

APPENDIX A1

**ORTHOGRAPHIC TRANSCRIPTION OF THE CONVERSATION
BETWEEN MOTHER A AND CHILD A**

- Situation** At the backyard. There were Mother A, Eyang, and Obs playing altogether with Child A.
- Mother A /bela+ada tamu/
 Child A (*pointing her fingers toward Obs*)
 Obs /ditunjuk ya kalau ada tamu ya?+mana mama dik?/
 Child A (*pointing her fingers toward Mother A*)
 Obs /oh+itu mama/
 Mother A /papa di mana papa?/
 Child A (*pointing her fingers toward the house, she was referring to a picture of her father on the wall*)
 Mother A /eyang mana eyang?/
 Child A (*babbling*)
 Mother A /eyang mana?+itu lho/
 Child A (*pointing her fingers toward Eyang*)
 (*All laughed*)
 Obs /iya? itu ya dik ya/
 Child A /wo/
 Mother A /ini namanya apa nak?/
 Child A (*unintelligible, 3 syllables*)
 Mother A /kayak punya bella ya+tapi bagus ini)

- Obs /apa?+kipas?/
- Mother A *(realising that child A was referring to the recorder)* /bukan+yang punya bella itu radio + bukan tape/
- Child A /aak/
- Mother A /iya+kayak punya bella ya/
- Child A *(babbling)*
- Mother A /matur apa?/
- Child A /atu/
- Mother A /ndak pareng + itu ireng semua kena batu + nakal++nek kotor piye/
- Child A /wau/
- Mother A /liaten tanganmu wis ireng kabeh iku lho/
- Child A /uku/
- Obs /yang nggungting kuku siapa dik?/
- Child A /wau/
- Mother A /mama/ *(last syllable was lengthened)*
- Child A /wuwuwu/
- Mother A /yok masuk yok/
- Child A /hm?/
- Mother A /sama mama iya?++ sudah maem?/
- Child A /lum/
- Mother A /maem dulu sama mama yuk + mantuk + piye?/
- Obs *(smiling)*
- Mother A /yuk maem dulu + yut tilah yut tilak ayuk ayuk/
- (The party moved inside the house, into the livingroom. Eyang got into the kitchen. Lala joined the party)*
- Child A *(taking the recorder)*

- Mother A /eh+nggak pareng nggih+nggak pareng/
 Obs /jarno mbak/
 Mother A /nek iku ditarik + wah/
 Child A /tateguguk/ (*starting to cry because mother A took the recorder from her*)
 Mother A /nggak kok nggak kok+ kok kok kok kok/
 (*after a while*) /nanti dawah + pecah nggih + nggih? + nggih? + nek nggih piye?/
 Child A (*nodding, pulling the recorder from mother A's hand*)
 Mother A /nakal+slentik lho engko/
 Child A (*walking slowly to another room*)
 Mother A /lenggah kono + lenggah lenggah + piye? tante gitu + lenggak lenggok/
 (*Child A almost dropped the recorder*)
- Mother A /aa/
 Obs /bawa sini ayo bawa ke tante/
 Mother A /dawah lho dawah++ bawa pelan-pelan+ini tante/
 Obs /ayo sini + sudah makan/
 Mother A (*whispering loudly*) /dawah lho dawah+++sudah maem? + belum/
 Obs (*pointing to self*) /ini siapa ini?/
 Mother A /tante+siapa+tante+iya?/
 Obs /siapa ini?/
 Mother A /tante ++ bella mana nak + bella mana?/
 Child A /huah/ (*reaching the recorder*)
 Obs /gambarnya sapi/ (*pointing a sticker of a cow on the recorder*)
 Mother A /gambarnya sapi mana nak? +punya bella mana?+maem ya?/
 Child A /hm/ (*pointing the sticker*)

- Mother A /iya gambarnya sapi +++ lampu+lampu-lampunya sama yang ini ya?+yang itu besar ya? he-em?++podo ya?/
- Child A *(turning off the recorder)*
- Obs *(turning on the recorder)*
- (Child A turned off the recorder two times and each time I turned on the recorder again)*
- Obs /nanti tante lhak ndak bisa ngrekam/
- Mother A /ndak pareng nak ndak pareng+ jam+jam/ *(pointing her finger toward a clock)*
- Obs /tunjukkan tante sini mana jam?/
- Mother A *(talking to Lala)* /la+jupukno radione de'e/
- (talking to child A)* /jangan nanti punyanya tante rusak/
- (talking to Obs)* /ht-ne bapake soale rusak/
- (talking to child A)* /apa?/
- Child A *(angry because mother A took the recorder)*/haeh/
- Mother A *(changing the topic)* /lha ini/ *(taking the radio from Lala's hand)* /di radio++ini radio/
- Child A *(dropping the radio)*
- Mother A /ngene ki loh+sopo sing gak tir-tir jajal nek ngono iku +nggak pareng/
- Child A /kukugagah/
- Mother A /ngomong apa nek arep nyuwun?+ nyuwun tante/ *(giving a model by putting one palm on the other)*
- Child A *(doing as mother A told her)*
- Obs *(surprised)* /eh ngerti/
- Mother A /dawah nak+lenggah+tapi lenggah/
- Child A *(babbling)* /haeh/
- Mother A *(relief)* /lha ngono kuwi/

Obs /kok mesti tombol stop-e/

Mother A /te+ngono ya?/

Child A /cit cit cit hah/ (*with high pitch*)

Mother A /ngampil gitu + ngampil + nggih/

Obs /nggih/

(Child A became restless)

Mother A /gambarnya sapi iku/

Child A /cacacaca/ (*trying to reach the recorder*)

Mother A (*telling Obs*) /pegang maksudnya/

Obs /oh/

Mother A /dilepas bella+ayo maem maem/

-----Stop-----

APPENDIX A2

**ORTHOGRAPHIC TRANSCRIPTION OF THE CONVERSATION
BETWEEN MOTHER B AND CHILD B**

Situation In the livingroom. Mother B and child B were playing while Obs was observing them.

Mother B /where's the bear?+++ where's the bear?/

Child B (*showing a picture of a bear on her t-shirt*)

Mother B /ambilkan buku ceritanya aja ya /
(*telling Obs*) /dia suka kok/

(*The party moved into another livingroom*)

Mother B /sini Chen ++ what is this Chen?/

Child B /monkey/

Mother B (*showing a hamdphone toy*) /Chen+say halo halo gitu/

(*Child B opened a storybook, looking at it page by page. Obs asked permission to go to the toilet*)

Child B /nyanyi+nyanyi yah+nyanyi+nyanyi yah/

Mother B /nyanyi? + tacik shirley dulu yah/

Child B /telfon/

(*Mother B ushered Obs to the toilet*)

Mother B /what's your name?/

- Child B /i chen i chen/
 Mother B (*saying something with soft voice*)
 Child B /yuk/
 Mother B (*pointing a picture of a tiger*)
 Child B /my name ++ lion/
 Mother B /lion?/
 Child B /lion + yah/
 Mother B /this?/
 Child B /yah/
 Mother B /what is this? what is this?/
 Child B (*the answered was not heard*)
 Mother B /lovely lovely/
 Child B (*looking at another picture*)
 Mother B /what is this?/
 Child B /owl/
 Mother B (*pointing another picture silently*)
 Child B /dile/ (*she meant 'crocodile'*)
 Mother B /what is this?/
 Child B /sissed/
 Mother B /lizard/
 Child B /cicak cicak didinding + diam-diam merayap+ datana++ yap+lalu
 ditangkap+hap/
 Mother B /ditangkap/
 Child B /fish++fish+fish+fish/
 Mother B /fish?/
 Child B /fish a fish + fish fish/
 Mother B /oh fish/

- Child B /fish fish fish fish/
 Mother B /this is a shark/
 Child B /shak/
 Mother B (*quoting part of a reading passage*) /fish + fishermen have very good
/
 Child B /fish + fish + fish + fish + yek/ [*unintelligible*]
 Mother B /hah?/
 Child B /ah/
 Mother B (*whispering something*) /sing+sing i chen/
 Child B /la la la/ (*loudly*)
 Mother B /wait i chen ya/
 Child B /ya/
 Mother B (*handing child B a handphone toy*) /halo engkong gitu+bilang/
 Child B /hm/
 Mother B /lho?+kong/
 Child B (*looking at the toy*)
 Mother B /halo/
 Child B /lo/
 Mother B /a ying/
 Child B /aying + aying ni yah++njuk njuk+ ayinya ya? ya? aya? halo ada?/
 (*putting down the toy, looking at the books again*)
 Mother B /okay+ a monkey + halo monkey/
 Child B /monkey + e ya+ epa ? + muah + a monkey/
 Mother B (*pointing a picture*)
 Child B /poldy/
 Mother B /hm + gali/
 Child B /nyanyi yah/

- Mother B /nyanyi apa?/
- Child B /hm?/
- Mother B /nyanyi apa i chen/
- Child B /paint my love/
- Mother B /o paint my love/
- Child B (*singing*) /paint my love+will you paint / (*her voice got softer*)
/nyanyi yah/
- Mother B /nyanyi apa?/
- Child B /paint my love/ (*signalling that she wanted mother B to sing*)
- Mother B /ya i chen dulu ++ paint my love/
- Child B (*looking at a pair of sandals*)
- Mother B /what is this?++ sandal+ whose sandal?/
- Child B /cicik/
- Mother B /ayo nyanyi i chen++ happy birthday to you/
- Child B /happy ... (*babbling*) .. to you/
- Mother B /happy birthday to you/
- (*Mother B then elicited child B to mention names of some animals: horse, monkey, dolphin, owl, tortoise and lizard*)
- Child B /lizard/
- Mother B /lizard?/
- Child B /yah + ++ tangkap fish/
- Obs /fish?/
- Child B /ya/
- Mother B /tangkap fish yok di belakang/
- Child B /yah/
- Mother B /auntie juga tangkap fish ya?/

Child B /iya/

(The party moved to the backyard)

Mother B /ikannya ndak ada gitu/

(Child B had watched the fish for some time before she sat. Mother B laughed. Child B urinated with her pants on. While mother B was changing child B's underwear, there was someone nextdoor crying)

Mother B /sapa nangis? + koko sandro ya?/

Child B /nggak/

Mother B /koko michael atau koko sandro?

Child B /ndro/

(The party returned into the livingroom. Mother B and child B started playing hide-and-seek. After a while, they got tired. Child B put on her sandals)

Mother B /lo+sandalnya baru ya+iya?/

Child B /lu/

Mother B /hah sudah kotor + sapa belikan sandal?/

Child B /cicik/

Mother B /cicik?+++ where's the poldy?/

Obs /this is poldy?/

Mother B /ya?/

Obs /ya?/

Mother B /this is poldy auntie++ this is/

Father B /hai/ *(showed up)*

(Child B rushed away to get father B)

Father B /say daddy/

Child B /daddy/

-----Stop-----

APPENDIX A3

**ORTHOGRAPHIC TRANSCRIPTION OF THE CONVERSATION
BETWEEN MOTHER C AND CHILD C**

- Situation** In the livingroom. There were mother C, Putri, child C, and Obs.
- Mother C /anaknya sapa sih mila? + anaknya siapa?/
- Child C /buk/
- Mother C /anaknya siapa? ++ lho? + anaknya siapa? oo + anaknya mama +++
mama mana?/
- (Child C looked over a newspaper)*
- Child C /owa ati itok orang ati/ (*pointing a picture*)
- Mother C /mana?+ o orang mati ++ orang mati ya+ o ini nangis+ o orangnya
nangis+ tunjukin tante ++ini tante orang nangis tante/
- Obs /mana orang nangis? apa itu? orang mati/
- Child C /mati/
- Obs /orang mati/
- Child C /mati/
- Mother C /yang nangis mana?/
- Child C /ini/ (*pointing a picture*)
- Mother C /itu nangis?+nangis itu? siapa? mas ya?/
- Child C /emas/
- Obs /mbaknya ada?/
- Child C /bapaknya/
- Obs /o nangis + soalnya ada yang mati ya++itu bawa apa itu?/

Child C /hah?/
 Obs /bawa apa ini?/
 Putri /daun/
 Mother C (laughing) /daun!/
 Child C /bunga/
 Mother C /bunga/
 Obs /trus pake baju apa warnanya/
 Child C /unik/
 Mother C /kuning/ (laughing)
 Obs /yang mana kuning?/
 Child C /ini/
 Mother C (correcting) /itu apa itu? pu..../
 Child C /putih/
 Obs /o ada yang ketawa/
 Child C /tawa/
 Mother C /mana?/
 Child C /ini/
 Mother C /wah ini ketawa ta?! (laughing)/yang pake baju putih mana aja?/
 Child C /ini/
 Mother C /terus?/
 Child C /ini/
 Mother C /itu kuning++terus?/
 Child C /ini/
 Mother C /itu apa namanya+ngawur/
 Obs /kalo mati sedih nggak?/
 Child C /nggak/
 Mother C /nggak!/ (laughing)

- Obs /nggak?! (*laughing*)
- Child C /tawa/
- Mother C /masak ketawa kalo mati/
- Child C /iya/
- Obs /iya ++ mbak ada di sini?/
- Putri /nggak ada/
- Child C /nggak ada
- Obs /nggak ada? +hm/ (*putting down the newspaper*) /bisa nyanyi apa?/
- Mother C /naik-naik se++naik-naik../
- Child C /naik-naik ke puncak gunung/ (*singing*)
- (*Child C saw her uncle*)
- Child C /ataca/
- Mother C (*seeing child C touched something*)/tazos itu++apa itu?/
- Child C /tacos/
- (*Mother C took a book*)
- Mother C (*showing a picture*)/ ini apa?/
- Child C /tu/
- Mother A /a.../
- Child C+Putri /ayam/
- Mother C /ini apa?/
- Child C /dera/
- Mother C /ini apa nak? bu.../
- Child C /dera/
- Mother C /ini lho+bu../
- Child C /buku/
- Mother C /he'e+ini?/
- Child C /apu/

Mother C	<i>/capung+ini?/</i>
Child C	<i>/cabel/</i>
Mother C	<i>/apa ini?/</i>
Putri	<i>/api/</i>
Child C	<i>/aci/</i>
Mother C	<i>/ini?/</i>
Child C	<i>/abe/</i>
Obs	<i>/ember itu/</i>
Mother C	<i>/bu../</i>
Child C	<i>/bu-u/</i>
Mother C	<i>/burung + ini?/</i>
Child C	<i>/heyo/</i>
Mother C	<i>/helem+ini apa?/</i>
Child C	<i>/ika/</i>
Mother C	<i>/ikan/</i>
Obs	<i>/kalo ini?/</i>
Child C	<i>/kupu-kupu/</i>
Mother C	<i>/ini?/</i>
Child C	<i>/guyu/</i>
Obs	<i>/kangguru ya/</i>
Mother C	<i>/ini?/</i>
Child C	<i>/ika/</i>
Mother C	<i>/ho? ikan yang besar ini + ikan apa?/</i>
Child C	<i>/ika + cupa-cupa/</i>
Mother C	<i>/cupa-cupa+ini?/</i>
Child C	<i>/opi/</i>
Mother C	<i>/o mobil+apa ini?/</i>

- Child C /odo/
- Mother C /o odol+mila bisa gosok gigi?/
- Child C /di ndi/
- Mother C /di kamar mandi+iya gimana+ isik isik isik+++tante tunjukkan gambarnya apa ini++ gambarnya apa nak?/
- Child C /payo/
- Obs /payung? warna-warni ya payungnya/
- Mother C /kalau ini?/
- Child C (*kept silent*)
- Mother C /sepatu/
- Child C /atu/
- Mother C /kalo ini/
- Child C /atu/
- Mother C /serigala/
- Child C /gaya/
- Obs /kalo ini?/
- Child C /uwa/
- Mother C (*laughing*) /ular/
- Child C /uya/
- Mother C /ulo!++ini/
- Child C /cas/
- Mother C /ini apa ini?/
- Child C /sapu/
- Mother C /ini apa? ini?/
- Child C /[*unintelligible*]/
- Mother C /kepiting!+bukan kepiting+kalo gini nak u...dang+ udang ekornya gini lho udang/

- Child C /uda/
 Mother C /sama ya ada capitnya++yang ada ekornya itu udang ya/
 Child C /koko!/
 Mother C /koko/
 Obs /koko? kok bisa koko?/
 Child C /[unintelligible]/
 Mother C /papaku khan punya + itu lho + siamang++kasih nama koko/
 Child C /koko/
 Obs /semua? semua siamang?/
 Mother C /he'e/
 Child C /cabe/
 Mother C /bukan+bukan cabe+kuning gitu lho++wor.../
 Child C /tel/

(Mother C took a family album)

- Mother C /tunjukkan tante ini gambarnya siapa/
 Child C /iya/
 Mother C /ini fotonya siapa nak?/
 Child C /icik/
 Mother C /mbak.../
 Child C /mbak icik/
 Mother C /kalo ini? yang kecil ini?/
 Child C /iya/
 Obs /seneng ya difoto+ini foto siapa sih?/
 Child C /ibu/
 Obs /ibu siapa sih itu?/
 Child C /ibu iya/

Mother C /ini?/

Child C /ataca/

Mother C /o mas nanda++sapa aja ini?/

Child C /mbak ica/

---Stop---

Babbling Sounds. As old as sixteen months, babbling sounds occurred largely in child A's language development. Babbling sounds at this age were shorter than before. When child A was younger, her babblings mostly consisted of vowel sounds and they were usually continuous. At 1;4, child A also vocalized consonantal sounds within the babbling sounds, like /mam mam mam/.

In my opinion, some of the babbling sounds, as a matter of fact, were not real babblings anymore. They might have been developed into private language.¹⁴ Anyhow, I still include them in the babbling sounds because the pronunciation was not clear, the stresses were not similar with adults' utterances, and the utterances were unintelligible,¹⁵ even by mother A.

We can see that the similarities between child's pronunciation and motherese were not clearly shown in the data. Child A was still unable to produce sounds like what mother A had shown her. It was because her speech devices were not mature yet. We also see that child A did not adjust her pronunciation with motherese. It seemed that child A still found her own pronunciation satisfying for her. Eventhough people did not understand what she meant when she used babbling sounds, child A did not show a great deal of disappointment.

¹⁴ I use the term private language as to label children's language which are not babbling sounds anymore but the forms and meanings are unintelligible for adults.

¹⁵ Therefore, it is quite hard to transcribe child A's utterances. The pauses were not clear and one syllable came after another in quick succession. However, I kept trying to interpret the meanings based on the context.

On the contrary, mother A did a lot of adjustment in her motherese. Since child A often said /aca aca/, mother A sometimes uttered the same things as if she herself babbled. Mother A also transformed some sounds, for instance the [l] and [r] sounds, into other sounds although she was able to produce the target sounds. In this case, motherese was influenced by the child's language.

3.1.1.2 The Vocabulary

It was not easy to distinguish whether child A was referring to a particular object or an action when she said a tone-group. Most of child A's utterances were unintelligible because they consisted of babbling sounds, bursting, laughing, accompanied by gestures. Only few tone-groups were successfully recorded and transcribed.

Table 3.1.1 Sounds Produced by Child A Based on Mother A's Record

Sounds Produced	Semantic Concept
/papa/	child A's father
/mamam/	mother A
/aca aca/	interesting objects
/aak/	protesting something
/eh/, pointing an object	wants something
/aa/	<i>Evang.</i> grandmother
/ava/	<i>Lala</i> , the servant
/apah?/	interesting objects

Based on the interview with the mother A, child A had acquired some words when this recording was conducted. The words are listed in table 3.1.1 above.

Based on the recording, there were some other tone-groups which child A was able to produce. Those tone-groups are shown in table 3.1.2.

Table 3.1.2 Sounds Produced by Child A Based on The Recording

Sounds Produced	Semantic Concept
<i>/aark/</i>	Bella's, child A's belongings
<i>/uku/</i>	<i>kuku</i> , fingernails
<i>/lum/</i>	<i>belum</i> , not yet
<i>/hach/</i>	disappointment, insisting

According to table 3.1.1 and 3.1.2, most of child A's words and tone-groups were nouns and most of the nouns were terms of address. The words like */papa/*, */mama/*, */aya/*, and */aa/* were the utterances which had taken forms like adults' words. Therefore, they could be distinguished easily.

According to table 3.1.1 and 3.1.2 above, a few of child A's words and tone-groups were verbs. The verbs were not only related to the actions which child A wanted to do. The verbs also dealt with the actions that child A wanted other people to do, for example fetching child A's radio, giving her what she wanted, et cetera.

There were not many words or tone-groups which child A uttered in the recording. I observed that most of the time, child A performed particular actions if she wanted to express something. The actions were not necessarily accompanied by verbal expressions (as I expected earlier). For example, when child A saw a balloon,

she showed her palms, begging the balloon. Mother A knew what child A wanted because child A's action related to the current context.

Connection with Behavioral Context. When she wanted something, child A showed her palms and begged the things. The action was similar from time to time, but the verbal expressions were changed from time to time. Therefore, there was not enough evidence to say that child A primarily used context-bound words.

I observed that child A used contextually-flexible words more than the context-bound words. For example, she said /papa/ when she met her father and she said the same word when she saw her father's photograph on the wall. Child A also said /papa/ when she saw her father's cap on the table or her father's uniform. She labelled all of those objects with the same word because the objects shared the same property: child A's father.

It seemed that child A often overextended or even mismatched objects and their meanings. In the above example, child A also said /papa/ when she saw her father's colleagues wearing the same uniforms as her father. Child A even stretched her arms to hug the men.

The data showed that child A rarely referred to the objects which were absent. Child A was not able to recall absent objects unless the objects were very familiar to her, for example mother A or her favourite radio. However, such things

did not frequently happen. This meant that most of child A's words were nominal contextually-flexible.

Considering the behavioral context, the compatible motherese for all words shown in Table 3.1.1 and 3.1.2 were contextually flexible. Based on the interview, mother B was able to mention more than one object as her referents for each word mentioned in Table 3.1.1 and 3.1.2.

Deixis. Deictic words were not recorded in the recording. According to the interview, mother A sometimes employed demonstrative words. Child A sometimes understood the meanings of such utterances since the utterances were accompanied by understandable gestures. For instance, mother A often accompanied her speeches with hand waving, signaling that mother A wanted child A to come closer. Child A herself often made such gestures without performing any verbal expression. It seemed that the non-verbal features were more significant for child A.

The Vocabulary of Motherese. Motherese of mother A suited the theory proposed by Taylor since it consisted of a great deal of baby words. The baby words in motherese resulted from the adjustment which mother A did. Some words which could be judged as baby words were /maem/, /yut tilah yut tilah ayuk ayuk/, /nggak kok nggak kok kok kok/, /beya/, /yaya/, and /cacacaca/.

3.1.1.3 The Sentence-Forms

According to the data, child A did not completely understand how to deal with statements, questions, and commands. It was known through her reaction which often did not suit the expectancy of mother A. When mother A asked her something, child A often ignored the question. The fact that child A had not known how to deal with those functional expressions was shown in her own utterances. Child A's suprasegmental features were almost the same from one utterance to another. Her tone when she was angry and when she was happy were relatively similar and hard to distinguish, unless we saw her facial expressions.

Single-Word Utterances. The data showed that single-word utterances have not occurred a lot in child A's utterances. They occurred only in proper names of known objects, such as /papa/, /mama/, /yaya/. The rest of her utterances were largely mixed with babbling sounds.

According to the theoretical framework, one-word utterances often function as if they were sentences. It might be true but since child A rarely produced distinct holophrases, further analysis cannot be done.

Two-word Utterances. Two-word utterances did not occur in the child A's utterances. In point of fact, there were some lengthy tone-groups which child A produced. However, since they were not distinct and their meanings were not

understandable, I include them in babbling sounds and not in the two-word utterances.

Table 3.1.3 Mother A's Utterances and Their Functions

Utterances	Functions
/bela+ada tamu/	statement
/papa di mana papa?/	question
/eyang mana? + itu lho/	question+statement
/ini namanya apa nak?/	question
/kayak punya bella ya/	statement
/matur apa?/	question
/ndak pareng+ itu ireng semua kena batu/	command
/nek kotor piye?/	question
/liaten tanganmu+wis ireng kabeh itu lho/	command
/sudah maem?/	question
/maem dulu sama mama yuk/	command (offer)
/yuk maem dulu yuk/	command (offer)
/eh+nggak pareng nggih+nggak pareng/	command
/nggih+nek nggih piye?/	question
/nakal+tak slentik lho/	command in the form of statement
/dawah lho dawah/	command in the form of statement
/bawa pelan-pelan/	command
/iya? tante+siapa?+tante/	question+statement
/gambarnya sapi mana nak?/	question
/punyaknya bella mana nak?/	question
/iya+gambarnya sapi/	statement
/podho ya?/	question
/ndak pareng nak ndak pareng/	command
/lha ini+di radio/	statement
/ngomong opo nek arep nyuwun?/	question
/dawah nak+lenggah+lenggah/	command
/gambarnya sapi itu/	statement
/dilepas bella/	command

Statements, Questions and Commands of Motherese. Motherese of mother A mostly consisted of questions. Commands and statements also occurred in motherese. In table 3.1.3 above, it is shown the utterances produced by mother A and the functions they carried.

The occurrence of questions and commands made it is easy for child A to respond. Therefore, we can say that mother A's motherese was designed to help child A acquiring language.

Length of Utterances of Motherese. From the table above, we can see that most of mother A's utterances extended from three to five words in length. It was half than the normal length of utterances addressed to other adults. As observed in the interview, mother A normally produced utterances consisting more than ten words.

Table 3.1.4 Mother A's Utterances Addressed to Other Adults

Utterances (addressed to Obs)	Amount of Words
/ngene ki loh + sopo sing gak tir-tir jajal+ nek ngono iku/	11 words
/papapapapa+vokalnya kan [a]+sama [m] kan mestinya+jadinya vokal [a]+mestinya papi mami gitu-tapi kan./	17 words

It proved that mother A normally used sentences containing more or less eight words, but she reduced the length to make them easy for child A to understand.

Mother A's motherese seemed to be always one step ahead of the child A's language development. In the recording, it was proved that the adjustment in the motherese seemed to help child A to learn language. Child A was elicited by simple verbal expressions and she was expected to answer it with simple answers.

3.1.1.4 Discourse Skills

Child A have not known how to provide responses which were relevant with the questions or commands. Nonetheless, I notice several indications that child A was learning how to deal with discourse skills with mother A's help.

Turn-Taking. I noticed several overlapping between mother A's utterances and child A's utterances. Child A seemed to ignore some of mother A's utterances. When mother A talked, child A sometimes kept busying herself with her toys. When such things happened, sometimes mother A repeated her questions once more but sometimes she did not. It shows that sometimes mother A tried to teach child A about turn-taking. However, due to her age, the child has not understood the basic rule of conversation.

Mother A	/nek iku ditarik + wah/
Child A	/tateguguk/ (<i>starting to cry because mother A took the recorder from her</i>)
Mother A	/nggak kok nggak kok+ kok kok kok kok/ (<i>after a while</i>) /nanti dawah + pecah nggak + nggak? + nggak? + nek nggak piye?/
Child A	(<i>nodding, pulling the recorder from mother A's hand</i>)
Mother A	/nakal+slentik lho engko/
Child A	(<i>walking slowly to another room</i>)

Taking Initiatives. In the theoretical framework, it is mentioned one theory about mother taking initiatives in conversation. It is asserted that mother often assumes the child's turn.

Mother A seemed to play significant role in child A's acquisition of discourse skills. Beside actively asking questions and giving commands, she also gave signals that informed child A when child A had to take her turn. The signals given by mother A were either linguistic features (intonation, pauses, pitch) or nonlinguistic features (eyesight, head nodding). By providing those signals, mother A tried to make the turn-taking process easier.

My observation showed that child A did not always get her turn because mother A gave it to her. Child A often took initiatives by herself. Sometimes she also inserted a new topic in the middle of the conversation. The topics inserted by child A, naturally, were the events that were close to her daily activities. But, the topics were often uttered when mother A was talking about other topics.

Child A	/wo/
Mother A	/ini namanya apa nak?/
Child A	(unintelligible, 3 syllables)
Mother A	/kayak punya bella ya+tapi bagus ini)
Obs	/apa?+kipas?/
Mother A	(realising that child A was referring to the recorder) /bukan+yang punya bella itu radio + bukan tape/
Child A	/aak/
Mother A	/iya+kayak punya bella ya/
Child A	(babbling)

Adjacency Pairs. Eventhough child B only slightly knew how to respond as people expected, sometimes she was able to do so. Several times, child A responded mother A's questions with fillers such as /eh?/ or babbling sounds. According to discourse analysis, such response shows that the listeners are paying attention to the speaker.

Mother A	/yok masuk yok/
Child A	/hm?/
Mother A	/sama mama iya?++ sudah maem?/
Child A	/lum/
Mother A	/maem dulu sama mama yuk + mantuk + piye?/

From the data, it is known that sometimes mother A reinforced child A to respond as expected. At the beginning of the observation, mother A also often evaluated child A's response when the response was not expected. At the end of the observation, mother A rarely did it anymore. Child A did not get reinforcement and it resulted in her ignorant attitude.

The acquisition of discourse skills seemed to be much influenced by mother A. In the communication with her mother, child A got little pressure. Mother A seldom repeated her questions when she thought child A did not give an appropriate response. Moreover, she did not pay enough attention whether child A got her message or not. One of the factors which slows down child A's language development, in my opinion, is mother A's attitude.

3.2 PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE SAMPLE OF GROUP B

Group B is the group of children aged 1;5 - 1;8. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the representative of this group is a child named Dyah Ayu Kusumawardhani or I Chen. In the following, I Chen is abbreviated into *child B*, her mother as *mother B*, and her father as *father B*. Some names are mentioned in the recording: *A Ling* and *Cicik* (the family members), *Michael* (a boy who lived next door), *Sandro* (child B's cousin), *Mbok* (the family servant), *Poldy* (a character in storybooks), *Lion* (an animal doll), *Mamak* (mother B), *Daddy* (father B), and *Engkong* (child B's grandfather).

Background of the recording. The recording was taken when child B was 1;8. In the recording, she was accompanied by mother B and me as the observer (Obs). I stayed off-stage for most parts of the conversation, firstly to avoid too much interference in the mother and child communication and secondly, child B was rather shy to speak in front of me.

The recording was taken inside the house and at the backyard. In this recording, the session opened with child B and mother B playing with a handphone toy and several storybooks. The vocabulary about animals which were largely used by child B and mother B related to the storybooks. Mother B and child B then talked on the telephone. Afterwards, they looked over some storybooks. When child B saw a

picture of a fish, she insisted the party to catch fish at the pond at her house backyard. After playing for a while there, the party returned into the house and child B and mother B played hide-and-seek. This session ended when father B came home.

3.2.1 CHILD B AT 1;8

3.2.1.1 The Pronunciation

Child B's pronunciation was quite advanced when the research was firstly conducted. However, the pronunciation still sounded childish. In the following, it is shown some of the childish pronunciation which was caused by immature speech devices, the preference of easier sounds, and the occurrence of babbling sounds.

The immaturity of her speech devices disabled child B to produce the [r] sound. Therefore, eventhough mother B taught child B to pronounce /merayap/, when child B sang, she transformed the [r]. In singing /cicak didinding + diam-diam [mejajap]/, the trill [r] was replaced by [j]. Next example which confirmed this was when mother B drilled child B to say /this is a [ʃʌk]/ and child B responded [ʃʌk], dropping the half sounded trill.

The [j] was used not only to replace the trill sound but also some of the [l] and [d] sounds. The replacement of the [l] and [d] into [j] here was not consistent because in some utterances they were maintained. When mother B and child played with the handphone, mother B said /halo/ and child B said /[hʌjɔ]/,

mother B said /a ling/ and child B said /[ʌjɛŋ]/. Later, when mother B said another /halo/, child B said /[hʌlɔ]/, but at that moment it was the [d] which was transformed into [j]: /[ʌjɛŋjʌ jʌʔjʌʔ ʌjʌʔ hʌlɔʔʌdʌ]/ (by saying so child B was trying to reach a person named *A Ling*). The replacement was for convenience' sake, because [j] is easier to produce than [l] and [d].

It seemed that the lateral [l] was usually avoided by child B. When mother B and child B were playing with the handphone toy, child B said [tɛfɔŋ] eventhough she was able to produce the [l] sound. To this point, at first mother B also said [tɛfɔŋ] but soon afterwards she corrected it and returned to the adult pronunciation [tɛl(ɔŋ)].

Mother B hardly ever adjusted her motherese with the childish pronunciation. Whenever child B used inappropriate pronunciation, mother B often immediately provided the proper one (but other reinforcements were hardly ever found).

Simplifying Processes. From the processes that are included in the simplifying processes, 1) the transformation from consonant clusters into singletons, 2) the transformation from diphthongs into monophthongs, 3) the change of vibration of the vocal cords into nonvibration and vice versa (from voiced sounds to voiceless sounds or vice versa), and 4) the changes in the place of articulation were found in the

data. Trying to say /lizard/ and /birthday/ (pronounced as [lɪzə(r)d] and [bɜrsdeɪ] by mother B), child B simplified the pair of trill and consonant into singletons [sɪsəɪd] and [bə(ɪ)sdeɪ]. As shown earlier, the trill was always either dropped or replaced by other sounds because child B was still unable to produce the sound. The voiced fricative [z] in the word /lizard/ was also turned into the voiceless fricative [s]. As the consequence, the initial sound of the word /lizard/ was also turned into [s] because of the assimilation with the [s] in the medial position.

Beside simplifying consonant clusters, child B also tended to simplify the diphthongs. Mother B liked to sing the song "Paint My Love" and child B made the song her favorite also. When mother B asked her to sing, child B said [pɛ n ma lʌv]. The diphthong [eɪ] in the word /paint/ was simplified into [ɛ] by child B, indicating that she did not exactly imitate mother B's pronunciation.

Mother B often gave stimulus to child B by saying /what is this?/. Child B once imitated the utterance and said /what is [tʃɪs] ?/. Mother B used voiced dental consonant [ð] in saying the word /this/, but in child B's pronunciation the sound was moved backward so the sound became the voiceless palatal [tʃ].

The Contrast of Simplifying Processes. On the contrary of the simplifying processes, child B was able to produce [ʃ] which does not occur in Indonesian language system. In producing the [ʃ] sound, child B did it easily and, therefore, she

met no difficulty to produce the initial sound of /shark/ and the final sound of /fish/. The latter was even the favorite word that child B mentioned from time to time. The other sound which was rarely used in Indonesian language system and was produced by child b was [v] such in the word [lʌv]. It came to my surprise that child B did not simplify it into [f] or [p]. It seemed that since the parents employed two-languages as the languages at home, they made it easier for child B to acquire the sounds although the sounds do not occur largely in Indonesian language.

Babbling Sounds. As old as 20 months old, the babbling sounds still occurred in child B's language development. The difference laid on the function of the babbling sounds. For children of younger ages, babbling sounds occur as the results of articulatory playing. For child B, they functioned as fillers (expressions used to avoid seclusion within a conversation, for example oh, wow, well, etc.). As when child B was singing /cicak didinding diam-diam [məjʌjʌp], [dʌtʌnʌ] ++ [lʌntʌn] ditangkap + hap/, the blank in the transcription was filled with the babbling sounds. The use of babbling sounds as fillers might be pertained to mother B's expectation. Mother B kept giving signals that she wanted child B to continue singing, and since child B was unable to utter the target phrase, child B replaced it with the babbling sounds. Unless, she would have stopped just until [dʌtʌnʌ]. The same thing happened when child B sang "Happy Birthday": /happy [tʃɛtʃɛtʃɛtʃɛtʃɛh] to you/.

Only in the latter example, mother B immediately corrected it into /happy birthday to you/ and the child B repeated after her by saying /happy [bə(1)sdeɪ] to you/. The use of babbling sounds as fillers will be discussed again later under the analysis of Sentence-form.

3.2.1.2 The Vocabulary

In Chapter 1, it is stated that most of children's vocabulary consists of nouns. The findings in the recording suit the theory since most of child B's words were nouns. To identify the words which indicate nouns, I got hints from child B's own pronunciation and vocabulary, that had taken forms almost like adults' words.

Based on the interview with the parents, child B has acquired more or less 200 words. It seems to be true, but this fact requires particular comments. To certain expressions like /what was this?/, the parents' schemata made them realize that the utterances consist of three words. Therefore, they assumed that child B also realized that she was uttering three words produced continuously. It was not true that child B had been able to realize that because based on the observation, child B uttered them as a single word. She never said the three words in isolated environment. In fact, the parents also admitted that they deliberately taught child B to use complete sentences instead of isolated words, so they had never uttered anything like /what++is++this?/ (with long pauses between the syllables).

Word Classes. As old as 1;8, nouns and verbs still dominated child B's vocabulary. It makes sense since nouns and verbs were the semantic units that can be demonstrated quite easily (although it is not true for abstract words). In the table 3.2.1, the nouns and the verbs occurring in the recording were shown.

Table 3.2.1 Nouns and Verbs Produced by Child B

Child's Words	Compatible Words in Motherese	Word Class
nyanyi *	nyanyi	verb
[tɛ fon]	telfon	verb
owl	owl	noun
[da l]	crocodile	noun
[sɪ ssəd]	lizard	noun
fish	fish	noun
tangkap*	tangkap	verb
lion	lion	noun
[ʃ k]	shark	noun
monkey	monkey	noun
paint my love	paint my love	noun
cicik*	cicik	noun

**pronounced in Indonesian*

In the traditional view, nouns can be classified into concrete nouns and abstract nouns. All nouns in table 3.2.1 are concrete except /paint my love/, as child B referred to non-exist object, i.e. title of a song, when she said it. Eventhough the abstract noun was only 1 out of 9, it still indicated that child B was able to realize things which she could not perceive with her eyes.

Beside nouns, verbs were also identified. In table 3.2.1, there were three words which were identified as verbs. The words /nyanyi/ and /tangkap/ obviously belonged to this category, while the /telfon/ was included because since child B referred to the action of calling someone when she said the word, not merely the telephone as an object.

Connection with Behavioral Context. The word /telfon/ in the example above was classified as contextually flexible word if we consider the context in which the word was uttered. This labeling was based on the fact that child B did not produce similar action to accompany the utterance of the word /telfon/ each time she used the word. Therefore, /telfon/ here was not context-bound. Child B used the word /telfon/ either when she intended to play with the real telephone (so she was involved in the conversation with a real person), or when she wanted to play with the handphone toy (by which she pretended to have conversation with imaginary people). When she said the word /telfon/, child B did not accompany it with similar action consistently.

Table 3.2.2 shows child B's used of words, grouped according to each word's connection with the behavioral context. The data shown below come from the recording and the interview.

Table 3.2.2 Verbal Expressions Produced by Child B and Their Connection to Behavioral Context

Use	Verbal Expressions	Behavioral Context
context-bound	/what is this/ /owl/ /[daɪl]/ /[sɪssəd]/ /[ʃʌk]/ /monkey/ /paint my love/ /hap!/	asking something pointing a picture in book pointing a picture in book pointing a picture in book pointing a picture in book pointing a picture in book wants to sing particular song singing and clapping
Contextually flexible: nominal (the object was present)	/halo/ /telfon/ /bear/ /fish/ /lion/ /a ling/ /cicik/ /mamak/ /daddy/ /cicak/ /sandro/	talking on the phone or the handphone toy reaching, talking on telephone or the handphone toy pointing any object that has a picture of bear on it pointing various kinds of fish in books pointing a picture of a lion or playing with a lion toy calling a person named A Ling or touching any object that belongs to A Ling calling a person called Cicik or touching any object that belongs to Cicik calling mother B or touching any object that personally belongs to mother B calling father B or touching any object that personally belongs to father B pointing a house lizard in book or on the wall calling a cousin

	<i>/jimama/</i>	wanted to be hugged by mother B
Contextually flexible: non-nominal (the object was absent)	<i>/cicak/</i> <i>/nyanyi/</i> <i>/fish/</i> <i>/ya/</i> <i>/ada/</i> <i>/sandro/</i> <i>/jimama/</i>	name of a particular song wanted to sing a particular song or wanted other person to sing remembers fish at her pond and wanted to play with fish responding to any question which requires positive answers asking or telling the existence of other people judging invisible child who was crying at the moment of speaking wanted to see mother B or wanted mother B to serve her (dressing, feeding, etc.)

The word */jimama/* shown in table 3.2.2 requires further clarification. This word, which means “go to Mama”, in one way was used to accompany the act of stretching her arms widely towards mother B when mother B was present. In other ways, the word was used, usually with angry facial expression, to make the other people go and fetch mother B for her, for example to put on her dress. Now, from the adults’ point of view, the two actions were related because both involve mother B in the actions. However, it seems more plausible to assume, that the two events were different because there was no clear relationship between them. The example shows

that child B has learned the basic idea of homonym: two words that have same verbal forms but have different meanings.

Considering the behavioral context, the compatible motherese for all words shown in Table 3.2.1 were contextually flexible. Based on the interview, mother B was able to mention more than one object as her referents for each word mentioned in Table 3.2.3. Nonetheless, when mother B was asked to mark which words she said frequently, most of the words belong to the contextually flexible words in child B's language.

Table 3.2.3 Most Frequent Words Produced by Mother B

Use	Words/Phrases	Behavioral Context
Contextually flexible	<i>/paint my love/</i>	naming particular song, asking child B what she wanted to sing
	<i>/jimama/</i>	various conditions (surprised, angry, calling child B)
	<i>/fish/</i>	pointing various pictures of some fish, referring to fish in the pond, or fish as meal
	<i>/bear/</i>	pointing various pictures of some bears (on t-shirt, in books)
	<i>/what is this?/</i>	asking the names of objects, eliciting child B to memorize things
	<i>/nyanyi?/</i>	asking child B whether child B will sing or whether child B wanted <i>her</i> to sing
	<i>/nyanyi!/</i>	telling child B to sing, or eliciting child B to memorize text of songs

The findings help us to find out the reasons that make certain words belong to context-bound category whereas some others belong to the contextually flexible category, even though the words are in the same class, such in the example of /shark/ and /fish/, /crocodile/ and /lion/. Motherese habituated child B to hear the terms over and over, and in turn it also helped child B to realise the context and to use the words in their contextually flexible position.

Deixis. Deictic words were not recorded in the recording. According to the interview, mother B often employed demonstrative words and child B seemed to understand the different spatial concept contained in the verbal expressions /what is this?/ and /what is that?/. However, as child B has never uttered any demonstrative pronouns, it was more plausible to conclude that child B understood the meaning of such utterances since the utterances were accompanied by understandable gestures. Child B also got hints from the context, because /what is this?/ and /what is that?/ were used referring to objects that existed nearby, in the current situation. Other deictic expressions /come here/ used by mother B was also accompanied by hand waving, signaling that mother B wanted child B to come closer. It seemed that the non-verbal features were more significant and that the employment of deictic words was not broadly done by child B.

Personal Pronouns. The use of personal pronouns, whether in the position of subjects or objects, was not found. The uses of possessive adjectives and possessive pronouns were not found either. The prominent features which occurred frequently in the communication between child B and mother B were the possessive case of nouns using proper names. Beside being used as terms of address, proper names were also used as possessive case of nouns. So, for example /a ling/ was used to address a family member *A Ling* and also the personal belongings of the person: /sandal a ling/, /baju a ling/, etc. This happened in the relationship with the family members only, or in the relationship with outsiders who existed in the current situation, for example a visiting person.

3.2.1.3 The Sentence-Forms

Child B has understood statements, questions, and commands altogether. It was known through her reaction which suited the expectancy of mother B when she uttered one of the functional utterances above. In the following analysis, it was shown how child B's realization of sentence-form was implied in her own utterances.

Single-Word Utterances. The data show that single-word utterances or holophrases occurred a lot in child B's utterances. They occurred mostly when child B answered mother B's questions about the proper names of familiar objects. For

example, when mother B said /what is this?/ while pointing a picture of a crocodile, child B answered the question with /[*daɪl*]/. For child B, her most frequent holophrases were proper names.

Beside proper names, child B has learned how to use the expression /*ya*/. In Indonesian adults' language, the word /*ya*/ is used to give positive response to the other participant, similarly to the use of /*yes*/, /*yup*/, and /*aha*/ in English language system. In child B's communication system, this word was used to answer questions which required positive response, to give approval, and also to tell mother B where she was when mother B called her. This word occurred a great deal, and it was the most frequent word produced by child B. The employment of the word /*ya*/ showed that child B has understood how to deal with questions.

It seems that child B attached several functions altogether on one word. For example, when child B said the word fish, in different context her intension was different, as shown in the following table.

Table 3.2.4. Same Word Uttered in Different Context

Word	Context	Function
Fish	Responding mother B's question /what is this?/ while pointing a picture of a fish	Statement
Fish	Walking to the house backyard by saying /fish/, child B points to the direction of the pond, and there was an indication that she wanted the party to go with her	Command
Fish	Repeated several times, without any clear reason	Similar with babbling sounds, merely playing with her articulators

This finding suits the theory which says that one-word utterances often function as if they were sentences, depending the child's intention, and can be identified through the intonation and the context.

Fillers. As adults, sometimes child B hesitated to continue her utterances. The reasons were various, maybe she forgot what she had to say, she was unable to produce the target phrase, or she was not sure how to deal with certain expression uttered by mother B. When she hesitated, child B usually did two things: she stopped talking or she used babbling sounds to fill in the blanks within her utterances.

Two-word Utterances. Two-word utterances occurred in the child B's utterances even though they were still less frequent than the holophrases. In the following table, it is shown the utterances produced by child B which consisted of more than one word.

Table 3.2.5 Child B's Utterances Consisting of More Than One Word

Verbal Expression	Behavioral Context
/what this?/ /a lingnya ha? ada? ada? ada? halo ada?/	Copying mother B Talking on the telephone

The two-word utterances produced by child B were not significant. The expression /what this/ was uttered as to imitate what mother B had said earlier

and eventhough child B seemed to understand how to respond to the question, child B herself still could not employ the question, for instance to ask the names of certain things to her mother. The second example of two-word utterances produced by child B was merely the expansion of one-word utterances, or we can say that child B was in the transitional period in which her words were brought together but the sequence was not uttered as a single rhythmical unit, but there seemed to be short pauses between each word.

In general, the length of child B's utterances was between one to three words. However, there was an exception. When child B sings the songs "*Cicak di Dinding*" and "*Paint My Love*", she was able to produce utterances longer than three words, eventhough some of the utterances were imperfect. It guides me to conclude that when child B deals with rhythmical utterances of songs, the rhyme helped child B to continue speaking. It was easier for child B to memorize the raising and falling of typical utterances than the words of the utterances themselves.

The Characterictics of Mother B's Motherese. Motherese of mother B mostly consisted of questions and commands. In table 3.2.6 it is shown the utterances produced by mother B and the functions they carried.

The occurrence of questions and commands makes it was easy for child B to respond. Therefore, we can say that mother B's motherese was designed to help child B acquiring language.

Table 3.2.6. Mother B's Utterances and Their Functions

Utterances	Functions
/sama cicik aja ya/	command (offer)
/what is this?/	question
/where's the bear?/	question
/sini chen/	command
/lovely+lovely/	statement (compliment)
/this is a shark/	statement
/sing i chen/	command
/wait i chen ya/	command
/halo engkong+gitu+bilang+lho?/	command
/nyanyi apa?/	question
/jring+jring+jring+jring/	not obvious
/halo a ling/ (<i>giving example</i>)	command
/o+ paint my love/	statement
/ya i chen dulu/ (<i>refusal</i>)	statement+command
/whose sandal?/	question
/happy birthday to you/	statement
/eh chen+telfon sama mama ya/	command (offer)
/lo+jangan angkat dulu/	command
/put it back++put it back/	command

Length of Utterances of Motherese.

From the table above, we can

see that most of mother B's utterances consisted of equal or less than four words. It was half than the normal length of utterances addressed to other adults. As observed in the interview, mother B normally produced utterances consisting eight words or even more.

Mother B's motherese seemed to be always one step ahead of the child B's language development. In the recording, it was proved that the adjustment in the

motherese seemed to help child B to learn language, because she was elicited by simple verbal expressions which requires simple response.

Table 3. 2.7. Mother B's Utterances Addressed to Other Adults

Utterances ... (<i>addressed to Obs</i>) ...	Amount of Words -
/kalau dia nggak ngerti+kita tahu dari wajahnya/	8 words
/kita marah dia ngerti+wajahnya jadi sedih gitu/	8 words
/orang bilang saya terlalu bangga anak+tapi saya perhatiin dibanding anak teman-teman saya dia memang cepat lo++ itu karena kita memang perhatiin betul itu perkembangannya/	25 words

However, it is misleading to say that child B was unable to understand utterances more complex than 4 words. Mother B might have underestimated child B's perception because of the lack in child B's sound production.

3.2.1.4 Discourse Skills

Child B has known how to provide responses which were relevant with the questions or commands. In order to build successful communication, just knowing how to give relevant verbal responses is not enough. Moreover, both participants also must know how to take turns, deal with adjacency pairs, and initiate new topics. In the following analysis, we consider those discourse skills within the communication of mother B and child B.

Turn-Taking. I hardly noticed any overlapping between mother B's utterances and child B's utterances. In the interview, mother B also informed that child B seemed to have understood how to deal with turn-taking. When mother B talked, child B had been able to pay attention and kept silence, even though it did not last for long because child B was quite active and easily got bored. When her turn came, child B was also able to use the opportunity and she started talking. In the communication between mother B and child B, both participants had understood the basic rule of conversation.

Mother B	/what's your name?/
Child B	/i chen i chen/
Mother B	<i>(saying something with soft voice)</i>
Child B	/yuk/
Mother B	<i>(pointing a picture of a tiger)</i>
Child B	/my name ++ lion/
Mother B	/lion?/
Child B	/lion + yah/
Mother B	/this?/
Child B	/yah/
Mother B	/what is this? what is this?/
Child B	<i>(the answered was not heard)</i>
Mother B	/lovely lovely/

Mother B seemed to play significant role in child B's acquisition of discourse skills. Beside actively asking questions and giving commands, she also gave signals informing child B when child B had to take her turn. The signals given by mother B were either linguistic features (intonation, pauses, pitch) or nonlinguistic

features (eyesight, head nodding). By providing those signals, mother B made the turn-taking process easier.

Taking Initiatives. In the theoretical framework, it is mentioned one theory about mother taking initiatives in conversation. It is asserted that mother often assumes the child's turn.

My observation shows that child B did not always get her turn because mother B gave it to her. Child B often took initiatives by herself. For example, when mother B and child B were playing with the handphone toy, suddenly child B said /nyanyi/ indicating that she wanted to sing a song. The second example was when mother B and child B were looking over some storybooks, child B found a picture of a fish, and she said /tangkap fish/. By saying that, child B inserted a new topic in the conversation.

Mother B	<i>(pointing a picture)</i>
Child B	/poldy/
Mother B	/hm + gali/
Child B	/nyanyi yah/
Mother B	/nyanyi apa?/
Child B	/hm?/
Mother B	/nyanyi apa i chen/
Child B	/paint my love/
Mother B	/o paint my love/
Child B	<i>(singing)</i> /paint my love+will you paint / <i>(her voice got softer)</i>
	/nyanyi yah/
Mother B	/nyanyi apa?/
Child B	/paint my love/ <i>(signalling that she wanted mother B to sing)</i>

From the above examples, we can see that mother B did not need to assume child B's turn any longer since child B was capable to represent herself and even she was able to take initiatives and to insert new topic. The topics inserted by child B, naturally, were the events that were close to her daily activities.

Adjacency Pairs. Most of the time, child B responded mother B's questions with statements or approval. For example, whenever mother B asked /what is this?/, child B always tried to give answers especially when she remembered the answers well. When mother B asked child B whether she allowed Obs to go with them to the pond, child B said /ya/ confidently.

Mother B	<i>(handing child B a handphone toy) /halo engkong gitu+bilang/</i>
Child B	<i>/hm/</i>
Mother B	<i>/lho?+kong/</i>
Child B	<i>(looking at the toy)</i>
Mother B	<i>/halo/</i>
Child B	<i>/lo/</i>
Mother B	<i>/a ying/</i>
Child B	<i>/aying + aying ni yah++njuk njuk+ ayinya ya? ya? aya? halo ada?/ (putting down the toy, looking at the books again)</i>
Mother B	<i>/okay+ a monkey + halo monkey/</i>
Child B	<i>/monkey + e ya+ epa ? + muah + a monkey/</i>

From the data it is known that sometimes mother B reinforced child B to respond as expected; mother B evaluated child B's response when the response was not expected. When mother B asked /what is this?/ while holding a spoon, she did not accept when child B said /sendok/. Mother B then repeated the question, this

time accompanied with criticizing facial expression, louder voice, and insisting tone. Usually child B understood and then child B changed her answer into /spoon/.

In this case, the acquisition of discourse skills of dealing with adjacency pairs seemed to be much influenced by mother B. In the communication with her mother, child B got a kind of pressure. Mother B often repeated her questions when she thought child B did not give appropriate response or when it seemed that child B did not get her message. As old as 1;8, child B has acquired parts of discourse skills with the help from mother B.

3.3. PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE SAMPLE OF GROUP C

Group C is the group of children aged 1;9 - 2;0. The child who represents this group is a child named Mila Dyah Ulwiyah or Mila. In the following, Mila is abbreviated into *child C*, her mother as *mother C*, and her sister as *sister C*. Some names are mentioned in the two recordings: *Iya* (the child's term to address herself), *Bu /Ibu* (mother C), *Mbak Putri /Uci /Enci* (sister C), *Ayik and Tika* (child C's playmates), *Mas Nanda* (mother C's little brother who is seven years old), *Ayah* (child C's father), *Mama and Papa* (child C's grandparents), and *Tante* (referring to me as the observer).

Background of the recording. The recording was taken when child C was 2;0. During the recording, she was accompanied by mother C and sister C. In investigating child C, I was directly involved¹⁶ in the mother and child communication. It was because child C and sister C enjoy to interact with adults.

In this recording, the session opened with child C, mother C, sister C, and Obs looking at a newspaper. On the front page of the newspaper, there was a picture of a graveyard and some men visiting the graves. The party also looked over books, from which child C was elicited to name a lot of things. Some proper names of the members of the family were related to the photographs of the family album.

¹⁶ I maintain the term *Obs* (observer) to be consistent with the term used in the investigation done on the two other samples.

As child B, child C liked to sing, but in this recording, she only sang the first part of “Naik-naik ke Puncak Gunung” because she was in the mood to read.¹⁷ Most of her vocabulary came from the books and the family album.

The party stayed in the livingroom for the whole recording. The session ended in the same room after half an hour recording.

3.3.1 CHILD C AT 2;0

3.3.1.1 The Pronunciation

Child C’s pronunciation was quite advanced when the research was first conducted. Eventhough the pronunciation still sounds childish, the similarities between mother C’s motherese and child C’s pronunciation could be seen. I think at that moment, child C’s pronunciation had already got shapes like adults’ pronunciation. In the following, it was shown some of the childish pronunciation left, which was caused by immature speech devices, the preference of easier sounds, the occurrence of babbling sounds, and the lack of sounds, mostly obstruents, in the initial position.

Based on the interview about child C’s history, and also the observation and the elicitation, child C was still unable to produce the [r] sound. To handle words which contain the [r] sound, child C either avoided to pronounce the

¹⁷ Not real reading like older children did, but looking over books, pictures, pointing characters in the story, telling the adults what child C thinks the characters did, here can be considered as parts of reading.

syllables containing the trill, or replaced the [r] sound with [j] or [t̪]. Therefore, child C pronounced [dɛjʌ], [gʌjʌ], [ʌt̪ʃɪk] or [ənt̪ʃɪk] to name /bendera/, /kangguru/, /serigala/, and her sister /putri/. It was caused by child C's immature speech devices.

The immaturity of child C's speech devices also resulted in child C's tendency to produce vowels differently from adults. Child C tended to lower her high vowels and it made her utterances not clearly distinguished like adults. Some of her consonants also sounded in transition between two other sounds (see *Simplifying Processes*). In the interview, mother C said that sometimes she was unable to understand the message of child C's utterances. Fortunately, mother C and child C usually talked about things around them within limited space, so the current context gave mother C clues to what child C intended to say.

The [t̪] and [j] sounds were the most frequent sounds occurring in child C's pronunciation. Those sounds were easy to produce because they mostly involve the upper part of the tongue and the palate, the articulators which were the most convenient to reach, in the production. The [t̪] and [j] sounds were used to replace several sounds, some of which child C has been able to produce. The examples of the replacement were: /mati/ (pronounced as [mʌt̪ʃɪ]), /api/ (pronounced as [ʌt̪ʃɪ]), /lumba-lumba/ (pronounced as [t̪ʃʌpʌt̪ʃʌpʌ]), /cabe/ (pronounced as [t̪ʃʌpɛ]), (/tas/ (pronounced as [t̪ʃʌs]).

The lateral [l] was usually avoided by child C. When mother C pointed out the picture of a car and toothpaste, instead of saying /mobil/ and /odol/ using adults' pronunciation, child C pronounced the words as [ɔpɪ] and [ɔdɔ]. Nonetheless, child C was able to produce the sounds [m], [b], [l] in their citation form as shown when child C said /mas/, /buku/, and completed mother B's frame /wor.../ with /tel/.

On the other hand, mother C rarely provided negative reinforcement when child C made mistakes in the pronunciation. What mattered for mother C was the proposition or the content of the utterances, not the shape of the verbal expression. When child C said [ʌbɛ] when she pointed out a picture of a pail (in Indonesian language it was /ember/), mother C was already satisfied but when child C said [ɪkʌ] when mother C points out a picture of a flipper, mother C was not satisfied. Her dissatisfaction was shown through her tone and her facial expression. This was because mother C assumed that child C had known that the target answer was /lumba-lumba/.

Mother C's action of not giving negative reinforcement was also followed by imitating child C's childish pronunciation. Such as in pronouncing the word /kura-kura/ and /tazos/, mother C uttered them as [kɔjʌkɔjʌ] and [tʌtʃɔs]. However, this adjustment was not applied to all words, only words which were familiar to child C and the family. This adjustment was not consistent, so in other

occasion mother C might return to her adult pronunciation in communicating with child C.

Simplifying Processes. Simplifying processes can be in the form of: 1) the transformation from consonant clusters into singletons, 2) the transformation from diphthongs into monophthongs, 3) the vibration of the vocal cords (from voiced sounds to voiceless sounds or vice versa), and 4) the changes in the place of articulation. The examples of processes number 1, 2, 3, and 4 all were found in the data.

Giving the examples for the transformation from consonant clusters into singletons, when mother C taught child C to say /mbak/ (pronounced as [əmbak] by mother C, the schwa was half-sounded), child C dropped the nasal [m] and changed the pair of nasal and consonant into singleton [bak]. The examples on the simplifying from consonant clusters into singleton were not largely found because the storybooks as the aid of the elicitation were written in Indonesian and the vocabulary mostly consisted of words whose syllables were arranged using CV (consonant-vowel) pattern or CVC pattern.

I only found one example from the process of simplifying the diphthongs into monophthongs when mother C pointed out a picture of a chilli. Mother C pronounced /cabai/ as [tʃabai] and child C simplified the diphthong [ai] into

monophthong [ʌ], so the word was once pronounced as [ʌ pɛ] and later as [ʌ bɛ]. To this point, child C did what mother C (and some Indonesian adults) normally did when she met diphthongs, for example when she pronounced /siapa/ as [sʌ pʌ]. However, I cannot say that this was a proof that child C imitated what her mother did. Simplifying diphthongs into monophthongs was, in fact, convenient.

Sounds which were transformed by child C into their contrast voiceless form were shown by the words /mobil/, /lumba-lumba/, and /cabai/. Child C pronounced them as [ɔpɪ], [tʃɔpʌ tʃɔpʌ], and [ʌ pɛ]¹⁸. The examples of the change from the voiceless into the voiced form were not found. It was easier to loosen the vocal cords than to tighten them, therefore, it was easier for child C to produce the voiceless sounds than the voiced sounds. This fact, however, did not make child C only uttered the voiceless sounds as shown by a lot of words containing voiced sounds that child C had produced.

The changes in the place of articulation were caused by child C's instable pronunciation. For example when child C said /di atas/, she pronounced the [d] sound like the medial sound between [d] and [dʒ]. Saying the words /dadah tante/, child C pronounced them as [dʌ dʌ tʌ tʌ ə], with the first [t] was sounded like medial sound between [t] and [d]. It was hard for me and mother C to imitate child C's way in pronouncing the words.

¹⁸ At the first time, child C pronounces /cabai/ as [ʌ pɛ] but later she changes it into [ʌ bɛ]

The Contrast of Simplifying Processes. On the contrary of the simplifying consonant clusters into singletons, child C maintained the sequence of sounds [ŋg] in the word /nggak/ (Ind., meaning 'no') and she pronounced it similarly to the adults'. I think motherese of mother C had a role in habituating the word /nggak/. Motherese of mother C consisted of some commands, and the commands usually employed the word /nggak/ (Javanese, meaning 'no'). Eventhough uttering consonants or consonant clusters in the initial position was usually avoided by child C, this fact proved that child C was actually able to pronounce consonant clusters. It looked like that child C sometimes just did not want to do so.

Stress on the Final Position. Obviously, child C often dropped the initial consonants of the words she uttered. The dropping was not consistent, sometimes child C did it and sometimes not. To explain this, I consider the role of stresses. Child C's environment, whose pivot mother C, was Indonesian speech-filled environment. Normally, nearly all of her knowledge about language came from her mother. In Indonesian language system, word-stresses are not as important as in English. Stresses are not properties that distinguish meaning in Indonesian language. The lack of stresses in the initial syllables in Indonesian language supports child C to drop the consonants in the initial position. Moreover, it was easier for child C to start

a word with a vowel because the air was directly pushed from the lungs with obstruction.

Babbling Sounds. Truthfully, I doubt that child C still produced a lot of babbling sounds. Once she uttered several syllables rapidly, almost as rapid as adults' speaking. As far as I and mother C were able to listen, child C said something like [oʋɑ ʌtɪ ɪtɔk ɔʌŋ ʌtɪ]. While doing so, child pointed out to a picture of a tombstone in the newspaper. The utterances sounded like babbling but child C was surely not playing with her articulators when she said so. Mother C believed that child C in fact said something about /orang mati/ (Ind. meaning 'dead man'). It was reasonable that the babbling sounds here were parts of child C's private language which has not taken form like adults' pronunciation.

3.3.1.2 The Vocabulary

Most of child C's vocabulary consists of nouns. The findings in the recording suit the theory that says that most of children vocabulary consists of nouns. Child C's own pronunciation and vocabulary, that have taken forms like adults', help me to identify the words which are nouns.

Word Classes. As old as 2;0, nouns were still the dominant parts of child C's vocabulary. Beside nouns, child C has known verbs and adjectives also. When the number of nouns known was quite large, the number of the verbs and adjectives known was rather limited. In table 3.3.1, the nouns, verbs, and adjectives occurred in the recording were shown.

Table 3.3.1 Some Nouns, Verbs, and Adjectives from Child C's Vocabulary

Child's Words	Compatible Words in Motherese	English Version of the Word	Word Class
[ʌtʃɪ]	/mati/	die	verb
[bɔk]	/bu, ibu/	mother, mum	noun
/mas/	/mas/	brother	noun
/bapaknya/	/bapaknya/	the father	noun
/bunga/	/bunga/	flower	noun
[ɔnk]	/kuning/	yellow	adjective
[ɔtʃɪh]	/putih/	white	adjective
[ʌwʌk]	/ketawa/	laughing	verb
[tʌtʃɔs]	/tazos,tasos,tacos/	tazos (a kind of children's toy)	noun
[ɔpɪ]	/yuppy/	a sort of candy	noun
[dejʌ]	/bendera/	flag	noun
/buku/	/buku/	book	noun
[ʌpɔ]	/capung/	dragonfly	noun
/cabai/	/cabai/	chilli	noun
[ʌtʃɪ]	/api/	fire	noun
[ʌbɛ]	/ember/	pail	noun
[hejo]	/helem/	helmet	noun
[ɪkʌ]	/ikan/	fish	noun
/kupu-kupu/	/kupu-kupu/	butterfly	noun
[kɔjɔ]	/kangguru/	kangaroo	noun
[tʃɔpʌtʃɔpʌ]	/lumba-lumba, cupa-cupa/	flipper, whale	noun
[ɔpɪ]	/mobil/	car	noun
[ɔdɔ]	/odol/	toothpaste	noun
[bʌkʌkɔjʌ kɔjʌ]	/buku kura-kura/	book about turtles	noun

[pʌjɔ]	/payung/	umbrella	noun
[ʌtɔ]	/sepatu/	shoes	noun
[gʌjʌ]	/serigala/	wolf	noun
[ɔjʌ]	/ular/	snake	noun
[tʃʌs]	/tas/	bag	noun
/sapu/	/sapu/	broom	noun
[bu]	/burung/	bird	noun
[ɔdʌ]	/udang/	shrimp, prawn	noun
/koko/	/koko, siamang/	a sort of monkey, belongs to ape group	noun
/icik,ucik/	/putri,ucik/	Putri, name of child C's sister	noun
[ʌjɪk]	/ayik/	Ayik, name of child C's playmate	noun
[ɫjʌ]	/mila/	Mila, child C's name	noun
[ʌtʌtʃʌ]	/nanda,mas nanda /	Nanda, name of child C's uncle	noun
[bʌk tʃʌ]	/mbak tika/	Tika, name of child C's playmate	noun

Most of the nouns in table 3.3.1 are concrete which show that child C almost always referred to existing objects. It did not mean that child C could not understand abstract words. When child C said /ibu/, mother C expanded the utterance by asking /ibunya siapa?/ (Ind., meaning 'Whose mother?'). Child C responded to the question by answering /ibu mila/. The way child C used proper names to label different things shows that child C understood abstract nouns.

Beside nouns, verbs are also identified. In table 3.3.1, there are two words which were identified as verbs. The words /mati/ and /ketawa/ obviously belong to this category, but the word /mati/ can also be labelled as an adjective

because according to mother C child C once combined the word /mati/ with /orang/. In English language /mati/ as a verb was 'to die' and /orang mati/ as an adjective plus a noun was 'dead man'.

Connection with Behavioral Context. The word /mila/ in table 3.3.1 above can be classified as contextually flexible word if we consider the context in which the word was uttered. This labeling was based on the fact that child C did not produce similar action to accompany the utterance of the word /mila/ each time she used the word. Therefore, /mila/ here was not context-bound. Child C used the word /mila/ when people asked her name, when people asked the owner of her belongings, and when she pointed out her photographs in the family album. When she said the word /mila/, child C did not accompany it with similar action consistently.

Table 3.3.2. shows child B's uses of words, grouped according to each word's connection with the behavioral context. The data shown below come from the recording and from the interview.

Table 3.3.2. Verbal Expressions Produced by Child C and Their Connection to Behavioral Context

Use	Verbal Expressions	Behavioral Context
context-bound	/tazos/ /capung/ /kangguru/ /lumba-lumba/ /serigala/ /udang/	pointing at a piece of tazos pointing at a picture of a dragonfly pointing at a picture of a kangaroo pointing at a picture of a flipper pointing at a picture of a wolf pointing at a picture of a shrimp (all of the pictures were taken from books)
Contextually flexible: nominal (the object was present)	/ibu/ /mati/ /ini/ /bapaknya/ /bunga/ /kuning/ /putih/ /ayam/ /bendera/ /buku/ /cabe/ /api/ /ember/	talking to mother C or pointing the photographs of mother C in an album pointing an object in newspaper or seeing dead creatures (or their pictures) pointing particular object within limited space pointing at a picture of a man pointing at real flowers or the pictures of them pointing at any objects containing yellowish color (but child C was often mistaken) pointing at any objects containing white color (but child C was often mistaken) pointing a real chicken or a picture of it pointing a flag or a picture of it pointing/holding a book or a picture of it pointing chilli or a picture of it seeing fire from a candle, stove, or the picture of it pointing a pail or a picture of it

	<p><i>/helem/</i></p> <p><i>/ikan/</i> <i>/kupu-kupu/</i></p> <p><i>/mobil/</i> <i>/odol/</i></p> <p><i>/buku kura-kura/</i></p> <p><i>/payung/</i></p> <p><i>/sepatu/</i></p> <p><i>/ular/</i></p> <p><i>/tas/</i></p> <p><i>/sapu/</i></p> <p><i>/mbak ucik/</i></p> <p><i>/ayik/</i></p> <p><i>/mila/</i></p> <p><i>/mas nanda/</i></p> <p><i>/mbak tika/</i></p> <p><i>/dadah tante/</i></p>	<p>pointing a helmet or a picture of it</p> <p>pointing a fish or a picture of it</p> <p>pointing a flying butterfly or a picture of it</p> <p>pointing a car or a picture of it</p> <p>pointing a tube of toothpaste, touching the paste on the toothbrush or a picture of it</p> <p>opening the pages of a story book, looking at the pictures in the book</p> <p>holding an umbrella or seeing the picture of it</p> <p>asking people to put on her shoes, touching real shoes or the picture of them</p> <p>seeing the picture of a snake or toys resembling to the shape of a snake</p> <p>holding a bag or seeing the picture of it in books</p> <p>seeing a broom or seeing the picture of it in books</p> <p>talking to sister C, calling her or pointing the photographs of sister C in album</p> <p>talking to a particular playmate, seeing her belongings, or the photographs of Ayik</p> <p>naming herself, her personal belongings, or her photographs</p> <p>calling her uncle, recognizing his personal belongings, seeing his photographs</p> <p>talking to a particular playmate or seeing the photographs of Tika</p> <p>departing from somebody</p>
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<p>Contextually flexible: non-nominal (the object was absent)</p>	<p><i>/di atas/ /ibu/ /bapaknya/ /nggak/ /iya/ /nggak ada/ /ketawa/ /buku/ /buku kura-kura/ /di kamar mandi/ /tas/ /mbak putri/ /ayik/</i></p>	<p>pointing upstairs while child C was downstairs calling/looking for her mother answering questions about people's male parents responding to any question which required negative answers responding to any question which required negative answers responding to questions about the existence of something/someone responding to a question if someone should laugh or cry, without pointing any picture looking for her book, telling people to read story-books with her asking the existence of her favorite book telling people where particular activities should be done (e.g. brushing teeth), when she was in the other room looking for her bag, telling people to find her bag looking for sister C when sister C was absent looking for a playmate when the child was absent, or remembering that the playmate usually slept in the afternoons (so child C should not go and get her and play with her)</p>
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Some words are mentioned twice in table 3.3.2 and they require further clarification. The words which are mentioned twice are all contextually flexible. I decide to label them as nominals if at the moment they occurred, the objects of child C's utterances showed up, and to label them as non-nominals if at the moment they occurred, the objects of child C's utterances were being at other place or were non-existent objects. For example, the word /ayik/ was uttered when a playmate named 'Ayik' was present in front of child C, when child C saw Ayik's belongings (bicycle, sandals, Ayik's father's motorcycle), when child C saw the photographs of Ayik, so all of the objects were present. The word 'Ayik' was also uttered when child C remembered in one afternoon that Ayik should have been sleeping so child C could not come and play with her, or when child C was at Ayik's house, knowing that Ayik was sleeping, and child C wanted to warn people who were being too noisy.

Considering the behavioral context, the compatible motherese for all words shown in table 3.3.2. were contextually flexible. Based on the experiment, mother C was able to mention more than one object as her referents for each word mentioned in table 3.3.2., no matter the objects were present or absent. What mother C said frequently, such as /ibu, mbak putri, buku/, belong to the contextually flexible words in child C's language.

The above findings help us to find out the reasons that make certain words belong to context-bound category whereas some others belong to the contextually

flexible category, eventhough the words were in the same class, such in the example of /capung/ and /kupu-kupu/, /kangguru/ and /ayam/. Motherese habituated child C to hear the terms over and over, and in turn it also helped child C to realise the context and to use the words in their contextually flexible position.

Deixis. Deictic words were recorded in the recording. As observed, child C sometimes uttered /di atas/, and /ini/. According to the interview, mother C often employed demonstrative words and child C seemed to understand the different spatial concept contained in the verbal expressions /apa ini?/, /ini?/ and /apa itu?/. Child C has been able to use demonstrative pronouns, most of which were accompanied by understandable gestures such as by pointing particular objects, nodding head, or touching child C's arm or back. I am sure that such signals were important for child C as to realise the context of her utterances.

Personal Pronouns. The use of personal pronouns, whether in the position of subjects or objects, was not found. The used of possessive pronouns were also not found. The prominent features which occurred frequently in the communication between child C and mother C were the possessive adjectives and the possessive case of nouns using proper names.