

## Meanings and Functions of Discourse Particle *Suda* in Papuan Malay

Izak Morin <sup>a</sup>

[izakmorin@gmail.com](mailto:izakmorin@gmail.com)

English Education Master Program  
Faculty of Teacher Training and Education  
Cenderawasih University, Papua, Indonesia

Wigati Yektiningtyas <sup>b</sup>

[wigati\\_y@yahoo.com](mailto:wigati_y@yahoo.com)

English Education Master Program  
Faculty of Teacher Training and Education  
Cenderawasih University, Papua, Indonesia

### ABSTRACT

Discourse particle *suda* in Papuan Malay (PM) – a hybrid language spoken in Tanah Papua, Indonesia – plays an important role in natural conversations and written exchanges among the speakers. It becomes evident in utterances or sentences from various stories written by named and unnamed authors in blogs and websites and mobilized by the internet for readers. However, there has not been a study on this particle and therefore this study is to investigate its meanings and functions in utterances or sentences in PM. The content analysis, semantic, and pragmatic methods are used to explore the meanings and functions of this particle in twenty-five utterances or sentences in which it occurs. The results show that the particle *suda* is not inflected grammatically. It is not a clitic particle so its form does not change regardless of where it appears in an utterance or a sentence. It is both a final-ending type and an initial type. Semantically, it carries more than one meaning. It can have one meaning in one context but entirely different meaning in another context. Pragmatically, it conveys more than one function, but, it cannot serve as one-word answer to a question. The findings can be used by future researchers as a guideline, specifically its methodology, for exploring other discourse particles of PM awaiting to investigate. They can also contribute to the scholarship of discourse particles.

**Keywords:** Papuan Malay; discourse particle; utterance; meaning; function

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<sup>a</sup> Main author

<sup>b</sup> Corresponding author

## INTRODUCTION

Tanah Papua with its population of 5, 434, 068 (Biro Statistik Papua dan Papua Barat, 2024) is located in the most eastern part of Indonesia and it shares the borderland with the Independence State of Papua New Guinea (PNG). Papuan Malay (PM) is a hybrid language – a mixture of Austronesian languages (Malay) and Papuan languages – that has been spoken by the people of Tanah Papua for many years before Indonesia took over Tanah Papua from the Netherlands as part of its territory in 1969 (Saltford, 2003; Morin, 2018). It belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian family (Kluge, 2021)

PM has fourteen discourse particles (Morin, 2020a) as seen in Table 1 that are used as part of daily communicative exchanges among the people of Tanah Papua. However, there are only six discourse particles that have been investigated so far such as *e*, *o* (Morin, 2020a), *kappa*, *lagi* (Morin, 2020b), *mo* and *se* (Morin and Kio, 2023). Therefore, there is an urgent need for scholars to do research on the rest. The current study is about discourse particle *suda*. This becomes the seventh particle on the list of the studied particles in PM. It does not only contribute to the scholarship of discourse particles elsewhere but it also gives a significant contribution to debates about whether or not PM is a creole (see Kluge, 2014).

Discourse particles are elements in a language that carry meanings and functions in utterances or sentences of which they are a part. They are ‘fully integrated into the syntax of utterances and cannot constitute utterances by themselves’ (Ameka, 1992a:108). They follow ‘a word to show its relationship to other words in a sentence, and/or give that word a particular meaning or nuance’ (Kawashima, 1999:i). And, “formally, they are morphologically invariable and from a functional point of view, they tend to express a speaker’s immediate ‘here-and-now’ attitudes, thoughts, and desires” (Goddard, 2011:165). English has these examples *well*, *just*, *oh*, *now*, *sort of* and *you know* (Aijmer, 2000) and Bahasa Indonesia (BI) includes *pun* and *lah* (Sneddon, 2010) or *sih*, *kok*, *dong*, *lho* (Karaj, 2021). And some examples in PM are *e*, *o*, *kappa*, *lagi*, *mo* and *se* (Morin, 2020a; Morin, 2020b; Morin and Kio, 2023).

Table 1 indicates that PM has three groups of discourse particles. Group 1 consists of two particles originating from two individual sounds and Group 2 has five particles in the form of words. Both groups do not have primary meanings at all. In contrast, Group 3 includes seven particles with primary meanings in their own right. The occurrence of these particles in each utterance or sentence in every dialogue or conversation and written text depends totally on how interlocutors and/or writers selectively decide to use them in their communication to each other. For this paper we focus on the discourse particle *suda* in Group 3.

TABLE 1. Three groups of discourse particles in PM

Group 1 2 particles	Group 2 5 particles	Group 3 7 particles
e	ka	baru (new)
o	kappa	dulu (first time)
	mo	jadi (become)
	se	lagi (again)
	to	saja (only)
		sampe (until)
		suda (already)

(Adapted from Morin, 2020)

The terms *meaning*, *function*, *utterance*, and *sentence* are deemed necessary to define to avoid misunderstanding. Larson (1984:7) mentions that one of the language characteristics is that one word will be used to represent several alternative meanings. “There will be a primary meaning – the one which usually comes to mind when the word is said in isolation – and secondary meanings – the additional meanings which a word has in context with other words.” In this sense the word *suda* actually has the primary meaning of ‘possess, own, or hold.’ However, it does not carry this meaning in the provided utterances or sentences of this paper because it plays the role of discourse particle conveying secondary meanings. Both primary and secondary meanings embedded in utterances or sentences can be discovered through semantics and pragmatics. Semantics deals with sentence meaning whereas pragmatics deals with utterance meaning (Saidova & Izbosarova, 2023). Meanwhile, for the terms *utterance* and *sentence* Carter & McCarthy (2006) argue that the term ‘utterance’ is used ‘to refer to complete communicative units, which may consist of single words, phrases, clauses and clause combinations spoken in context, in contrast to the term ‘sentence,’ which reserves for units consisting of at least one main clause and any accompanying subordinate clauses, and marked by punctuation (capital letters and full stops) in writing.’ In addition, Green (2007) proposes that “an utterance can take sentence form, but not every sentence is an utterance. An utterance is identifiable by a pause, a relinquishing of the floor, a change of speaker; that the first speaker stops indicates that the utterance is, temporarily, complete and awaits, invites a response.” Lastly, the term *function* refers to a communicative function or ‘an illocutionary function or an illocutionary force’ (Nordquist, 2018; Austin, 1962) a speaker intends to accomplish in the course of producing an utterance or a sentence. Such a function may refer to whether an utterance or a sentence is ‘an assertive, a commissive, a directive, a declaratory, and an expressive’ (Searle, 1969, 1979).

The paper is organised as follows: section of *Materials and Methods* will explain where data came from and the methods that were used to do analysis. Section of *Results and Discussion* has one subsection: *Meanings and Functions of the Discourse Particle ‘suda’ in Daily Communication Practices* will show the meanings and functions of discourse particle *suda* in the twenty-five utterances or sentences of daily communicative practices among the speakers of PM in Tanah Papua. Each utterance or sentence will present the equivalent meaning of the particle *suda* in English, followed by a detailed discussion of the meaning of particle in relation to the utterance types in which it occurs, its position in the utterance, and an analysis of its functions or uses in relation to the social contexts where it occurs. Lastly, section of *Conclusion* will summarise and conclude the meanings and functions of the discourse particle *suda* in utterances or sentences used in daily communication of the speakers of PM.

## MATERIALS AND METHODS

Data for this paper were taken from 200 short stories and/or jokes collected in the previous study (Morin, 2018:117 – 209). Such a collection process was conducted in two stages: Pre-fieldwork and Fieldwork by using four techniques such as archival searches, observation, recording, and interviews. The archival searches were carried out to gain the mass-mediated data on the use of PM in books, mass media (online and printed), including short stories and jokes and caricatures on the internet and in newspapers, while signage refers to PM used on billboards, banners, public announcements, traffic warning boards and posters. This study focused on language ideologies of PM so the adoption of theoretical constituents of language ideologies and genealogical

investigative strategy were used to trace the historical trajectory of the formation, appropriation, reproduction, revaluation and mobilization of PM (Woolard, 1998; Kroskrity, 1993; Goebel, 2015a; Bauman and Briggs, 1990). Also, the elements of the work of how media and the environment shape language (Spitulnik, 1998; Scollon and Scollon, 2003; Georgiou, 2010; Bachman, 2010; Blackledge, 2010, and Paffey, 2015) and the concepts of linguistic landscape to explore the occurrence of PM in public space are used (Landry and Bourhis, 1997, and Blommaert and Maly, 2014).

We used the content analysis (Krippendorff, 2019), semantic (Riemer, 2010) and pragmatic (Senft, 2014) methods to investigate the meanings and functions of the discourse particle *suda* in utterances or sentences of PM. Semantical content analysis and pragmatical content analysis offered by Janis (1943/1965; cited in Krippendorff, 2019), abductive inferences (Krippendorff, 2019), lexical semantics and phrasal semantics (Riemer, 2010) and illocutionary force analysis (Senft, 2014) were applied to reveal the meanings and functions of the discourse particle *suda* as shown in Section ‘Results and Discussion.’

Results of the content analysis indicate that there are only forty-four texts or stories that contain the discourse particle *suda*. From these texts we selected twenty five utterances or sentences to focus on. Then, this particle was semantically studied to discover its secondary meanings from each utterance or sentence. These meanings were, then, translated into English together with the utterances that hosted them. Lastly, the pragmatic analysis was used to discover its functions or uses in utterances or sentences on the basis of what situational contexts it existed in.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this section we argue that the discourse particle *suda* has fourteen meanings and fifteen functions (Table 2) which have been used by its speakers for centuries in Tanah Papua. We show its position in utterances or sentences, its meanings and functions in particular contexts or social practices.

TABLE 2. Meanings and Functions of Particle *suda*

No.	Meanings	Functions
1	come on (utterance: 1,2)	softening an order or giving order in a polite manner ( <i>changing a directive utterance from a flat nature to a polite manner</i> )
2	please (utterance: 3,4)	strengthening an order or making an order stronger but in a polite way ( <i>changing a directive utterance from a flat nature to a stronger one but polite</i> )
	please (utterance: 5)	softening a request or stressing a polite request ( <i>changing a directive utterance from a flat nature to a soft one but polite</i> )
3	could you ..... please (utterance: 6,7)	softening a request or stressing a polite request ( <i>changing a directive utterance from a flat nature to a soft one but polite</i> )
4	a) let us (utterance: 8)	making suggestions for both speaker and addressee ( <i>changing a directive utterance or ordering into an assertive utterance or suggesting</i> )
	b) let me (utterance: 9, 19a)	giving instructions to oneself ( <i>changing an assertive utterance or informing into a commissive utterance or promising</i> )

	c) let him (utterance: 10)	making suggestions to the third person or someone else neither to the speaker nor to the addressee ( <i>changing an assertive utterance or informing into another assertive utterance or suggesting</i> )
	why don't /how about .... I am begging you (utterance: 11, 13)	making suggestions with high expectation ( <i>changing an assertive utterance or informing into another assertive utterance or suggesting</i> )
5	why don't/how about... (utterance: 12, 14, 15)	making suggestions ( <i>changing an assertive utterance or informing into another assertive utterance or suggesting</i> )
6	why don't/how about...instead (utterance: 12, 13)	refusing suggestions while making others ( <i>changing an assertive utterance or informing into another assertive utterance or suggesting</i> )
7	about to (utterance: 16)	making a hyperbolic and exclamatory statement ( <i>changing an assertive utterance or informing into expressive utterance or frightening</i> )
8	must (utterance: 11, 17, 18)	indicating or concluding that something is certain ( <i>confirming that an agreement is given on the basis of the facts</i> ).
9	do / of course (utterance: 19b)	emphasizing an action or an event ( <i>changing an assertive utterance or informing into a commissive utterance or promising</i> ).
10	only just (utterance: 20)	emphasizing a condition described ( <i>changing an assertive utterance or informing into a commissive utterance or promising</i> ).
11	so (utterance: 21)	connecting two ideas ( <i>keeping a communicative exchange fluent, coherent, and easy to understand</i> ).
12	You know (utterance: 22)	attracting attention to what is being described ( <i>keeping a communicative exchange fluent, coherent, and easy to understand</i> ).
13	no matter (utterance: 23)	introducing an utterance or a sentence that follows ( <i>keeping a communicative exchange fluent, coherent, and easy to understand</i> ).
14	please just (utterance: 24, 25)	stressing polite requests in a strong manner ( <i>making a request stronger because there is no other options to choose from</i> )

#### MEANINGS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE DISCOURSE PARTICLE 'SUDA' IN DAILY COMMUNICATION PRACTICES

In PM the word *suda* is a discourse particle which is mostly placed at the end of an utterance or a sentence for different meanings and functions. In some cases it also appears at the beginning of an utterance or a sentence. On the contrary, it is a word in Bahasa Indonesia, not a discourse particle. It is written as *sudah* 'already' and it is a time marker which is never positioned at the end of an utterance or a sentence. Below is a discussion on the meanings and functions of the discourse particle *suda* that exists in numerous contexts.

First, the discourse particle *suda* has the meaning of 'come on', that is, 'to encourage someone to do something, especially to hurry or try harder' (Online Cambridge Dictionary, 2024). Utterance 1 is a directive act, that is, a guardian angel (standing between heaven and hell) was encouraging a sinner in a polite manner in order to jump into the fire of hell because he was

- 1) Locat **suda!**  
**Come on**, jump!

reluctant to jump. Similarly, in utterance 2 a shy student of elementary school named Yaklep (the addressee) was politely encouraged by his art teacher (the speaker) to come forward to the front of the classroom to recite a poem. Whereas, in utterances 3 and 4 the particle *suda* has the

- 2) Yaklep, ko maju **suda!**  
**Come on**, Yaklep, come forward!

meaning of ‘please’ in English. It is used to make an order or a request more polite. In this sense, both utterances are directive acts. In utterance 3 the speaker (a teacher) asked a student in a strong

- 3) Ko diam situ **suda!**  
**Please** be quite! or  
**Please** shut up!

but polite way to shut up from making noises in the classroom and in utterance 4 a polite and persuasive order is from the Papua Traffic Police Department to all drivers to avoid drunk-driving



FIGURE 1. Traffic board in the heart of Jayapura city

- 4) Mabuk! Stop  
Nyetir **Sudah!**  
Drunk! **Please**  
stop driving!

behavior. It is inscribed on the traffic board (Figure 1) and emplaced in each corner of the streets in the heart of Jayapura city and the surrounding suburbs.

Here, we can notice that the function of the particle *suda* is to modify a flat directive utterance into (a) an encouraging and persuasive directive utterance (utterances 1 and 2), and (b) a strong and more polite directive utterance (utterances 3 and 4). Thus, the function of the particle *suda* in these four utterances or sentences is to modify a directive utterance from a flat nature to either softer or stronger nature in a more polite way.

Second, the discourse particle *suda* carries the meanings of ‘could you...please’, ‘please’, and ‘let us’ (let’s). The speaker (a son) in utterance 5 told the addressee (his father) to ask somebody else to replace him because he could not do what his father wanted him to do. In this

case, the particle *suda* has the meanings of ‘please’, ‘it is requested’, ‘you should’ and therefore ‘could you’ clause which ends with ‘please’ can be used in this father-son relation context to alter

- 5) Suru yang lain **suda**.  
**Could you** ask somebody else, **please**?

a flat requesting utterance into a more polite one. Utterance 6 is about a request from the speaker (the intruder) to the addressee (the gardener) to calculate all financial costs to be paid for the garden products which had been taken away by accident. Here, the particle *suda* carries the meaning of ‘please’, that is, to make a request more polite to the addressee to do something for his own benefit.

- 6) Nap ko hitung **suda**.  
Bro, **please** calculate that!

Furthermore, the speaker (the customer of a restaurant) in utterance 7 politely requested the addressee (the host/owner) to bring over his lunch. Here, the particle *suda* means ‘please’ because ‘please’ usually occurs in utterances with the meaning of ‘request’ which is a direct request to the

- 7) Bawa kemari **suda**!  
**Please** bring it over!

addressee in certain contexts such as restaurants and shops. For utterance 8 the speaker (a grandmother) made a suggestion to the addressee (her grandson) to go together by motor bike

- 8) Ne, jalan **suda**!  
Alright, **let’s** move!

because she had already sat properly at the back of the rider (the grandson). So, the use of particle *suda* conveys the meaning of ‘let us’ (formal) or ‘let’s’ (informal), that is, ‘to make suggestions or to give orders to a group that includes the speaker.’ (Swan, 1996:306). Here, we can see that the particle *suda* changes a directive utterance (ordering) into an assertive utterance (suggesting). On the contrary, utterances 9 and 10 are assertive utterances where the presence of the particle *suda* changes their nature. In utterance 9 it means ‘let’ where the speaker used the first-person singular imperative ‘let me’ to give instructions or to promise to himself to send his photos via email. In

- 9) Sa kirim sa pu foto lewaat imel **suda**!  
**Let** me send my photo by email!

utterance 10 it also means ‘let’ but the speaker used the third-person imperative ‘let him’ to make a suggestion to someone else, neither to the speaker nor to the addressee. In this case, the speaker (the father) suggested that his son may join the church choir instead of the karate group.

- 10) **Biar** [de ikut paduan suara] **suda**!  
**Let** him join the choir!

Overall, the function of the particle *suda* in these six utterances or sentences is (a) to modify a directive utterance from a flat nature to either softer or stronger nature in a more polite way (utterances 5, 6 and 7); (b) to change a directive utterance (ordering) into an assertive utterance (suggesting) as in utterance 8, and (c) to change an assertive utterance (informing) into another assertive utterance (suggesting) as in utterances 9 and 10.

Third, the discourse particle *suda* means ‘Why don’t...?’, ‘What about/how about ...?’ in English. Utterances 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15 show how the speakers used the particle *suda* to make and/or reject a suggestion. In this regard, there are four issues to look at. First, the speaker (the future wife) used a combination of particles *suda* and *e* in utterances 11 and 13 for the purpose of begging the addressee (the future husband) with a strong wish that he accepted her suggestions for their wedding time (month). But, in fact, her first suggestion (utterance 11) was refused by her future husband due to the abundance of his office works in the current month. She, then, convincingly assumed that November would be definite so she only used particle *suda* without adding particle *e* to end her second suggestion (utterance 12). Unexpectedly, he disagreed with

11) Kitong kawin bulan Oktober **suda e**.

**Why don’t** we get married in October?

**I am begging you!**

12) **Kalo begitu** [kita kawin bulan] November **suda!**

**What about** [getting married in]

November?

the reason that he must be very busy to finalize his paper works on his promotion towards the end of November. Without overwhelming expectation she again made another suggestion (utterance 13) in which a combination of particles *suda* and *e* were reoccurred because this suggestion might possibly be rejected with some other reasons. It is true that her suggestion was one again declined.

13) Oh, **kalo begitu** [kita kawin bulan] Desember **suda e?**

Well, how about [getting married in]

December **instead?**

**I am begging you!**

But, instead of rejecting with the reason that December would be the busiest month due to the Christmas parties he, then, proposed January in the following year without adding particle *e* to follow *suda*. Second, utterances 14 and 15 follow the same pattern, that is, an informing utterance

14) Nanti Januari tahun depan **suda**.

**Why don’t** [we have it in] January next  
year?

ends with particle *suda* to indicate that the speaker made a suggestion for the first time. However, by combining particles *suda* and *e* as in utterances 11 and 13 indicates that the speaker (the future wife) strongly wished for a yes answer from the addressee (the future husband) about their wedding plan because culturally she was not at the position of making the final say. While, the particle *suda* standing alone at the end of utterance 14 shows that the speaker (the future husband) had the final voice and he did not expect any refusal from the addressee (the future wife). Third, in PM the



phrase *kalo begitu* ‘if so’ (utterances 12 and 13) is the common phrasal marker which is only used when making another suggestion and ends with the particle *suda*. In this case, the particle *suda* means ‘instead’. Finally, utterance 15 gives picture of how the speaker (a son) proposed the only two thousand rupiahs he owned without expecting any further suggestion to raise this amount

- 15) **Bagemana kalo** sa kase bapa 2000 **suda**.  
**Why don’t** I give you Rp.2,000?

because the addressee (his father) was aware of this condition so he may not do so. This shows another way of particle *suda* plays the emphatic role for the suggestion phrase *bagemana kalo* ‘why don’t...?’ in PM that no further suggestion is deemed necessary. In brief, the presence of the particle *suda* changes (a) an assertive utterance (informing) into another assertive utterance (suggesting) as in utterances 12 and 15; (b) an informing utterance (assertive utterance) into a suggesting utterance (assertive utterance) and begging utterance (directive utterance) respectively as in utterances 11 and 13, and (c) a promising utterance (commissive utterance) into a suggesting utterance (assertive utterance) as in utterance 14.

Fourth, the discourse particle *suda* has two meanings. First, it means ‘be about to’ that is to indicate that something is about to happen immediately and something is certain or highly probable. Second, it means ‘must’ that is ‘to suggest that there are excellent arguments for believing something’ (Swan, 1996). In utterance 16 the speaker (a son) used the particle *suda* for emphasizing a prediction that a future event is on the way or starting to happen. This is because

- 16) **Mamaeee**, sa mati **suda!**  
Oh, gosh! **I’m about to** pass away.

the speaker had already eaten lunch prepared by his mother and experienced an awful taste which was about to cause him passed out. In this sense, it is also used to make a hyperbolic statement after the word *mati* ‘die’ or ‘dead’ containing a exclamatory tone. It changes an assertive utterance (informing utterance) into an expressive utterance (exclamatory utterance). The same particle also occurs in utterance 17 when the speaker (an adult man) talked to the addressee (another adult man)

- 17) **Adoo**, ini suanggi **suda!**  
My God! This **must** be a ghost/satan.

when they walked past a dark village cemetery in the middle of the night and they heard the children voices coming from the cemetery. The speaker was certain that those sounds must be from the ghost/satan u this graveyard is actually far away from the village and there are no people’s houses around. Similarly, in utterance 18, the speaker used the particle *suda* because he wanted

- 18) **Yoo**, betul **suda**.  
Yes, this **must** be true.

to convince the addressee that a bat must be a hybrid of bird and mouse on the basis of its look. In summary, the occurrence of the particle *suda* is used (a) to confirm that something is really starting to happen (utterance 16); (b) to strengthen a belief on something based on the facts (utterance 17), and (c) to confirm that an agreement is given on the basis of the facts (utterance 18).

Fifth, in utterance 19a the speaker (the grandfather) used the particle *suda* with the meaning 'let' to give instructions to himself to go to the market by using the first-person singular imperative 'let me'. In the same utterance (19b) this particle can take the role 'do' or 'of course' to emphasize

19) Nan sa ke pasar **suda**.

(a) **Let me** go to the market later.

(b) I will **do / of course** go to the market.

that he had committed to go to the market later by himself. In utterance 20 the speaker (the boyfriend) seduced the addressee (the girlfriend) with sweet words and the particle *suda* was used to emphasize those affectionate words. In this sense, the particle *suda* can be translated into

20) Ko tu kaka pu hati, jantung, tulang rusuk,  
pokoknya smua-smua **suda**.

You are my heart, my rib bone, all in all

[you're] **only just** everything for me.

English as 'only just'. In conclusion, the occurrence of the particle *suda* in both utterances is used to change an informing utterance (assertive utterance) into a promising utterance (commissive utterance).

Sixth, apart from its occurrence at the end of the utterance as discussed above it also appears at the beginning of an utterance or a sentence with different meanings and functions. In this case, its functions in utterances 21, 22 and 23 are as a consequence linker, a filler, a request softener, and a conjunction respectively. First, the speaker used the particle *suda* 'so' in utterance 21 to indicate something which was a consequence of what was stated in the previous utterance.

21) **Suda**, de panggil Joni baru de bicara.

**So**, he summoned Joni and then he talked  
with him.

Here, the speaker told a story to the addressee about a father assigning his son to feed their pig while he was away. In fact, when the father returned home from his journey he learned that the son disobeyed his request. To continue the story the speaker began this utterance by using the particle *suda* as a connector to the previous information. It can be translated into English as 'since that is so.' Second, as a filler, the particle *suda* was used by the speaker in utterance 22 to maintain the flow of the story and the cohesion of it and also to keep the addressee's attention to the story

22) **Suda**, tete ko bongkar tatawa bokar-bokar  
suda mo.

**You know**, grandfather burst out laughing  
just louder and louder

being told. It can be translated into English as 'you know'. Third, in utterance 23 the speaker (the art teacher) asked the addressee (the student) to sing a song but he declined because he did not

- 23) **Suda**, ko nyanyi yang ko bisa saja  
**It doesn't matter** you can sing whatever  
song you know.

know what song to sing. Then, the speaker used the particle *suda* which can be translated into English as 'no matter' or 'it does not matter' for two functions (a) to encourage the addressee (the student) to come forward to the front of the class to sing a song no matter what it sounds (utterance 22), and (b) as a conjunction it is used by the speaker to join clauses together in an utterance or a sentence (utterance 23) and keep the conversation smooth. To sum up, the occurrence of the particle *suda* in these utterances is used to keep a communicative exchange fluent, coherent, and easy to understand.

Seventh, the particle *suda* is preceded by the particle *saja* in utterances 24 and 25. This is a combined particle. In both utterances the particle *saja suda* can be translated into English as 'please just' to make a request more polite. In utterance 24 the speaker (the patient) told the addressee (the doctor) to stop pulling out the nail which was pierced into one of his feet because

- 24) Suda dok, kas bengkok paku itu **saja suda**.  
Alright doc, **please just** bend the nail.

it was so painful. The speaker requested the addressee to bend it and leave it there. Similarly, the speaker (the mother) in utterance 25 asked the addressee (the son) to eat the only available food on the dining table for his lunch without complaining on its kind. Thus, the presence of the particle *saja suda* in both utterances is used to make a request stronger because there is no other options to choose from.

- 25) Anak, ko makan **saja suda**.  
Son, **please just** eat.

Overall, the discourse particle *suda* consists of single particle as noticed in utterances 1 – 10, 12, 14 – 23 and combined particle as seen in utterances 11, 13, 24 – 25. There are fourteen meanings and fifteen functions.

## CONCLUSION

We have shown that the discourse particle *suda* plays an important role in creating natural human-to-human conversations and written exchanges in a variety of social contexts either in actual or virtual manner among the speakers of PM in Tanah Papua and beyond.

This particle has the following features. First, grammatically, it is not inflected. It is not a clitic particle and therefore it stays in the same form regardless of where it appears in an utterance or a sentence. Second, structurally, the positional occurrence of this particle in utterances or sentences suggests that it is both final-ending type and initial type. However, the final-ending type is more dominant than the initial one as shown in the data and also as we observed in daily conversation among the speakers of PM. Third, semantically, it means one thing in one context but something entirely different in another context and therefore there are fourteen meanings discovered in this study. Lastly, pragmatically, it has fifteen functions in various contexts. Among others, it connects propositions within an utterance or a sentence, changes the mood of that

particular utterance from one nature to another within the same type of illocutionary act, indicates a strong message, concludes or confirms a message, and lastly convinces people.

We agree with Hun *et al.* (2019) that “[l]anguage is not only an instrument for communication; it is also a vessel and a conveyor of the essence of the group’s ethnicity transcending time and space” Their study shows how Kelantan Peranakan Chinese Language known as Hokkien dialect cannot only ‘serve as a timeless vessel and reminder of the essence of the group’s ethnicity that has its roots in the long-term solidarity with other local ethnic groups but it can also become one of the significant markers for Kelantan Peranakan Chinese identity.’

In this similar vein, in fact, this particle has already crystalized as an integral part of PM and therefore it serves as in-group markers for the speakers of PM. Such a crystallization of discourse particle *suda* suggests that its process of becoming an identity marker has already taken place for multiple years because the speakers have been having the positive attitudes and perceptions on the use of PM.

Interestingly, this particle is actually originated from the Bahasa Indonesia word *sudah* meaning ‘already,’ ‘finish’ or ‘end’ but it plays a role as particle in PM. People from other parts of Indonesia when they come to Tanah Papua at the first time they will be confused if somebody politely says “John, makan suda!” Anton, jalan suda! and so on. Thus, this study provides readers, particularly the speakers of PM, with a new insight on the meanings and the functions of the discourse particle *suda* in PM.

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### ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Izak Morin is an associate professor of sociolinguistics at Faculty of Teacher Training and Education, Universitas Cenderawasih, Jayapura, Papua. His research interests are sociolinguistics, ethnolinguistics, translation, and pragmatics. He can be reached via email [izakmorin@gmail.com](mailto:izakmorin@gmail.com)

Wigati Yektingtyas is a professor of literature and culture at Faculty of Teacher Training and Education, Universitas Cenderawasih, Jayapura, Papua. Her research interests are on Papuan oral literature, language and culture. She can be reached via email [wigati\\_y@yahoo.com](mailto:wigati_y@yahoo.com)