

# “Pura vida”: A Costa Rican Cultural Expression from a Foreigner’s Perspective

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## Abstract

This paper will examine the Costa Rican expression “pura vida”. This expression, which has come to represent Costa Rica itself, is literally seen and heard everywhere in the country. Even though a superficial interpretation of these two words may be as simple as “hello,” “good-bye,” “thank you” or “you’re welcome,” a close study of how the expression is used reveals that it is far more elaborate and complex than it appears. It is quite possible that not even Costa Ricans genuinely understand all the potential meanings that the expression “pura vida” embraces.

**Key words:** cultural identity, construction of identity, language and identity, popular culture, Costa Rican expressions

## Resumen

Este artículo estudiará la expresión costarricense “pura vida”. Esta expresión, la cual ha logrado a representar a Costa Rica, es literalmente vista y escuchada por prácticamente todo el país. Aunque una interpretación superficial de estas dos palabras pueda traducirse tan simplemente como “buenos días,” “hasta luego”, “gracias” o “con mucho gusto”, un estudio minucioso de cómo la expresión se usa revela que es mucho más elaborada y compleja de lo que parece. Es muy posible que ni siquiera los costarricenses entiendan todos los significados potenciales que la expresión “pura vida” representa.

**Palabras claves:** identidad cultural, construcción de identidad, lenguaje e identidad, cultura popular, expresiones de Costa Rica

## Introduction

Any foreigner, who has come to Costa Rica and who has a rudimentary grasp of either written or spoken Spanish, will inevitably encounter the expression *pura vida*. If one pays attention to people speaking in Costa Rica, if one pays attention to items for sale in Costa Rica, and if one reads the Costa Rican press, the expression “*pura vida*” is literally everywhere. On the streets, on the job, at home, on billboards, in advertisements, both on television and on the radio, in newspapers and magazines, and even on storefronts, the expression abounds. “*Pura vida*” seems to represent Costa Rica in the same way or arguably even more than other national symbols of Costa Rica do, such as the slogan *Jardín de Paz y Democracia*, and the national symbols such as “*el árbol de Guanacaste*,” “*el yigüirro*,” “*la guaria morada*,” “*la carreta*” or “*la marimba*,” However, if one does notice how often this expression is used, a simple question arises: “Just what do Ticos really mean when they say “*pura vida*”? A study of examples of people using the term will reveal that it may be as simple as greetings or expressions such as “Hello,” “Good-bye,” “Thank you,” or “You’re welcome.” Nevertheless, a more in-depth analysis of the term will show that the expression is far more elaborate and complex than it appears. It is quite possible that not even Costa

Ricans really know all the potential meanings that the expression *pura vida* embraces.

The author of this study, who is a foreigner that has lived in Costa Rica for the past 25 years, documented the expression *pura vida* for the time period of one year: Every time that he saw it or heard it, from May 2015 to May 2016 he registered the expression, the time and the date it was used. No effort was made to elicit the expression from speakers, so the author merely documented the expression when it was heard or read. This study took place mainly in the “*sabana oeste*” neighborhood of San José, Costa Rica and its surroundings where the author lives, and at the National University in Heredia, Costa Rica and its surroundings where the author works. It also took place in San José, and in San Pedro, at the University of Costa Rica and its surroundings, where the author also works. The purpose of this paper is to study and analyze the 363 entries that he compiled in that year, in order to determine just what is happening linguistically and culturally when “Ticos” use this expression. Theoretical views from Linguistics and the field of Popular Culture will be taken into account to frame this topic.

The significance of this study lies in the fact that although the expression *pura vida* is very common, and has been studied, the multi-dimension of its meaning still merits analysis. Definitions of the term abound, and

their meanings expose interesting cultural features and social expectations. Thus, this study can give us important insights into Costa Rican culture and the Spanish of Costa Rica as well.

## Origin

Where does the expression *pura vida* come from? Although it is probably not possible to definitely pinpoint the origin of this expression, one common theory is that the expression has its origin in a 1956 Mexican film called "Pura Vida." In this movie, the famous Mexican actor Antonio Espino, known as plays Melquiades Ledezma, a young man who must leave his village because he only brings it bad luck, and he repeats the expression *pura vida* throughout the entire film. According to Víctor Manuel Sánchez Corrales, a researcher at the University of Costa Rica, in the 1980's this expression from the film caught on in Costa Rica, a more peaceful and prosperous country than most other Central American countries. For this reason, the expression became a part of the Costa Rican society (<http://www.ticotimes.net/2013/01/06/the-not-so-tico-origins-of-pura-vida>). Anna Marie Trester, a scholar at New York University, agrees that the origin of the expression *pura vida* in Costa Rica comes from the same film, but she says that it has been used ever since the film first appeared. Trester also states that Costa Rica, besides its prosperity and peace, was also accepting refugees from other war-torn countries of Central America in the 1970's, and so Costa Rica represented peace and optimism, which were verbalized in the expression "*pura vida*",

which became a popular expression in the country (Trester, 65-66).

Is the expression "*pura vida*" considered "poor" or "bad" Spanish, colloquial or even "pachuco?" The answer would seem to be a resounding "no", since many Costa Ricans use it, in many ways. According to Trester, the expression *pura vida* was first used by "pachucos" or "lower" class, less-educated people, but nowadays, it is used not only by "pachucos," but also by well-educated people who do not use the "pachuco" language at all. In his article, "La crítica de la cultura después de la cultura," professor Sergio Martín Luna, speaks of culture of the masses and high culture (*cultura de masa y alta Cultura*), and the differences that exist in these two categories. The "pachuco" language would definitely belong in the culture of the masses, but the expression "*pura vida*" is so widely used in Costa Rica, that it belongs to both cultures, and can therefore be considered an expression that is also used in the "high culture." I have personally heard parents scolding their children for incorrect or colloquial Spanish being spoken. A very young girl who was just learning to speak called a dog a "guau guau" and her father corrected her, and tried to make her repeat the word "perro." He insisted that she not use the colloquial expression "guau guau" and that she use the correct word "perro." However, I have personally never heard anyone in Costa Rica being corrected for using the expression "*pura vida*".

## In Gender Identity

Is the expression “pura vida” a gender oriented expression, used more by one gender than the other? Gender does accompany languages, now and in the past. It is almost comical and shocking now for us to consider the sixteenth century esoteric view of language which maintained that the written word, given to man by God, preceded and dominated the spoken word. The written word was considered to be the “male” part of a language and thus far more important than the spoken word which was the “female” part of a language (Foucault, 43). Today this might seem ridiculous, but gender does go with languages in other less absurd ways. In some languages, grammatical genders exist, since “Many languages only have masculine and feminine genders, but some also assign neuter, vegetative, and other more obscure genders” (Gentner, 64). This assignment of gender to inanimate objects, and the resulting agreement issues that accompany gender can make people aware of the gender aspect in languages (Gentner, 64).

Language may also help form gender identity. As Joan W. Scott, the American historian says: “Through language, gendered identity is constructed” (1063). But are some words or expressions more “feminine” or “masculine” than others? It would seem so. One of my first memories of the Spanish language in Costa Rica was being told not to use the expression “me fascina,” because it was not a thing that men said, it was more of a phrase used by women. Sexist or not, the concept is there. In my study, men used the expression pura vida 81% of

the times that it was used. Women used the expression 19% of the times it was spoken. Therefore the expression pura vida was definitely used more by men than by women. And interestingly, not only was it used more by men, but I also observed that it was directed at men, by men, more than women used it. An example was when a friend of my son’s came to our house and greeted my wife by asking: “¿Cómo le va?” I kept silent and held my hand out to greet him and as he was shaking my hand, he said: “pura vida?” This was the same greeting for both me and my wife, but I was the one who received the pura vida greeting.

## In Different Contexts

The expression “pura vida” is first and foremost, at least according to my research, used as a greeting or a farewell. Sometimes, as we shall see, this expression is used elliptically, and therefore may be considered as more than one linguistic act at the same time. However, out of the three hundred sixty-three “pura vidas” recorded in this study, it was used one hundred fifty-seven times, or 43% of the total, as a greeting, that is “hello,” or as a farewell, that is “good-bye,” sometimes elliptically including “thank you” or “you’re welcome” with the greeting or the farewell added. This expression is sometimes repeated so often during the greeting or the farewell that it seems to be more than just the greeting or farewell. Twenty-eight times it was used in this way, so there was clearly the elliptic idea of “thank you” or “you’re welcome” that went along with the “hello” or the “good-bye.”

This represents 18% of the times it was used as a greeting or farewell. An example of this type of elliptic exchange was seen on Sunday, November 1, 2015, when I took my son to the farmer's market or "feria" in Hatillos, near San José. My son needed to interview a farmer for an assignment in a Psychology course at the University of Costa Rica. My son is Costa Rican, and therefore a native speaker of Costa Rican Spanish. The farmer that I had chosen for this interview has known me for approximately 20 years, but only in the context of the farmer's market, and had no idea if a child of mine would speak Spanish, English or both. The farmer and my son, after I had introduced them, immediately began to use the expression "pura vida." They used it as a greeting, but it seemed to go on to become much more than that. I could not count the number of times they used the expression back and forth, but it was definitely recurrently used, besides the greeting, as "good-bye," "thank you," and "you're welcome." It was used so often, and so naturally between them, that it seemed as if it were being used as a ritual. Gastón Julián Gil, citing David Parker, tells us that a ritual is a practice where actors display performances through which they create and act out specific language acts which they may verbalize (9-10). In the case of my son and the farmer, the ritual was there: the university student and the non-educated farmer were acting out roles, and the main verbalization of the performance was the expression "pura vida". By using the expression pura vida, the farmer, I believe, seemed to be sizing my son up, to see if he spoke Spanish at a native level, to determine

if he was Costa Rican or American. My son seemed to instantly understand this, and answered the "pura vidas" that the farmer used without hesitation, as if to establish his "legitimacy." They spoke from between five and ten minutes, shook hands, and parted with many a "pura vida" in between.

The expression "pura vida" was also used, almost always simultaneously with greetings and farewells, as "How are you?" and "I am fine." Again, we see the elliptic properties of the expression, and it is not easy to separate the greeting from the request of one's state of being. Three times in this study, the expression "How are you?" was definitely separated from the greeting, so at times, it was only a request of one's state of being. Twenty-six times it was used as "I am fine." The expression "pura vida" was used to express simply "good-bye" with no other elliptic message twenty-two times.

As we have seen, the expression "pura vida" is also used quite often as "thank you" and "you're welcome." This expression of gratitude, (thank you), or response to gratitude (you're welcome), as Anna Marie Trester calls it, (64) was, after greetings and farewells, the most commonly seen use of the expression pura vida in this study, it was used eight-five times in this way. Culturally, the author has noticed that Costa Ricans pride themselves on courtesy. If one sneezes here, and bystanders, especially if they are friends or acquaintances, do not say "salud," the person who has just sneezed will often, (almost always) complain. If a stranger sneezes, the other strangers who are bystanders will almost always say "salud." If someone here says thank you, the response of "con mucho gusto"

is always or almost always heard. This politeness seems to be a part of a Costa Rican's personal identity. Along with courtesy, the expression "pura vida" also seems to be a part of cultural identity in Costa Rica.

One out of many of the examples of pura vida being used as "thank you" I saw was on Friday, July 3, 2015, at 7:30 p.m. My son had been out with friends, and he was given a ride home. As he was saying good-bye, and the friends were leaving, he screamed out: "¡Pura vida!" This was "thank you," and probably "good-bye." An example of "pura vida" being used as "you're welcome" I saw on Friday, June 26 at 12:43 p.m. when a security guard at the Universidad Nacional in the parking lot helped me find a parking space. After I had parked, and I walked by him, I thanked him and he answered: "¡Pura vida!" This is definitely, "You're welcome."

### In Construction of Identity

The construction of identity may refer to social actors and roles that are played in society. One can play the role of a student, for example, or a professor, a mother, a father, a foreigner, a native speaker of a language. Even though one person may play several roles in a society, these roles are often individual, although they can and do sometimes become a group issue. These are complex roles for the individual, since his or her individuality as well as his or her belonging to a group enter into play (Castell, 6-7). A pertinent example is seen at international soccer matches where people of a country dress up with original, individual costumes that represent not only their

individuality but also their country, and with this individual costume they are representing or proudly participating in a collective identity, which is the country itself. Anna Marie Trester maintains that the expression pura vida is used by Costa Ricans to affirm their identity (67). Again, when a person chooses to use the expression "pura vida" he/she puts individuality and social belonging both into play. Norman Fairclough "commits himself" to the idea that "language use is socially determined" (21). And E. E. Lewis, a scholar at Ohio State University, says that at four or five years of age a child begins to take on the role of having functions in a social group. This community life of the child certainly entails language, and the child begins to have a sense of belonging in the group, which is seen or rather heard through language (521). In Costa Rica the expression "pura vida" is an outward sign of this community conscious, giving a person an identity and belonging in the group of Costa Ricans. Irawati Karve agrees with this view by stating that "Language is par excellence a social phenomenon. Language cannot arise unless there are social groups. While society is a necessary condition for the origins of language, it is not a sufficient condition for it, as will be evident from non-human societies which have no language" (20).

An example of this construction of individual identity was observed during this study at the Universidad Nacional in Heredia, on Monday June 8, 2015 at 7:42 a.m. in an exchange between an English instructor and a student. The young male student said "Good morning" to the instructor, who answered "How are you?" The student

answered in English, "Pure life." This young university student's identity as a Costa Rican was so strong that even studying English it overpowered his role as an English student, and so he translated the expression "pura vida" to "pure life" which can be considered a completely inappropriate translation. Of course a literal translation of the expression "pura vida" is "pure life," but as this study attempts to show, it is usually never that what people mean when they use it. The expression "pure life" is simply not commonly used in English. Here, in the case of this student, he was saying that he was fine, and therefore, a more correct translation would be something such as "I am fine," or an equivalent phrase, which is obvious from the context. However, "pure life" is not "pura vida."

Another example of the expression "pura vida" representing cultural identity observed in this study was in an airplane on a flight from San José, Costa Rica to Madrid, Spain on Friday, July 10, 2015 at 4:30 p.m. When I was taking my seat in the airplane, it fell back, startling both myself and the Costa Rican man sitting in the seat behind me. I apologized, and even though I could see in his eyes that he had been startled, he told me not to worry. His aunt, sitting next to him, laughed and said loudly "pura vida." She exaggerated when she said it, almost as if she were advertising, doing publicity for Costa Rica. She probably recognized me as a foreigner from my accent, and was demonstrating her cultural identity as a Costa Rican, or even displaying her pride for Costa Rica. A similar example was seen on Saturday, July 25, 2015 at 2:38 p.m., returning to Costa Rica from Madrid. In the Juan Santamaria

international airport in Costa Rica, there is a banner that says: "Bienvenidos al país más pura vida del mundo." Since Costa Rica has been voted as the "Happiest Country in the World" several times in the last decade by the "Happy Planet Index," this "pura vida" may simply reflect the idea of happiness that is linked to the cultural identity of the country. Here it may merely mean "happy," "friendly" or the idea that Costa Rica is the best host country in the world.

### In Advertising

Yet another interesting example of the expression "pura vida" being used to represent cultural identity in Costa Rica can be seen on some of the trains in the central valley. There are many words on the trains, used as slogans or positive messages that seem to represent the Costa Rican spirit and are sponsored by the Banco Popular. Since these slogans are just as much an advertisement for Banco Popular as they are slogans for Costa Rica, we must take into consideration that they are being used for both positive messages about Costa Rica, and monetary gain related to this bank as well. In theory, according to [www.interamericna.co.cr/banco\\_popular\\_ambient/](http://www.interamericna.co.cr/banco_popular_ambient/), Banco Popular is promoting "ecological awareness" with these messages. Some of the messages seen are: EL TRABAJO NOS UNE, APOYO, ENERGÍA, VITALIDAD, ENTORNO, UNION, SOLIDEZ, TIERRA, RECICLAJE, TICOS and finally, in the middle of the train: PURA VIDA. The expression "pura vida", which represents Costa Rica, and all that is positive about the country, is now literally

borrowed by the Banco Popular, and this positive message is taken by the bank, which becomes itself “pura vida”. One must recognize here that this is clear commercialization of the message pura vida. Of course the Banco Popular is doing this for advertisement and increasing clients and business, and therefore making money, and their advertising strategy is very good. After all, the expression “pura vida” in theory only represents a positive message, and therefore one can understand that it is used for commercial profit and an effective advertising slogan.

“Pura vida” just like sex, sells and sells well. A quick trip to the market in downtown San José to buy some souvenirs, or even a trip to the supermarket gives us an idea of just how well these two little words that represent so much, can also sell so much. It is literally, on anything it can be put on that will sell. It is seen on T-shirts, key chains, signs, mugs, glasses, wooden objects, license plates, and on and on and on. This marketable side of the expression “pura vida” could be considered a huge contradiction, since one is selling what is supposedly not for sale: the image of Costa Rica as a paradise. If one tries to sell or buy or market paradise, in essence one destroys it.

In Heredia the expression is seen on the side of a mini supermarket near the Universidad Nacional. In Sabana Sur it is seen on a restaurant/bar. It is on bumper stickers, there is a television show on Costa Rican television called Pura Vida Comfort, which talks about hotels in Costa Rica. There is a commercial on television for Imperial beer that says drinking responsibly “#estoespura vida.” When one switches on one’s Kölbi cell phone from ICE,

a frog appears along with “¡pura vida!” The home appliance store Artelec’s slogan is “Artelec. Somos Pura Vida.” On one of the morning variety stores I saw a man making “Sopa Pura Vida.” The supermarkets here offer a brand of chicken called “Pura Vida Pollos, S.A.” There is a restaurant in Pavas, near the American Embassy that is named Pollo Pura Vida. A very effective and clever advertisement seen in newspapers and on the back of buses is for a pension operator, Vida Plena. The advertisement is: Vida Plena es ¡Pura Vida! Estoy feliz con mi operadora vida plena. Indeed, the opposition with the letters “p” and “v” in Vida Plena and Pura Vida makes for a catchy advertisement. There is a company called “puravida bracelets” in California, where one can buy handmade bracelets, made in Costa Rica. The examples are numerous, but the point is clear: the expression “pura vida” sells. In advertising, on the radio, on billboards, bumper stickers etc., it was seen in this study twenty-four times of the total entries.

The subtlety seen in dealing with the expression “pura vida” is ingenious. As stated above, using a slogan that has come to represent the goodness and the “purity” of a country for commercial reasons could be considered a contradiction. One cannot easily imagine a logging company or a mining company or other companies that destroy the land calling themselves: “Pura Vida Logging” with the slogan “Destroying the Costa Rican rain forests for over fifty years,” or “Pura Vida Mining: fifty years of raping Costa Rican land.” However, the expression is used for monetary gain on all of the items where the expression is found, such as key chains, license plates,



T-shirts, among other objects and on food and drinks such as chicken and beer. However, these cases seem innocent enough. If someone were to start a campaign to ban the national slogan from advertising, there would probably be some "purists" who would agree, but as long as it remains subtle, subliminal and discreetly marketed, no one seems to really mind. This is a common use for language, to persuade people to do one thing or another, as the professors Pedro Fuertes-Olivera, Marisol Velasco-Sacristán, Ascención Arribas-Baño and Eva Samaniego-Fernández point out in their article "Persuasion and advertising English: Metadiscourse in slogans and headlines" where they affirm: "...people use language to achieve their specific purposes in accordance with two basic language principals: cooperation and least effort," and advertising uses languages to sell, by both "informing" and "manipulating" (1292). Here, cooperation is using the expression "pura vida" in a positive way, to seemingly evoke all that is good, while still marketing it. The least effort is that even though "pura vida" represents many ideas, concepts, or language acts, it is easily understood, thus substituting an entire conversation. George W. Ball, diplomat and professor, in his article "Slogans and Realities," affirms that people constantly use slogans to present ideas that are not easily verbalized. He uses the example of his time, during the Vietnam War, which was the slogan "No more Viet Nam" (623). He states here that even though this slogan is easy to understand, what it basically means, its underlying message or meanings are not easily put into words.

### In Language Use

This idea brings us back to the elliptic or ambiguous properties of the expression "pura vida". Mikhail Kisinine, professor of linguistics at the Université libre de Bruxelles, in his article "Illocutionary Forces and What is Said" states that it is generally understood that when a person speaks, he or she has an intention, there is something that he/she intends to say. He/She has a message to convey to a listener. If there is no lie, nor sarcasm, this message is usually interpreted, correctly or not, by the listener. We have intent and reception in this entire process that can be quite complex, since one's intent may not always be correctly understood (122-123). Dan Slobin, professor of Psychology at the University of California, Berkely, in his article "Thinking for Speaking" believes that when a person knows that he or she is going to say something, instead of just thinking about something, the thought process is different. One must put thoughts into words (435). Both of these concepts, the elliptic properties of speech and thinking for speaking, can apply to the expression "pura vida".

### In the Elliptic Form

This expression seems to be far more complex than just "hello," "good-bye," or "thank you," as seen above. Examples from this study will show that the expression "pura vida" is used to avoid having to speak a lot. It is used to economize words, or even thoughts. The most abundant examples in this study are with the elliptic greeting, as seen above. The expression "pura vida"

was used as a greeting eighty-four times, of the total examples. As seen above, this was often accompanied by an elliptic “thank you” or “you’re welcome.” Beyond this, the manner that it was used, from the intonation of the speaker to the reply of the listener or second speaker, it was more of an entire conversation. This is difficult to clarify since, as seen above, the idea of what the speaker intends to communicate and what the listener actually understands cannot always be verified as the same message. It seemed to me, based on the intonation of the speakers, that they were engaged in a more in depth elliptic conversation of the type: “Hello, how are you? It is nice to see you, how have you been? How is your family? It was nice speaking with you.” Culturally, it is possible that native speakers are aware of this elliptic form and use “pura vida” to say all of these things without actually saying them. An example of the elliptic qualities of the expression “pura vida” can be seen on Tuesday, May 19, 2015, at 6:05 p.m. in the first example of this study. As my son’s guitar instructor was leaving our house after the lesson and my son walked him to the door, they both said: “pura vida” to each other. These two “pura vidas” could have represented a whole conversation with many unuttered sentences or unexpressed ideas such as the idea that they had had a good class, my son thanking him, the professor replying “You’re welcome,” and that they would see each other next time. But all was expressed with only two words, spoken twice. Another example was registered on Tuesday, September 22, at 11:09 a.m., in front of the Universidad Nacional. I ran into a man who used

to work in the office where I work at the University, and who had been promoted to another office. I had not seen him in at least two years, and we talked for a few minutes. As we parted and we were shaking hands, he said to me: “Pura vida, Andy.” This represented more than good-bye, it was more like: “It was great to see you again, take care, I hope we see each other soon.” His intonation of the expression “pura vida” spoke more than many words.

This idea can be corroborated by the fact that the greeting “pura vida” is not always easily defined as a statement or a question. The intonation of the speakers in this study was sometimes neither a clear declaration, nor a clear question, and this also leaves the understanding of what is being said open to interpretation, even though the native speakers never doubted what was being said, nor hesitated in their replies. They understood and answered. This again, may be a way of giving and receiving basic greetings without having to utter many sentences. As stated before, “pura vida” can replace a whole conversation with just two words.

We have seen above the elliptic “thank you” and “you’re welcome” that often accompany the expression “pura vida”, but it was also frequently used after both of these expressions had been uttered. This again, must be elliptic, but it raises a question, which is: “Just what are they saying?” Is it merely a reiteration, reinforcing “thank you” or “you’re welcome,” or is it as above another elliptic conversation? An example was seen on Sunday, October 11, 2015, at 1:09 p.m. I called my brother-in-law on his birthday to wish him a happy birthday, and at the end of the conversation, he said to me:

"Muchas gracias cuñadito, pura vida." He had already thanked me, and he added "pura vida". Is it possible that "pura vida" is an expression that sometimes means nothing, that it is a filler, like "diay" in Costa Rican Spanish, or "um" or "you know" in American English, or "vale" in Spanish from Spain? This idea takes us back to intent vs. reception. An example to illustrate this was on Monday, March 14, at 7:58 a.m. at the Universidad Nacional. I was on crutches, and the floor was wet. One of the janitors said to me: "No se caiga, Andy. Pura vida." I have no idea, other than guessing, what his "pura vida" meant. Maybe it just meant "be careful." My question is if he knew what he meant when he said it? Besides being elliptic, the question can be asked: "Does the speaker always have intent?" The idea of thinking for speaking comes into play here, and it is possible that instead of actually forming specific thoughts or specific sentences, one merely says "pura vida." Is it merely "linguistic laziness?" And at the same time, does the native listener always perfectly understand what the pura vida that was addressed to him or her really mean? Is it just a means of avoiding more conversation? This is an interesting question which warrants an entire separate study.

The elliptic quality of the expression "pura vida" is also extensively used when Costa Ricans talk on the telephone. In this study, of the three hundred sixty-three "pura vidas" observed, fifty-six, of them were during telephone conversations. It often simply means "hello" and "good-bye," "thank you," "okay," "we agree," but again, just as when Costa Ricans are speaking, it can be so much more; and

on the telephone, it seems to be more exaggerated or over used, depending on the person, than a normal face to face conversation. On Monday, October 12, a Costa Rican man was answering his telephone on his birthday, talking to people who called him to wish him a happy birthday. Since I could not hear the other person speaking, I can only surmise what they said. At 2:09 p.m. he answered his phone. During the conversation he said:

Man: "¿Pura vida? ¿Todo pura vida? Pura vida."

At 2:12 p.m. he had another conversation during which he said:

Man: "¡Pura vida!.. ¿Pura vida? Ciao."

In the first conversation the entire conversation is elliptic and since the person on the other end of the line cannot be heard, one can only guess as to what was said. The use of the expression "pura vida" on the telephone also warrants an entire separate study.

### **In Different Tones and Intents**

In addition, the expression "pura vida" can also be used to express sarcasm. Albert Katz, Dawn Blasko and Victoria Kazmerski, Professors of Psychology, in their article "Saying What You Don't Mean: Social Influences on Sarcastic Language Processing" tell us that the intent of sarcasm may not always be easily understood, and that to understand sarcasm, it is necessary to understand the personality of the person speaking as well as the personality of the person receiving the sarcasm,

as well as the context of the situation (186-187). In the present study, the expression “pura vida” was only used sarcastically two times and by the same woman, in the Universidad Nacional. It was obvious by her intonation that she was being sarcastic, using the expression “pura vida” not in a positive way, exactly as one would use the word “great” in English to express sarcasm. The Sociolinguist Anna Marie Trester, in her study “Bienvenidos a Costa Rica, la tierra de la pura vida: A study of the Expression “pura vida” in the Spanish of Costa Rica” observed the sarcastic use of the expression “pura vida” five times and so she states that this expression is used so often in Costa Rica that sometimes it is even used when things are not going well (64). Possibly I did not observe this use of the expression a lot, perhaps because being a non-native speaker I did not quite understand or receive the intended message. Thus my observation, as Trester’s, is that pura vida is almost always used in a positive way.

As we have already seen, sometimes the expression “pura vida” is hard to translate into standard Spanish, but many times what the speaker intends to communicate it is very clear. The expression was used eleven times in this study to express comprehension as in “I understand.” An example of this was seen on Thursday, August 27, 2015 at the University of Costa Rica, at 11:15 a.m. There had been a protest march, and the students had permission to attend it, and therefore I could not hold class. A student came very late, the class started at 10:00 a.m., and I was giving a review session for the students who wanted it. When I explained this

to the student he simply said: “Pura vida,” and then he joined the class.

The expression “pura vida” was used fifty-six times to express that something is “good” or “fine,” but not in response to the question “How are you?” An example was seen on Saturday, March 12, 2016, at 3:40 p.m., when my wife, a Costa Rican, was telling me that she and the people she works with had been invited to the Japanese Ambassador’s house for lunch because of the good job they had done with a language laboratory that had been donated to the University of Costa Rica by the Japanese government. She said: “Seguro que dijeron la UCR es pura vida.” (They must have said that the UCR is good). Then, even in people’s mind and interpretation the expression plays an important role.

The expression “pura vida” was used three times to express the idea that someone was a nice person or “buena gente.” An example was seen on Tuesday, November 17, 2015, at 12 p.m., when my wife, speaking of a friend, said: “Kari es pura vida.” As seen, this most likely meant that her friend was nice, but again we see the elliptic quality of the expression “pura vida”. We had been talking about this friend, and how professional she was, along with other qualities. The two words “pura vida” here meant that beyond being nice, she was professional, responsible, and a genuinely all around good person.

### Concluding Remarks

In conclusion, even though the expression “pura vida” is so commonly used in Costa Rica, it is not always easy to define what it really means.

The Spanish language varies from country to country where it is spoken, especially in its vocabulary, but in the case of "pura vida", this expression varies in its meaning in the country of Costa Rica itself. "Pura vida", which seems to have originated from a Mexican film, has concretized itself in Costa Rica Spanish and culture because of Costa Rica's reputation of a land characterized by peace and prosperity. Contrasted with other Central American countries that are experiencing war and revolt, along with its generosity in accepting refugees from worn-torn countries, Costa Rica has been fertile ground for this expression, and so "pura vida" has grown and come to represent Costa Rica itself.

The expression "pura vida" may have originated in colloquial language, from the culture of the masses, but it is safe to say that today it is used by the majority of Costa Ricans, even if in this study it appears to be used more by men than by women. As seen before this expression is used as a greeting, as a sign of farewell, to thank someone, to say "You're welcome," to ask how someone is doing, and to answer that you are doing fine. The expression represents all that is positive and good about Costa Rica, and these qualities are then transferred to Costa Ricans, to make them feel that they are also "pura vida".

Thus, the expression "pura vida" has come to represent Costa Rica, even though it probably comes from Mexico. We can also see the linguistic evolution of the expression, since "pura vida" was first used by "pachucos" and was most likely considered to be slang. However, nowadays it is used by all social groups in Costa Rica and is no longer

considered to be slang. It has evolved and strengthened its roots.

As seen before, the expression "pura vida" is used to express a greeting or a farewell, and it is used to express one's state of being, if one feels well. It is sometimes, though rarely, at least in this study, used sarcastically to say that something or someone is not fine or nice. All of these examples show the cultural relevance of these two words in that they have come to not only express the above mentioned ideas, but a Costa Rican person or a person trying to fit into the Costa Rican culture, as well. In sum, the expression "pura vida" is used to construct, reinforce and legitimize Costa Ricans' identity. Just as Gloria Andalzúa defended her native language by stating in her well-known book *Borderlands, La Frontera, The New Mestiza*: "So, if you really want to hurt me, talk badly about my language. Ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity – I am my language. Until I can take pride in my language, I cannot take pride in myself" (81); so Costa Ricans are proud of this expression and use it recurrently, as it is part of themselves.

Even though "pura vida" has come to represent all that is good and "pure" in Costa Rica, it is readily marketed and used to make money in a somewhat contradictory manner. It is in fact exploited for commercial reasons. It is also often used to replace entire phrases and even conversations, and the question of whether or not its intended message is always received and understood by the listener can be raised since it is sometimes ambiguous, used both as a statement and a question at the same time. When this is done, the speaker is economizing speech and does

not have to verbalize many thoughts, for he or she simply says “pura vida”, and the expression encompasses an entire conversation that does not have to be actually put into words. Therefore, pura vida is seen when Costa Ricans want to economize speech. Since Costa Rican natives know what they mean to say when they use this expression, and the native listener also understands what is being expressed, it is used elliptically. This could also warrant an entire study to analyze how this expression may be changing or reducing Costa Rican speech habits.

“Pura vida” has been, and is now, like the word “Tico,” a genuine symbol of Costa Rica. Will it, as many words and expressions in languages do, disappear from Costa Rican Spanish? It does not seem likely, since I personally have lived in Costa Rica for 25 years, and have only seen an increase in its use. However, with languages, one never knows.. By now, as shown in this study, the use of the expression “pura vida” shows the importance that these two words have in Costa Rica, its language, its culture and its people. Only time will tell if the use of the expression “pura vida” will remain, increase, be transformed or be replaced by another expression. In the meantime, I simply hope that my message will be understood. ¡Pura vida!

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## ANNEX

(Documentation of hearing or seeing the expression "pura vida" between May, 2015 and May 2016, with personal comments by the author)

I will eventually write an article called "Pura vida from a Foreigner's Perspective."

I will listen to every example I can, when Ticos use it, and how, and write down the date and circumstances.

1. I have this idea because I have thought of it before, and also because today, May 19, 2015, as my son's guitar teacher was leaving, they both said "pura vida" instead of "thank you," "you're welcome," "good-bye," "see you next time," "we had a great class," etc. Which was what they meant. They did have a great class together, and were using "maje" a whole lot before he left. It's like male-bonding thing, but beyond. It is reduction, elliptic.

Many linguistic things going on here.

I will have to establish what they are doing linguistically and psychologically together, that only Ticos can do. Neither of them would have said "pura vida" to a foreigner.

2. Friday, May, 29 2:45 p.m. Parqueo la UNA. Woman to Parking lot attendant (Guard): ¡Olman! ¡Pura vida! (Hello, how are you?)

Olman: ¿Cómo le va?

3. Sat. May, 30. At home watching TV. Television commercial for a telephone. ¡Pura vida en Costa Rica!

(Everything's fine in Costa Rica) (This telephone is great)

4. Friday, June 5, 7:00 a.m. Heredia, Family Burger. Young man, (student) buying a bottle of Tropical Juice (frutas), getting his change: ¡Pura vida! This is “Thank you.”

5. Monday, June 8, 7:12 a.m. Woman in car: Hola! Guard, parking lot, UNA (Heredia) ¡Pura vida! (Hola)

6. Monday, June 7:42 a.m. Sala de profesores, UNA, Heredia. English Professor with male English student. Student: “Good morning.” Professor: “How are you?” Student: “Pure life.” Identity Construction. It is such a part of their identity, that they take it with them to the English language, where it is completely inappropriate.

7. Tues. June 9, 7:10 p.m. Channel 179 – DESTV – A show, in Spanish, called Pura Vida Comfort (Notice the Spanglish) talking about hotels in Costa Rica, the narrator says, “...en el país de la Pura Vida. What? Pure life? More? Everything Pura Vida can represent?”

A few thoughts: What can pura vida really mean? Remember the Gringo I saw at OSU who said “pura vida” perfectly to Jeff, a Gringo Costa Rican. I remember thinking, since I had already been here, that it was too much, fake, he was forcing it, even though he used it perfectly. The problem was that it was Corvallis, Oregon, and even though Jeff was Gringo-Tico, it was out of place. Just like the Ticos who swear in English, “Jesus Christ!” Does not work, or the French who use “gonna” instead of going to. They use it correctly, but it is out of place. “Fuck” is the same thing. The “n” word. Blacks can use it whites cannot.

8. Wed. June, 10. 11:15 a.m. UNA, staff room. Jorge Carvajal, after a chat with a friend that approached him and asked him if he knew who he was (English student), waiting for Cristina, the English prof. After the chat, the student said good-bye and Jorge answered “Pura vida.” (Good-bye, nice talking to you, nice seeing you again).

9. Wed. June, 10, 7:30 p.m. watching T.V., channel 363, Mountain Men. There was an Imperial commercial, for mini refrigerators. Young people, with beer, in a room and in the background there was a blackboard with a whole lot of messages, one of them was “Pura Vida.” Symbol of Costa Rica. Happiness, good times, beer.

10. Fri. June 19, Gilda talking to Annette, the Dean, about the Article in the Semanario, Gilda mad, Annette mad, and they will have a meeting with Don Henning in 2 weeks. Gilda: Bueno, entonces hago lista del niño. Ok, Puravida. (Here it means, ok, we agree, we’ll see then, goodbye, nice talking to you.)

11. Fri. June 26. Otra vez, UNA, the parking lot guard. (Olman, the same one from above). I got there at 11:46 a.m. when it was going to be very difficult



to get a place to park. I let myself in, and he pointed out to me a man who was getting into his car, and leaving, so I would have a place to park. He wanted to help me, he was very friendly, giving me a hand. After I parked, I came back and said: ¡Gracias! He replied: ¡Pura vida! It was not only saying "pura vida" it was his intonation. He was being really nice, like the women do when they say "Con mucho gusto" and they really mean it. "Pura vida" is more than just the word, it is also the intonation of how they say it. Here, it meant "You are Welcome", but very, very sincerely. This parking lot attendant would be a good person to interview about what he thinks pura vida means.

12. Tues. June 20th, 4:20 p.m. I saw the restaurant by AM/PM mini market that has Pura vida written on its sign. This can mean a lot of things.

13. Tues., June 30th, 4:30 p.m. Coche took me to the mechanic, and on the way home, I said "muchas gracias." He replied (two different times) "Pura vida" and even said "mucho gusto." It was like he thought about it, and then said "mucho gusto" like he wasn't sure I would understand that it meant "you're welcome."

14. Wed. July 1, 11:10 a.m. Talking to Fabian to wish him Happy Birthday, I said "have a happy birthday, and he answered with the whole "muchas gracias, un abrazo a todo la familia, etc." and then I said "ciao" and he answered "pura vida, bye." This is more than thank you.

15. Fri. July 3, 11:15 a.m. Coche called me. I knew it as him, because of my phone contacts. I said: "Coche." He replied: "Pura vida." This is "Hello."

16. Fri. July 3, 7:30 p.m. My son gets a ride home and as he says good-bye, he screams out: "Pura vida!" This is both "Thank you" and "Good-bye."

17. Thurs. July 9, 10:23 a.m. UCR, returning exams and giving them their final grades. I shook Andres Montealgres' hand and he said, "Pura vida." This is "Hello" (Buenos días), but it was like more.

18. Friday, July 10, 4:30 p.m. In the airplane on the way to Madrid. Getting on the plane, my seat fell back when I went to sit down and startled me and the guy behind me. I said "perdon" and he said "no se preocupe, even though I could see by his eyes that he was startled too. His aunt (as I found out later because of their incessant talking) laughed and said loudly, "Pura vida." She was almost making fun of me, they probably knew I'm not tico. She was like reinforcing the fact that we were in Costa Rica, it was more than "It's okay, don't worry." It was like here in Costa Rica, we are ok.

19. Sat. July 25, 2:38 p.m. Airport, San José. Coming home from Europe. A banner in the airport: Bienvenidos al país más puravida del mundo. Remember that Costa Rica was voted the happiest place to live in the world. Here it could mean "happy."

20. Wed. July 29, 3:00 p.m. In my car, returning from the UNA to home, in front of HOOTERS just outside of Heredia. On the back of a car, there was a bumper sticker, which was a flag of Costa Rica, above there was “Pura vida.” Below, there was “Costa Rica.” “Pura vida” is a symbol of Costa Rica. Just like “baseball, hot dogs and apple pie” are a symbol of the US. I would almost say “The land of the free and the home of the Brave,” but that would be like “La Suiza de América Central.” This is interesting. Needs research.

21. Wed., July 29, 6:06 p.m. Watching TV at home. There is a program on DESTV channel 179 called “Pura Vida Comfort.” It talks about hotels and tours here. It is Tourism. In this case, it is the same as saying “Costa Rica.” This is good, interesting. And even more interesting, it is for commercial reasons. Contradiction. Pura Vida is supposed to represent more than just making money.

22. Thursday, July, 30, 11:14 a.m. In the Tennis Club spa, I saw Andy’s friend, Eddy and as we walked past each other, without saying anything, I stuck my hand out to shake his hand. He shook my hand and said, “Pura vida.” This is a greeting. “Hello, how are you?”

23. Friday, July 31, 7:48 a.m. In the UNA, Roberto Salgado. Joking, as he, we always do, in broken English, I said to him, “Potatoes.” He answered with an American accent, “Pura vida or no pura vida?” I know he meant “Hi,” because he used to always say “Hi or no hi” to me. A greeting with a joke.

24. Thursday, August 6, 8:47 p.m. Costa Rica Country Club. Swiss National Day celebration, the Swiss musician, speaking English he said that he didn’t speak Spanish and apologized. He was talking about whatever, and at the end of his speech, he said: Thank you, Pura vida!

This means thank you, but as always, so much more.

25. Monday, August 10. 10:42 a.m. Ricardo from the lab, in the UNA. I took the video beam, the computer etc. back. I asked if everything was OK as Ricardo checked it. He then said to me: “Todo bien Andy, pura vida.” This is not really thank you, I would have had to say thank you, I am returning it to him. This is like “All is OK.

26. Wednesday, August 12, 9:36 a.m. UNA. Ricardo from the Lab. I told him I did not need the computer and the video beam. I said “Gracias” and he answered: “OK. Pura vida.” This is 100% “You’re welcome”.

27. Wednesday, August 12, the guy I had the accident with, on his motorcycle. After leaving the traffic court place in Pavas, we said “hasta luego”, adios, or something, and he said “Pura vida”. This means “good-bye”, maybe “que les vaya bien”.

28. Thursday, August, 13, 9:09 a.m. Coche called Gilda, to see at what time we would pick him up to take him at the Tennis Club to take him to the University of Costa Rica. She said, "O.K., pura vida." This means, ok, good-bye, all is agreed upon.

29. Saturday, Aug. 15, 9:02 a.m. Coche called me to discuss things to take to the Castillo, for Mother's Day. When he was hanging up, he said: "Pura vida." This is good-bye, see you soon.

30. Saturday, Aug. 15, 9:47 a.m. Exactly the same as above, with Coche. Obviously when he says good-bye on the telephone, he uses "pura vida." It means good-bye, take it easy, see you later, vaya con Dios, so many things.

31. Tuesday, August 18, 5:45 p.m. me talking to Roger on skype, Coche was here and came over to say hi. When he said good-bye, he said: "Pura vida." Just like the above two examples.

32. Friday, August, 21, 7:09 a.m. UNA. Workers on the steps or sidewalk between the soda and the Faculty. They were shaking hands and saying hello, "pura vida." Here it is "Hello, how are you?"

33. Thursay, August 27, 11:15 a.m. In my class, UCR. The day of the marcha, David Carillo arrived 1 hour and 15 minutes late. I explained to him that there was no official class that day, I was only doing a review. He said: "Pura vida." This means, ok, I understand, great.

34. Thursday, August 27, 12:50 p.m. Krakovia restaurant with Gilda and Very. Ana Nery, the Portuguese Instructor, greeting me, said: "Pura vida." Hello, how are you. (Greeting).

35. Saturday, August 29, 6:30 p.m, Automercado. Judith, from la UNA. I said: "Hola, ¿como va todo?" She replied: "Hola, Andy, ¿Puravida?" It's like, "Hello, how are you?"

36. Monday, August 31. Dr. Antonio Gomez, talking to some young guy he knew, who brought him something. Dr. Gomez said: "Pura vida" as the guy was leaving. It was like, "Nice to see you, good bye, see you, Que le vaya bien."

37. Wednesday, September 2, 4:41 p.m. Taxi driver who took me to Plaza Mayor. I said: "Gracias" to the taxi driver and he answered: "OK. Pura vida." This is "You're welcome."

38. Wednesay, September, 2. 6:28 p.m. Coche on the phone: "Ok, Andy, ciao. Pura vida." This is like, "Ok, take it easy, que le vaya bien."

39. Tuesday, September 8. 11:22 a.m. I was near the house, by the park, walking. Macho was walking in the opposite direction. Macho: “¿Qué Andy?” Me: “¿Todo bien?” Macho: “¿Pura vida?” It was a question. He was asking me: “How is everything?” (How is it going?) His pura vida meant: “All fine?”

40. Tuesday, September 8. 6:20 p.m. In the house, Andy’s guitar teacher, saying good bye.

Andy: “Ok, pura vida.” (This would be “Good bye, thank you.”) Teacher: “Pura vida.” (This would be “Good bye, you’re welcome”).

41. Thursday, September 10, 9:51 a.m. UCR. I shake the Janitor’s hand. He says: “Andy, pura vida?” This is “Hi, how are you” “Everything fine?”

42. Thursday, September 10, 9:55 a.m. UCR. I get tape recorder-stereo for my class. I say “Gracias” to the guy who gave it to me. He answers: “Pura vida.” This is 100% “You’re welcome.”

43. Thursday, September 10, 6:05 p.m. Guitar teacher leaving the house, says: “Pura vida.” This is “Good-bye.”

44. Saturday, September 12, 4:07 p.m. After church, at the gas station near home. I said: “Muchas gracias” to the gas-station employee after he filled up and serviced the car. He answered: “Pura vida.” This is “You’re welcome.”

45. Saturday, September 12, 8:05 p.m. At home, I showed William where the cold beer was, and I said: “Tome lo que quiera.” He answered: “Pura vida” which means here “Thank you.” Why do they not just say, thank you or you’re welcome? There is so much more here.

46. Sunday, September 12, 6:47 p.m. At home with Leo, Anastasia’s boyfriend. Me: “¿Cómo le va?” Him: “Pura vida.” So here it means “Fine,” or “Okay.” I created “Pura vida anxiety.” I need to get credit for this.

47. Thursday, Sept. 17, 12:34 p.m. University of Costa Rica. LM-2003, I told Jessica Schosinsky to make a list of all her doubts, and that I would help her. She answered: “Pura vida.” This means ok, thank you, I will do it. It is more than a mere thank you.

48. Thursday, Sept. 17, 5:39 p.m. Gilda talking to her uncle Koki on the phone. He was wishing her a happy birthday. She said: “Ok, Tio, pura vida,” which here means “thank you.”

49. Thursday, Sept. 17, 6:26 p.m. Gilda talking to Jean-Luc from IFAC. “Ok, puravida.” A few minutes later, she said, “Ok, bueno, perfecto.” So for her, here, pura vida means “ok, perfect.”

50. Thursday, Sept. 17, 9:56 p.m. Gilda talking to Elkin on the phone, saying good-bye. "Ok, puravida." Here it means, "Thank you, good-bye."

51. Friday, Sept. 18, 11:28 a.m. I was at the UNA. Coche called me and said, "¿Andy, pura vida?" Here it means, "Hello, how are you?"

52. Friday, Sept. 18, 12:58 p.m. UNA. Evelyn was explaining something to Lily. Lily said: "Ah, puravida." From the tone of her voice, it was clear she was expressing sarcasm. Like, sarcastically saying: "Wow great."

53. Friday, Sept. 18, 5:09 p.m. I call Coche. He says: "Hola Andy, ¿puravida?" This is "How are you."

54. Friday, Sept. 18, 5:10 p.m. same conversation as above. Coche says, "Ok, pura vida." This means "good-bye."

55. Sunday, Sept. 20, 9:59 a.m. Coche on the phone, saying good-bye: "Ok, puravida." This means, Thanks, good-bye."

56. Sunday, Sept. 20, 6:54 p.m. On the phone with Coche. He had taken Andy to Saprissa stadium. I said thank you. He answered: "Entonces si, pura vida." This means "You're welcome."

57. Monday, Sept. 21, 8:03 a.m. UNA, laboratory, with Ricardo. I signed for the video beam, and without saying anything, he said: "Pura vida." This means: "Ok, here you go."

58. Tues. Sept. 22, 11:09 a.m. Tennis Club. Me leaving, I run into Mauricio, Carolina's ex. I said, as I was shaking his hand: "¿Cómo le va?" He answered: "Puravida." Here it means: "All fine, ok."

59. Tuesday, Sept. 22, 12:49 p.m. in front of the UNA. David, the guy who used to work in the School of Literature. After our conversation of a few minutes, as he was shaking my hand, said: "Pura vida Andy." I had not seen him in months or even years. It is like: Ok, look, great seeing you again, nice talking to you, que le vaya bien." Elliptic, reduction.

60. Wed. Sept. 23, 5:00 p.m. Andy took a taxi home from the UCR. I gave him the money to pay and when he paid he said: "Pura vida." This is "Thank you."

61. Thursday, Sept. 24, 12:25 p.m. UCR. I took the tape recorder back to the centro de recursos and the guy said (the one with glasses, Guillermo. I said: "Gracias," and he answered: "Pura vida." Here it means: "You're welcome. I knew he was going to say it! It is like I set him up for it, but not really. I anticipated him saying it.

62. Friday, Sept. 25, 7:58 a.m. UNA, office. Ronald Ramirez. I said: “Ronald Ramirez, ¿a va?” He replied laughing: “Pura vida.” Here it means: “Ok, fine.”

63. Friday, Sept. 25, 11:30 a.m. UNA outside the office. Two guys shaking hands. One says: “Pura vida.” Here it means: “Hi, how are you?”

64. Sunday, Sept. 27, 8:51 p.m. called Coche and asked if we had #17 in lottery. I said: “Hola Coche.” He answered: “Pura vida.” This means “Hi, how are you?”

65. Wed. Sept. 30, 11:14 a.m. talking to Coche on the phone. At the end of the conversation, he said: “Ok, pura vida.” It was good-bye, obviously, but more than that. It was like, “I agree, we will do that.”

66. Thursday, Oct. 1, 11:50 a.m. UCR. Escuela de LM. I signed my plan de trabajo and Jorge said: “Puravida.” This is “Ok, thank you.”

67. Friday, Oct. 2, 6:48 a.m. UNA parking lot. One guard greeting another: “(¿) Puravida (?)” This may or may not have been a question. It was hard to tell. It seems like he raised his voice a little. Half question, half declaration. So: “Hi, how are you?” or “Hi, nice to see you.” This is a perfect case for the illocution theory part, because it is hard to know if the speaker and listener are on the same level.

68. Friday, Oct. 2, 8:03 a.m. Laboratory, UNA. With Ricardo. I knew he would say it, I anticipated his response. I said, with confidence, knowing what he would answer: “Gracias.” He answered: “Pura vida, Andy.”

69. Friday, Oct. 2, 6:51 p.m. Andy leaving the house to go to the Tennis Club. Koki was in his garage, sitting down, relaxing. Andy said: “Hola tío, puravida.” Not really a question, but I guess it has to be. “How are you?”

70. Sat. Oct. 3, 4:03 p.m. Leaving mass, outside Socorro. Paula, Catalina’s daughter told us she was nervous because she was having some medical exams on Monday. Gilda said: “Tranquila, todo va a salir puravida.” This means “Ok” or “fine.”

71. Sat. Oct. 3, 4:35 p.m. At home. Andy opened the door for one of his friends and said: “Maje, puravida.” Just like yesterday with Koki, a greeting and not really a question. “I hope you are fine, nice to see you...”

72. Wed. Oct. 7, 8:21 a.m. At home. Coche called looking for Gilda, and at the end, as I knew he would, he said: “Pura vida.” Here it means “Ok, see you soon, thank you, good-bye.”

This word is like “ya” in that it can mean so many things at the same time. Like “vale” with the Spaniards.

73. Wed. Oct. 7, 5:58 p.m. At home watching TV. Imperial beer commercial. "Tomar con moderación. #estoespuravida." Imperial is a symbol of Costa Rica. Puravida is a symbol of Costa Rica. Just like the license plates, the key ring the restaurant's sign, the picture in the book in Dr. Gomez's office, the T Shirt. Very important.

74. Thursday, Oct. 8, 1:37 p.m. UCR, office. Gabriela Alfaro, talking on the phone. "Hasta luegito, pura vida, ciao." Not really "good-bye" because she said "hasta luegito." More like: "Nice talking to you."

75. Thursday, Oct. 8, 1:50 p.m. UCR. I waved to Tony, (English Prof) when I was entering the office, and he said: "Puravida." This is "Hi, how are you?"

76. Thursday, Oct. 8, 3:05 p.m. UCR. I was leaving the bathroom, Jorge was entering. I opened the door and with my hands, welcomed him in, as I left. He said: "Pura vida, Andy." This is a "Thank you."

77. Thursday, Oct. 8, 5:42 p.m. UCR. Adriana, as Gilda and I were leaving, runs into us at the bottom of the stairs. She says: "¿Cómo están? ¿Puravida?" This is "Ok?" or "Fine?"

78. Friday, Oct, 9, 7:32 a.m. UNA. In the Plaza de Diversidad. Juan Carlos, the old French student that I have not seen in 3 to 5 years, was walking by and said: "¿Cómo le va Andy? ¿Pura vida?" This is: Everything fine?

79. Friday, Oct, 9, 2:52 p.m. UNA parking lot. As someone was leaving in their car, they gave the guard the card and he said: "Pura vida." It was "You're welcome."

80. Friday, Oct, 9, 6:04 p.m. At home. Gilda called Nayo to say happy birthday. Silvia answered and Gilda talked to her for a while and then asked for the "Birthday Boy," and then in response to whatever Silvia said, responded: "Pura vida." This means "OK" or "Thank you," or even, "Nice talking to you."

81. Sat. Oct. 10, 2:46 p.m. Taxi driver outside house, the one that knows me. "¡Pura vida!"

This is "Hi, how are you?" But again, so much more, because he remembered me, and he was like asking, "How have you been, etc."

82. Sat. Oct. 10, 2:58 p.m. Same taxi driver. His phone rings, he starts talking and says: "Pura vida." Same as above. "Hi, how are you."

83. Oct. 11, 12:54 p.m. Tennis club. At the mass, at the end, Mauricio, Carolina's ex. He greets Gilda and without saying anything to me, as I was shaking his hand: "Pura vida." This is a greeting, "Hi, how are you?"

84. Sun. Oct. 11, 1:09 p.m. At home, I called Coche to wish him a happy birthday. At the end, he said: “Muchas gracias, cunadito, pura vida.” It is more than “thank you” since he had already said that. What is it? Very interesting. “Have a nice day?”

85 Sun. Oct. 11, 1:11 p.m. The same phone call, Gilda was wishing Coche a happy birthday. Ending the call, she said: “Ok, puravida.” This is “Good-bye, happy birthday.”

86. Mon. Oct 12, 2:01 p.m. Coche came to the house to study with Very.  
“¿Cómo le va Andy? ¿Pura vida?” It is hard to tell if it is a question or not. It is a greeting. “Everything ok?”

I need to explore this idea of whether or not it is a question. So many times it is used as a question, but not with the intonation of a question. It is as if they know the answer.

87. Mon. Oct. 12, 2:01 p.m. Gilda says to Coche, immediately after the above conversation, as she gives him his present, which was a bottle of rum: “Happy Birthday.” He responds: “Muchas Gracias, pura vida.” It is like a double thank you. Or like “I really appreciate it, it is a great gift.”

88. Mon. Oct. 12, 2:01 p.m. Gilda answers Coche above with: “Pura vida.” This is “You’re welcome.”

89. Mon. Oct. 12, 2:09 p.m. Coche talking on the phone to someone else: “¿Pura vida?”

90. Mon. Oct. 12, 2:09 p.m. In the same conversation as above: “¿Todo pura vida?”

91. Mon. Oct. 12, 2:09 p.m. Again, in the same conversation as above: “Pura vida.” The other person was talking and I could not hear the conversation, but it is like: “Hi, how are you? Is everything fine? All fine here.”

92. Mon. Oct. 12, 2:12 p.m. Coche calls someone else and says: “¡Pura vida!... ¡Pura vida, ciao!” Just like above I cannot hear the other person, but his entire dialogue is “pura vida.” “Hello, how are you.... Great talking to you, good-bye.”

93. Mon. Oct. 12, 2:13 p.m. Very came downstairs to study with Coche, and he says: “¡Pura vida!” “Hi, how are you?” It is a greeting.

94. Mon. Oct. 12, 2:14 p.m. Coche and Very went to study at Doña Vera’s house and as they were leaving he said: “¡Pura vida!” “Ok, see you all later.”

I was glad he left. Pura vida anxiety. He says it so often it is hard to write it down. It is stressful for me.



An interesting question. (Illocutionary force). Are Coche's pura vida's received as the same word that he has in mind when he says it? Does he have actual words in mind when he says it so often or has it become a tic with him, just as "vale" has become with the Spaniards?

This may be much of this paper. Intent vs. reception.

95. Mon. Oct. 12, 4:38 p.m. Vero and Coche return because they could not study there, because there was too much noise. I open the door. He says: "Pura vida." A greeting. "Hi."

96. Tues. Oct. 13, 2:52 p.m. At home. There is an Imperial beer commercial, something like: "Tomar con responsabilidad es pura vida." This is interesting. It means a lot, like "The right thing to do." Or simply "Good?"

97. Tues. Oct. 13, 5:55 p.m. Arturo's liquor store. The guy I always see there. I hit him on the shoulder to say "hi" and when he saw me, he said: "¿Cómo me dice? ¿Pura vida?"

"Is everything fine?" "How have you been?"

98. Wed. Oct. 14. 2:39 p.m. UNA. Just like #23 above. I run into Eddy, Andy's friend and as we crossed, and I put my hand out to shake his, he said: "Pura vida." "Hi, how are you?" I knew he would do it. Sometimes I can anticipate it so well. See #69.

99. We. Oct. 14. 2:47 p.m. Upper parking lot, UNA. Little license plate on a car.

Costa	Rica
506	Mae
Pura	Vida

This goes with the other T shirt and license plate one. A symbol of Costa Rica. See #21

Or simply "cool guy."

100. Wed. Oct. 14. 4.36 p.m. Home. I answer the door for Andy, who is coming home from the University. Koki is in his Garage. See #70. I wave to Koki. Andy turns around and says: "Hola, Tio, pura vida." This is a greeting. "Hi, how are you?"

101. Thurs. Oct. 15. 9:05 a.m. Home. I hear Sebastian outside the door: "Pura vida." He said it to Jorge Porras. "Hi, how are you?" Greeting. I asked him if he had spoken to someone, to see if he would clarify what he wanted to say. He told me he had said "Hi." It was a greeting for him.

102. Thurs. Oct. 15. 9:31 a.m. In the car on the way to the University. Gilda talking to Paulita on the phone: "Bueno, pura vida, ciao." This is like "Thank you." She said "ciao" for the good-bye part.

103. Thurs. Oct. 15, 6:19 p.m. At home. Andy saying good-bye to guitar teacher. The guitar teacher said: "Pura vida." "Thank you, good-bye."

104. Andy answered: "Hasta luego, pura vida." This is "You're welcome (Thank you), see you next time."

105. Fri. Oct. 16, 11:43 a.m. UNA laboratory. I say to Ricardo: "Nos vemos a la una, tal vez." He answers: "Pura vida." "Ok, no problem."

106. Fri. Oct. 16, 6:42 p.m. With Gilda in the Tennis Club. Talking about the people on the poster for Nacer's book presentation. She said: "Manuel es pura vida." I asked her to clarify what she meant by "pura vida" and she said: "Manuel es buena gente." So pura vida can also be used for a nice person.

107 Sat. Oct. 17, 1:52 p.m. Home. William came here. I shook his hand and said: "¿Todo bien?" He answered: "Pura vida." "All is fine."

108. Sun. Oct. 18 4:13 p.m. Home. Gilda talking to Marcela on the phone. "Pura vida. Hasta luego." This is Ok.

109. Sun. Oct. 18. 6:08 p.m. Home. Coche came here. I answered the door. He said: "Pura vida." This is a greeting. "Hi, how are you?"

110, Sun. Oct. 18. 6:16 p.m. Home. Coche. After speaking with me he said: "Pura vida" This is probably "Thank you."

111. Sun. Oct. 18. 6:16 p.m. Same conversation as above. Coche says "Pura vida again. This is probably "Good-bye."

112. Mon. Oct. 19, 8:02 a.m. UNA laboratory. With Ricardo. I am getting the video beam. Me: "Gracias." Ricardo: "Pura vida, Andy." This is "You're welcome."

113. Mon. Oct. 19, 9:51 a.m. UNA laboratory. With Ricardo. I am returning the computer and video beam. Ricardo: "Está bien, Andy." Me: "Gracias." Ricardo: "Pura vida." This is "You're welcome."

114. Mon. Oct. 19, 10:25 a.m. UNA. With Alejandro. Me: ¿Cómo va el club? (Our private joke, el club de los rencos). Alejandro: "Pura vida." This means "Ok" or "fine."

115. Mon. Oct 19, 1:48 p.m. UNA la escuela. Lily, talking to someone: "Pura vida, hasta luego." "Ok, good-bye."

116. Mon. Oct. 19, 2:01 p.m. UNA parqueo. I had just left a good parking spot and a woman had just arrived. Guard to me: "¿Dónde está su campo?" Me: "Aquí, cerca." Guard: "Pura vida." This is "Thank you."

117. Tues. Oct. 20. 10:38 a.m. Home. Turning on my cell phone. I notice for the first time that as the frog appears it says: "Bienvenido al mundo Kölbi ¡Pura vida!" And when you turn it off, it says: "¡Hasta luego!" So here it definitely means "Hello," since when you turn it off it says "¡Hasta luego!"

118. Tues. Oct. 20, 4:30 p.m. Home. Andy's guitar teacher. Andy: "¿Qué mae, pura vida, todo bien?" This is "Hello." A greeting.

119. Tues. Oct. 20, 5:44 p.m. Home. Andy's guitar teacher. As he was leaving, he said something to Andy, then said, "Pura vida." This is "Ok, thank you."

120. Wed. Oct. 21, 6:56 a.m. UNA parking lot. Two guys who met and knew each other, greeting one another. "¿Cómo me dice? Pura vida, todo bien." A greeting.

121. Wed, Oct. 21, 12:56 p.m. UNA, laboratory. Me: "Gracias." Ricardo: "Pura vida." This is "You're welcome."

122. Wed, Oct. 21, 2:36 p.m. UNA, laboratory. Me : "Gracias." Ricardo: "Pura vida." Just like above, "You're welcome."

123. Thurs, Oct. 22, UCR, 9:52 a.m. laboratory, getting the tape recorder. Me: "Gracias." The guy: "Pura vida." Just like above, "You're welcome."

124. Thurs, Oct. 22, 1:01 p.m. UCR. Lenguas Modernas. I open the office door for Jorge. He says: "Pura vida." This is "Thank you."

125. Thurs, Oct. 22, 2: 39 p.m. UCR, in my office. Gilda walked by my office and someone called her and she said: "Pura vida." This is a greeting. "Hi."

126. Thurs. Oct. 22, 3:37 p.m. UCR. In the hallway, coming up the stairs. Jeffrey (I think) from the lab. Me: "¿Cómo va todo?" Him: "Pura vida." It was a question and a statement at the same time. I know it's strange, but it was. So it was, "Fine and you?"

127. Thurs. Oct. 22, 6:20 p.m. UCR. Gilda's office. Gilda calls her mom. Coche answers. Gilda: "Coche, pura vida?" This is "hello."

128. Thurs. Oct. 22, 6:56 p.m. UCR. 4th floor. Going to the French activity. Student in a wheel chair. A girl explained something to him, and he said: "Pura vida." This is, "Ok, I understand, thank you." Again, elliptic. Reduction. It is more than one word.

129. Thurs. Oct. 22, 8:26 p.m. UCR. Gilda saying good-bye to the students and congratulating them on the good job they had done with the French Ambassador. Gilda: "Pura vida." "Good-bye, good job."

130. Fri. Oct. 23, 8:51 a.m. UNA. In class, Ricardo had to change our video beam. After he had changed everything, he apologized. I said: "No, tranquilo, gracias." Ricardo: "Pura vida." This is "you're welcome."

131. Sat. Oct. 24. Guitar store. I bought Andy his guitar case. As we were leaving, he said "pura vida to the clerk. This is "Thank you."

132. Sat. Oct. 24. Guitar store. Same conversation as above. The clerk answered Andy: "Pura vida." This is "You're welcome."

133. Sun. Oct. 25, 2:04 p.m. Home. Coche came in and said: "Pura vida." This is "Hello." A greeting.

134. Sun. Oct. 25, 2:48 p.m. Home. Coche was studying with Very. I asked him if he wanted a drink: "Coche, ¿usted quiere algo para darle inspiración con los estudios?" Coche: "No, gracias, pura vida." Interesting. He says gracias and pura vida. It is like a double thank you.

135. Tues. Oct. 27, 12.55 p.m. In the little supermarket beside the UNA. A young woman bought something and said. "Muchas Gracias." The clerk answered: "Pura vida." This is "You're welcome."

136. Tues. Oct. 27, 12.58 p.m. UNA. Copy Betty. Pablo: "Pura vida." Student: "Muchas gracias." Interesting. They both say "thank you." Or is Pablo's "Pura vida" something besides "thank you?" Like "Ok, here you go."

137. Wed. Oct. 28, 6:15 p.m. San Jose, in a taxi beside parque Morazon. There is a store. It says: Artelec. Somos Pura Vida. Symbol of Costa Rica, but also so much more. It can be things like "Quality, excellence, etc."

138. Thurs. Oct. 29, 9:29 a.m. UCR. I left Andy at his building. Sebastian was in the car with me. Andy as he was leaving said: "Pura vida." Here he is saying both "Good-bye and thank you." Again, reduction.

139. Thurs. Oct. 29, 9:39 a.m. UCR. I enter by the mirrors. The janitor says: "Pura vida, Andy." This is a greeting, a "hello."

140. Thurs. Oct. 29, 9:53 a.m. UCR. In the soda. On one of the national TV morning shows, I believe channel 6, a guy was making "Sopa Pura Vida." Symbol.

141. Thurs. Oct. 29, 4:42 p.m. UCR. In Gilda's office. Gilda and Norman had a meeting. When they finished, she said: "Pura vida." This is like: "Ok, we agree, we both understand what we are going to do, thank you, you're welcome, and good-bye," 4 or 5 things here, again, elliptic and or reduction.

142. Thurs. Oct. 29, 4:42 p.m. UCR. In Gilda's office. The same conversation as above. Norman answered: "Pura vida." This is good. It was like, "Ok, we agree, we both understand what we are going to, you're welcome, and good-bye," 4 or 5 things here, again, elliptic and or reduction.

143. Fri. Oct. 30, 10:48 a.m. UNA, in the little feria del agricultor. There was a farmer who was wearing a baseball cap. On it it said: "Pura Vida – Costa Rica – América Central. Symbol of Costa Rica. It isn't really saying anything.

At 11:11 a.m. I went to the lab at the UNA. As always, I said thank you to Ricardo. He answered "con mucho gusto." What, linguistically is the difference for Ricardo between "pura vida" and "con mucho gusto?"

144. Fri. Oct. 30. 3:10 p.m. In my car, coming home from the UNA. am listening to the radio. The D. J. says, "Perfecto, perfecto, pura vida." Like "perfect, ok."

145. Sat. Oct. 31. 10:57 a.m. Home. Guillermo Carazo called for Gilda. I told him I would give her the message to call him. He answered: "Pura vida." It is like, Thank you, good-bye. Reduction.

146. Sun. Nov. 1. 10:35 a.m. Feria, Hatillos. Andy interviewing Chango. It was hard to count how many times they said it. There were hellos, good-byes, thank you's and your welcomes. But more than that it is almost as if they use it to size someone up. Chango could have thought that Andy didn't speak Spanish like he does, and immediately used it to see. Andy immediately answered as if to say that he did speak Spanish. Very interesting.

147. Sun. Nov. 1. 11:18 a.m. Home. Gilda on phone, talking to Alonso. Gilda: "Ok, bueno, pura vida, ciao." This is like "Everything is ok, we understand each other."

148. Tues. Nov. 3, 3:47 p.m. Home. Andy's guitar instructor. He says: "Hola." Andy replies: "Pura vida." Instructor: "Todo bien." It is like, "Hello, how are you?"

149. Wed. Nov 4, 6:57 a.m. UNA parqueo. Two guys meet each other. The first: "¿Qué pasó? Pura vida?" This is: "How are you, All fine?"

150. Wed. Nov. 4, 1:04 p.m. UNA, laboratory. I said: "Gracias." Ricardo: "Pura vida, Andy." This is "You're welcome."

151. Wed. Nov. 4, 3:05 p.m. UNA, laboratory. When I returned the video beam, I said: "Gracias." Ricardo: "Pura vida." This is "You're welcome."

152. Thurs. Nov. 5. 12:41 p.m. UCR. Laboratory. I returned the tape recorder. The same guy as always: “Estamos, pura vida.” Me: “Gracias.” So, I didn’t even have to say thank you. This is a “thank you” and a “you’re welcome” at the same time.

153. Fri. Nov. 6. 7:07 a.m. UNA. Office. I told Lilly about how Mariana had a convocatorio to vote from a year ago, Oct. 2014, and she and I thought we had to vote. She laughed and said: “Pura vida.” It was also her intonation. She uses it as sarcasm, like “great” or “wow.” With #51 above, Lilly is the only case of sarcasm I have. Also she is one of the few women who say it, besides Gilda, of course.

154. Fri. Nov. 6. 12:38 p.m. UNA. Staff room. Nuria walked in and when she saw me she said: “Pura vida.” With the intonation, it was like saying: “Hi, how are you?”

155. Fri. Nov. 6. 2:34 p.m. UNA. Laboratory. I was returning the video beam. Me: “Gracias.” Ricardo: “Bueno Andy, pura vida.” This is you’re welcome.

156. Fri. Nov. 6. 2:34 p.m. UNA. Office. Liz was talking to Hazel. She said: “Pura vida.” In this case, she was saying “thank you” because Hazel was giving her information, or they were collaborating something. She is one of the few women I have.

157. Mon. Nov. 9, 3:35 p.m. Plaza Escazu with Gilda. Gilda on phone. Gilda: “Ok, bueno, pura vida, ciao.” This is like, “Ok, nice talking to you.”

158. Tues. Nov. 10, 3:40 p.m. Flor, the lottery woman. Me: “¿Todo bien?” Flor: “Todo bien, pura vida.” It is so hard to say what this is. How are you? Nice to see you? Very interesting.

159. Tues. Nov. 10. 4:37 p.m. Home. Andy’s guitar teacher arriving. Andy: “¿Cómo le va, pura vida?” Teacher: “Todo bien.” This is “All is fine, or Ok. Here, the sender and the recipient totally understand each other. No problem.

160. Tues. Nov. 10. 5:55 p.m. Andy’s guitar teacher, leaving. Andy, paying him: “Pura vida, mae.” This is either “Thank you,” or just “Ok.”

161. Tues. Nov. 10. 5:55 p.m. Same conversation as above. Andy’s guitar teacher, leaving. Andy, paying him: “Pura vida, mae.” The guitar teacher answers: “Pura vida, gracias.” This is not “thank you,” or is it? Is it just “Ok?” At the door, Andy said “pura vida” 2 more times. It is like. “Thank you, good-bye.”

162. Wed. Nov. 11. 3:00 p.m. UNA. Alejandro saw a guy he knew: Alejandro: “Hola.” Guy: “Pura vida.” This is “Hello.”

163. Wed. Nov. 11. 3:11 p.m. The guard house at the parking lot of the UNA. 1 guy: "Pura vida." Another guy: "Pura vida, hasta luego" They were separating, so this is a "Good-bye," but why the "Hasta luego?" It is more than good-bye. What? "Que le vaya bien? Interesting.

164. Mini super above the UNA, that I see when I leave the UNA parking lot from above. Mini Super Tota. Written, painted, on the front of the store is "PURA VIDA." What could it mean? It is like a symbol.

165. Wed. Nov. 11. 4:03 p.m. Automercado. Coche called me. When he was hanging up, he said: "Ok, pura vida." This is "Thank you, good-bye."

166. Wed. Nov. 11. 6:59 p.m. Home. Coche leaving: "Bueno, gracias, pura vida." More than thank you, because he said thank you. Is it simply good-bye?

167. Thurs. Nov. 12, 11:51 a.m. UCR in class. The janitor was emptying waste baskets, but did not want to interrupt my class. The door was open, so I grabbed the waste basket, stepped out into the hall and called him, so he could empty it. He said: "Pura vida." This is "Thank you."

168. Fri. Nov. 13. UNA. Family Burger. Jimmy, the owner, ran into me outside the restaurant as I was arriving. I stuck my hand out so he could shake it. I said: "Hola." He answered: "Hola." Me: "Todo bien?" Him: "Pura vida." All fine.

169. Fri. Nov. 13. 1:59 p.m. Home. Coche entering: "Andy, pura vida?" How are you?

170. Fri. Nov. 13. 7:15 p.m. Restaurant, Very's birthday. Gilda talking on the phone to Patricia Barquero: "Ok, pura vida, bueno." Good-bye.

171. Sat. Nov. 14. 10:33 a.m. Coche on telephone: "Pura vida, Andy?" How are you?

172. Sat. Nov. 14. 10:59 a.m. Coche on phone: "Bueno, Andy, pura vida, ciao." Is this "thank you?"

173. Sat. Nov. 14. 3:35 p.m. Auto Mercado. Coche on phone: "Pura vida, ciao."

174. Sat. Nov. 14. 10:02 p.m. Patry's party, leaving. Tony: "Pura vida." This is "Good-bye."

175. Sat. Nov. 14. 10:06 p.m. Patry's party, Ileana Molina leaving. Tony said: "Pura vida." This is "Good-bye."

176. Sun. Nov. 15. 11:01 a.m. Costa Rica Tennis Club. A guy had a T shirt that said: "Pura Vida – Costa Rica, with an image of a surfer. This is a symbol.

177. Sun. Nov. 15. Home. 1:33 p.m. Coche leaving: "Ok, bueno, pura vida."

178. Sun. Nov. 15. 3:28 p.m. Christmas tree place. The guy: "Pura vida." This is "Thank you, good-bye."

179. Sun. Nov. 15. 2:43 p.m. Christmas tree place. The guy again: "Pura vida." This is "Hello, how are you?"

180. Sun. Nov. 15. 2:52 p.m. Christmas tree place. I was explaining to the worker how I wanted the trees and he said: "Pura vida, pura vida." This is "Ok, ok."

181. Sun. Nov. 15. 3:30 p.m. Christmas tree place. I was telling the guy why we came so early this year, because of my ankle, and he said: "Queda pura vida, para que baile." This means: "Ok, good."

182. Sun. Nov. 15. 3:32 p.m. Me talking to the same guy as above. He said: "Pura vida, buen año." What would this be? "Nice seeing you, que le vaya bien?"

183. Sun. Nov. 15. 3:37 p.m. At the restaurant "Pollos y Pizza del Monte." William got out of the car and said to the guard: "Pura vida." This is "Hello" or a greeting.

184. Mon. Nov. 16. 3:13 p.m. Home. Gilda on phone: "Ok, pura vida." This is "Ok, good-bye."

185. Mon. Nov. 16. 5:54 p.m. Gilda on phone. "Si, todo sale bien, pura vida." This is "Good-bye."

186. Tues. Nov. 17. 9:12 p.m. Gilda talking about Kari: "Kari es pura vida." This means a nice person, ok.

187. Thurs. Nov. 19. 12:23 p.m. UCR lab. The same guy as always, talking on the phone: "Pura vida." The same as always, which is: "Ok, good-bye."

188. Thurs. Nov. 19. 3:47 p.m. UCR. Jorge talking to Gilda, saying good-bye: "Estamos hablando." Gilda: "Pura vida." This is "Ok, good-bye."

189. Thurs. Nov. 19. 3:52 p.m. UCR. After the assamblea, during the coffee break. Two guys talking: One guy: "Pura vida, nos vemos." This is "good-bye."

190. Thurs. Nov. 19. 3:52 p.m. UCR. Same conversation as above. After the assamblea, during the coffee break. The other guy answers: "Pura vida." This is "Ok, good-bye."



191. Thurs. Nov. 19. 4:32 p.m. Andrea in Gilda's office talking on the phone. "Pura vida, gracias." This is "good-bye" or "Ok."

192. Sun. Nov. 22. 4:42 p.m. Gilda asking me or telling me about my pills and pains: "¿Y lo tomaste a la tres y media y todo pura vida?" This means ok.

193. Sun. Nov. 22. 9:23 p.m. Gilda talking to Mario on the phone: "Ok, bueno, pura vida." This is "Thanks, good-bye, all ok."

194. Sun. Nov. 22. 10:34 p.m. Bernal sent an email to Gilda: "Hola, vengo llegando de Guatamela. ¿Cómo le fue a Andy?" (My operacion). Espero que pura vida- Saludos." This is "all fine."

195. Fri. Nov. 27. 11:53 a.m. I called Lily at the UNA. Me: "Lily, ¿Todo bien?" Lily: "Pura vida." This is "all fine."

196. Sat. Nov. 28 11:00 a.m. Home. Gilda sent a text message to Kiki after her operation: "Que dicha cunis que estás pura vida." This means fine.

197. Sun. Nov. 29. 10:09 a.m. Home. Gilda talking with Coche about Kiki and her operation. Gilda asked him if she had to rest and stay in bed, and he answered: "¡No está pura vida, está pura vida!" This means "fine, fine."

198. Tues. Dec. 1. 4:08 p.m. Home. Andy's guitar teacher. When he arrived, talking with Andy. Andy: "Pura vida, ¿todo bien?" This is "Hi" a greeting, because he started with it.

199. Tues. Dec. 1. 5:38 p.m. Home. Andy's guitar teacher, talking to Gilda on my cell phone. When he finished, he gave the phone to Andy and said: "Pura vida." This is "Thank you."

200, 201. Tues. Dec. 1. 6:11 p.m. Andy's guitar teacher leaving. Andy: "Pura vida." Him: "Hasta luego, pura vida." Must be "Thank you."

202. Tues. Dec. 1. 9:16 p.m. Home. Leo, Andy's friend. He came to say hi to me, to greet me, and as he was shaking my hand, said: "Pura vida." This is a greeting, "Hi, how are you?"

203. Thurs. Dec. 3. 11:03 a.m. Home. The garbage collectors. I went to tell them I didn't have any money for their Aguinaldo, and that I would pay them on Monday. One said: "Pura vida." This is: "Ok, thank you."

204. Thurs. Dec. 3. 5:36 p.m. In Antonio Gomez's office. A woman leaving said only: "Pura vida." This means "Thank you, good-bye."

205. Thurs. Dec. 3. 5:56 p.m. In Antonio Gomez's office. Antonio talking to Gilda: "Hasta luego, pura vida." What? It is not "thank you" since we would say thank you to him. Maybe it is "Que les vaya bien." Interesting.

206. Thurs. Dec. 4. 5:58 p.m. Home. One of Andy's friends entering the house and greeting me: "Pura vida." This is a greeting.

207. Tues. Dec. 8. 4:48 p.m. Home. Andy's guitar teacher. Andy: "¿Qué mae, pura vida?" This is a greeting, like "Todo bien?"

208. Wed. Dec. 9. 10:17 p.m. Home. Leo, Andy's friend is leaving. Andy is talking to whoever came to get him. He says: "¿Todo bien? Pura vida, buenas noches." What can this be. Is it "I am fine?"

209. Sat. Dec. 12. 7: 45 p.m. At Coche and Kiki's house. William offered Coche a boca, some food. Coche said, as he refused: "Pura vida." This means "No, thank you."

210. Tues. Dec. 15. 5:06 p.m. Home. Me talking to Coche. Me: "Ok, gracias." Coche: "Pura vida, ciao." You're welcome.

211. Tues. Dec. 15. 8:10 p.m. Home. Gilda talking to me about Rebecca Oxford. Gilda: "Rebecca es pura vida, ¿verdad?" This means a good person.

212. Wed. Dec. 16. 8:48 a.m. Home. On TV. An Artelec commercial. The commercial show all of the promotions and then we read:

	Vaya a la segura
	Vaya a Artelec
	¡Somos pura vida!

This means "We are good, great, ok, etc."

213. Wed. Dec. 16. 4:10 p.m. Home. Coche talking to Andy. Coche: "Andrés, yo voy al gym. ¿Quiere ir?" Andres: "No, gracias." Coche: "Pura vida." This means: "Ok."

214. Sun. Dec. 20. 6:30 p.m. Home. Andy greeting William. Andy: "Qué mae, ¿pura vida? William: "Tuanis." This is good. We have "pura vida" and "tuanis."

215. Sun. Dec. 20. 7:45 p.m. Home. William and Kiki. William came in, Kiki said: "Hola, pura vida." It is not a question. It is like a statement, but it is a greeting.

216. Wed. Dec. 23. 10:30 a.m. Home. Gilda asked me about some chicken to cook for lunch. I noticed it is called "Pura vida Pollos, S.A." A symbol of Costa Rica, but also advertising.

217. Wed. Dec. 23. 4:48 p.m Auto Mercado. A woman and a man greeting each other. Kisses and "Pura vida." It is a greeting.

218. Wed. Dec. 23. 6:28 p.m. Home. Andy's guitar teacher was leaving. Guitar teacher: "Bueno." Andy: "Pura vida." This is "Good bye, thank you."

219. Wed. Dec. 23. 6:28 p.m. Home. Same conversation as above. The guitar teacher answers Andy: "Pura vida." This is "Good bye, you're welcome."

220. Sat. Dec. 26. 5:24 p.m. Andy's friend Leo came here. Me: "Hola, Leo." Leo: "Pura vida." This is a greeting.

221. Sun. Dec. 27. 1:36 p.m. Vanessa's house. Party for Bisa. William greeting Fabian: "Pura vida, tuanis."

222. Sun. Dec. 27. 1:55 p.m. Vanessa's house. Party for Bisa. William greeting Sebastian: "Pura vida." It is a greeting here.

223. Sun. Dec. 27. 1:55 p.m. Vanessa's house. Party for Bisa. 4:44 pm. Leo, Anastasia's boyfriend arrived. People greeting him, two times they said "Pura vida." A greeting.

224. Wed. Dec. 30. 1:56 p.m. In the bank. A messenger or a client leaving, told the teller: "Pura vida." This is "Thank you, good bye."

225. Thurs. Dec. 31. 9:30 p.m. Home. Sebastian to William: "Pura vida." This is a greeting.

226. Thurs. Dec. 31. 10:03 p.m. Home. Nayo coming in the house says to William: "Pura vida." This is a greeting.

227. Thurs. Dec. 31. 10:03 p.m. Home. Same conversation as above. William answers: "Pura vida." This is also a greeting.

228. Tues. Jan. 5. 4:02 p.m. Home. Andy's guitar teacher arriving. Andy: "¿Qué mae, pura vida, mae." Greeting. "How's everything, fine?"

229. Tues. Jan. 5. 4:02 p.m. Home. Same conversation as above. Andy's guitar teacher answers: "Pura vida." "Fine."

230. Tues. Jan. 5. 6:08 p.m. Home. Andy's guitar teacher leaving. Almost the exact dialogue as above, to say goodbye. Andy: "Pura vida, mae." This is: "Thank you, good bye."

231. Tues. Jan. 5. 6:08 p.m. Home. Same conversation as above. Andy's guitar teacher leaving, answers Andy: "Pura vida." This is: "You're welcome, good bye."

232. Wed. Jan. 13. 10:57 a.m. Home. Gilda called Henry, the exterminator. Gilda: "Henry, cómo le va?" After a short conversation, she said: "Ok, pura vida." This is "good, fine." It might also be "thank you."

233. Wed. Jan. 13. 11:44 a.m. Home. Gilda talking to Henry on phone. Gilda: "Pura vida, gracias, ciao. This is "Ok."

234. Wed. Jan. 13. 1:17 p.m. Tennis Club. Andy's friend Eddy, greeting me: "Pura vida." A greeting, "Hi, how are you, ok." It was almost a question. Can be interpreted as a statement or a question.

235. Thurs. Jan. 14. 6:17 p.m. Home. Andy with Miguel. Andy: "Mae, pura vida." This is a greeting: Not really a question, but means: "How are you?"

236. Thurs. Jan. 14. 6:17 p.m. Home. Same conversation as above. Miguel answers: "Pura vida." This means "Fine."

237. Thurs. Jan. 14. 6:17 p.m. Home. Same conversation as above. 1 min. later, Andy says: "Pura vida." Here it means "Thank you."

238. Sat. Jan. 16. 10:25 a.m. At the veterinary. 2 woman greeting each other. First woman: "¿Cómo va todo?" Second woman (the receptionist): "Pura vida." This is means "Fine, thank you. This is a greeting."

239. Sun. Jan. 17. 9:07 a.m. Home. The guy selling fish and shrimp. Andy answered the door and said no, thank you. The guy answered something, and Andy answered: "Pura vida." Probably, "You're welcome."

240. Sun. Jan. 17. 5:07 p.m. Home. José, Patricia's husband. Talking to his daughter: "Estoy con un amigo quien está enfermo. Then, correcting himself, "Pero ahora es pura vida." Ok, fine, all better, healthy.

241. Sun. Jan. 17. 5:30 p.m. Home. Leo, Andy's friend arrived and greeted me, shaking my hand and asked: "Pura vida?" This is a greeting, but he was asking me if all was fine.

242. Tues. Jan. 19. 10:22 a.m. Dentist. 2 men talking. One goes to leave. He says: "Pura vida, mae." Like, Ok, nice to see you, good bye.

243. Tues. Jan. 19. 12:13 p.m. In a taxi. The man, dispatcher, on the radio: "Pura vida." This means "Ok."

244. Tues. Jan. 19. 3:20 p.m. UNA. Guards greeting one another. One says to another: "Pura vida." This is a greeting.

245. Wed. Jan. 20. 10:55 a.m. In the bank. A guy talking on the phone. He says: "¿Cómo le va?" The other person must have asked him the same, and he answered: "Pura vida, feliz año." So he was saying "I'm fine."

246. Wed. Jan. 20. 1:11 p.m. Home. Guillermo Carazo was here to help with the remodeling plans and was leaving. Gilda, sending him off, said "Pura vida" like 4 times at least. She was saying: "Thank you for everything, good bye. Guillermo answered: "Pura vida." He was saying: "You're welcome, good bye." Here pura vida means thank you and you're welcome.

247. Wed. Jan. 20. 8:15 p.m. Home. Coche lent me The Godfather movies. Me: "Gracias." Coche: "Pura vida." You're welcome.

248. Thurs. Jan 21. 3:45 p.m. In a taxi by gas station (Pops). On the side of the train there is a "Pura vida." What can that be? Hello? This deserves some thought.

249. Thurs. Jan. 21. 4:58 p.m. In taxi in front of Canal 7. 2 guys run into each other. Guy on a bike: "Hasta luego, pura vida, bueno." Not good bye because he said "Hasta luego." Nice talking to you?

250. Tues. Jan. 26. 6:37 p.m. Home. Leo came. First he went to Gilda and said: "¿Cómo le va?" Then he came to me. I kept silent. He shook my hand and said: "Pura vida." Ok, it is a greeting. Why did he not use it with Gilda? Is it a question of formality? A guy thing?

251. Wed. Jan. 27. 11:01 a.m. Home. Paying my car insurance to the messenger from INS.

He said he had come for a check for INS. I said: "Aquí está, firmado y todo." He replied, verifying that everything was ok: "Sí, pura vida." This is like, "It's ok, thank you."

252. Thurs. Jan. 28. 8:33 p.m. Home. Gilda was talking about how someone didn't answer to tell us if she and her husband were going to come here on Friday night to celebrate the dictionary. Gilda: "Nosotros quedamos pura vida y ella se la pelo." This is good, correct, all right.

253. Mon. Feb. 1. 3:01 p.m. Don Bosco X ray clinic. A guy opened the door for me, when I was on the scooter. Me: "Muchas gracias." Him: "Pura vida." This is "You're welcome."

254. Mon. Feb. 1. 4:40 p.m. Antonio Gomez's office. There is a book of photographs called Costa Rica ¡Pura vida! By Juan José and Sergio Pucci.

255. Mon. Feb. 1. 5:15 p.m. Antonio Gomez's office. An old gentleman was leaving, and Antonio said to him: "Pura vida." This is good-bye.

256. Mon. Feb. 1. 6:40 p.m. Dr. Gómez, talking about my ankle, said it was "pura vida." This is fine, all okay.

257. Wed. Feb. 3. 12:03 p.m. Taxi, San Pedro. I get in, he helps me, I say: "Gracias." He answers: "Pura vida." "You're welcome."

258. Wed. Feb. 3. 12:04 p.m. Same taxi driver, asking me if a certain route was okay. I told him, yes, that is the way I go. He said: "Ok. Pura vida." This is like "good" or "fine."

259. Wed. Feb. 3. 12:23 p.m. Same taxi driver, at home, I gave him a tip of almost 1000 colones. He said: "Ok, pura vida, gracias." Since he also said, gracias, this is like "That's nice," or something similar.

260. Wed. Feb. 3. 5:44 p.m. Home. Andrés and Coche. Coche was helping him with something. Andy: "Ok, tio, pura vida." This is thank you.

261. Wed. Feb. 3. 5:44 p.m. Home. Same conversation as above. Andrés and Coche. Coche was helping him with something. Andy: "Ok, tio, pura vida." Coche answered: "Pura vida." This is "You're welcome."

262. Fri. Feb. 5. 7:30 p.m. Home. Gilda talking with Patricia Barquero on the phone. When saying good-bye, she said: "Bueno, Patri, pura vida." This is like saying "Good-bye, nice talking to you."

263. Mon. Feb. 8. 6:36 p.m. Home. Coche talking on the phone to Jose Rivera: "Pura vida. Reagradezco, pura vida." This is like an overkill of thank you. There really can't be much more than "thank you."

264. Mon. Feb. 11. 9:01 a.m. UCR. Auditorium. Graduation. 2 guys meeting each other. First guy: "Caballero." Second guy: "Pura vida." This means "Hi, how are you."

265. Mon. Feb. 11. 9:10 a.m. UCR. Auditorium. Graduation. One guy talking on the phone. As he said good-bye, he said: "Pura vida." Ok, good-bye. It is really hard to know, because we can neither see nor hear the other person and their conversation.

266. Mon. Feb. 11. 12:16 p.m. Home. Coche had just brought us home from the graduation. I said: "Gracias." He answered: "Pura vida." This is you're welcome. Very said: "Gracias por venir." Coche answered: "Pura vida." Again, you're welcome.

267. Fri. Feb. 12. 8:38 a.m. Home. Guillermo Carazo, on the phone. He explained to me how Ronald was going to come here to do an estimate for the remodeling. At the end of the conversation, he said: "Pura Vida." It was more than just "good-bye," it was like: "Ok, that's all, thank you, good-bye." It was like a whole sentence. Elliptic.

268. Fri. Feb. 12. 12:56 a.m. Home. I say to Taxi driver: "Gracias." He answers: "Pura vida." This is you're welcome.

269. Fri. Feb. 12. 5:02 p.m. Taller de Costa Rica. Diego: "Todo bien, todo bien." Gilda: "Pura vida." This is: "All is fine," or "Ok."

270. Fri. Feb. 12. 5:04 p.m. Taller de Costa Rica. Gilda, talking to Diego about the car: "Quedo pura vida." This is: "Great, fine."

271. Tues. Feb. 16. 1:03 p.m. At the doctor's. I introduced Andy to Jonathan. Andy said: "Todo bien, pura vida." Jonathan answered: "Pura vida." Andy was saying, "How are you, fine?" I wonder what Jonathan, being a gringo was answering. I guess it was the "All fine" like it should be. He probably thinks it is only a greeting. Since he is a new gringo here, we can only imagine.

272. Thurs. Feb. 18. 11:13 a.m. Home. Roberto Acuña, a dentist called to get Gilda's number. After the conversation, he said: "Está bien, pura vida, gracias." This is interesting because he has an "Ok, pura vida and then a thank you. It is more than thank you. What?

273. Thurs. Feb. 18. 7:31 p.m. Tennis Club, spa. A man and a woman greet each other. Man: "Cómo vas?" Woman: "Cómo vas? Man: "Pura vida." Woman: "Me alegre." This is "All fine."

274. Sat. Feb. 20. 8:17 p.m. Home. Hernan, Andy's friend. Me: "Hola." Hernan: "Pura vida." This is a "Hi, how are you." A greeting.

275. Wed. Feb. 24. 2:08 p.m. Home. Leo, entering house with Andy, talking on the phone: "Pura vida." Impossible to know because we cannot hear the other side. It sounds like "ok."

276. Wed. Feb. 24. 8:03 p.m. Tennis club. Eddie, Andy's friend, who always says "pura vida" to me. I stuck my hand out to greet him. He said: "Pura vida." Greeting. (Hi, how are you?)

277. Fri. Feb. 26. 10:46 a.m. In the taxi. The taxi driver told his wife, on the phone, that he would buy her the two beer mugs. He said, before hanging up: "Pura vida." It was not "good-bye", it was, "Don't worry, I won't forget to buy the mugs."

278. Sat Feb. 27. 5:44 a.m. Gilda talking to me about Andy's operation: "Por dicha, Andrés quedó pura vida." Fine.

279. Sat. Feb. 27. 2:04 p.m. Tennis Club spa. A man greeting another person. "¿Cómo le va, pura vida?" It was not quite a question, not quite a statement. I have the impression that only they know what they are saying.

280. Sat. Feb. 27. 2:28 p.m. Tennis Club. Entering main parking lot. One man to another: "Pura vida mae." Again, not quite a question, not quite a statement. Only they know what they are saying.

281. Sun. Feb. 28. 12:44 p.m. Tennis Club. I gave the waiter, Jorge, a 2000 colon tip. He said: "Pura vida." Thank you.

282. Mon. Feb. 29. 6:41 p.m. Home. Henan, Andy's friend. Me: "¿Todo bien?" Hernan: "Pura vida." This is "Okay, all fine."

283. Tues. March 1. 2:19 p.m. San José. A taxi driver I know asked me how I was. I answered "fine" and asked him how he was. He answered: "Pura vida." This is "Okay, all fine."

284. Tues. March 1. 2:31 p.m. Same taxi driver. When I got home, I paid, with a tip, and said: "Gracias." He answered: "Pura vida." This can be both "You're welcome" and "Thank you" together. He was answering my "thank you" and thanking me for the tip.

285. Tues. March 1. 2:51 p.m. Behind UCIMED. A student talking to a guard: "Ok, pura vida." He was saying, that he agreed with the guard. It is like: "Ok, we agree."

286. Tues. March. 1. Behind UCIMED. 2:52 p.m. Same student, greeting a girl: "Pura vida." This is a greeting. "Hi, how are you?"

287. Fri. March 4. 12:00 p.m. At physical therapy. A messenger was leaving the building. He said: "Pura vida." It was like "Ok, thanks, all fine."

288. Sun. March 6. 12:04 p.m. Tennis Club. Two guys greeting each other. First guy: "¿Cómo va todo jefe?" Second guy answering: "Pura vida." This is "All fine."

289. Mon. March 7. 7:06 a.m. UNA. Two guys greeting each other. First guy: "Pura vida." Second guy: "Pura vida." A classic greeting. What is interesting is that it is difficult to determine if it is a question or a statement. It does not really matter. The greeting is there.



290. Mon. March 7. 9:43 a.m. UNA, in the Escuela. Lily: "Andy, cómo siguió Pura vida?" She means this as "All fine, ok?"

291. Mon. March 7. 3:06 p.m. Plaza Mayor, with Don Jesus, the lottery guy. Me: "Hasta luego." Don Jesus: "Pura vida." This is "good bye, but also like "Que le vaya bien."

292. Tues. March 8. 1:53 p.m. UNA. I told Gabriela Alfaro "thank you" for taking my medical leave papers from the UCR to the UNA. She answered, by saying that it was not a problem for her: "I got them on Monday, and brought them here on Tuesday. Me quedó pura vida." This means easy, or convenient. This is good. It is different.

293. Tues. March 8. 2:00 p.m. Mildred, the English teacher, asking me about my operation: "Cómo le quedó, pura vida?" This is "ok."

294. Tues. March 8. 3:25 p.m. UNA parking lot. A motorcycle driver was leaving the parking lot, and the guard opened the gate for him. The motorcycle driver said: "Pura vida." This is "Thank you."

295. Wed. March. 9. UNA. 3:11 p.m. Language lab. Me: "Muchas gracias." Ricardo: "Pura vida." This is "You're welcome."

296. Thursday, March 10. 7:36 a.m. UCR. A student had a t shirt on that said: "Mae, Tuanis, Pura vida, Costa Rica." These are all symbols of Costa Rica.

297. Thursday, March 10. 10:01 a.m. UCR. Lab. Woman: "Gracias." Lab. guy: "Pura vida." This is "You're welcome."

298. Thursday, March 10. 3:08 p.m. UCR. Mauricio, my old Professor. Me: "¿Cómo va todo?" Mauricio: "Pura vida." This means, "Ok, all fine."

299. Thursday, March 10. 8:55 p.m. Home. Hernan, Andy's friend, came home with Andy. Me: "¿Cómo le va?" Hernan: "Pura vida." This is "Ok, all fine."

300. Fri. March 11. 3:12 p.m. UNA. Soda. Two guys meeting. First guy: "Mae." Second guy: "Mae, ¿pura vida?" This is a greeting. "How are you?"

301. Fri. March 11. 3:18 p.m. UNA. Parking lot, talking to the guard. Me: "Hola." Guard: "Compañero, pura vida." Not really a question. But definitely a greeting.

302. Sat. March 12. 3:40 p.m. Home. Gilda telling me the story of the Japanese ambassador and the language lab. She and the people from the UCR (Walter, Andrea, Miguel) were invited to lunch at the ambassadors house, because of the good job they had done with the Lab. Gilda: "Seguro que dijeron la UCR es

pura vida.” Gilda’s use of *pura vida* is interesting. In this case it is elliptic, meaning that they had done a good job, and had taken care of the lab.

303. Sun. March 13. 12:21 p.m. Tennis Club spa. Me saying hi to a guy. Me: “¿Todo bien?” Guy: “Pura vida.” This means “Okay, fine.”

304. Mon. March 14. 7:58 a.m. UNA. Escuela. I came out of the elevator, the janitor I always see, was cleaning the floor, and the floor was wet. I was on my crutches, and he said: “No se cae, Andy. Pura vida.” Very interesting. Elliptic. But for what? Be careful?

305. Tuesday, March 15. 5:06 p.m. Home. Andy and Guitar teacher. Andy: “Pura vida, nos vemos.” This is “Thank you.”

306. Thurs. March 17. 12:33 p.m. UCR. Francés Básico. A woman, a student, saying good-bye to some other students: “Pura vida.” This is 100% good-bye.

307. Thurs. March 17. 4:26 p.m. Patricia talking to a student. He gets up to leave: “Ok, pura vida, muchas gracias.” Patricia: “Ciao, pura vida.” Since he says thank you, it is not that. It might be “good-bye” or “Ok, I understand.” Patricia’s “pura vida” is a “You’re welcome,” or even a “You’re welcome, good-bye.” Again, do they even know what they are saying?

308. Fri. March 18. 3:30 p.m. UNA. Parking lot. One guy leaving in a car and the guard opening the gate. Guard: “Pura vida.” This is “good-bye,” but I think it is elliptic for “Qué le vaya bien,” because they almost never just say “good-bye.”

309. Sat. March 19. 5:41 p.m. The place where I buy my glasses. Ivannia, our neighbor was there, and she saw us and said: “Pura vida.” This is 100% greeting.

310. Mon. March 21. 10:45 a.m. Home. Me, giving the garbage collectors their money for Easter. Me: “Gracias.” Him: “Pura vida.” I was thanking him he was thanking me. This can be both “Thank you” and “You’re welcome.”

311. Mon. March 21. 6:33 p.m. Home. Andy with Koki, on the phone. Andy: “Todo bien, Tio, pura vida.” It was not a question. I do not know what it means, but it is definitely a phone thing.

312. Mon. March 21. 6:46 p.m. Automercado. A guy talking on his phone. As he was saying good-bye, he said: “Pura vida, muchas gracias.” This is like “Ok.”

313. Mon. March 21. 7:21 p.m. Home. Leo came to see Andy. Andy was greeting Leo’s father, who was in the car: “Don Leo, pura vida.” Not a question. A greeting, like “hello.”

314. Mon. March 28. 1:42 p.m. UNA. Lily talking on the phone, saying goodbye: "Está bien, pura vida, gracias, ciao." This is great. I do not know what the pura vida means. She already has "It's okay, thank you and ciao." Another "it's okay?" Difficult but interesting.

It is as if she is reinforcing the other declarations.

316. Mon. March 28. 3:31 p.m. On the highway near the Ledezma bridge. On a car, a bumper sticker: "Pura vida." It is not really saying anything. It is a symbol.

317. Thur. March 31. 12:52 p.m. Outside Lisa's office. A guy talking to a guard. As he leaves, he says: "Pura vida, mae." They had been discussing something, so this was like "Ok, goodbye, we agree."

318. Sun. April 3. 9:00 a.m. Going to church. Chicken restaurant beside American Embassy. Pollo Pura vida. Not the same as Pura vida pollos from Auto Mercado. This is advertising.

319. Mon. April 4. 6:57 a.m. UNA. Between the soda and the Escuela. Daisy talking to a gardener about a tree. As she leaves, he says: "Bueno, pura vida." It is like, "Ok, nice talking to you." Sometimes it is used as a way to leave, a way to get out of a situation.

320. Tues. April 5. 1:05 p.m. UNA. Staff room. Mildred Alpizar greeting me: "Andy cómo va todo? Pura vida?" This means fine, but it was between a question and a statement. Not really a question, not really a declaration.

321. Thurs. April 7. 8:29 a.m. UCR. In the hallway, I heard 2 guys greeting each other. One said: "Ooooooh." The other said: "Pura vida, mae." This is a greeting.

322. Thurs. April 7. 9:50 a.m. UCR. Outside my office. a janitor: "¿Qué, Andy, pura vida?" Greeting, like, "Hi, how are you?"

323. Fri. April 8. 6:59 a.m. UNA parking lot. 2 guys greeting each other. First guy: "¿Todo bien?" Second guy: "¿Pura vida?" The second guy answered with a question, so with the same "pura vida" he is saying that he is fine, and asking the other guy how he is. Elliptic.

324. Fri. April 8. 12:35 p.m. UNA. At the lab, with Ricardo, returning projector. Me: "Gracias." Ricardo: "Pura vida." This is "You're welcome."

325. Fri. April 8. 5:17 p.m. Jardines de Recuerdo funeral home. Carolina's boy friend, Adrian, talking about my ankle: "En algunas semanas más, ya está pura vida." This means, good, all fine, better.

326. Fri. April 8. 10:40 p.m. In front of Jardines de Recuerdo. Gilda had called a Taxi from Taxi Alfaro, and we were waiting for it. When the taxi arrived, Andy was making sure it was our taxi and said: “¿Alfaro?” The taxi driver answered: “Sí.” Andy: “Pura vida.” This means “Okay, good.”

327. Sat. April 9. 1:28 p.m. Don Bosco. Funeral Mass for Gilda’s grandmother. Andy greeting Very’s friend Angelita. Andy: “Todo bien, pura vida.” This is redundant, because in theory, the “pura vida” would be to ask how she is.

328. Sun. April 10. 12:05 p.m. Sabana Sur. Near McDonald’s. On the back of a bus, a commercial, that I have also seen in the Seminario. Vida Plena es ¡Pura Vida! Estoy feliz con mi operadora vida plena. Several things are going on here. First of all the exclamation points. What would pura vida mean here? Great? Good? Efficient? Safe Second of all, the advertisement itself is very well written. Notice the opposition of pura vida and vida plena. They almost sound the same.

329. Sun. April 10. 3:34 p.m. Home. Doña Vera and Koki are here. Coche comes here. Doña Vera did not expect to see Coche. Coche: “¿Cómo va, pura vida?” Doña Vera: “Pura vida.” Classic greeting.

330. Fri. April 15. 7:43 a.m. Heredia. In front of the university, I get a taxi. Me: “Gracias.” Taxi driver: “Pura vida.” You’re welcome.

331. Mon. April 18. 4:52 p.m. CIMA. Antonio Gómez’s office. Antonio greeting a friend: “Cómo estás, tu? ¿Pura vida?” All fine?

332. Mon. April 18. 6:23 p.m. Leaving CIMA in a taxi. When I told the taxi driver where we wanted to go, he said: “Pura vida.” This is like “Con mucho gusto.”

333. Mon. April 18. 6:31 p.m. Same taxi driver. I gave him money for the toll. He was returning the change to me and dropped a small coin. He said: “Pardon.” Me: “No es nada.” Him: “Pura vida.” Thank you.

334. Mon. April 18. 6:39 p.m. Same taxi driver, when it was time to pay. He told me: “Amigo, tres mil cien.” I gave him 3, 500 colones and I said: “Mejor así.” He answered: “Pura vida, muchas gracias.” What are they saying when they combine pura vida with thank you? Is it, “how nice” or something like that? Or is it two thank yous?

335. Wed. April 20. 9:28 a.m. UNA parking lot. Motorcycle driver leaving the lot and the guard opened the gate guard for him. The cyclist said: “Pura vida.” Thank you.

336. Wed. April 20. 9:35 a.m. UNA parking lot. Same situation. I am waiting for a parking place. A guy came walking into the lot, and said to the guard: "Pura vida." This can be a mere "thank you," but it seems to be more, something like, "Ok, I'm done here, thanks." Again, it seems to be elliptic.

337. Wed. April 20. 2:58 p.m. The short janitor at the UNA. We were greeting each other. Him: "¿Cómo le va?" Me: "Todo bien." Him: "Pura vida." This would be "Me alegro." I'm glad. If my "Todo bien" were a question, then he is saying, I am fine. If I am saying that I am fine, then he is saying that he is glad. I know that like them, my "todo bien" is half question half statement. I need to explore this whole idea of pura vida being an elliptic statement that is saying so much more than two words. Instead of saying many sentences, they just say pura vida to cover many ideas.

338. Friday April 22. 10:02 a.m. UNA. Laboratory, with Ricardo. Me: "Gracias." Ricardo: "Pura vida." This is "You're welcome."

339. Friday. April 22. 11:53 a.m. Again, Laboratory, with Ricardo, returning the projector, etc. Me: "Gracias." Ricardo: "Pura vida." You're welcome.

340. Friday, April 22. 1:02 p.m. UNA Mildred Alpízar: "Andy, cómo le va, pura vida?" This is "All fine?"

341. Friday, April 22. 4:18 p.m. UCR. I went to vote for the Rector. A police officer let me keep my taxi driver, let him park and wait for me while I voted. Me: "Gracias." Him: "Pura vida." You're welcome.

342. Sunday, April 24. 2:03 p.m. Tennis Club bar. Andy's friend was greeting Gilda and I, and looking for Andy. We told him that he must be in the spa or the sauna. He answered: "Ok, ahora le busco. Pura vida." Thank you.

343. Mon. April 25. 6:50 a.m. UNA. Parqueo. The short guard with the hat that I have known for years, who gave me the parking spot one time: "¿Cómo siguió?" Me: "Mejor, gracias." Him: "Pura vida." "I'm glad you are better, you're welcome." Elliptic.

344. Mon. April 25. 6:56 a.m. UNA. Parqueo. Two guys greeting each other. First guy calls the guy's name and says: "Pura vida." Second guy: "Pura vida." Not even a question and an answer, just two declarations. Elliptic greeting.

345. Mon. April 25. 6:58 a.m. UNA. Parqueo. Same guard that greeted me, saying hello to a woman entering the parking lot: "Pura vida." A greeting.

346. Mon. April 25. 2:21 p.m. Home. Ronald and Andy greeting each other. Andy: "Pura vida?" Ronald: "Bien, bien." They understood each other perfectly. Andy meant: "How are you?" and Ronald understood it and answered: "Fine, fine."

347. Tue. April 26. 11:25 a.m. Home. Guillermo Carazo called. Guillermo: "Andy, estoy afuera si me podés abrir." Andy: "Sí, claro. Guillermo, estoy arriba voy a durar un poco al bajar." Guillermo (laughing): "Pura vida." This means "Okay, don't worry."

348. Tue. April 26. 3:10 p.m. Andy came home and saw one of the workers. He greeted him with: "¿Pura vida?" The worker answered: "Pura vida." This is: "Hi, how are you? –Fine."

349. Wed. April 27. 7:01 a.m. UNA. Parqueo. A conversation between two guys. One guy said: "Call me." Second guy: "Sí, sí, sí, pura vida." This is like "Ok. We agree."

350. Thurs. April 28. UCR. 7:37 a.m. Janitor and Sebastian. Sebastian: "Pura vida." Janitor: "Pura vida, Sebastian." This is: "Hi, how are you? Fine."

351. Thurs. April 28. UCR. 9:33 a.m. Messenger to Maria the Administrative Assistant. Messenger: "Maria, ¿pura vida?" Maria: "Pura vida." This is: "How are you?" "Fine."

352. Friday, April 29. UNA. 12:42 p.m. Me returning projector to the laboratory. Me: "Gracias." Ricardo: "Pura vida." You're welcome.

353. Monday, May 2. 11:43 a.m. UNA. I was talking to Estefany Salas and a guy she knew walked by. Estefany: "Hola." Guy: "Pura vida." This is "Hello, how are you." Elliptic.

354. Wednesday, May. 4. 7:14 a.m. UNA. By the university book store. Two guys greeting each other. First guy: "Mae." Second guy: "Pura vida." First guy: "Todo bien." So the first guy interpreted this "pura vida" as "How are you?"

355. Wednesday, May 4. 1:00 p.m. UNA. Laboratory. Me: "Gracias." Ricardo: "Pura vida, Andy." You're welcome.

356. Thursday, May 5. 4:49 p.m. UCR. Daniel from the laboratory. Me: "¿Todo bien?" Daniel: "Pura vida." All fine.

357. Thurs. May 5. 4:53 p.m. UCR. After the Assembly, eating. Iris and Gabriela Alfaro. Iris was asking Gabriela about her boy friend. Iris: "Cómo va Orlando?" Gabriela: "Pura vida." Fine.

358. Friday, May 6. 1:04 p.m. UNA. Laboratory. Me: "Gracias." Ricardo: "Pura vida." You're welcome.

359. Saturday, May 7. 10:41 a.m. Tennis Club. A man and a woman greeting each other. Woman: "¿Cómo va todo?" Man: "Pura vida." All fine.

360. Saturday, May 7. 11:19 a.m. Tennis Club. One guy greeting others: "Pura vida." Not a question, a statement. Elliptic. He is saying something like: "Hi, I hope you are all fine."

361. Tuesday, May 10. 1.44 p.m. UNA. Nuria greeting a guy. The guy says: "Hola." Nuria had her back turned and did not know who it was. She answers: "¿Quién es este hola?" She turns around and sees who it is and says: "Ah, pura vida." The guy answers: "Sí, soy yo. Todo bien." Nuria's pura vida was elliptic. She was saying that she recognized the guy and then it was like a greeting, but not a question. But even then, he answered "Todo bien" which means that he understood this pura vida to be a "How are you?"

362. Tuesday, May 10. 7:50 p.m. Home watching T.V. An advertisement for a television program, but it was using Artelec again. It says: "Artelec. Somos Pura vida."

363. Wednesday, May 11. 2:48 p.m. UNA. Laboratory. Franklin took the projector and everything back for me. I got there late. I asked: "¿Estamos bien?" Ricardo: "Sí." Me: "Ok." Ricardo: "Pura vida." What is he saying? Ok, everything is fine. Interesting. I did not say thank you. It was not a "you're welcome."

