B2 : Ret. (K2, 04/04/2022)

B2 : (choking)

P22: (*stroking B2's chest*) 'Wuh... wuh... wuh... slow down... dah... slow down... (*shows the rubber band in front of B2*) What is this? What is this? This... what is this called? ...Ka...?'

B2 : 'Ret.' (K2, 04/04/2022)

In data (17), B2 choked while drinking water. P22 then warned B2 to drink slowly. After that, P22 diverted attention by asking the name of the object in front of B2. P22 repeated the question several times, even helped provide clues by saying the initial syllable of the word Ka... and B2 answered.

#### GIVING DIRECTIONS, ORDERS, PROHIBITIONS

In example (17) in the previous section there is a direction given by P22 after B2 choked "Wuh...slow down...dah...slow down...slow down...." The instructions were given for B2 to drink slowly so as not to choke. As for example (18) below, the command was given by P23 because B2 did not eat the bread given. Meanwhile, in example (19), it appears that P23 conveyed a prohibition when B2 picked up rubbish and then intended to eat it. In the prohibition, P23 stated the reasons why B2 had to stop his actions. After B2 complied with the commands and prohibitions given, P23 then gave praise "Pintere" 'Smart, yes.' and affirmation by wiping it with a tissue.

(18) P23 : *"Alisha cantik, itu dimaem, Sha ... Rotine, Sha."* (K2, 04/04/2022)

P23: 'Alisha is beautiful, eat that bread, Sha... That bread, Sha.' (K2, 04/04/2022)

(19) P23 : *"Ga, ga, ni ga boleh dimaem. Jijik... Kotor... Ni... dilap pake tisu... Duduk sini duduk .... Tu ..."*

B2 : (Duduk)

P23 : *"Pintere .... Dilap pake tisu ya ...."* (K2, 28/03/2022)

P23: "No, no, you can't eat this. Disgusting... Dirty... Ni... wiped with a tissue... Sit here sit... Tu..."

B2 : (Sit)

P23: "Pintere.... Wipe it with a tissue, okay..." (K2, 03/28/2022)

#### IMITATES BABY'S BEHAVIOR AND MAKES OTHER COMMENTS

The baby's expressions in response to stimuli provided by the caregiver also give rise to a response from the caregiver through imitative actions or imitation of the baby's behavior. Check the example below.

(20) B1 : (mendekut)

P12 : (menirukan suara dekutan) *"He ... he ... he ... heeh ... heeh ... Kuwi tingak tinguk ... Kuwi ne tingak tinguk ... Pak Kukuhe ngeden ngeden ..."* (K2, 01/02/2022)

B1 : (cooing)

P12: (imitates cooing sound)

he...he...he... That (Emran's head) is turning around... It's turning around... Mr. Kukuhnya is straining...'

(21) B2 : *Apa? Apa? Apa?*

P23: *Apa? Ora gelem? Wingi ntek akeh karo ibue, karo maem dhewe....* (K2, 04/04/2022)

B2 : 'What? What? What?'

P23 : 'What? Don't want this? Yesterday she finished a lot of bread with her mother, and ate it herself...'

In example (20), P12's words received a response from B1 with P12's cooing then imitating the cooing. P12 also commented when B1 moved his head after hearing P12 imitate B1's cooing. As for example (21), P23 asked a question aimed at getting confirmation because B2 refused to eat the bread that P23 gave.

#### NGUDANG

Another form of interaction between caregivers and babies is nesting. Smith-Hefner (Smith-Hefner, 1988: 173) defines *ngudang* as a pleasant hum that caregivers sing to babies. Smith-Hefner added (Smith-Hefner 1988) that generally *ngudang* is done by singing traditional Javanese songs. In these songs, there are usually the caregiver's hopes for the child. Apart from singing traditional Javanese songs, the caregiver also plays notes following the rhythm in the gamelan. *Ngudang* is usually done when the child is crying. The caregiver will rock the child while humming certain songs or tunes so that the child calms down. Apart from that, *ngudang* is also done when putting the child to sleep. *Ngudang* is done to entertain children and build closeness with them.

In this research data, various types of snacks were found in caregiver-infant interactions. In the following example, for example, the form of kungan spoken is an imitation of the sound of a drum with its rhythm.

(22) P13: "*Dung dung dung... dung dung dung... tong tong dung tong tong tong dung dung tong tong tong tong dung tong dung dung*" (K1, 01/02/2022)

(23) P12: "*Tak dung tak nong tak dung tak gung ... tak dung tak nong tak dung tak gung gung gung ...*" (K1, 03/02/2022)

Meanwhile, in the example below, the caregiver sings a Javanese song whose lyrics and rhythm have been composed personally.

(24) P11: "*Siram siram dibayem... aduse banyu gege... Mas Emran gelis gedhe... ilang bajang sawane... kari sane kaleh slamete... siram siram dibayem yem... aduse banyu gege... Mas Emran gelis gedhe... ilang bajang sawane... kari sane kaleh slamete*" (Q1, 01/02/2022)

Example (24) is sung by P11 while bathing B2. However, P11 made additions and slight changes to the lyrics as well as the rhythm and tone. This song, which is commonly sung by Javanese caregivers when bathing babies, has meaning. *Water the spinach*: like watering spinach (a plant that grows easily), the child is expected to grow well without many problems; *adus banyu gege*: bathe in *gege* water ('water that is left in the sun from noon until evening so that the water becomes warm') to feel fresh and not cold because the water has been warmed by the sun; *ilang bajang sawane gari warase*: 'go away/disappear all diseases, stay healthy'. So, this song can be interpreted as a request that babies who are bathed can grow well and be kept away from all diseases; always be healthy. In the data, we also found caregivers who sang other Javanese songs, namely *Lelo Ledung*, *Jaranan*, *Cublak-Cublak Suweng*, and *Gundul-Gundul Pacul*. The explanation above aligns with Puspitasari's (2018) research in the East Java Community which found that this *ngudang* activity changes with time. The community then shifted to lullaby songs, popular songs, and even *salawatan* songs.

Playing with Babies

In interacting with the baby, the caregiver also invites the baby to play. These games are usually simple games that only involve the caregiver's body parts, such as peek-a-boo or tickling the baby's body. When playing this game, the caregiver will show exaggerated facial expressions, such as surprised expressions smiling broadly, to attract the baby's attention. These games are played to entertain babies, build closeness with babies, and stimulate babies. The game is played when the caregiver and baby are relaxing, such as after the baby has bathed or eaten. An example is in the following data.

(25) B1 : (*mendekut*)

P15 : "*Ciluk ... Ba....*" (K1, 2/2/2022)

B1 : (*cooing*)

P15: "*Peekaboo... Ba....*" (Q1, 2/2/2022)

(26) P23: (*menggelitiki B2*) "*Tik kitik kitik kitik ... Kecetit kayane sek bagian sini.*"

B2 : "*Pun....*"

B22 : "*Ampun....*"

P23: (*tickling B2*) "*Tick tick tick tick tick...he must be hurt at this part.*"

B2: "*Sto...*"

B22: "*Stop...*"

In data (25), it can be seen that the caregiver invited B1 to play peek-a-boo when B1 was cooing. The game of peek-a-boo is done by covering your face with your hands or a certain object, then opening it so that you can see it again. This simple game can provide stimulation and can build the concept of objects that can appear and disappear as well as the existence of rotational interactions which become a scaffold in the rules of interaction (Santrock, 2010: 397).

Meanwhile, in data (26) the caregiver invites B2 to play by tickling him. In this data, it appears that B2 responded by saying "pun" 'ampun'. The other caregiver repeated B2's statement to clarify the statement. These games function interactively and bring the baby closer to the caregiver.

ROLE PLAYING AS A BABY

One form of interaction between the caregiver and the baby is the caregiver playing the role of the baby. When playing the role of a baby, the caregiver will change the way he speaks so that it seems as if he is playing the role of the baby being cared for. This is done by raising intonation, slowing down the tempo of speech, greeting oneself with the baby's name and so on, as well as greeting the people around him with greetings like Mbak, Mas, Sis, etc. in accordance with the greeting that the baby should say according to his preferences. intended. Consider the following example.

(27) P11: "*Aku gendut ... Aku gendut ... kaya Yayah ... Aku tu gendut, kaya Yayah. Iya ... Kaya Yayah.*" (K1, 01/02/2022)

P11: "*I'm fat... I'm fat... like Yayah... I'm fat, like Yayah. Yes... like Yayah.*" (K1, 01/02/2022)

(28) P11: *Ba ... Ba ... Aku mau basketan dulu ya, Bu ... Emran mau basketan dulu ... Emran mau basketan dulu ... Emran nomor dua tiga empat. Nomor dua tiga, pakainya hot pant.... (K1, 01/02/2022)*

P11: *Ba... Ba... I want to play basketball first, Mom... Emran wants to play basketball first... Emran wants to play basketball first... Emran number two, three four. Number two three, wear hot pants.... (Q1, 01/02/2022)*

From the two examples above, it can be seen that the deixis of the persona I and Emran's personal name shows that P11 plays the role of B1. P11 seems to be B1 who is speaking. When playing the role of a baby, P11 often repeats his words several times to get a reaction from the baby, such as changes in expression, cooing, squealing, and so on.

Humans basically have an innate desire to communicate with one another. This Lee, Mikesell, Joaquin, Mates, and Schumann (2009, in Ellis 2015:26) referred to as "interactional instinct". Based on the analysis in this study, there were various forms of interaction between caregivers and babies in two families in Wonosobo, Central Java. As in interaction, there are elements of personnel, common settings, joint actions, and contributions between participants.

The personnel elements involved in the interaction are the baby and his caregivers. Caregivers understand that babies still have various limitations. The caregiver's knowledge that the baby is still in the sensorimotor stage (see Piaget in Santrock, 2010: 24) becomes the basis for him to place himself in an asymmetrical position in interaction: in a more dominant position. Therefore, the verbal speech of the caregivers is conveyed as a stimulus and response to the baby's behavior.

Forms of verbal interaction as stimuli are conveyed by caregivers through questions; ad; giving directions, invitations, and commands. Crying (B1, B2), smile (B1, B2), laughter (B1, B2), eye gaze (B1, B2), foot kicks or hand movements (B1), grip (B1), squeaking (B1), answers to questions (B2) are considered responses or turns of interaction played by the baby. Thus, there is a sequence of interactions, pairs side by side, as well as a turn of interaction that becomes an element of the contribution of the caregiver and baby in the interaction.

Meanwhile, when the baby cries, smiles, laughs, kicks, grasps, moves independently, asks (B2), and asks (B2) will elicit various verbal responses from caregivers. The caregiver's response to the baby's behavior is seen in various forms of praise, questions, prohibitions, and imitations of the baby's behavior. From this, it also appears that there is a sequence of interactions, pairs side by side, and the turn of relevant interactions.

Caregivers shed babies in a variety of settings, such as when bathing, playing together, or especially when the baby is fussy. This warehouse can be a stimulus or response to the baby's behavior. Similarly, when playing roles as a baby and inviting babies to do simple games. All three can be a stimulus in parenting, can also be a response. The goal is to make the baby feel calm and comfortable. Attention through the baby's eyes and calmness is a sign that the baby is fine. Thus, in caregiver-infant interactions, joint actions and contributions are made by both parties according to their respective asymmetric roles in the interaction.

These various forms of interaction are evidence that caregivers include babies in interactions as stated by Holzman (1984). This also supports the opinion of Snow (1977) who states that although there are differences in cognition and even though the baby/ child does not really understand the mother's speech, the mother still shows her speech to the baby in their interactions. Therefore, these forms of parent-child interaction become an emotional bond between parents and children as well. De Bellis and Thomas (Azizah et al., 2024) stated that child neglect is a type of violence against children. One of these negligence can be in the form of emotional neglect (lack of attention, emotional support, or competence).

In addition, based on the results of the interview, the caregiver stated that through interaction with the baby, they will be able to establish a bond and closeness with the baby. In parenting, encouraging development while making babies feel comfortable, active in activities, and not crying (P11, interview 04 July 2022) is important. Therefore, caregivers actively involve the baby in interactions. The results of interviews with P11, P12, P13, P23 (interview 05 July 2022) also found that caregivers invite babies to interact is not only intended to communicate, entertain, keep babies calm, but also encourage the development of infant language acquisition indirectly. The hope is that someday babies can become part of their language community because they are proficient in language.

Moreover, P22 (interview 05 July 2022) said that in his hometown (in one of the villages in Wonosobo), there is a belief that parents who rarely invite babies to talk are at risk of having babies who experience speech delays. If so, parents should talk about 'bathing the baby with special flowers' so that the baby's language development is not delayed.

P11 and P21 (mother) (interview 05 July 2022) start talking to the baby since they are still in the womb. As P11 and P12 point out, greeting and talking to babies is instinctive, especially when babies show activity (moving, kicking, stretching) in the womb. P11 states that he talked while stroking the abdomen, where the baby's movements appeared. He did it more often after knowing the benefits of inviting babies to talk from parenting science. She learned parenting from social media, the internet, books, and special meetings. In addition to talking, P11 also often plays babies to the Qur'an and classical music.

Thus, caregivers in Wonosobo do not wait for the baby to reach the verbal stage to start verbal interaction with the baby. This is different from the results of Smith-Hefner's research on the Ciliwung and Tengger communities. The study found that the interaction between caregivers and children in Java focused on physical interaction. In this interaction, the caregiver moves the child's limbs and imitates the movements in traditional Javanese dances. Because caregivers assume that children 'do not understand', children are not involved in verbal interactions.

## CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

This study found that caregivers in two families interacted with the babies actively. They don't wait for the baby to be in the verbal period to interact verbally with the baby. In other words, this research confirms Borge's (2013: 424) view which states that mothers invite babies to participate in interactions.

The development of babies becomes a background of knowledge for them to adapt so that forms of interaction can be carried out by providing verbal stimuli. This stimulus is delivered by asking, informing, and/or prohibiting. Furthermore, interaction also occurs in the form of verbal responses to the baby's behavior which is conveyed by praising, asking or prohibiting. Caregivers also utilize nonverbal interactions by holding the baby, playing the role of the baby, and inviting the baby to play simple games, both as a stimulus and response in interacting with the baby. The elements of joint action and the baby's contribution in this research can be a response or even a stimulus provided by the baby. The baby's stimulus or response is in the form of crying, smiling, laughing, looking/eye contact, kicking the legs or hand movements, grasping, cooing, or answers to questions (especially B2 because they can produce holophrastic speech).

Thus, the results of this study are different from those stated by Smith-Hefner (1988) that Javanese caregivers rarely carry out interactions with babies who are in the prelinguistic stage. On the other hand, this research supports the findings of Saraswati (2015) and Kurniawati (2021) who concluded that both verbal and nonverbal interactions are not

uncommon and are found in various types of caregiver-baby interactions. In addition, the center of communication orientation is in the child, namely that the caregiver adapts to the child's abilities. This research also finally concluded that the basis for interaction built by caregivers was a form of elaboration of Grice's views regarding the purpose of interaction. If Grice (Borge, 2013: 426–427) states that every speaker hopes that his speech can be understood or understood well by his speech partner, in this research it was found that in his interactions with babies, caregivers hope that the interaction will at least get attention from the baby (such as to entertain or makes the baby feel calm) and furthermore, the interaction is then expected to become material for language socialization in children.

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