

**THE DISCOURSE MARKER *ÓRALE* IN MEXICAN SPANISH:
A PRAGMATIC AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC APPROACH**

by

Elisa Camps Troncoso

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Purdue University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts



School of Languages and Cultures

West Lafayette, Indiana

May 2022

THE PURDUE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL
STATEMENT OF COMMITTEE APPROVAL

Dr. Lori A. Czerwionka, Chair

School of Languages and Cultures

Dr. Daniel J. Olson

School of Interdisciplinary Studies

Dr. Felicia D. Roberts

School of Communication

Approved by:

Dr. Jennifer M. William

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to all who helped me in the creation and completion of this thesis. First, I am so grateful for the advice, direction, endless patience, and kindness of my advisor Dr. Lori Czerwionka. Her support and encouragement were invaluable to me all throughout my MA. I would also like to thank my committee members for their help and flexibility during my thesis journey and for taking the time to provide me with valuable feedback. I would like to thank my parents for their unconditional support during the pandemic and the thesis writing process. I am also very grateful for Sydney and Hussein, their support, knowledge, and love were key for me. Lastly, I would like to thank Penelope for her help in the automatization of the word count extraction, Santiago and Dafne for their continuing support, Juan Carlos and all my friends in Mexico who encouraged me every step of the way, and all my colleagues for engaging in a wonderful learning experience with me.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	6
LIST OF FIGURES	7
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	8
ABSTRACT.....	9
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION	11
CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW	14
2.1 Discourse markers.....	14
2.2 Positioning, stance, and the social meaning of discourse markers	18
2.3 Discourse markers in Spanish.....	21
2.4 <i>Órale</i>	24
2.4.1 Pragmatic functions of <i>órale</i>	24
2.4.2 Sociolinguistic analysis of <i>órale</i>	32
2.5 The current research.....	33
CHAPTER 3. METHODS	36
3.1 Corpus description	36
3.2 Coding and Analysis	37
3.2.1 Analysis of pragmatic functions	37
3.2.2 Analysis of sociolinguistic variables	39
CHAPTER 4. RESULTS	40
4.1 Pragmatic functions of <i>órale</i>	40
4.1.1 Exhortation	41
4.1.2 Affirmation	43
4.1.3 Reorientation.....	46
4.1.4 Summary and distribution of the pragmatic functions in the CSCM	46
4.2 Sociolinguistic use of <i>órale</i>	47
CHAPTER 5. DISCUSSION	53
5.1 Interactional and textual functions of <i>órale</i>	53
5.2 Social meaning of <i>órale</i>	57
5.3 Semantic core of <i>órale</i>	58

5.4 Contributions, limitations, and future research	59
CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSION	62
REFERENCES	63

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Positions respective to adjacency pairs adapted from Cornillie and Gras (2015)	17
Table 2. Summary of Pragmatic Functions by Dictionary and in comparison to Flores Treviño (2014).	27
Table 3. Distribution of 108 interviews in the CSCM.	36
Table 4. Quasi-Poisson regression summary for <i>órale</i>	50
Table 5. F-test comparisons	51
Table 6. Coefficients and Standard errors for full model	52
Table 7. Proposed typology for the functions of <i>órale</i>	53

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Summary of the pragmatic functions proposed.....	40
Figure 2. Percentage of tokens by pragmatic function and subfunction.....	47
Figure 3. Boxplot of frequency of use by gender	48
Figure 4. Boxplot of frequency of use by educational level	49
Figure 5. Boxplot of frequency of use by age group	49
Figure 6. Percentage of use of <i>órale</i> functions by educational level	52
Figure 7. Typology of exhortation, affirmation, and reorientation.....	56

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CEMC	Corpus del Español Mexicano Contemporáneo ‘Corpus of Contemporary Mexican Spanish’
CREA	Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual ‘Corpus of Reference of Current Spanish’
CORDE	Corpus Diacrónico del Español ‘Diachronic Corpus of Spanish’
CSCM	Corpus Sociolingüístico de la Ciudad de México ‘Sociolinguistic Corpus of Mexico City’
DM	Discourse Marker
DMs	Discourse Markers
DEM	Diccionario del Español de México ‘Mexican Spanish Dictionary’
PRESEEA	Proyecto para el Estudio Sociolingüístico del Español de España y de América ‘Project for the Sociolinguistic Study of Spanish from Spain and America’
RAE	Real Academia Española ‘Royal Academy of Spanish’
SD	Standard Deviation

ABSTRACT

The present study describes the pragmatic functions and the social meaning of the discourse marker (DM) *órale*. *Órale* is a recognized and salient DM in Mexican Spanish (Mejía-Gómez, 2008; Mendoza-Denton, 2011; Navarro, 2005), but research on its pragmatic meanings and use in interaction and society is minimal. Considering previous literature on discourse markers and descriptions of *órale*, two research questions were addressed to examine the pragmatic and sociolinguistic uses of *órale*: (1) What are the pragmatic functions of *órale*? and (2) Do gender, age, and educational level affect the use of *órale*? By answering these research questions, the current investigation represents the largest and most systematic analysis of *órale* to date, and it offers both pragmatic and sociolinguistic understandings.

The analysis considered all 189 *órale* tokens in the Corpus Sociolingüístico de la Ciudad de México (CSCM) (Butragueño & Lastra, 2011–2015)¹. The pragmatic analysis relied on an iterative approach, using open coding and axial coding (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). In addition, it relied on the triangulation of prior descriptions of *órale*, turn position, and the speakers' positioning in the social narrative. For the sociolinguistic analysis, descriptive statistics and statistical models were used to understand the effect of gender, age, and education on *órale* in general and its different functions.

Results indicated three discourse functions of *órale* (i.e., exhortation, affirmation, reorientation), each with two subfunctions. Exhortation functions appeared in first pair part positions (i.e., initiating) and aided speakers in positioning as authoritative. Affirmation functions were in second pair part positions (i.e., responsive) and reflected a more agreeable positioning, and reorientation functions were turn medial. Quantitative analysis of the distribution of *órale* indicated that affirmation was the most frequent function, followed by reorientation and then exhortation. Regarding the sociolinguistic variables, a quasi-Poisson regression model and multinomial logistical models revealed that gender had a statistically significant effect on *órale* use, in that men used the DM more than women. In addition, in the analysis of the effect of the social categories on function of *órale*, education had a significant effect. The middle educational level relied more on *órale* for affirmation compared to other functions than the other groups. The

¹ The CSCM is a balanced corpus of 108 interviews with men and women across three social classes and three age groups. Interviews addressed thematic modules, including life threatening situations.

interaction between social categories and functions was discussed with respect to the findings related to gender and level of education.

A main contribution of this investigation was the typology of the pragmatic functions of *órale*. The analysis was sufficient to explain all data and more economical than some prior descriptions. Furthermore, the proposed typology relies on a triangulation of pragmatic function, turn position, and the positioning made by the speaker, which taken together provide validity to the analysis. Other contributions were the distribution of the functions of *órale* in discourse and among social categories. In addition, a theoretical contribution was made by the proposal of the core meaning, leading to more precise understanding of *órale*.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Discourse markers (DM) are ubiquitous elements of every language that only recently have started to receive attention in linguistic research. Most of the time DMs go unnoticed by native speakers, but sometimes they can become the object of judgment, or they are used by speakers to mark their belonging to a group. DMs have been defined as multifunctional, non-variable linguistic units that lack a syntactic function in the sentence, but that guide inferences that the speaker intends (Schiffrin, 2005; Martín Zorraquino & Portolés Lázaro, 1999). In addition, they also possess a semantic core (Fraser, 1999; Schiffrin, 1987), a meta-message (Travis, 2005, p. 74) or a core meaning derived from the semantic origin of the DM. Furthermore, DMs are also part of the linguistic repertoire speakers have to position themselves in the abstract narrative as a social actor with particular rights and duties (Davies & Harré, 1990). As such, DMs not only organize discourse, but also achieve interactional purposes (Cornillie & Gras, 2015). Given that DMs are complex in their multifunctionality and that speakers have limited conscious knowledge of their uses despite using them often in language (Verschuere, 2000), linguistic research is necessary to discover the functions and uses of DMs in social interaction. Consequently, the analysis and description of DMs is important for the body of literature that seeks to understand how conversation works and the type of resources speakers have in hand during interactions to comment on and structure the world around them (Andersen et al., 1999).

The intersection between the study of language in use and linguistic variation among speaker groups considering macrosocial categories has been termed variational pragmatics (Barron, 2014). This field considers the intersection of sociolinguistic variables and pragmatic studies, and aims to determine the influence of each social factor on language use in conversation. Factors such as age, gender, and educational level are of key interest because these categories provide starting points to further understanding the mechanisms of social conventions, such as how language is used to perpetuate gender roles, age differences in language use as a function of in-group language, and educational level as a measure of stigmatized variants, to name some examples (Barron, 2014). In addition, the convergence of these factors paints a dynamic picture through which researchers can understand language use in context.

Moving towards the focus of the present investigation, *órale* is a frequent DM in Mexican Spanish conversations, evidenced by its presence in examples and dialogues cited in research on Mexican Spanish (Grimm, 2020), Mexican-American Spanish (Said-Mohand, 2014), Chicano and Heritage speaker Spanish (Torres, 2011). While used to exemplify and portray Mexican Spanish (see also Mejía-Gómez, 2008; Mendoza-Denton, 2011; Navarro, 2005), the pragmatic functions and social meanings of *órale* have seldom been the focus of study. The only investigation on the pragmatic use of *órale* identified a variety of functions in data from the Corpus El Habla de Monterrey-PRESEEA (Flores Treviño, 2014, 2019). These functions were exhortation, acceptance, criticizing, complaint, intensifier of a request, and closer of an interaction, in addition to subfunctions of exhortation and acceptance. Flores Treviño's (2014) results partially confirm dictionary descriptions of *órale* functions, yet questions remain about the functions, their distribution in conversation, the reason for which *órale* serves the particular functions that it does, and how *órale* use varies by social categories.

Hence, this study sought to contribute to the body of literature by analyzing *órale* with a pragmatic and sociolinguistic approach. A pragmatic analysis contributes to research on DMs in Spanish, specifically, in Mexican Spanish. In addition, the analysis presented in this study is contextualized in discourse and the functions found are connected to their interactional purposes; thus relying on a triangulation of analyses to evaluate *órale* functions. Furthermore, a look into the sociolinguistic variation allows the researcher to explore the relationship between usage of discourse markers and social stratification, adding to our knowledge of how speakers portray themselves using linguistic tools such as DMs.

The goals of the study corresponded to the two approaches; a pragmatic goal that was oriented towards the description of the particular functions of *órale* and a sociolinguistic goal set to understand the potential social variation of *órale*. Two research questions guided the study: (1) What are the pragmatic functions of *órale*? and (2) Do gender, age, and educational level affect the use of *órale*?

To achieve these objectives, all 189 tokens of *órale* were extracted from the Sociolinguistic Corpus of Mexico City (CSCM, Butragueño & Lastra, 2011–2015) and coded according to their pragmatic functions and sociolinguistic variables. Analysis of the functions relied on an iterative approach, using open coding and axial coding (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). Furthermore, the pragmatic analysis of *órale* relied on a triangulation of a) prior definitions of *órale*, b) the turn

position of *órale* considering turn position and adjacency pairs, and c) the positioning performed with *órale* considering the theoretical frame of Davies and Harré (1990). The analysis resulted in three pragmatic functions of *órale*, each with two subfunctions. A quantitative summary of *órale* tokens across functions provided a general understanding of the frequency of use of the different functions in the corpus. Then, the data were subjected to both a descriptive analysis and statistical models in order to understand the effect of gender (men, women), age group (20–34, 35–55, 55+), and educational level (low, middle, high) on *órale* use overall and its functions. Overall, the goals were to establish the first typology of the DM *órale* in Mexican Spanish that considered discourse and turn position and also to understand how *órale* is used across social categories for interactive and social purposes.

In sum, the analysis presented here contributes to the understanding of the Mexican Spanish DM *órale* by operationalizing and organizing its pragmatic functions in a simple typology, while also exploring the social, interactional, and identity work that is achieved via *órale* in interaction and society.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

To preface the current examination of the discourse marker *órale* in Mexican Spanish, the definition and pragmatic functions of discourse markers are presented in Section 2.1. It is also important to understand the interaction of discourse markers with sociolinguistic variables in terms of positioning, which will be addressed in Section 2.2. An overview of prior research on discourse markers in Spanish is presented in Section 2.3, and Section 2.4 summarizes previous definitions and descriptions of *órale*. Lastly, a synthesis of the prior literature is presented in Section 2.5, along with the current goals and research questions.

2.1 Discourse markers

Discourse markers (DMs) are ubiquitous words and phrases that are used to connect, organize, and manage discourse (Maldonado & Palacios, 2015; Martín, 2004; Schiffrin, 1987; among many others) (e.g., English: *well, oh, anyway*; Spanish: *la verdad* ‘honestly’, *pues* ‘well’, *bueno* ‘okay’, *órale* ‘come on/okay’). DMs are considered non-variable, syntactically optional linguistic units (Schiffrin, 1987). They are non-variable because their forms are not morphologically productive (e.g., the DM *la verdad* can never be used as *las verdades*), and they are syntactically optional in the sense that they can be omitted from a clause without affecting its grammatical construction. For example, in (1) *bueno* can be omitted without changing the propositional content.

- (1) *Y ya me empecé a hacer amigo de ahí de los- de unos maestros, **bueno**, me empezaron a conocer poco a poco* (CSCM-1²)

‘And so, I started making friends with the teachers, **bueno** (well)³, they started to get to know me little by little’

Although syntactically optional, in this example *bueno* manages the speaker’s discourse, providing organization across the two clauses and marking a repair of the idea that was

² All examples that come from the Corpus Sociolingüístico de la Ciudad de México (Martín Butragueño & Lastra, 2011) will be marked as CSCM-Interview number (e.g., CSCM-26).

³ DMs in all examples are maintained in Spanish with the closest translation in English in parenthesis, due to the fact that there is not a single translation for DMs.

communicated in the first clause. In (2), the textual organization provided by *pues* across the two speakers' turns is apparent; when the first speaker states how long he has been working at the hospital, the second replies with a related remark. Hence, *pues* marks a causal relationship between two ideas that is interpreted as "because of what was said before, now I am saying this" (Travis, 2005, p. 284).

(2) *I: En el hospital tengo doce años*

E: Ah pues es mucho tiempo (CSCM-15)

I: In the hospital I've been there 12 years

E: Ah pues (well) that's a long time'

DMs not only organize the speaker's discourse, but also "relate an utterance to the situation of discourse, more specifically to speaker–hearer interaction speaker attitudes, and/or the organization of texts" (Heine, 2013, p. 1211). Hence, the use of DMs aids discourse coherence at a textual and an interactional level. At the textual or organizational level, DMs form relationships between topics (Fernández, 2017) and bracket units of talk (Schiffrin, 1987), whereas at the interpersonal or interactional level, they convey speakers' attitudes about a topic or towards an interlocutor (Fernández, 2017). Consequently, the syntactic optionality does not extend to the pragmatic meanings of DMs that guide inferential processes and allow the listener to interpret the speaker's communicative intention (Schiffrin, 2005; Martín Zorraquino & Portolés Lázaro, 1999). In (2), *pues* addresses both the textual and interactional levels by organizing the next turn in the conversation and by signaling the goal of the speaker to highlight their upcoming remark as a contribution to the conversation (Travis, 2005).

The relationship between textual and interactional levels of discourse was captured by Schiffrin (1987) in her model of discourse coherence. The author proposes five levels in which DMs can function: exchange structure, i.e., how participants manage and negotiate turn organization; action structure, i.e., which refers to the sequence of speech acts and the requirements for their realization; ideational structure, i.e., how propositions relate to each other within the discourse; participation framework, i.e., how the speaker and hearer relate to each other in interaction; and information state, i.e., how the knowledge and meta-knowledge is organized and managed (Schiffrin, 1987). Broadly, the ideational structure relates to the textual level of

discourse, while the exchange structure, the action structure, and the participation framework relate to the interactional level.

In addition to acting in different levels of discourse, DMs are multifunctional units (Butragueño, 2003; Schiffrin, 1987) in that a single DM can carry out different functions in equal or different contexts. Moreover, these different functions can be expressed simultaneously. Uniting the varying functions, some researchers have argued that DMs contain a semantic core that connects and explains their different functions (Fraser, 1999; Schiffrin, 1987). This core meaning is the “the meta-message it carries regarding how the utterance with which it occurs relates to the surrounding discourse and to the addressee” (Travis, 2005, p. 74). This core meaning varies among DMs. For example, *pues* causally ties an utterance to its preceding discourse; *oh* in English communicates a “change of state” (Bolden, 2006; Heritage & Raymond, 2005), which conveys that there has been a change in the “speaker’s knowledge, awareness, or attention in response to some prior action” (Bolden, 2006, p. 663). In (3) *pues* simultaneously carries out various functions such as connecting speech, adding and highlighting information, and increasing authenticity of the upcoming reported speech. The multifunctionality relies on the core meaning of *pues* which “indicates that the speaker says something because of what has been said before” (Travis, 2005, p. 284). The different functions that stem from *pues*’s core meaning provide nuances in its use.

(3) *De hecho, fue algo así como que nuevo porque, obviamente pues yo nunca lo había hecho, ¿no? O sea yo le hablé con la verdad y le dije que pues que iba a ser mi primer tatuaje* (CSCM-39)

‘As a matter of fact, it was something like that like new because, obviously **pues** (well) I had never done it, right? I mean, I spoke to him in truth, and I told him that **pues** (well) that this was going to be my first tattoo’

One last defining characteristic of DMs is the nature of the core meaning. Fraser (1999) argues that the core meaning is procedural instead of conceptual. The procedural meaning guides the speaker on how to interpret the speech, going beyond the content of the utterance. Referring to Blakemore’s (1987) description of the procedural meanings of discourse connectives, Wilson (2011) states that they “guide the inferential comprehension process by imposing procedural constraints on the construction of intended contexts and cognitive effects” (p. 6). While many theoretical discussions have continued to address the differences and intersections of conceptual

meanings and procedural meanings, many researchers confirm that discourse markers communicate procedural meaning (e.g., Escandell-Vidal et al., 2011). For example, in (3) when the speaker uses the second *pues* they communicate authenticity to their reported speech. *Pues* guides the listener to understand the context as a direct quote, as something accurate and adhered to the actual dialogue he had in the past, and as related to what was said prior in the immediate interaction (Travis, 2005, p. 277). The connections across ideas, interactions, and people are part of the procedural meanings communicated with DMs.

In addition to the defining characteristics of DMs, the turn position where DMs can appear has also been considered a key indicator of specific DM functions, relating to Schiffrin's (1987) exchange structure and action structure. The turn position is relative to a conversational turn, and it can be established in conjunction with the notion of adjacency pair as well, which is "a sequential structure of two actions, produced by two participants, where the second action is contingent upon and normatively obliged by the production of the first" (Kendrick et al., 2014; see also Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). Following Cornillie and Gras (2015), DMs can be analyzed with respect to turn position (i.e., turn-initial, medial or parenthetical, and turn-final), and with respect to an adjacency pair (first pair part, second pair part) (Table 1).

Table 1. Positions respective to adjacency pairs adapted from Cornillie and Gras (2015)⁴

Position	Realized:	Example
<i>First pair part</i>		
Direct initiation	Questions and directive acts	Would you like to sit? Sit, please
Indirect initiation	Evaluations and judgments	You may be tired
<i>Second pair part</i>		
Direct response	Answers, alignments, and refusals	Yes, I would / No, thanks I understand
Indirect response	Report on the evaluations	I am just a bit tired, I may sit

Demonstrating the importance of turn position, the speaker's turn-initial *pues* in (4) showcases alignment in the interaction and marks the upcoming utterance as a direct response to the interviewer's question. By analyzing DMs' positions and their functions, a strong association between them can be found (Tanghe, 2016; Travis, 2005).

⁴ All examples are the author's.

(4) E: *¿y de qué se acuerda de allá de Coahuila?*

I: *Pues nada más ahí que íbamos al prekínder o al kínder nada más (CSCM-66)*

E: and what do you remember from there from Coahuila?

E: **Pues** (well) only that there we went to preschool or kindergarten and that's it'

In sum, DMs are highly frequent words and phrases that contribute to the organization and management of the speaker's discourse and interaction. They are syntactically but not pragmatically optional (Schiffrin, 2005; Martín Zorraquino & Portolés Lázaro, 1999) in that they guide the listener on a textual and interactional level (Fernández, 2017). Additionally, DMs are multifunctional but possess a semantic core from which their functions originate (Travis, 2005; Fraser, 1999; Schiffrin, 1987). All of these qualities make DMs a challenging unit for study; however, they provide information on the discourse structure and the formation of interactional actions (Schiffrin, 1987). Moreover, while they are frequent and useful in conversation, interlocutors are not consciously aware of the many and multiple functions of DMs (Verschueren, 2000). Therefore, research on the function of DMs is required to understand their linguistic functions and how they contribute to social interactions and the social reality.

2.2 Positioning, stance, and the social meaning of discourse markers

The way in which multiple functions of DMs are evidenced in different discourse levels, especially within the participation framework (Schiffrin, 1987), relates to how DMs reflect, enact, and co-construct stance. Stance marking is a common phenomenon in interaction, and it is defined as the "act of evaluation owned by a social actor" (Du Bois, 2007, p. 171). Du Bois (2007) proposed three parts for the completion of stance as a "linguistically articulated social action" (p. 139): the evaluation of an object, the position of a subject, and the (dis)alignment with other subjects. Thus he separated stance into three dimensions that refer to the objects or topics, the subjective, and the intersubjective. Taking these concepts into account, Du Bois (2007) developed a framework to understand the relationship between the object, the speakers, and the speakers in interaction. The author proposed a process which can be summarized as "I evaluate something, and thereby position myself, and thereby align with you" (Du Bois, 2007, p. 163).

DMs are one way in which stance is communicated; speakers use DMs to communicate evaluations of their ideas, to express commitment or distance from them, and to do interactional

work related to positioning and (dis)alignment with other interlocutors (see section 2.1). For example, returning to (2), repeated as (5), the object that both participants are evaluating is the time spent working in the hospital. The first speaker presents a neutral evaluation of it while the second expresses the evaluation that 12 years is a long time. The DM *pues* not only links in a causal way the evaluations of time, but it also expresses stance. It communicates an alignment between subjects 1 and 2, using Du Bois' (2007) terms, and a sense of shared evaluation that 12 years is a long time. As seen in example (5), DMs provide a tool to achieve stance in that they have been found to showcase alignment between interlocutors, although DMs can also create disalignment (Bolden, 2006). As another example of DMs and stance, the DM *ah* in (5) can also be understood to express stance (e.g., the second speaker's alignment with the first, regarding the evaluation of the information).

(5) *I: En el hospital tengo doce años*

E: Ah pues es mucho tiempo CSCM-15

'I: In the hospital I've been there 12 years

E: Ah **pues** (well) that's a long time'

In addition, stance marking is organized interactively. As seen in the example, it is created by the coparticipants in discourse by presenting their attitudes and beliefs to each other (Kärkkäinen, 2003). Kärkkäinen (2003, p. 15) states that stance is "predominantly expressed initially," allowing the interlocutor to align the indicated stance with the upcoming utterance.

While stance as a whole refers to the local relationships between speakers and their talk, positions relate to places in the abstract conversational narratives (Kiesling, 2011). In particular, positioning as proposed by Davies & Harré (1990), relates to story lines, social acts, and positions. Story lines are ways of understanding the overall story considering actors, the history, and common cultural interpretations of the world. Social acts, similar to speech acts, are defined by their illocutionary force (see Searle, 1976 for speech acts and illocutionary force). Positions are defined as rights and duties of the actors in the story lines; these can be socio-categorical relations such as doctor/nurse/patient. In addition, as Depperman (2003) states, "while people are positioned by social acts, the meaning of social action may depend itself on how its producer is taken to be positioned, i.e. which rights and entitlements to action s/he is perceived to have" (p. 3). The three concepts of story lines, social acts, and positions have mutual impact on one another.

Similarly, Ochs (1993) proposes that stance-taking and positioning can also enact social identities such as gender, status, or role. These identities are “shaped from moment to moment in interaction” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 591). Stance, and in particular positioning, aid in the construction of identity (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). DMs also contribute to the construction of identities in discourse; in Andersen et al. (1999), child language acquisition researchers tested the use of DMs in American English, Chicano Spanish, and French through role plays with social categories (mother–children, doctor–patient, teacher–student). The authors found that children used more *well*, *now*, and *ahora* when they role played in a position of power, such as the parent, the doctor, or the teacher. The researchers remarked that the use of *well* and *now* to introduce utterances and start a turn “adds a sense of authority, indicating that the speaker has greater power than the addressee” (p. 1340). In a sense, the stances and positions communicated with DMs serve to create even broader social meanings (i.e., interactional and social identities). Through an analysis of data, Anderson et al. (1999) concluded that:

“Linguistic forms can be manipulated to convey social meaning, children come to use sociolinguistic variables not only to reflect their social identity and their view of the situation at hand, but also to manipulate or restructure existing social relationships” (Andersen et al., 1999, p. 1347)

A wide body of literature confirms that DMs serve to construct identity in interaction and in society as a whole. Some DMs are at times considered non-standard elements of language that are stigmatized (Vincent, 2005). These DMs are often associated with certain less prestigious social groups. For example, *you know* is associated with teenager speech (Erman, 2001), and similarly, *like* can be used for the construction of the “Trendy” (California white girl) personae (Arnold et al., 1993). Moreover, bilingual speakers index themselves as members of a group by using bilingual discourse markers such as *so pues* (Flores-Ferrán, 2014). In sum, DMs not only function on textual and interactional levels, but they also aid speakers in positioning as well as in indexing social identities and social groups. The adoption of positioning as a theoretical framework serves to further analyze DM functions in interaction and confirms that DMs contribute to social interactions and the structuring of social reality. In the next section, a review of previous research on DMs in Spanish is presented, and specific attention is directed towards research that addresses DMs and social identity.

2.3 Discourse markers in Spanish

As established, DMs are unique linguistic resources because of their functional versatility and broad range of procedural and social meanings that they achieve in interaction. Consequently, a common goal of research on DMs has been to investigate the pragmatic functions associated with a given DM. This productive field has addressed the functions of DM in Spanish such as *bueno* ‘well’ (Maldonado & Palacios, 2015), *venga* ‘come on’ (Cestero & Moreno, 2008), *ahora sí* ‘finally’ (Aldama Peñaloza & Reig Alamillo, 2016), and *pues* ‘well’ (Flores-Ferrán, 2014; Travis, 2005; Vázquez Carranza, 2019), among many others (see Briz & Bordería, 2010; Llopis Cardona & Pons Bordería, 2021; Martín Zorraquino & Portolés Lázaro, 1999). In this section, an overview of research on the DMs *bueno* and *venga* is presented, because they provide useful approximations to aspects of the analysis of *órale*. Specifically, functions of accepting, closing the interaction, topic shifting, and exhortation prove to be beneficial in understanding the pragmatic functions of *órale*.

The DM *bueno* has been found to carry out different functions in discourse such as acceptance, pre-closing device, partial acceptance/dispreferred response preface, change of topic/reorientation, correction, and preface of direct speech (Travis, 2005). The acceptance function, shown in (7), which has also been called agreement or consent (Martín Zorraquino & Portolés Lázaro, 1999), is the most widely recognized function for this DM. Other frequent uses of *bueno* is as a pre-closing device (Briz, 1993; Martín Zorraquino & Portolés Lázaro, 1999) and topic shifter (Maldonado & Palacios, 2015). As a pre-closing device, *bueno* brings the interaction to an end, as shown in (8). Travis (2005) associated this function with the idea of acceptance in that by accepting the previous conversation, the speaker brings it to a close. However, the key difference between (7) and (8) is that the first involves accepting a proposal presented as information in the discourse, and the other involves the act of closing the interaction. Regarding the topic shifter function, shown in (9), Maldonado and Palacios (2015) propose that *bueno* is shifting towards being a “window opener” (p. 101), to open new topics and move ahead in discourse.

- (6) *Y ya me empecé a hacer amigo de ahí de los- de unos maestros, **bueno** me empezaron a conocer poco a poco* (CSCM-1)

‘And so, I started being friendly with the- with some teachers from there, **bueno** (well) they started to get to know me little by little’

(7) *I: Cómase una arepa también, ¿oyó?*

*E: **bueno**, mijita, gracias* (Travis, 2005, p. 88)

‘I: Eat an arepa too, you hear?’

*E: **bueno** (okay), my daughter, thank you’*

(8) *I: **Bueno**, mi querida estimada*

*E: **Bueno**, Claudio, muchas gracias* (Travis, 2005, p. 94)

‘I: **Bueno** (okay), my esteemed dear

*E: **Bueno** (okay), Claudio, thank you very much’*

(9) ***Bueno** a ver, por ejemplo, cuéntame cuando entraste con el H, el pri- la primera vez*

CSCM-1 (Taken from Maldonado & Palacios, 2015, p. 103)

‘**Bueno** (okay) let’s see, for example, tell me about when you entered with the H, the first time’

According to Travis (2005), the semantic core of *bueno* evidences its semantic root of good or goodness and carries over the positive aspect by “saying something good” about a topic or event that occurred previously in discourse. The dispreferred response function of *bueno* may seem to be a counter example of its semantic core; however, by prefacing a response, it softens the content and prepares the listener for the upcoming response.

Another marker of interest is *venga*, used in Peninsular varieties of Spanish, and analyzed by Cestero and Moreno (2008) among others. Through qualitative analysis, Cestero and Moreno (2008) examined the pragmatic functions in comparison to previous literature, and with a quantitative approach they examined the DM use across sociolinguistic variables. The authors concluded that *venga* realizes the pragmatic functions of acceptance, rejection, instructions, encouragement, begging, and consent by obligation (forced/unconvinced acceptance); demonstrated in (10)–(13). Even though the multifunctionality of *venga* is established in their research, a semantic core that would unite the functions has not been proposed for *venga*.

(10) *Y les ves con un palo de madera diciéndome que les diera el dinero, digo ¡venga! por favor, te agarro el palo y te tiro* (Cestero & Moreno, 2008)

‘And you see them with a wooden stick telling me to give them the money, I say **venga!** (come on!) please, I’ll grab that stick from you and I’ll throw you’

(11) *Pues se levanta y dice: bueno/ ¡venga! os vais a arreglar que nos vamos* (Cestero & Moreno, 2008)

‘then he gets up and says: okay **venga!** (come on!) are you going to get ready ‘cause we’re about to leave’

(12) *Entonces le había dicho el médico que paseara un poquito y la dije ¡venga! vamos a dar un paseo* (PRESEEA-MADRID, 25).

‘so the doctor had told her to go for a short walk and I told her **venga** (come on!) let’s go on a walk’

(13) *Le dije ¡venga! Tía, acompáñame, no sé qué, acompaña que me— que me quiero comprar una camiseta en Zara súper bonita y ya sabes que yo tengo que ir acompañada* (PRESEEA-MADRID, 17).

‘I told her **venga** (come on!) dude⁵, come with me and all of that come because I- I want to buy a shirt in Zara that’s super cute and you know that I have to go with someone else’

Both DMs have been studied in conjunction with sociolinguistic variables such as gender, age, and educational level. In the analysis of the sociolinguistic distribution of the use of *bueno*, Serrano (1999) found that overall both men and women used the DM more or less similarly in terms of frequency. The differences found were that women used it more at the beginning of the turn whereas men of low educational level used it more to preface a dispreferred response. The author mentions that using *bueno* as a dispreferred response preface “maintains the status” of the speaker and facilitates the use of communicative strategies to speak with varied members of the community, even if they are from different social sectors (Serrano, 1999). Cestero and Moreno (2008) analyzed the use of *venga* by gender, age, educational level, and social class and found a more frequent use by women, and by young and adult speakers. They also mention that speakers

⁵ The use of *tía* ‘aunt’ is translated as *dude* here because of its frequent use as the informal vocative in the feminine form in Peninsular Spanish.

from middle class use *venga* more frequently than others. Moreover, young women use the DM to beg and men to motivate or encourage. Through distinct uses of DMs across social groups, the stances and activities accomplished can become associated with the macrolevel groups and thus impact the interpretation and construction of social identities (e.g., Jaffe, 2016). These results highlight the importance of analyzing how a DM is used by speakers from different social categories and for what purposes.

2.4 *Órale*

Órale is thought to originate from “ahora + le” (*ahora* ‘now’ in vernacular Mexican Spanish can be pronounced as [ora]), with ‘le’ being an emphatic suffix (Gómez de Silva, 2001). López (2015) supports this analysis, stating that *órale* suffered a process of pragmaticalization (i.e., *ahora>ora> órale*) — this process is similar to grammaticalization, and in particular, it refers to the process in which a word or phrase acquires pragmatic functions (e.g., emphasis, agreement, topic shifter) over time. Torres Cacoullos and Hernández’s (1999) describe *le* as a productive morpheme in Mexican Spanish and the constructions + *le*, such as *ándale* or *pásale* for example, are characterized as emphatic or intense. The authors categorize these expressions as interjections and vocatives. It is worth noting that some of these interjections, including *órale*, go beyond the added intensity by adopting and fulfilling the pragmatic functions of agreement, acceptance, or rushing someone (Torres Cacoullos and Hernández, 1999).

2.4.1 Pragmatic functions of *órale*

Considering the limited prior linguistic research on the pragmatic meanings of *órale*, an online dictionary search for “órale” was carried out. Dictionary entries provide a starting point for an understudied particle such as *órale*, because they capture the lexicographer’s impressions of the word and their experience with it (Krishnamurthy, 2001), and some dictionaries even gather conclusions from written corpora⁶. However, one major disadvantage is that they do not

⁶ Of the dictionaries cited here, only the Diccionario del Español de México ‘Mexican Spanish Dictionary’ (DEM) (2010) and Real Academia Española ‘Royal Academy of Spanish Dictionary’ (RAE) (2001) are based on corpora such as the *Corpus del español mexicano contemporáneo* ‘Corpus of Contemporary Mexican Spanish’ (CEMC) (DEM, 2012), *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual* ‘Corpus of Reference of Current Spanish’ (CREA) (Real Academia Española, n.d.), and *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual* ‘Diachronic Corpus of Spanish’ (CORDE) (Real Academia Española, n.d.), among others.

necessarily rely on research to support their conclusions. Thus, they are helpful as an exploratory device, but they do not provide the same evidence for their conclusions as empirical research. In this section, a chronological description of the pragmatic functions of *órale* reported in dictionaries and prior research is presented, and a summary is provided in Table 2. This investigation into the pragmatic functions of *órale* revealed a growing list of functions over time, from only one function (Prieto, 1985) to ten functions (Flores Treviño, 2014).

To determine a starting point for the dictionary search of *órale*, two strategies were used. First, the three oldest lists of words typically associated with Mexican Spanish⁷ (i.e., *mexicanismos*) were examined for mention of *órale*. In these lists from 1761, 1831, and 1898, *órale* was not reported. The second strategy used was a search for the oldest use of *órale* in two corpora provided by the Royal Academy of Spanish (RAE, 2001), Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual ‘Corpus of Reference of Current Spanish’ (CREA), and Corpus Diacrónico del Español ‘Diachronic Corpus of Spanish’ (CORDE). The oldest token found dated from 1958 and it originated from Mexican Spanish. Consequently, the first dictionary reviewed was the dictionary of *mexicanismos* that was produced closest to that year—Prieto’s *Así habla el mexicano: Diccionario básico de mexicanismos* ‘This is how Mexicans speak: Basic dictionary of Mexican words’ published in 1985. The publication date for the other four dictionaries ranged from 2001–2010.

In the first dictionary of *mexicanismos* examined, Prieto (1985) reported that *órale* is an expression used to motivate someone to do something in particular. Later, in the *Diccionario breve de mexicanismos* ‘Brief Dictionary of Mexican Words’, Gomez de Silva (2001) also reports the motivational use and expands *órale*’s functions to specify that it is used as an exhortation, i.e., to emphatically urge someone to do something; in this case, to work, to participate in an activity, or to cheer up. In 2001, The Royal Academy of Spanish included *órale* in its dictionary for the first time, and defined it as “used for exhort, or to manifest amazement, or acceptance.” Fitch (2006), in her compilation *Jergas de habla hispana* ‘Slang in Hispanic Speech,’ was the first to provide

⁷ The three oldest lists, according to Zaid (1999), were: 1) “Comentarios a las ordenanzas de minas: de la significación de algunas voces obscuras, usadas en los minerales de Nueva España” ‘Comments for’ (Gamboa, 1761), 2) “Pequeño Vocabulario de las Voces Pronunciadas o de Origen Mexicano Usadas en Esta Obra [El Periquillo Sarniento]” ‘Small vocabulary of used voices or of Mexican origin used in this work [The Mangy Parrot]’ (Lizardi, 1816), and 3) “Diccionario de mejicanismos” ‘Dictionary of mexican words’ (Ramos y Duarte, 1898). No uses of *órale* were reported in these lists.

examples of the several different functions associated with *órale*: acceptance, expression of anger, amazement, and exhortation; see (14)–(17).

(14) *¿Nos vemos a las nueve? – ¡órale!* (Fitch, 2006)

‘See you at nine? – ¡órale! (ok!)’

(15) *¡Órale! ¡Ahora me vas a decir que no quedamos de vernos a las 10, que entendí mal?*
(Fitch, 2006)

‘¡Órale! (come on!) Now you are telling me that we didn’t agree on meeting at 10:00, that I misunderstood?’

(16) *¡Óorale, fíjate por donde vas que ya casi me pisas, pendejo!* (Fitch, 2006)

‘Óorale (hey!), watch where you’re going cause you almost stepped on me, jerk!’

(17) *¡Órale, muévete, ya casi es hora de que subas al escenario!* (Fitch, 2006)

‘¡Órale! (come on), move, it’s almost time to get on stage!’

The Diccionario del Español de México ‘Mexican Spanish Dictionary’ (DEM) (2010) included four pragmatic functions and exemplified each: exhortation, acceptance, surprise, and interruption; see (18)–(21). In contrast with previous dictionaries, the DEM (2010) diverged from Fitch (2006) in that there was no mention of anger or annoyance, but it maintained previously stated functions of exhortation and acceptance. The DEM (2010) dictionary also introduced a new function, which was to call someone’s attention in order to interrupt their action. The functions exemplified by the DEM (2010) echo Torres Cacoullós and Hernández’s (1999) descriptions of intensive *le*, portraying the three functions that they suggest + *le* can achieve (i.e., agreement, acceptance, rushing someone).

(18) *¡Órale, a trabajar!* / “*¡Órale, perros, váyanse pa’ fuera!*” (DEM, 2010)

‘Órale (come on!), get to work! / Órale (come on!), dogs, go outside!’

(19) “*—¿Nos echamos unos tacos en la esquina? —¡Órale!*” (DEM, 2010)

‘Do you want to get some tacos on the corner? — Órale! (Sure!)’

(20) “*¡Órale, qué loco está ese cuate!*” / “*¿Sacaste diez? ¡Órale!*” (DEM, 2010)

‘Órale! (wow!), how crazy is this dude! / You got an A? Órale! (wow!)’

(21) “*¡Órale, órale, señorita!; si no compra no mallugue*” (DEM, 2010)

‘Órale, órale (hey, hey), miss! If you are not buying, don’t bruise the fruit.’

In sum, the dictionary entries reported several functions of *órale*, some stemming from the productive *le* described by Torres Cacoullos & Hernández (1999), and others that reflected the intuitions of later researchers (such as anger, interruption, or amazement in Flores Treviño, 2014). Overall, the dictionary definitions correspond and overlap at times, but there are differences as well (Table 2). Although they are consistent in their description of *órale* for exhortation, other functions are not as established. The variability, lack of agreement, and rapid increase in the number of pragmatic functions over time questions the accuracy of the dictionary entries for *órale* and highlights questions about the frequency of different functions and their contexts and also the social variation of *órale*.

In an effort to respond to the questions about *órale* from a linguistic perspective, one study by Flores Treviño (2014) provided an initial exploration of the uses and pragmatic functions of *órale*. With data collected from *El habla de Monterrey*, a subcorpus derived from the PRESEEA main corpus, she reported the functions found for this DM. The author described 10 functions in total, expanding on the number of functions reported in the dictionaries (Table 2). The first six functions proposed by Flores Treviño (2014) can be grouped in two categories and thus are reported within the categories of exhortation and acceptance in Table 2: exhortation (invitation, motivation, command) and acceptance (understanding, confirmation, agreement). The other four represented additional functions beyond those identified in dictionaries (i.e., criticizing, complaining, intensifying a request, and closing the interaction). This analysis provided examples of each function, but the total number of tokens analyzed was not reported.

Table 2. Summary of Pragmatic Functions by Dictionary and in comparison to Flores Treviño (2014).

Pragmatic Function	Prieto (1985)	Gómez de Silva (2001)	RAE (2001)	Fitch (2006)	DEM (2010)	Flores Treviño (2014)
Exhortation	X	X	X	X	X	X
Acceptance			X	X	X	X
Amazement / Surprise			X	X	X	
Anger				X		
Interruption					X	
Criticize						X
Complaint						X
Intensifier of a request						X
Closing the interaction						X

To exemplify the pragmatic functions reported for *órale*, tokens from Flores Treviño (2014) are shown in (22) to (31). The first three functions relate to exhortation. In particular, Flores Treviño (2014) found examples of *órale* that served as an invitation (in the case of (22), this invitation is implicit), and motivated the accomplishment of an action within a positive or negative context (23a-b). As can be seen in (23a), E tries to motivate I to go get some water because it is sunny. In contrast, (23b) shows a situation where the warden is demanding prisoners to do manual labor and does not show a “hint of compassion” (Flores Treviño, 2014, p. 1864). The third exhortation use is an order or command (24). Prefacing the current analysis, these examples are presented here as examples of exhortation.

(22) Invitation (Flores Treviño, 2014, p. 1863)

I: Como guacamolito así, o como quiera como le- al gusto, y ya se le acompaña frijolitos, con queso, o le pone queso revuelto con cebollita y tomate

E: Ándele

*I: Y **órale**, a comer*

I: As guacamole like that, or as you wish as you- to taste, and then you put some beans on the side, with cheese, or you can put cheese with onions and tomato

E: Ándele (Yes, of course)

I: And **órale** (let's go) to eat!'

(23) Motivation for the accomplishment of an action (positive and negative) (Flores Treviño, 2014, p. 1864)

a. E: Igual y si quieres orita vamos por una agua aquí al Seven cabrón

I: No, no te apures

*E: **Órale**, este, no si con el sol orita, me imagino que cuando está el sol arriba está peor ¿no?*

'E: Maybe if you want to, we can go now for some water to the Seven Eleven, man

I: No, no it's okay

E: **Órale** (come on), uhm, right now with the sun- I imagine that when the sun's out like this it's rough, right?'

b. -¡Órale, lebrones, échenle ganas-conmina Orozco a los prisioneros que forcejean con el torcido riel...

‘**Órale** (come on!), slackers, pick it up-demands Orozco to the prisoners who were struggling with a bent rail.

(24) Order or command (Flores Treviño, 2014, p. 1865)

“Órale, atiende aquella mesa. Órale, aquella otra. Ándele, más rápido”, ordenaba el tío (Travieso, 2004).

‘**Órale** (come on!), tend that table. **Órale** (come on!), that other one. Come on, faster”, ordered the uncle’

Flores Treviño (2014) also identified various uses that relate to the acceptance function. The author observed that *órale* is used to manifest agreement, understanding, or alignment with the interlocutor (25). This combination of functions is reflected sometimes in the same example and other times in separate examples in Flores Treviño’s (2014) report. The example below appears to show understanding of the situation.

(25) Agreement, understanding, or alignment (Flores Treviño, 2014, p. 1864)

I: No pos, sólo Dios me puso en mi sentir, porque puees, nunca nunca fui drogadicto

E: Órale

I: Nunca fui, no no ...

‘I: No well, it was God that put me on the right path, because weell, I was never ever a drug addict

E: **Órale** (I see)

I: I was never one, no no ...

Another function proposed by Flores Treviño (2014) that can be understood to be a type of acceptance was a confirmation or comprehension function, which is shown in (26). She also identified the function assent or affirmation (27), which relates to acceptance.

(26) Confirmation or comprehension (Flores Treviño, 2014, p. 1865)

I: Tengo veinticuatro años

E: Órale, y ¿a qué te dedicas?

I: *Trabajo en un bar*

E: *En un bar*

I: *En un antro, sí*

E: **Órale**

I: I am twenty-four years old

E: **Órale** (alright) and what do you do?

I: I work at a bar

E: At a bar

I: At a club, yes

E: **Órale** (okay)'

(27) Assent or affirmation (Flores Treviño, 2014, p. 1865)

A ella no le importa. Todo lo soporta por irse con él, como se lo había prometido:

*“Quédate a dormir conmigo”, le pidió Leonel. Ella, fascinada: “Sí, **órale**. Sí, sí...”*

‘She doesn’t care. She puts up with everything just to be with him, as he had promised.

“Stay and sleep with me”, Leonel asked her. Fascinated, she replied “Yes, **órale**, yes, yes”

In addition to the functions that could be classified as exhortation or acceptance, the author proposed four new functions: criticizing, complaining, closing the interaction, and intensifying a request. When criticizing as in (28), Flores Treviño (2014) reports that *órale* will be used with the preposition *con* ‘with,’ while when complaining as in (29), it will accept not only the preposition *con* ‘with’ but other adverbs such as *ya* ‘enough/already’ or insults. Flores Treviño (2014) seemed to have limited examples of these functions on which to base the analysis. These two functions seem to manifest a judgement or an evaluation of the interlocutors’ actions or speech.

(28) Criticizing (Flores Treviño, 2014, p. 1866)

*¡**Órale** con su vocabulario!*

‘**Órale** (enough already) with your vocabulary!’

(29) Complaining (Flores Treviño, 2014, p. 1866)

***Órale** ya deje de hablar tanto*

‘**Órale** (enough!) stop speaking so much’

The two final functions were to close an interaction and intensify a request. Regarding intensification, Flores Treviño observes that “in these cases, an affirmation (yes) makes the petition positive” (p. 1887).

(30) Closing an interaction (Flores Treviño, 2014, p. 1866)

I: Sale.

E: Ya vas. Nos vemos.

I: Órale

‘I: Okay.

E: You’re leaving. See you.

I: **Órale** (okay)’

(31) Intensifier of a request (Flores Treviño, 2014, p. 1867)

¿Órale, sí? ¿Órale, sí me ayudas?

‘¿**Órale** (come on), yes? ¿**Órale** (come on), can you help me?’

Flores Treviño’s (2014) descriptions based on spoken corpora provide the first approximation to a pragmatic analysis of *órale*. In another analysis of *órale*, using the AMERESCO México-Monterrey corpus, Flores Treviño (2019) reported the number of occurrences per function and found that most of her data represented the understanding, assent, or comprehension function, followed by the motivation or invitation function, and other functions such as to complain, close the interaction, and intensify a request appeared in the corpus with one or two instances each. In addition, the author examined the discourse segment in which *órale* appeared (i.e., beginning, middle, end) and the type of speech act (i.e., answering, others). In this study, she analyzed 29 tokens of *órale*. Regarding the discourse segments, she found that 63% of the instances appeared at the beginning, 27% in the middle, and 10% at the end; Flores Treviño commented that primarily utterance initial position reflects the commanding nature of the DM. An analysis of type of function combined with the placement of the DM may provide more evidence for this conclusion. For the speech act category, Flores Treviño reported that *órale* was most commonly used as a response; however, this conclusion only accounted for 33% of the data, leaving 67% of the data in a category of other speech acts. It is not clear how the distinctions between these categories were decided.

The examples in Flores Treviño (2014; 2019) provide great insight into how *órale* is used in discourse. Some of her proposed functions match those previously reported in dictionaries, and others are new observations. While offering much more detail than dictionary entries, some functions proposed by Flores Treviño (2014) appear to encompass different actions. For example, the function that she called “acuerdo o entendimiento, alineación” ‘agreement or understanding, alignment’ (Flores Treviño, 2014, p. 1864), alludes to different interactional moves within this one function. As noted in this section, other functions listed for *órale* share some sense of serving to accept something (e.g., confirmation and assent). Flores Treviño’s labels may be a reflection of the multifunctionality of the DM, but the lack of specificity also seems to identify the need for additional analysis of the functionality of *órale*. Furthermore, considering the limited number of examples of *órale* for certain functions identified by Flores Treviño (2019), analysis of other data sources are needed to complement existing analyses. Finally, the use of turn position as a tool coupled with an analysis of pragmatic functions has proven beneficial for the understanding of pragmatic functions of DMs (Tanghe, 2016, Travis, 2005) and may serve to provide additional understanding of the pragmatic functions and interactional uses of *órale*.

In conclusion, there has been an increase in the pragmatic functions associated with *órale*, from initial reporting of exhortation to the addition of several more (Table 2). However, there has not been enough research to confirm the proposed functions in oral speech settings, apart from Flores Treviño’s (2014, 2019) exploration of the Monterrey variety of Mexican Spanish. In addition, some examples from prior literature do not seem to fit completely in the functions assigned to them. Thus, there is a need to reconsider the typology of the functions and the process of identification of those functions in data. Consequently, a reevaluation of the functions based on data seeks to confirm the pragmatic functions proposed over the years. Finally, based on the prior dictionary entries and research on *órale*, there is a theoretical gap concerning the discussion of the semantic core and how the concept of the semantic core may enhance the understanding of the DM *órale*.

2.4.2 Sociolinguistic analysis of *órale*

Flores Treviño (2014, 2019) focused on the pragmatic functions of *órale*, but she also offered a sociolinguistic analysis of the DM in her 2019 chapter about *ándale* and *órale*. In it, the author examined the use of *órale* by gender (i.e., men and women), using the AMERESCO

México-Monterrey corpus, which included data from 182 participants (60 men and 122 women). Of the 29 instances of *órale*, Flores Treviño (2019) stated that women produced 18 tokens of *órale*, while men produced it 11 times. Consequently, she concluded that women used the DM more than men. However, the number of women in the sample was over double that of men. The amount of talk per interview was also not considered.

Overall, the examination of the social meaning of *órale* has been limited to an analysis of gender based on limited data. An analysis of a larger dataset and the consideration of additional social groups may highlight new understandings about the social meaning of *órale*. In addition, considering that DMs have been found to be involved in indexing and constructing a variety of social and situational identities (Bolden, 2006); thus, exploring the relationship between *órale* and macrosocial groups and also the positioning that speakers do with *órale* will provide a clearer understand of the social functions of the DM. This proposed approach aligns with descriptions of pragmatic variation, a field that unites sociolinguistic variation and pragmatics. This field takes into account not only the social distribution of the pragmatic variable as a whole, but it also considers its specific pragmatic functions, its uses in interaction, and how they distribute among the social categories (Barron, 2014; Eiswirth, 2020).

2.5 The current research

The field of discourse markers is a very productive and relatively recent area of linguistic research. The questions that are addressed engage a wide range of researchers, because the field encompasses a “set of linguistic items that function in cognitive, expressive, social, and textual domains” (Schiffrin, 2005). To understand how DMs function in discourse and interaction, it is necessary to study corpora consisting of naturally occurring speech (Schiffrin, 1987; 2005). DM studies are important to not only gain a clearer idea about the use of DMs (Aldama Peñaloza & Reig Alamillo, 2016) and how they mark social relationships between interlocutors (Andersen et al., 1999), but also to provide a window into the cognitive and social competence of those who use DMs (Schiffrin, 2005). While some discourse markers in Spanish have been described (e.g., Briz & Bordería, 2010), there are others particular to certain varieties that have yet to be sufficiently examined.

The current investigation sought to fill this gap by investigating *órale* and its pragmatic functions in Mexican spoken Spanish. The primary goal was to identify the pragmatic functions of *órale* in a Mexican Spanish corpus through a triangulation of the functions established in dictionaries (DEM, 2010; Fitch, 2006; Gómez de Silva, 2001; Prieto, 1985; RAE, 2001) and by Flores Treviño's (2014) results from her corpus study, the discourse context and position, and the positioning of social actors. Through this process, a typology of *órale* functions was formed and proposed for verification in future studies. In addition, after obtaining the functions of *órale*, a theoretical contribution is made through the identification of *órale*'s semantic core considering that research has suggested that the variety of functions a DM can achieve is united by a core meaning (Fraser, 1999; Schifffrin, 1987; Travis, 2005). Hence, through the corpus data, *órale*'s semantic core was investigated.

A secondary goal was to identify the effect of macrosocial categories on the use of *órale* and its functions considering three sociolinguistic variables (i.e., gender, age, and educational level). These variables have been shown to be social categories that impact language use (Labov, 2001); in addition, they correspond to the organization of the corpus under study. The second goal led to an in-depth understanding of the characteristics of the speakers that use this DM and how speakers position themselves with it in interaction. Quantitative results, along with excerpts from the corpus, were provided to illuminate the pragmatic functions and social uses of *órale*.

The research questions and hypotheses addressed the pragmatic functions of *órale* and the effect of gender, age, and educational level on *órale* use in discourse.

RQ1: What are the pragmatic functions of *órale*?

It was hypothesized that exhortation and acceptance functions of *órale* would be identified in the corpus, considering that many sources have reported these functions (DEM, 2010; Fitch, 2006; Flores Treviño, 2014; 2019; RAE, 2001). Considering that Flores Treviño (2019) found that *órale* was used most frequently as a response in her corpus analysis, it was hypothesized that acceptance would be more frequent than exhortation. It was unclear from prior research whether the other functions previously identified in dictionaries and in Flores Treviño (2014, 2019) would be expected in the data.

RQ2: Do gender, age, and educational level affect the use of *órale*?

For RQ2, it was hypothesized that gender would significantly affect the use of *órale*, based on the results found by Serrano (1999) and Cestero and Moreno (2008) for *bueno* and *venga*, respectively. Consequently, these differences may help speakers manipulate how they position themselves (Andersen et al., 1999). Finally, the field of pragmatic variation highlights the intersection between social variation and pragmatic functions (e.g., Barron, 2014); therefore, the researcher also expected to find differences in the social variation across the pragmatic functions of *órale*.

CHAPTER 3. METHODS

For the purposes of this study of the pragmatic functions and sociolinguistic variation of the DM *órale* in Mexican Spanish, data were analyzed from an already existing Spanish language corpus that contains interviews with people from Mexico City and its delegations (*Corpus Sociolingüístico de la Ciudad de México*, Butragueño & Lastra, 2011–2015). All 189 tokens of *órale* were extracted from the corpus and coded according to their pragmatic functions and sociolinguistic variables. Analysis of the functions relied on an iterative approach, using open coding and axial coding (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). Then, the data were subjected to both a descriptive analysis and statistical models in response to the research questions. In the following subsections, the corpus materials are described in detail (Section 3.1), the data coding process is explained (Section 3.2), and the approach to analysis is identified (Section 3.3).

3.1 Corpus description

The data for this study were from the *Corpus Sociolingüístico de la Ciudad de México* (CSCM, Butragueño & Lastra, 2011–2015). The corpus is composed of 108 sociolinguistic interviews. The interviews were carried out with participants considering three sociolinguistic factors: age, gender, and educational level (Table 3). Half of the interviewees were women, and half were men. For age, three categories were established: 20–34 years old, 35–54 years old, and 55+ years old. Regarding educational level, the lowest level corresponds to individuals who were illiterate or only studied elementary school (i.e., 5 years of schooling or less). The middle level encompassed junior high education (i.e., 10–12 years of schooling), while the high educational level included undergraduate and postgraduate studies or at least 15 years of schooling.

Table 3. Distribution of 108 interviews in the CSCM.

Educational level	Ages 20–34		Ages 35–54		Ages 55+	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Low	6	6	6	6	6	6
Middle	6	6	6	6	6	6
High	6	6	6	6	6	6
Total	36		36		36	

The sociolinguistic interviews were structured following the PRESEEA methodology (Moreno Fernández, 2003) by using thematic modules to elicit more free and vernacular speech. In general, the PRESEEA methodology proposes eight conversational modules: 1) greetings, 2) weather, 3) place where the informant lives, 4) family and friendship, 5) cultural customs, 6) life threatening situations, 7) important anecdotes in the informant's life, and 8) wishes of economic improvement (Moreno Fernández, 2003). In addition, if there were any interruptions in the interview such as a phone call or someone needed something from the interviewee, the participant was encouraged to take the call or respond to the person. Hence, there are several one-sided telephone calls and interruptions from an interlocutor other than the interviewer. The organization of the modules, along with inclusion of any spontaneous interactions with other interlocutors, proves beneficial in obtaining more vernacular and less attentive speech (Labov, 1966), especially when storytelling is engaged (e.g., life threatening situations) and when the speaker addresses others in different registers. Hence, the data provide ample opportunity to analyze the informal DM *órale*.

3.2 Coding and Analysis

All interviews were analyzed and the variations “órale”, “árale”, and “orale” were considered for the search, but only items spelled as “órale” were found. If the item was produced by the interviewer or any other participant that was not the interviewee, it was excluded due to the absence of information about the speaker's age and educational level. In total, 189 tokens were extracted from the CSCM and coded. After all of the items were extracted, every token was coded for the pragmatic and sociolinguistic variables.

3.2.1 Analysis of pragmatic functions

Regarding the pragmatic variables, an iterative qualitative process of labeling and revision was carried out, which relied on a triangulation of prior descriptions of *órale* functions, the surrounding discourse and the token's position in the turn, and also the involvement of the social actors that used *órale* to position themselves.

As a first step, the data were coded considering previously described functions and subfunctions of *órale* in the dictionaries (DEM, 2010; Fitch, 2006; Gómez de Silva, 2001; Prieto,

1985; RAE, 2001) and Flores Treviño (2014), and considering the individual tokens of *órale* within their surrounding discourse. Through the first round of coding, it was observed that not all the previously determined functions appeared in the CSCM. In addition, the researcher started to question whether the emotions (i.e., anger, amazement and surprise) that *órale* had been said to communicate were accomplished by the use of the DM, another linguistic feature, or the whole utterance in context. Thus, emotions were initially coded as a separate category, in addition to the coding of the functions. While coding the functions, it was noted that certain functions were similar, and thus the possible existence of functions and subfunctions were considered while coding. Based on the pragmatic functions and descriptions that resulted from the first coding round by the author, a trained linguist coded the data. Then, the researchers jointly evaluated the pragmatic functions for each use of *órale* to arrive at consensus. The purpose of using an iterative approach with two different researchers was to discuss and agree on modifications in the codes, to then incorporate them in the following round of coding. The observations from the joint evaluation motivated changes in the categories of analysis, resulting in the three pragmatic functions presented in Section 4.1 (i.e., Exhortation, Affirmation, Reorientation).

The joint evaluation also led the researchers to hypothesize about a relationship among *órale* functions, their turn positions (i.e., first pair part, second pair part, and turn medial), and also how the social acts achieved with *órale* positioned the social actors. With this, a second round of iterative coding was done to analyze the proposed functions, their turn positions, and to consider social acts and positionality, first by the author, then by the trained linguist. The consideration of turn position and positionality provided a triangulated approach to the coding of the pragmatic functions. Both reviewers again met to discuss their coding of the pragmatic function of each token and arrived at consensus on the function of each token.

To further verify the accuracy of the pragmatic function determined for each token, the author reviewed all coding a third time. This approach allowed for the analysis and identification of the functions of *órale* to be systematic (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 13). Through this process all *órale* tokens in the corpus were accounted for in the typology. In addition to the qualitative analysis of the functions of *órale*, a quantitative analysis of the functions was carried out to display their distribution.

3.2.2 Analysis of sociolinguistic variables

The gender, age, and educational level were labeled following the information in the CSCM. During exploratory analysis of the data, an outlier was found and excluded from the analyses so as not to skew the results (i.e., Participant #100 used *órale* 30 times). Descriptive statistics were examined for the frequency of *órale* and the frequency by function. For descriptive statistics, a frequency measure was used to represent the tokens of *órale* per unit of words spoken by the participant (i.e., how many times *órale* was said per 1,000 words for each participant), a common approach in corpus linguistics used in order to control for different interview lengths among participants (e.g., Aldama Peñaloza & Reig Alamillo, 2016; Czerwionka & Olson, 2020).

In order to assess the effect of social variables (i.e., gender, age, educational level), a quasi-Poisson regression model was carried out. The model was conducted in R statistical software (R Core Team, 2021), using the *pscl* package (Jackman et al., 2015). In addition, to test the effect of gender, age, and educational level while also considering the three pragmatic functions of *órale*, multinomial logistical models were conducted to identify the best fit model. These analyses were conducted in R statistical software (R Core Team, 2021), using the *nnet* package (Ripley & Venebles, 2022).

CHAPTER 4. RESULTS

The current chapter presents the results of the pragmatic analysis (section 4.1), followed by the findings regarding the sociolinguistic use of *órale* (section 4.2). In section 4.1, the definitions of the functions are shared, along with qualitative analyses of the tokens within their surrounding discourse, considering turn position and positionality. The results of the quantitative analysis of the distribution of the established functions in the data are also presented. Section 4.2 includes descriptive statistics and results from statistical models to understand the effect of gender, age, and educational level on *órale* in general and on the three functions of *órale* in the data.

4.1 Pragmatic functions of *órale*

Regarding the first research question as to what the functions of *órale* are, three main functions were determined through the coding and analysis process: exhortation, affirmation, and reorientation, each with two subtypes (Figure 1). As hypothesized, the exhortation and affirmation functions were identified in the corpus, matching previous definitions of *órale* (DEM, 2010; Fitch, 2006; Flores Treviño, 2014, 2019; RAE, 2001). The reorientation function had not been identified in previous research. In this section, a description of the three functions and their subtypes is presented along with analyzed examples from the data to demonstrate the functions as they relate to the surrounding discourse, the turn position of the DM, and the positioning of the social actors via *órale*.

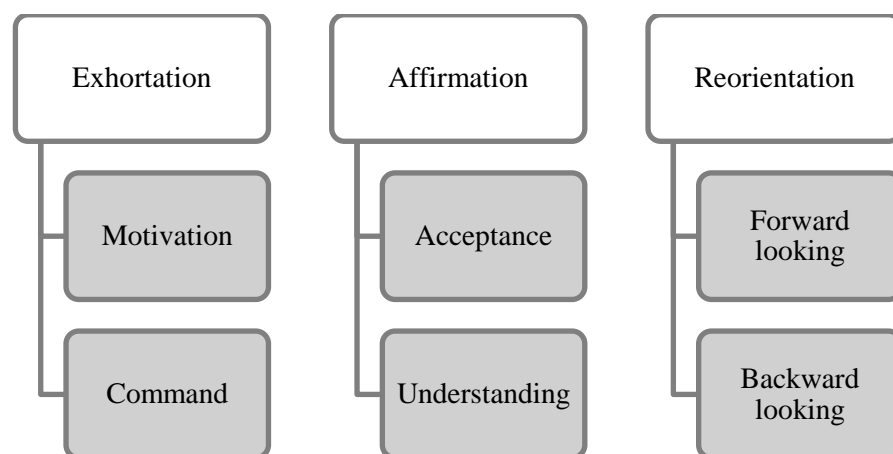


Figure 1. Summary of the pragmatic functions proposed

4.1.1 Exhortation

Exhortation consists of the speaker calling a particular person to commence an action. The exhortation function appears in the data when *órale* is used as an initiation and, thus, it is a first pair part. Two subfunctions were identified for this subfunction, *motivation* (32) or *command* (33), and they are considered subfunctions because of their commonalities. As can be seen in the following examples, the speaker in (32) is motivating her partner to improve himself; she says that she goes with him and encourages him to work more and be better. On the contrary, (33) shows a command from a mother to her child for the child to shower right now.

(32) *Yo luego sí lo acompaño le digo “órale échale ganas”* (CSCM-93)

‘I sometimes go with him I tell him “**órale** (come on) you can do it”

(33) *Llega a la casa y “órale métete al baño”* (CSCM-103)

‘She gets home and goes “**órale** (come on!), go and shower”

The exhortation function works at the interactional level and requires at least two participants in the conversation or in the narrative. This requirement was fulfilled by the speaker in the CSCM tokens by addressing an interlocutor, or by narrating direct speech (i.e., words that were uttered in a prior conversation) in the middle of a story with multiple participants. In fact, a large number of examples occurred in direct speech (109/189 tokens) due to the nature of the CSCM data collection design (i.e., the sociolinguistic interviews were structured to elicit important life anecdotes) (Section 3.1.).

Furthermore, it became apparent that the exhortation function tokens occurred at a certain point in the discourse, the first pair part of an adjacency pair. *Órale* seems to occur in a first pair part as a direct initiation (as a directive act); in particular, *órale* can fulfill the first pair part of the request/command-acceptance adjacency pair as seen in (34), where the interlocutor states a directive act with *órale* in utterance initial position.

Command-acceptance pair

(34) *Me acuerdo cuando entré la primera vez, dice “órale” dice “pásate”* (CSCM-83)

‘I remember when I went in for the first time, she says “**órale** (come on)” she says “come on in

In addition, when using *órale* in an exhortative function, speakers position themselves as more authoritative, as having the power to command, or as the authority/expertise to motivate. In (35), the speaker is positioning the actors in relation to a place in the abstract conversational narrative (Kiesling, 2011). The speaker is telling a story about how there are different teachers, and how she has experienced many strict professors. She mentioned just prior to (35) how the teacher would scold the children for not wearing the uniform, for chewing gum, and for walking into the classroom yawning. The example in (35) shows *órale* being used to hurry the students in their response to whatever command the teacher had given. The exhortation function of *órale* indicates an expectation for immediate action from the addressees, and in this example of commanding an action, the position of this teacher as the one who has power and authority becomes clear.

(35) *Y como te digo y “órale (chasquido de dedos) y hazlo (CSCM-59)*

‘And like I’m telling you “**órale** (come on!) (finger snap) and do it

In contrast, the teacher in (36) is presented as an advisor who is interested in giving her advisees tools to graduate. She has the expertise to guide the students and to direct them in the best path towards graduation, but instead of commanding them, she motivates them.

(36) *“Pues eh, no sé cómo hacerle” “bueno ten, esto, con esto empieza, y decide cómo te vas a titular, yo te recomiendo que sea esta, porque es más fácil, y órale ¡ya!” ¿no? ¿me interesa que la gente se titule! (CSCM-24)*

‘Well uhm, I don’t know how to do it” “Okay here, this, start with this, and decide how are you graduating, I recommend this way, because it’s easier, and **órale** (go!) now!” right? I’m interested in helping students graduate!

Hence, through the positioning analysis, distinctions between the two subfunctions of exhortation (i.e., motivation and command) were identified. A command involves a social actor with power over the listener, who exerts that power via the DM, which further positions the speaker and listener within the broader social narratives, establishing the rights and duties each of them may have. Motivation, on the other hand, emerges from a social relationship where the speaker also has authority or expertise, but communicates their directive acts with less illocutionary force on the interlocutor; through the use of *órale* as a motivating exhortation, the DM reflects and

communicates a broader level social positioning of being a caring person concerned about what the listener wants or needs.

4.1.2 Affirmation

Affirmation is the function that shows the current speaker's acceptance of a proposal or their understanding of an event or utterance. *Órale*'s function of accepting or understanding something was captured by the dictionaries although not as early as the exhortative function (Table 2). These two descriptions (i.e., acceptance and understanding) are the subfunctions of the main function of affirmation and they are considered subfunctions because of their commonalities. The affirmation function appears in the data when *órale* is used as a response and, thus, it is a second pair part. In this turn position, *órale* was commonly accompanied by other DMs that mark alignment or acceptance such as *bueno* or *pues* (59/111 tokens), with some examples showing reduplication of the DMs (37).

(37) *Entonces me dice “¡vente a jugar futbol!” le digo “¡pues órale pues!”* (CSCM-37)

‘So he says to me “come and play football!” I tell him “well **órale** (okay!) then”

The subfunction of acceptance is observed when the DM is used to accept a proposal. The speaker in (38) is accepting a proposal of going somewhere to help the mother. *Órale* can also be used to demonstrate understanding of an event or an utterance, describing the subfunction of understanding. In (39), there is a simple exchange of information about what time it is, and the shared information is responded to with *órale* to signal that the answer was received and understood by I.

(38) *Dice “ven, vamos a que le ayudes allá a mi mamá” “¡pues órale!”* (CSCM-37)

‘He says “come, go help my mom over there” “well **órale!** (okay!)”

(39) *I: ¿A qué horas tienes? por cierto*

P: Cuatro veintiséis

*I: Ah, **órale**, está bien* (CSCM-54)

‘I: What time is it? By the way

P: Four twenty-six

I: Oh, **órale** (I see), it's okay’

The affirmation function also works at the interactional level and requires at least two participants in the conversation, like in (40) and the narrative in (41). This requirement was fulfilled by the speaker in the CSCM tokens by responding to an interlocutor in the actual conversation or in the reconstruction of prior dialogue that is being recounted in the interview.

(40) *E: Pero que están así, súper más armados que la propia policía, que es súper peligroso entrar*

I: Órale, pues mira yo, te digo después de- yo creo que desde que entré, no, un poquito antes, como un año antes de entrar a la universidad, el último año de prepa, me desligué mucho de aquí (CSCM-8)

‘E: But they’re like, a lot more armed, even more than the actual police, so much that it’s really dangerous to go in

I: **Órale** (oh okay), well look I, as I was telling you, after I- I think ever since I started, no, a little earlier, like a year before starting my undergrad, the last year of high school, I separated myself from here’

(41) *Y me dijo “oye pues vente para acá” “ah, pues órale” le digo (CSCM-62)*

‘And he said to me “hey well come here” “oh, well, **órale** (okay)” I say to him’

In addition, the affirmation function tokens also occurred at a particular point in discourse, the second pair part of an adjacency pair. In this case, *órale* seems to occur in a second turn as a direct response; in particular, *órale* can fulfill the second pair part of the request/command-acceptance adjacency pair and the second pair part of the new information-understanding pair.

For example, in (42) the second pair part of the adjacency pair can be seen: after a directive act, *órale* functions as an affirmative response. In (43) the second pair part of the new information-understanding pair is shown; after the interlocutor responds affirmatively to the question, the understanding of the speaker who originally asked the question is shown through the response of *órale*.

Command-**acceptance** pair

(42) *Dice “ven, vamos a que le ayudes allá a mi mamá” “¡pues órale!” (CSCM-37)*

‘He says “come, go help my mom over there” “well **órale**! (okay!)”

New information-**understanding** pair

(43) *¿Ya te dijo que sí?*” “*sí*” “**órale**” (CSCM-63)

‘And has he said yes to you? “Yes” **órale** (okay)’

Regarding the positioning analysis, when speakers use the affirmative function, they are positioning themselves as being agreeable. In (44) the speaker is presenting himself as agreeable by accepting to stay later to please his boss. By using *órale* to preface his utterance, the speaker is positioning himself in a positive light, as a social actor who agrees to go beyond the fulfillment of his duties. Moreover, in this participant’s final remark he explains that you need to know how to please your boss, confirming that he understands the direct speech of “*¡órale! me quedo*” as contributing to him being perceived positively by the architect in charge.

(44) *Pues el arquí el otro día me dio permiso, pues lógico, le voy a echar la mano “oyes hay que quedarse una hora más” “¡órale! me quedo” ¿no? entonces hay que saberles llegar también por dónde* (CSCM-6)

‘Well the architect gave me permission the other day, so obviously, I am going to help him out “hey someone needs to stay one hour longer” “**órale!** (okay!) I’ll stay” right? So you need to know how to please them’

Taking the exhortation and affirmation functions together, it was found that *órale* is used as the first or second turn in the *request/command-acceptance* adjacency pair and as the second turn in the *new information-understanding* adjacency pair. In addition, it was also found that these functions of *órale* are used in the social routine of closing social encounters (i.e., goodbyes), as Flores Treviño (2014, 2019) captured in her research. These closings are composed of two main parts: the offering of the closing or preclosing (Hartford & Bardovi-Harlig, 1992), which was labeled as motivation in the current analysis and can be seen in (45), and the acceptance of the closing, which was labeled as acceptance in the current analysis and is shown in (46).

(45) *¿Me hablas a la casa en la noche? Bueno, órale, adiós* (CSCM-38)

‘Will you call me home at night? Okay, **órale** (okay), goodbye’

(46) *R: Sí/ o después te/ hablo* (CSCM-38)

I: Órale

R: Yeah/ or later/ I'll call you

I: **Órale** (okay)

4.1.3 Reorientation

A third function identified through the iterative approach was that of reorientation, which refers directly to the organization of the speakers' own discourse. Similar to the description of the DM *bueno* when used as a topic shifter (Maldonado & Palacios, 2005), *órale* may function as *forward looking* when it presents a break from previous utterances to start a new topic or a subtopic, as in (47). The reorientation provided by *órale* can also be *backward looking*, to give closure to a topic, as in (48). When the DM is used by speakers to carry out the reorientation function, it is found in a turn-medial position, aligning with Flores Treviño's (2019) identification of *órale* tokens located in the middle of a turn. The reorientation function functions at textual level by reorienting speech and an interactional level by managing the conversational floor. In (47), *órale* breaks with the previous utterance in order to announce a parenthesis in the story to add a detail about the bullet caliber. In (48), the speaker finishes part of his story about paying rent, and with *órale*, he presents a change of time, breaking the story and orienting to a new event and period in time.

(47) *Y tenía una bala que se le había es- se había penetrado en la iliaca, una, eh, calibre, mm*

Órale, *creo que era veintidós o algo así* (CSCM-20)

'And he had a bullet that had- had penetrated the illiac artery, one, uhm, caliber, uhm,

Órale, I think it was 22 or something like that'

(48) *Le di hasta sus dos rentas a la señora, órale y sí hija, luego luego fui al otro día* (CSCM-100)

'I even gave double the rent to the lady, **órale** and yes kid, immediately I went over the next day'

4.1.4 Summary and distribution of the pragmatic functions in the CSCM

As a result of the qualitative analysis of *órale* (Sections 4.1.1–4.1.3), three functions of *órale* were identified: exhortation, affirmation, and reorientation, each with two subfunctions.

These functions emerged from an analysis that considered the surrounding discourse, the turn position of the token, and the positioning of the social actors via the specific use of *órale*. A quantitative analysis of the frequency of tokens across the three pragmatic functions of *órale* showed that affirmation was the predominant function in the corpus (59%), followed by reorientation (23%) and exhortation (19%). While the affirmative function was expected to be predominant, it was unexpected that the exhortation function would be the least common. Regarding the subtypes of the functions, for exhortation, motivation (11%) was slightly more frequent than commanding (8%); for affirmation, acceptance (37%) was more frequent than understanding (22%); and for reorientation, forward looking (14%) was more frequent than backward looking (8%). These results are summarized in Figure 2.

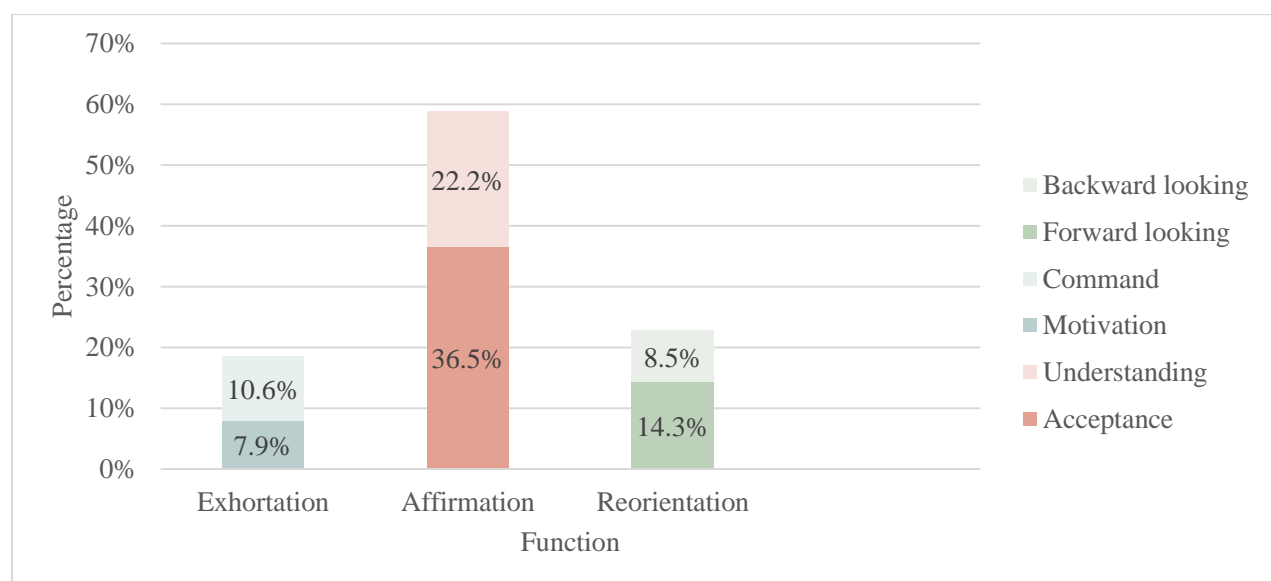


Figure 2. Percentage of tokens by pragmatic function and subfunction

4.2 Sociolinguistic use of *órale*

The second research question asked about the social distribution of *órale*. The effect of gender, age, and educational level on the use of *órale* and the three functions is discussed in this section. Descriptive statistics of the overall frequency of *órale* by social category are presented in Figures 3–5. Because many speakers did not use *órale* in their conversations, all the ranges start with zero. Following descriptive statistics, the results of regression analyses are presented to

understand the effect of gender, education, and age on the overall use of *órale* in addition to the effect of these social categories on the distribution across the three functions of *órale*.

Regarding gender, as shown in Figure 3, men displayed a general tendency to use *órale* more often than women, with an average frequency of 0.26 ($SD = 0.33$) tokens of *órale* per 1,000 words for men and 0.12 ($SD = 0.18$) for women.

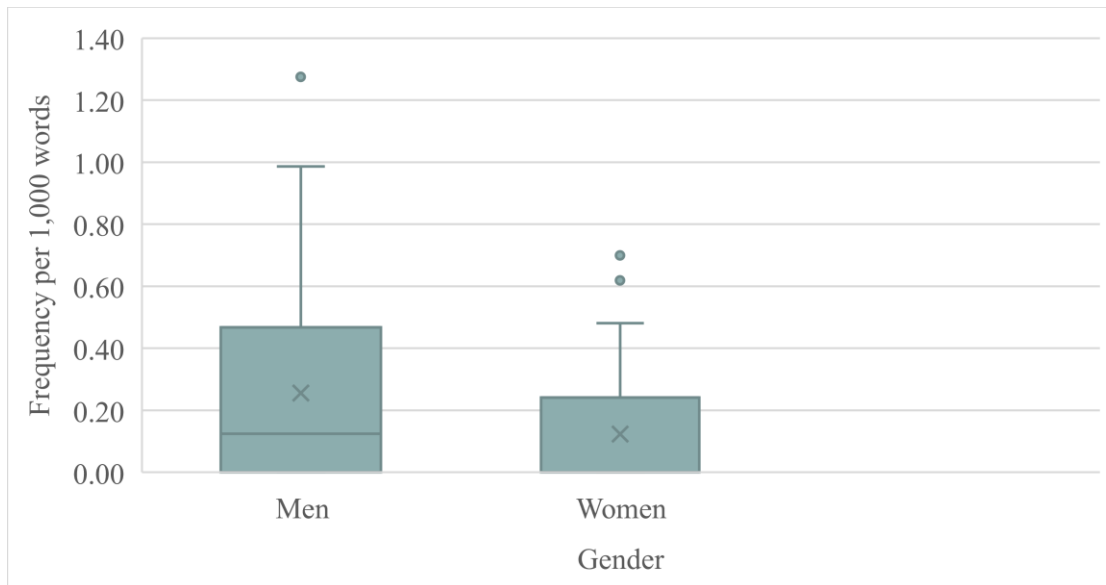


Figure 3. Boxplot of frequency of use by gender

As shown in Figure 4, for the educational level there is a clear tendency with the lower educational level having a greater frequency of use of 0.22 ($SD = 0.28$) tokens per 1,000 words, followed closely by the middle educational level with a frequency of use of 0.21 ($SD = 0.31$). The high educational level used *órale* the least, with a frequency of 0.14 ($SD = 0.2$) per 1,000 words.

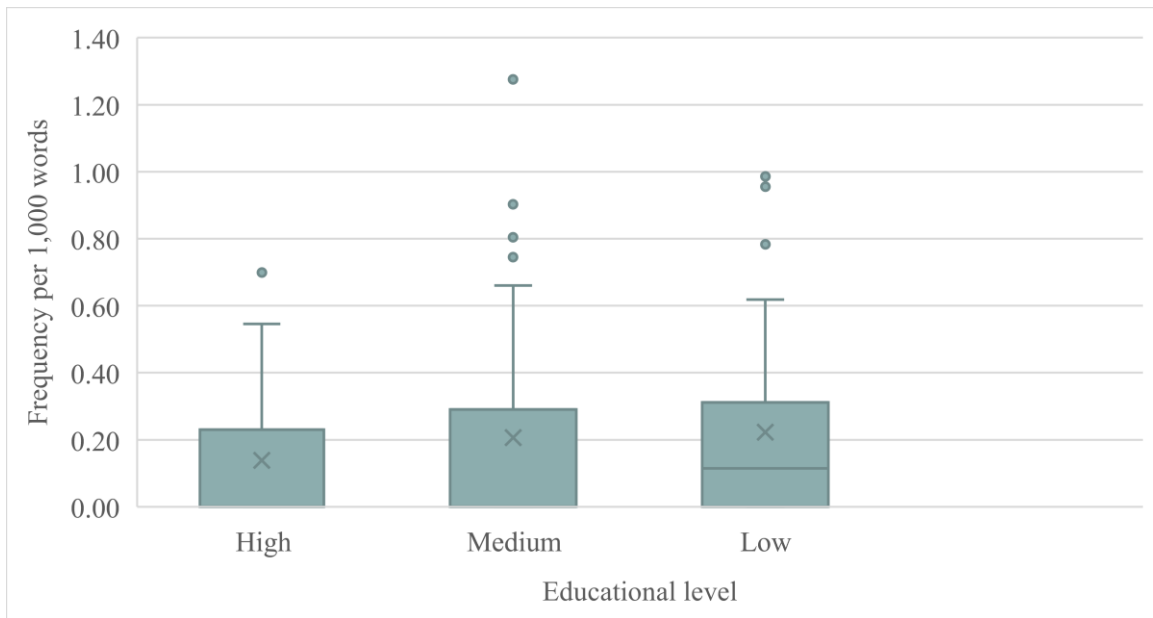


Figure 4. Boxplot of frequency of use by educational level

Finally, Figure 5 shows the descriptive statistics by age. The age group of 20–34 year olds leads the usage of *órale* with an average frequency of 0.24 ($SD = 0.32$), followed by adults between 35–55 who used *órale* with an average frequency of 0.20 ($SD = 0.27$) times per 1,000 words. The group of 55+ years old used *órale* the least, with an average frequency of 0.13 ($SD = 0.21$) times per 1,000 words.

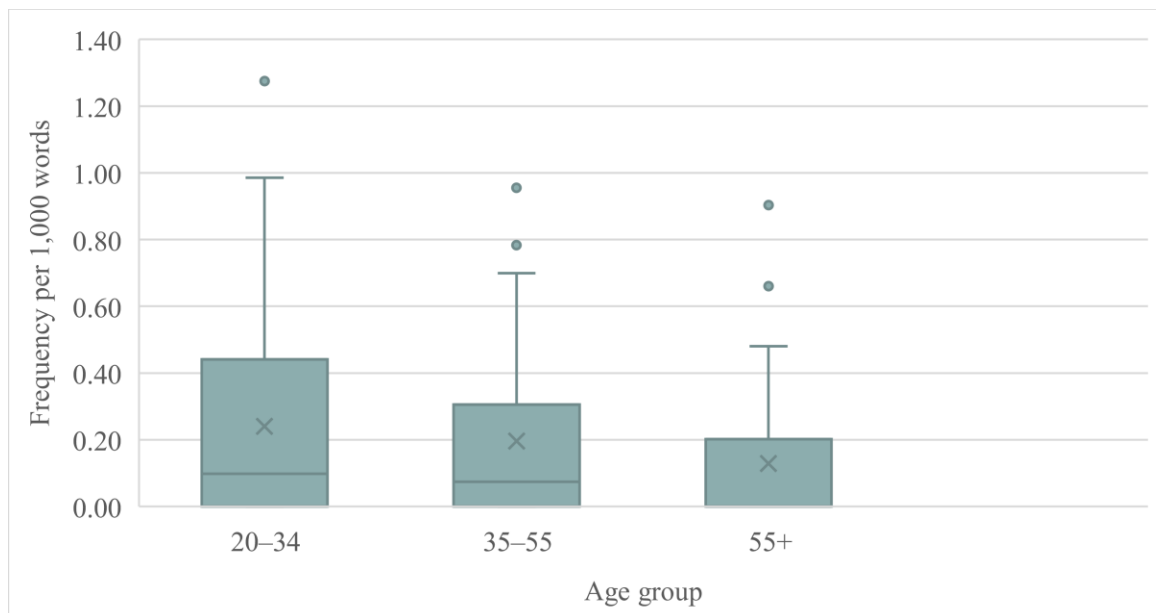


Figure 5. Boxplot of frequency of use by age group

The statistical analysis of the overall use of *órale* relied on a quasi-Poisson regression model. Quasi-Poisson regressions are used for count data with overdispersion (Roback & Legler, 2021). The outcome variable was the count of *órale*, and the total number of words spoken by each participant was included as an offset, which produced an exposure variable for the count of *órale* per unit of speech. The model predicted the count of *órale* as a function of the gender, level of education, and age of the speaker. Gender, level of education, and age were categorical predictors with two levels of gender (Men, Women), three levels of education (Low, Middle, High), and three levels of age (20–34, 35–55, 55+). Men, high education, and 20–34 age were the reference variables in the model. The regression summary is presented in Table 4. Results indicate that gender is significant, with a coefficient of ($b = -0.805$, $p = .003$). No other predictors had a significant effect on the model. The interpretation is that the *órale* rate of men is .45 times that of the *órale* rate of women based on this calculation of the expected count:

Table 4. Quasi-Poisson regression summary for *órale*

	Estimate	Std. Error	t-Value	Pr (> t)
(Intercept)	-8.260	0.300	-27.504	< 2e-16 ***
Gender(Women)	-0.804	0.271	-2.964	0.003 **
Education(Middle)	0.457	0.329	1.391	0.1672
Education(Low)	0.401	0.324	1.236	0.2194
Age (35–55)	-0.641	0.341	-1.881	0.0629
Age (55+)	-0.255	0.288	-0.884	0.3787

Residual deviance = 252.71 (101 df); Null deviance = 295.29 (106 df)
Significance codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

To test the significance of each independent variable in the model (i.e., gender, education, age), an F-test was used to compare model fits. To test the significance of gender in the model, the full model (gender + education + age) was compared to the null model (education + age); the same type of model comparison was done comparing null models that dropped education and age individually (Table 5). For gender, with a p value of .002, the null hypothesis was rejected, and it was accepted that gender had a significant effect on the model outcome. Testing for the significance of education and age, there was no evidence that education or age had a significant effect on predicting *órale* count. In sum, gender was found to have a significant effect on the use of *órale*; the model predicts that men use *órale* more than women (.45 times more than women).

Table 5. F-test comparisons

	Df	Deviance	F-Value	Pr (> F)
Full model		252.71		
Gender	1	276.85	9.65	0.002 **
Education	2	258.74	1.20	0.3039
Age	2	262.39	1.93	0.1496

Significance codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

Considering the three functions of *órale*, additional analyses were conducted. The effect of gender, education, and age on the distribution across the specific functions of *órale* (i.e., exhortation, affirmation, reorientation) was also examined. For this analysis, multinomial logistical models were conducted with the output variable of *órale* function (affirmation, exhortation, reorientation), and with the function of affirmation as the baseline. Predictor variables were gender, education, and age. Afterwards, a comparison was carried out between the full model (gender + education + age) and models that dropped one of the predictor variables. Chi-square distribution was used to compare the fits of the models considering residual deviances.

Table 6 shows the model summary for the full multinomial logistical model, with a residual deviance of 248.6947 and AIC of 272.6947. Comparing the fit of the full model and the model with predictors of gender and age (i.e., education was dropped) which had a residual deviance of 259.5324 and AIC of 275.5324, the p-value was 0.0284. With this result, the null hypothesis was rejected, and it is established that the model with education is a better fit to predict the functions of *órale*. Comparing the full model with a model that dropped gender, there was no difference in model fit identified ($p = 0.1028$). Comparing the full model with a model that dropped age, there was no difference in model fit identified ($p = 0.1591$). These results highlight the effect of education when predicting the probability of the three *órale* functions. To interpret this finding, the descriptive data in Figure 6 showed that the middle educational level had the greatest propensity to use the affirmative function over the other two functions, while the low educational level had the most reduced propensity to use the affirmative function and also the greatest propensity to use the functions of exhortation and reorientation. These trends can be observed in Figure 6 by examining the different vertical spaces between the exhortation/reorientation data points and the affirmation data point for each of the three educational levels.

Table 6. Coefficients and Standard errors for full model

Coefficients						
	(Intercept)	Gender (women)	Education (low)	Education (Middle)	Age (55+)	Age (35-55)
Exhortation	-2.9516	1.0464	1.8514	0.9265	0.2737	-0.3927
Reorientation	-2.4915	-0.0149	1.0018	0.0411	1.3708	0.8994
Standard Errors						
Exhortation	0.7125	0.5080	0.7231	0.7523	0.6238	0.5764
Reorientation	0.6270	0.4980	0.6050	0.6577	0.6280	0.5674

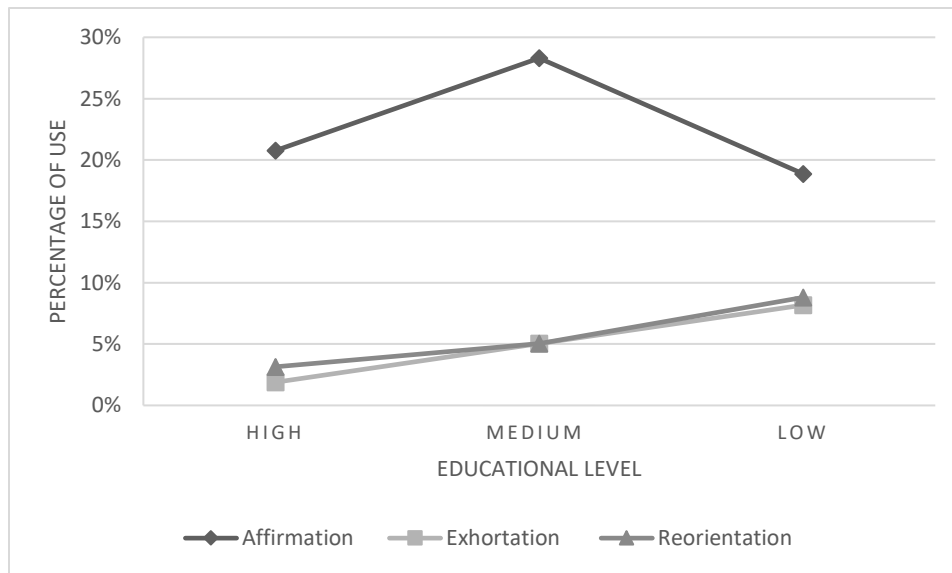


Figure 6. Percentage of use of *órale* functions by educational level

CHAPTER 5. DISCUSSION

The results of the present investigation shed light on the functions, discourse context, and sociolinguistic use of the DM *órale* in Mexican Spanish. In section 5.1, the findings are summarized, and each function is discussed in comparison with prior literature. Afterwards, a summary of the most important sociolinguistic findings is presented in Section 5.2. Section 5.3 provides an explanation of the proposed semantic core of *órale*, filling a theoretical gap in the pragmatic understanding of the DM. Finally, the contributions, limitations, and future directions are discussed in Section 5.4.

5.1 Interactional and textual functions of *órale*

The pragmatic analysis led to the identification of three main functions of *órale*, each with two subfunctions. The functions and subfunctions were defined and described considering the individual token of the DM and its surrounding discourse, turn position, and positioning of social actors (Section 4.1). This triangulated analysis resulted in an understanding of *órale* as a multifunctional DM that contributes to interactional and textual levels of discourse. Table 7 provides a summary of the typology, listing the main functions, subfunctions, and turn positions. Furthermore, Table 7 includes the proposal of a meta-message for each function (following Travis, 2005), listed under the main function.

Table 7. Proposed typology for the functions of *órale*.

Main function	Subfunction	Turn position
Meta-message		
Exhortation <i>Start an action right now!</i>	Motivation Command	First pair part
Affirmation <i>I accept your proposal in this moment</i> <i>I understand this new information in this moment</i>	Acceptance Understanding	
Reorientation <i>Right now, I am opening or closing a topic or subtopic</i>	Forward-looking Backward-looking	Turn medial

Exhortation is a main function that includes subfunctions of motivation and command. The subfunctions are united under exhortation because they serve as a call from the speaker to a

particular person to commence an action. It is proposed that they carry, as their procedural meaning, the meta-message to “Start an action right now!”. They occur in the first position of an adjacency pair involving the social act of a directive speech act (e.g., request/command-acceptance adjacency pair). The motivation and command subfunctions are distinguished by the positioning of the social actors (Section 4.1).

Affirmation is another main function of *órale*, and the subfunctions are acceptance and understanding. The function as a whole communicates a preferred response to another interlocutor, thus positioning the speaker using *órale* as agreeable. These tokens of *órale* occur in a second position of certain adjacency pairs. The acceptance subfunction occurs in response to a directive speech act (e.g., *request/command-acceptance* adjacency pair), and has as its meta-message “I accept your proposal in this moment.” The understanding subfunction occurs in response to a declarative speech act (i.e., *new information-understanding* adjacency pair), meaning “I understand this new information in this moment.” Whether *órale* takes on the subfunction of acceptance or understanding depends on the expectations for response set up by the first pair part.

The way speakers position themselves by using the exhortation or affirmation function point towards the use of *órale* as a tool to reflect social relationships, shaping their identities “from moment to moment in interaction” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 591). Further analysis of *órale* revealed that the speakers can manipulate social situations by using *órale* to restructure the relationship between interlocutors. Similar to the findings of Andersen et al. (1999), using *órale* as an exhortative can add a sense of authority not previously established, indicating that the speaker has more power than their interlocutor. For example, in (49) the speaker is retelling how he suffered an attempted robbery while driving his taxi. However, the speaker managed to arm himself with a screwdriver and proceeded to challenge the attacker, in doing so, the relationship between the interlocutors is restructured, now the taxi driver is in command and he can use *órale* to challenge the robber to attack.

(49) *El cuate ese, y se sienta atrás arriba del carro, y le digo “¿qué?” le digo “órale” y yo traía el desarmador* (CSCM-74)

‘This dude goes and sits on the back seat of the car and I told him “what?” I told him “órale” (come at me) and I was carrying the screwdriver’

Reorientation is the third main function of *órale*, and it functions on both the interactional and the textual level of discourse by organizing speech but also organizing and managing turns in a conversation. Speakers use it to shift to new topics by using it to close a discourse topic or open a new one. Thus, the subfunctions are forward-looking or backward-looking, reorienting to the upcoming topic. These uses of *órale* indicate “*Right now, I am opening or closing a topic or subtopic.*” Further analysis of the proposed reorientation subfunctions is necessary to fully operationalize them since there are examples that seem to narrate an action element, probably as a carryover effect from the exhortation and acceptance functions. The interaction between the reorientation function and exhortation can be seen applied in contexts such as (50), where the speaker is indicating the starting of an action in his own discourse and to himself.

(50) *Con un cepillo de carda órale, quitar todo el polvo* (CSCM-73)

‘With a sandpaper brush **órale**, to remove all the dust’

Compared to functions proposed in dictionaries (DEM, 2010; Fitch, 2006; Gómez de Silva, 2001; Prieto, 1985; RAE, 2001) and Flores Treviño (2014), the current proposal is based on a triangulated approach to analysis and is more economical. The adequacy of the proposed typology is confirmed by the alignment among the triangulated approaches to analysis and its sufficiency for all data in the CSCM. Furthermore, the typology seems sufficient to explain all functions of *órale* proposed in prior research. Figure 7 illustrates how previous functions found for *órale* (Section 2.4.) are encompassed in the proposed typology. Aligning with the hypothesis for RQ1, the functions of exhortation and affirmation were found in the current analysis of the CSCM, corresponding to functions that were frequently mentioned in prior literature. The current typology also serves to explain some functions that were distinguished as separate functions in prior descriptions of *órale*. For example, interruption, complaining and criticizing are considered to be within the exhortation function because of their nature to push someone to accomplish an action, in this case, to stop their current attitude, action, or behavior. Similarly, the function of intensifier of a request, is encompassed beneath exhortation because of its similarity with commanding and motivating. Regarding the functions related to emotions such as amazement, surprise, and anger, it was concluded that tokens of *órale* that are interpreted to communicate an emotion were mainly expressing one of the three pragmatic functions that were identified in the current research (e.g., acceptance with amazement, command with anger). Hence, the interpretation of a certain emotion

relies on more factors such as the syntactic structure, the discourse context, the lexical load, the participants, among many others (Soriano & Ogarkova, 2009). Furthermore, as discussed in Section 4.1.2, closing the interaction is not conceived of as a separate function; it is a social routine in which the functions of exhortation and affirmation are applied.

Lastly, Figure 7 shows the addition of the reorientation function, a discourse medial use of *órale* that serves to organize discourse and manage the conversation. Even though the reorientation function had not been proposed previously, Flores Treviño (2019) found that 63% of *órale* tokens appeared in the beginning of the turn in the dialogue, 27% in the middle, and 10% in the end of the turn. It is possible that those tokens that were found in the middle were reorienting discourse instead of doing other functions.

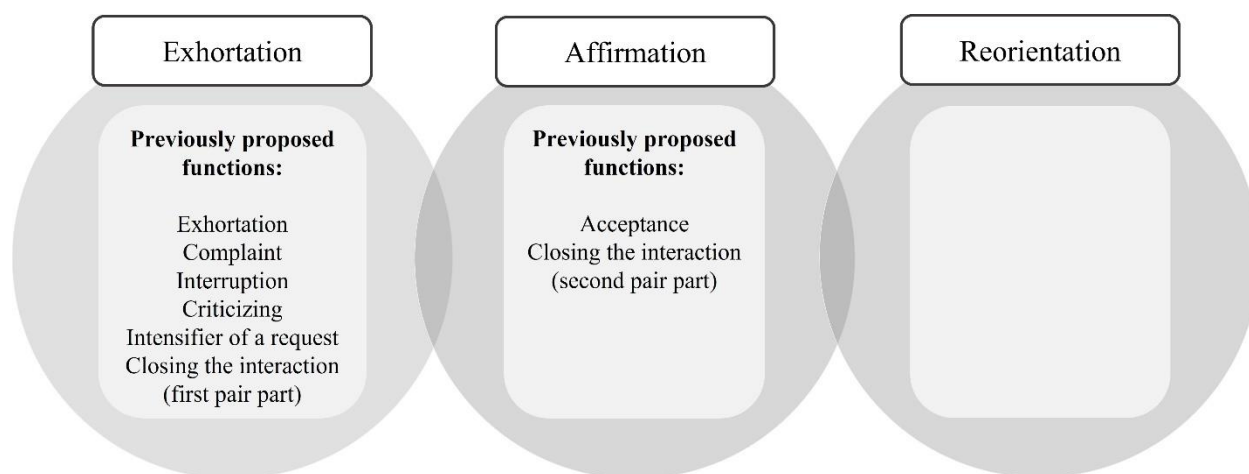


Figure 7. Typology of exhortation, affirmation, and reorientation

In terms of the distribution of functions in the CSCM, affirmation was the predominant function in the corpus (59%), followed by reorientation (23%) and exhortation (19%). These results corresponded to Flores Treviño's (2019) findings in the sense that *órale* was used predominantly as a response in the AMERESCO México-Monterrey corpus. This also aligned with the related hypothesis regarding the frequency of the affirmation function (framed as acceptance in the hypothesis). However, the distribution in the CSCM did not fully align with the expectations in that the reorientation function was not predicted based on prior literature.

Comparing the functions identified for *órale* with prior research on DM, it is apparent that other DM in Spanish have been found to have similar functions. The exhortative function for *órale*

is similar to functions of *venga*, which according to Cestero and Moreno (2008) has two types: instructions and encouragement. The affirmative function is comparable to affirming functions of *bueno* (Travis, 2005) and *venga* (Cestero & Moreno, 2008). The reorientation function is also similar to the reorientation function of *bueno* proposed by Travis (2005) and the topic shifter function proposed by Maldonado and Palacios (2015) through which *bueno* opens and closes new topics to push the conversation forward. The overlapping functions, and overlapping multifunctionality, of *órale*, *venga*, and *bueno* highlights the functions of exhortation, affirmation, and reorientation as actions that are fundamental to discourse, with exhortation and affirmation functioning on the interpersonal plane and reorientation on the textual one. Speakers need linguistic tools to do this work in interaction, and different varieties of Spanish have different tools to do these basic acts (*órale*, Mexican Spanish; *venga*, Peninsular Spanish; *bueno*, Colombian Spanish among others).

5.2 Social meaning of *órale*

To understand *órale* from a social perspective, the sociolinguistic quantitative results in addition to the findings related to positionality are considered. The quantitative results consisted of descriptive statistics, a quasi-Poisson model, and multinomial logistical models. In the descriptive analysis tendencies of gender, educational level and age groups were observed; namely, men, low educational level, and the 20–34 age group used *órale* more frequently. Statistical models pointed towards significant effects of gender and education, but not age. This diverges from the hypothesis for RQ2, which hypothesized a significant effect of each of the three social variables. The results for age indicate that *órale* behaves like a stable variant in Mexican Spanish, with no apparent differences across age groups.

Examining the effect of the social variables on the overall use of *órale*, the statistical models revealed that gender had a statistically significant effect. Men used the DM .45 times more than women, aligning with the hypothesis that gender would affect the use of *órale*. The results pertaining to gender are opposite to what Flores Treviño (2019) indicated for *órale*, as she stated that women use it more than men. This difference seems to have resulted from the fact that the AMERESCO México-Monterrey corpus had more women than men, and neither the number of participants nor the total number of words spoken by each participant were accounted for in the analysis. The current results indicate that men use *órale* more often than women. These results can

be explained following the Variationist Sociolinguistic framework (Labov, 2001), in which women are more likely to use prestigious forms or to show a dispreferred use of variants that have overt negative social stigma than men in cases of stable variation (Trudgill, 1972). Hence, even though no clear stigmatization of the DM *órale* has been found in previous literature, the DM does not seem prestigious enough to be used by women at least in an interview context. This analysis aligns with the explanation that women have a “greater sensitivity to what is considered standard and non-standard” (Meyerhoff, 2011, p. 219).

In addition, in the analysis of the social categories and function of *órale*, education was shown to help predict the probability of each function. The middle educational level participants were predicted to rely on *órale* for affirmation compared to other functions more so than participants of other educational groups. The low educational group was predicted to rely on the affirmation function less compared to other functions, in comparison to other educational groups. This finding related to the reliance on the affirmative function of *órale* can be explained by the macrosocial interplay of the three educational groups and their relationship to social class. As Eckert (2000, p. 26) argues, the middle class is the buffer between the opposing linguistic markers, demonstrating a tension between participation in the standard and the vernacular. Hence, those of the middle educational level may be in social positions that require their positive alignment with others, thus prompting them to adopt a more agreeable positioning towards their interlocutors. This position is shown and reconstructed in their preferential use of *órale* for affirming functions versus exhortation and reorientation functions. This argument relies on the interpretation of the use of *órale* by the participants with middle educational level as compared to the uses by those with high education and low education.

5.3 Semantic core of *órale*

Research has suggested that the variety of functions a DM can achieve is united by a core meaning (Fraser, 1999; Schiffrin, 1987; Travis, 2005). This issue has not been addressed in prior research on *órale*, representing a theoretical gap in prior work. Previous research has suggested that *órale* resulted from a process of pragmaticalization of its semantic root *ahora* ‘now’ and the addition of the morpheme “le” (i.e., *ahora*>*ora*> *órale*) (Gómez de Silva, 2001; López, 2015). According to Torres Cacoullos and Hernández’s (1999), this morpheme is productive in Mexican

Spanish and adds an emphatic or intense layer to the meaning of those expressions that incorporate it (such as *ándale* ‘come on!’ or *pásale* ‘come on in!’)

Through analysis of the pragmatic meanings and relying on the explanation of *órale*’s origin, it is argued that the core function of *órale* relates to a sense of immediacy in a change of state. The core meaning applies in different ways depending on the function, and it provides an overarching framework from which to understand the multifunctionality of *órale*. For the exhortation function, the sense of immediacy is evident; *órale* becomes a call to “start an action right now!”, aligning with the added intensity of the +le constructions mentioned by Torres Cacoullos and Hernández (1999). On the contrary, the affirmative function works similarly to the phrase “now I understand” or “yes, I will do that immediately.” This idea relates to the DM *oh*’s semantic core, which indicates a change in the “speaker’s knowledge, awareness, or attention in response to some prior action” (Bolden, 2006, p. 663). Finally, the reorientation function mimics the topic shifter idea proposed by Maldonado and Palacios (2015) and it can be translated to “now I will talk about something else”, either a subtopic or a different topic entirely.

Applying the theoretical notion of the semantic core provides a distinct interpretation of the overlapping functions and multifunctionality across different DMs (e.g., *bueno*, *venga*, *órale*) (Section 5.2). While different DMs can serve the same pragmatic function, the semantic core distinguishes their meta-messages. For example, both *bueno* and *órale* share pragmatic functions of affirmation and reorientation, yet it is argued that *órale* is distinct in the procedural constraints it communicates by relying on its semantic core which includes a sense of immediacy in a change of state. The semantic core serves to distinguish between DMs, even when they share general pragmatic functions. Consequently, the differences in the semantic core propose a theoretical explanation to distinguish DMs that have overlapping functions and that serve speakers by providing them with pragmatically nuanced linguistic elements to convey their message.

5.4 Contributions, limitations, and future research

This investigation led to a typology of the pragmatic functions of *órale* that was sufficient to explain all of the data and more economical than some prior descriptions. Furthermore, the proposed typology relied on a triangulation of pragmatic function, turn position, and positioning of social actors, which taken together provide validity to the analysis in that multiple theoretical frames converged to identify the three pragmatic functions of *órale*: exhortation, affirmation, and

reorientation, each with two subfunctions. It was found that the affirmation function was most common, and that the probability for the affirmation function to be used in contrast to the other two functions was dependent on educational level. Results indicated that the affirmation function was used by those of the middle educational level to position themselves as agreeable, perhaps in response to their socioeconomically related positions in society that require their agreeableness. Their uses of *órale* are more likely to be of the affirmation function, and thereby they further construct agreeableness as compared to either high education or low education groups through their dependence on the affirmation function of *órale*. Furthermore, results showed that men used *órale* more than women. It was proposed that this finding was due to *órale* not being a prestigious enough DM to be used by women as often, at least not prestigious enough in the interview context.

Taken jointly, the pragmatic and sociolinguistic analyses highlighted the textual and interactional relevance of the DM *órale* and the social uses and social ramifications of its use, forming a dynamic picture of the use of *órale* in Mexican Spanish. The analysis also led to the proposal that the core semantic meaning of *órale* is to communicate a sense of immediacy in a change of state. This immediacy in the change of state is understood distinctly within the exhortation, affirmation, and reorientation functions of *órale*. The proposal of a semantic core that applies across all pragmatic functions and has implications for the DM's social uses contributes to the theoretical understanding of *órale*. Finally, this investigation provided needed information about a DM that is highly associated with Mexican Spanish to the existent repertoire of literature about DMs in Spanish (Briz & Pons Bordería, 2010; Llopis Cardona & Pons Bordería, 2002; Martín Zorraquino & Portolés Lázaro, 1999, among others), and it highlights *órale* as a unique linguistic tool that has pragmatic and social repercussions.

While the analyses have led to many contributions, one main limitation was the type of data used for the analysis. In the sociolinguistic interviews, *órale* was found in 54 of the 108 interviews. This number does not necessarily mean that the speakers do not use the discourse marker; it may mean that the sociolinguistic interviews in the CSCM were not able to capture the moments in which these speakers use it. Thus, for further research, it is suggested to review data including other registers, especially less formal situations. Despite considering the data type as a potential limitation, it must also be noted that 189 tokens were found, making this the largest analysis of *órale* to date. Future research should also provide additional analyses of the reorientation function of *órale*, considering that this was a new function identified in this

investigation. Additionally, while it is proposed that the reorientation function may relate to the affirmation function, following Maldonado and Palacios' (2015) analysis of *bueno*, further analysis of *órale* for reorientation may provide additional support for the connection between reorientation and the other two functions. Moreover, the proposal of *órale*'s semantic core opens an avenue for future research to confirm the core meaning through comparative analysis with other DM with similar pragmatic functions or psycholinguistic approaches to confirm the communicated procedural messages.

CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSION

DM research under the framework of variational pragmatics provides valuable insights into pragmatic variables used in interactions in the social world. The analyses in this thesis examined the pragmatic functions of *órale* at textual and interactional levels, while also considering the effect of macrosocial variables on the use of *órale* and its functions. This investigation contributes to the understanding of *órale* as a DM specific to Mexican Spanish, and how it is used with three pragmatic functions by speakers from different social groups to communicate an immediate change of state and also to reflect their positioning towards other social actors. The pragmatic functions are organized in a simple typology, operationalized for future use. Taking the pragmatic and social results together, a dynamic picture of the DM *órale* use in Mexican Spanish is obtained. Through this picture, researchers can understand language use in context and how it constructs social interaction, reflects the social world, and manipulates the relationship between the interlocutors. Furthermore, this project presented an empirical approach to an understudied DM that blended qualitative analysis of discourse and quantitative approaches that considered the effect of social group membership of DM use. The study demonstrated the ways in which pragmatic variants of *órale* allow different speakers to position themselves differently as needed in their interactions and considering their macrosocial setting. The results from the current investigation are informative because by discovering the patterns of language use, the way in which social relationships are constructed is also discovered.

REFERENCES

- Aldama Peñaloza, J. D., & Reig Alamillo, A. (2016). Variación sociolingüística en el empleo de un nuevo marcador discursivo: Ahora sí que en el español de México. *Boletín de Filología*, 51(2), 15–47. <https://doi.org/10.4067/S0718-93032016000200002>
- Andersen, E. S., Brizuela, M., Dupuy, B., & Gonnerman, L. (1999). Cross-linguistic evidence for the early acquisition of discourse markers as register variables. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 31(10), 1339–1351. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166\(98\)00108-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166(98)00108-8)
- Arnold, J., Blake, R., Eckert, P., Iwai, M., Mendoza-Denton, N., Morgan, C., Polanyi, L., Solomon, J., & Veatch, T. (1993). Variation and personal/group style. *New Ways of Analyzing Variation*, 22.
- Barron, A. (2014). Variational pragmatics. In *The Encyclopedia of Applied Linguistics*, 1–7. John Wiley & Sons, Ltd. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781405198431.wbeal1429>.
- Blakemore, D. (1987). Semantic constraints on relevance. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Bolden, G. B. (2006). Little words that matter: Discourse markers “so” and “oh” and the doing of other-attentiveness in social interaction. *Journal of Communication*, 56(4), 661–688. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00314.x>
- Briz, A. (1993). Los conectores pragmáticos en español coloquial (I): Su papel argumentativo. *Contextos*, vol. XI(21–22), pp. 145–188.
- Briz, A., & Pons Bordería, S. (2010). Unidades, marcadores discursivos y posición. In Loureda Lamas, O., Acín-Villa, E. (Eds.), *Los estudios sobre marcadores del discurso en español, hoy* (pp. 327–358). Arco Libros.
- Bucholtz, M., & Hall, K. (2005). Identity and interaction: A sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse Studies*, 7(4–5), 585–614. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445605054407>
- Butragueño, P. M. (2003). Hacia una descripción prosódica de los marcadores discursivos. Datos del español de México. *La Tonía: Dimensiones Fonéticas y Fonológicas*, 375–402.
- Butragueño, P. M., & Lastra, Y. (2011). *Corpus Sociolingüístico de la Ciudad de México (CSCM)* (1a. ed.). El Colegio de México. https://lef.colmex.mx/corpus_sociolinguistico.html
- Cestero, A. M., & Moreno, F. (2008). Usos y funciones de vale y ¡venga! en el habla de Madrid. *Boletín de Lingüística*, 20(29), 65–84.

- Corbin, J. M., & Strauss, A. (1990). Grounded theory research: Procedures, canons, and evaluative criteria. *Qualitative Sociology*, 13(1), 3–21.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/bf00988593>
- Cornillie, B., & Gras, P. (2015). On the interactional dimension of evidentials: The case of the Spanish evidential discourse markers. *Discourse Studies*, 17(2), 141–161.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445614564518>
- Czerwionka, L., & Olson, D. J. (2020). Pragmatic development during study abroad: L2 intensifiers in spoken Spanish. *International Journal of Learner Corpus Research*, 6(2), 125–162. <https://doi.org/10.1075/ijlcr.19006.cze>
- Davies, B., & Harré, R. (1990). Positioning: The discursive production of selves. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 20(1), 43–63. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5914.1990.tb00174.x>
- Deppermann, A. (2013). Positioning in narrative interaction. *Narrative Inquiry. A Forum for Theoretical, Empirical, and Methodological Work on Narrative*, 23(1), 1–15.
<https://doi.org/10.1075/ni.23.1.01dep>
- Diccionario del Español de México (DEM) (2010). <http://dem.colmex.mx>, El Colegio de México, A.C., [08-03-2021].
- Du Bois, J. W. (2007). The stance triangle. In R. Englebretson (Ed.), *Stancetaking in discourse: Subjectivity, evaluation, interaction* (pp. 139–182). John Benjamins.
<https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.164.07du>
- Eckert, P. (2000). Language variation as social practice. Wiley-Blackwell.
- Eiswirth, M. E. (2020). Increasing interactional accountability in the quantitative analysis of sociolinguistic variation. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 170, 172–188.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2020.08.018>
- Erman, B. (2001). Pragmatic markers revisited with a focus on you know in adult and adolescent talk. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 33(9), 1337–1359. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166\(00\)00066-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166(00)00066-7)
- Escandell-Vidal, V., Leonetti, M., Ahern, A. (Eds.), (2011) Procedural Meaning: Problems and Perspectives Current Research in the Semantics Pragmatics Interface, 25. Brill, Leiden.
- Fernández, J. (2017). The language functions of tipo in Argentine vernacular. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 114, 87–103. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2017.03.013>

- Fitch, R. (2006). *Jergas de Habla Hispana*. BookSurge.
- Flores Treviño, M. E. (2014). “Ándale”, “ándeale” y “órale”. Sus funciones en el habla de Monterrey PRESEEA. In Dermeval Da Hora, J., Lopes Ribeiro, P., & Rubens Marques, de L. (Org.), *Actas del XVII Congreso Internacional de la ALFAL Estudios Lingüísticos y Filológicos*, (pp. 1859–1869). ALFAL.
- Flores Treviño, M. E. (2019). Partículas discursivas mexicanas «ándale», «órale»: Sus funciones en el corpus Ameresco-México-Monterrey. In *Pragmática del español hablado: Hacia nuevos horizontes*, 15–28. Servei de Publicacions.
- Flores-Ferrán, N. (2014). So pues entonces: An examination of bilingual discourse markers in Spanish oral narratives of personal experience of New York City-born Puerto Ricans. *Sociolinguistic Studies*, 8(1), 57–83. <https://doi.org/10.1558/sols.v8i1.57>
- Fraser, B. (1999). What are discourse markers? *Journal of Pragmatics*, 31(7), 931–952. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166\(98\)00101-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166(98)00101-5)
- Gamboa, F. J. (1761). *Comentarios a las ordenanzas de minas*. Oficina de Joachin Ibarra.
- Gómez de Silva, G. (2001). *Diccionario Breve de Mexicanismos*. Fondo de Cultura Económica
- Grimm, A. (2020). El español de las telenovelas mexicanas. *Epos: Revista de filología*, 35, 109–128. <https://doi.org/10.5944/epos.35.2019.24357>
- Hartford, B. S., & Bardovi-Harlig, K. (1992). Closing the conversation: Evidence from the academic advising session. *Discourse Processes*, 15(1), 93–116. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01638539209544803>
- Heine, B. (2013). On discourse markers: Grammaticalization, pragmaticalization, or something else? *Linguistics*, 51(6), 1205–1247. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ling-2013-0048>
- Heritage, J., & Raymond, G. (2005). The terms of agreement: Indexing epistemic authority and subordination in talk-in-interaction. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 68(1), 15–38. <https://doi.org/10.1177/019027250506800103>
- Jackman, S., Tahk, A., Zeileis, A., Maimone, C., Fearon, J., Meers, Z. (2015). Package ‘pscl’. Political Science Computational Laboratory, 18(04.2017).
- Jaffe, A. (2016). Indexicality, stance and fields in sociolinguistics. In N. Coupland (Ed.), *Sociolinguistics: theoretical debates* (pp. 86–112). Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9781107449787.005>

- Kärkkäinen, E. (2003). Epistemic stance in English conversation. John Benjamins.
<https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.115>
- Kendrick, K. H., Brown, P., Dingemanse, M., Floyd, S., Gipper, S., Hayano, K., Hoey, E.,
 Hoymann, G., Manrique, E., Rossi, G., & Levinson, S. C. (2020). Sequence organization:
 A universal infrastructure for social action. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 168, 119–138.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2020.06.009>
- Kiesling, S. F. (2011, April, 15). Stance in context: Affect, alignment, and investment in the
 analysis of stancetaking [Paper presentation]. iMean 2 conference, The University of the
 West of England, Bristol, UK.
- Krishnamurthy, R. (2001). Size matters: Creating dictionaries from the world's largest corpus.
KOTESOL Proceedings 2000, 169–180.
- Labov, W. (2001). Principles of Linguistic Change Volume 2: Social Factors. Blackwell.
- Lizardi, J. F. (1816). *El periquillo sarniento*. Imprenta de Galván.
- Llopis Cardona, A. B., & Pons Bordería, S. (2021). Discourse markers in Spanish. Koike, D. A.,
 Félix-Brasdefer, J. C. (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of Spanish pragmatics*. New York:
 Routledge.
- López, R. H. (2015). Construcciones verbales con clítico le en el español de México. *Signos
 Lingüísticos*, 11(21), Article 21/22.
- Maldonado, R., & Palacios, P. (2015). Bueno, a window opener. In J. Daems, E. Zenner, K.
 Heylen, D. Speelman, & H. Cuyckens (Eds.), *Change of paradigms – new paradoxes:
 Recontextualizing language and linguistics* (pp. 97–107). Walter de Gruyter.
- Martín, A. S. (2004). Igual como marcador discursivo en el habla de Santiago de Chile: Función
 pragmática discursiva y estratificación social de su empleo. *Boletín de Filología*, 40,
 201–232.
- Martín Zorraquino, M. A, & Portolés Lázaro, J. (1999). Los marcadores del discurso. In I.
 Bosque Muñoz & V. Demonte Barreto (Eds.), *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua
 española* (pp. 4051–4213). Espasa Calpe.
- Mejía-Gómez, M. (2008). *Ándale, apágale. ¡Órale! La (socio)pragmática de la construcción le
 en el español mexicano* [Dissertation, The Ohio State University].

- Mendoza-Denton, N. (2011). The semiotic hitchhiker's guide to creaky voice: Circulation and gendered hardcore in a Chicana/o gang persona. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 21(2), 261–280. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1395.2011.01110.x>
- Meyerhoff, M. (2018). *Introducing sociolinguistics*. Routledge.
- Moreno Fernández, F. (2003). Metodología Del Proyecto Sociolingüístico Para El Estudio Del Español de España y de América (PRESEEA). Versión Revisada, October.
- Navarro, Í. (2005). Valores de le en español mexicano: Un caso de incorporación pronominal. [Doctoral Dissertation, Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona]
- Ochs, E. (1993). Constructing social identity: A language socialization perspective. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 26(3), 287–306. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327973rlsi2603_3.
- Prieto, J. M. (1985) *Así habla el mexicano: diccionario básico de mexicanismos*. Panorama Editorial.
- R Core Team (2021). R: A language and environment for statistical computing. R Foundation for Statistical Computing. <https://www.R-project.org/>.
- Ramos y Duarte, F. (1898). Diccionario de mejicanismos; colección de locuciones y frases viciosas con sus correspondientes críticas; correcciones fundadas en autoridades de la lengua: máximas, refranes, provincialismos i remoques populares de todos los estados de la República Mexicana.
- Real Academia Española. (2001). Órale. In *Diccionario de la lengua española*. (Edición del Tricentenario). <https://dle.rae.es/órale>
- Real Academia Española: Data base (CORDE) [online]. *Corpus diacrónico del español*. <<http://www.rae.es>>
- Real Academia Española: Data base (CREA) [online]. *Corpus de referencia del español actual*. <<http://www.rae.es>>
- Ripley, B., Venables, W., & Ripley, M. B. (2016). Package ‘nnet’. R package version, 7(3–12), 700.
- Roback, P., & Legler, J. (2021). *Beyond multiple linear regression: applied generalized linear models and multilevel models in R*. Chapman and Hall/CRC. <https://doi.org/10.1201/9780429066665>

- Said-Mohand, A. (2014). Los marcadores del discurso en el español hablado en los Estados Unidos: Estado de la cuestión. *Tonos digital*, 26, 1–25.
- Schegloff, E. A., & Sacks, H. (1973). *Opening up Closings*. 8(4), 289–327.
<https://doi.org/10.1515/semi.1973.8.4.289>
- Schiffrin, D. (1987). *Discourse markers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schiffrin, D. (2005). Discourse markers: Language, meaning, and context. In *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (pp. 54–75). John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470753460.ch4>
- Searle, J. R. (1976). A classification of illocutionary acts. *Language in Society*, 5(1), 1–23.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500006837>
- Serrano, M. J. (1999). Bueno como marcador discursivo de inicio de turno y contraposición: Estudio sociolingüístico. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 140(1), 115–133. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl.1999.140.115>
- Soriano, C., & Ogarkova, A. (2009). Linguistics and emotion. In D. Sander & K.R. Scherer (Eds.), *Oxford companion to emotion and the affective sciences* (pp. 240–242). Oxford University Press.
- Tanghe, S. (2016). Position and polyfunctionality of discourse markers: The case of Spanish markers derived from motion verbs. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 93, 16–31.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2015.12.002>
- Torres, L. (2011). Spanish in the United States: Bilingual discourse markers. In *The Handbook of Hispanic Sociolinguistics* (pp. 491–503). John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444393446.ch23>
- Torres Cacoullos, R., & Hernández, E. (1999). A trabajarle: La construcción intensiva en el español mexicano. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics*, 18(2), 79–100.
- Travis, C. E. (2005). *Discourse markers in Colombian Spanish: A study in polysemy*. De Gruyter Mouton.
- Trudgill, P. (1972). Sex, covert prestige and linguistic change in the urban British English of Norwich. *Language in Society*, 1(2), 179–195.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500000488>
- Diccionario del Español de México (2012). Corpus del Español Mexicano Contemporáneo (CEMC). <http://www.corpus.unam.mx/cemc>, software AMATE ver. 1.0.

- Vázquez Carranza, A. (2019). “Chilapa pues”: Variación regional en el uso de pues en posición final en el español mexicano. *Revista internacional de lingüística iberoamericana*, 33, 147–165.
- Verschueren, J. (2000). Notes on the role of metapragmatic awareness in language use. *Pragmatics*, 10(4), 439–456. <https://doi.org/10.1075/prag.10.4.02ver>
- Vincent, D. (2005). The journey of non-standard discourse markers in Quebec French: Networks based on exemplification. *Journal of Historical Pragmatics*, 6(2), 188–210. <https://doi.org/10.1075/jhp.6.2.03vin>
- Wilson, D. (2011). The conceptual-procedural distinction: Past, present and future. In Escandell-Vidal, V., Leonetti, M. & Ahern, A. (Eds.), *Procedural meaning: Problems and perspectives* (Vol. 25, pp. 3–31). Emerald Group Publishing.
- Zaid, G. (1999). Pепенadores de mexicanismos. *Letras Libres*, 5, 20–23.