

## STEREOTYPES IN LINGUISTIC INNOVATION: THE CASE OF *EN PLAN* IN EUROPEAN SPANISH

Juan Escalona Torres & Megan DiBartolomeo  
*Tufts University & Longwood University*

**ABSTRACT.** The discourse marker “en plan,” akin to English “like,” has gained attention due to its rapid spread across Spain. Using explicit and implicit attitude surveys, we examine perceptions of quotative marker “en plan” by Spaniards. Our findings show that “en plan” is mainly associated with younger age groups and casual speech, leading to mixed social attitudes. While some view it as a marker of youth speech and sociability, others see it as indicative of a lack of social refinement or education. The study highlights generational divides, with older speakers often stigmatizing its use, while younger speakers show neutral and positive attitudes. These attitudes reflect broader societal views on language, age, and identity. By focusing on the social perceptions and stereotypes associated with “en plan,” this research underscores the complex relationship between language and social identity, offering insights into how linguistic forms represent particular social groups and influence interactions within the speech community.

**Keywords:** language attitudes, en plan, discourse markers, youth speech, linguistic stereotypes

**RESUMEN.** El marcador de discurso “en plan”, similar al inglés “like”, ha llamado la atención debido a su rápida difusión por España. A través de encuestas de actitudes explícitas e implícitas, examinamos las percepciones de los españoles sobre el uso de procedimiento de cita de “en plan”. Los hallazgos muestran que “en plan” se asocia principalmente con grupos de edad joven y habla informal, lo que lleva a actitudes sociales mixtas. Mientras que algunos lo ven como una marca de habla juvenil y de sociabilidad, otros lo ven como indicativo de una falta de refinamiento social o educación. El estudio destaca las divisiones generacionales, puesto que los hablantes de mayor edad suelen estigmatizar su uso, mientras que los hablantes más jóvenes muestran actitudes neutras o positivas. Estas actitudes reflejan puntos de vista sociales más amplios sobre el lenguaje, la edad y la identidad. Al centrarse en las percepciones sociales y los estereotipos asociados con “en plan”, esta investigación subraya la compleja relación entre el lenguaje y la identidad social, ofreciendo información sobre cómo las formas lingüísticas representan a particulares grupos sociales e influyen en las interacciones dentro de su comunidad de habla.

**Palabras clave.** actitudes lingüísticas, en plan, marcadores de discurso, habla juvenil, estereotipos lingüísticos

### 1. Introduction

In recent years, the Spanish prepositional adverb “en plan” (e.g., ‘like’ or ‘in the manner of’) has emerged as a discourse marker (DM) in European Spanish, gathering the attention of linguists investigating this Spanish variety (e.g., Barrio de la Rosa & Hernández 2021; Abella Fernández 2022; Rodríguez-Abruñeiras 2020). Believed to have originated from adolescent speech (Jørgensen 2009), this marker is associated with negative attitudes, a

© Juan Escalona Torres & Megan DiBartolomeo. *Borealis: An International Journal of Hispanic Linguistics*, 2024, 13 / 2. pp. 231-260. <https://doi.org/10.7557/1.13.2.7634>

This is an Open Access Article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/legalcode>) which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.



phenomenon we argue is a consequence of such origin. However, attitudes toward the use of DMs are not exclusive to “en plan” or solely to Spanish. Negative perceptions of what many consider fillers or empty signifiers, like “en plan,” have been documented in English (see e.g., Buchstaller 2006, 2014; Dailey-O’Cain 2000; D’Arcy 2017) and other languages (see Buchstaller & van Alphen 2012 for a comprehensive review).

Over the course of at least two generations, “en plan,” originally a prepositional adverb with an ad hoc categorization marker akin to American English “style” or “type” (see 1a below), has been increasingly adopted as a discursive device to elaborate on a antecedent clause similar to English “like” (see 1b) and as a marker to introduce quoted thoughts or self-directed speech (see 1c-d) and direct or dialogic speech (see 1c), particularly among younger demographics and male speakers (see Escalona Torres 2021). The syntactic, semantic, and social attributes of “en plan” indicate a tendency towards reanalysis within the quotative system. That is, what was originally a prepositional phrase (en + plan + de “in the manner of”), has been reconceptualized as a manner adverb similar to “como” or English “like.” The results in Escalona Torres (2021) suggest that “en plan” may be extending pragmatically and discursively into a conventional quotative in European Spanish.

- (1) a. el resto de alumnos d[el] centro que quisieron pudieron cantar **en plan** karaoke  
 ‘the rest of students from the center that wanted to, were able to sing karaoke-style’  
 (Corpus del español 2017)
- b. voy a salir, **en plan**, voy a tomar algo con mis colegas  
 ‘I’m going out, like, I’m going to drink something with my colleagues’  
 (Verbling.com 2020)
- c. creo que cuando [el director] accedió a volver para hacer otra película de Thor estaba **en plan**...[“]¿Y cómo lo hacemos?[”]  
 ‘I think that when [the director] agreed to make another Thor movie he was like...[“]And how do we do it?[”]’  
 (CdE 2019)
- d. Ayer estaba con un amigo y de repente **me dice**: [“Bua estoy súper viciado a la isla de las tentaciones[”] Casi me atraganto JAJAJA. **Yo en plan**, [“]pero como ves esa puta mierda?[”]  
 ‘Yesterday I was with a friend and he suddenly tells me: [“]My God I am so addicted to Island of Temptations.[”] I almost choked HAHAA. I was like, [“]how can you watch that piece of shit?[”]’  
 (Twitter, @Otroivaan 2020)

The present study is guided by two overarching assumptions. First, we posit that linguistic forms are socially indexed (Silverstein 2003), leading to an investigation into the social meaning attributed to the innovative DM “en plan,” and by association, its users. Second, for language-internal changes, including the development of discourse markers (see Brinton 1996, 2005, 2006; Traugott 1995), we argue that such expressions are not necessarily constrained by local social boundaries such as stigmatization (Milroy 2004; see also Irvine & Gal 2000; Labov 1972). Based on this premise, our study aims to explore the

DM “en plan” to gain insights into current attitudes towards it and to anticipate its continued acceptance and usage in European Spanish.

We address these assumptions by using implicit and explicit attitudes surveys to examine Spaniards’ perceptions of the quotative marker “en plan”. This paper is organized as follows: first, we review relevant literature on language ideologies and quotatives, highlighting key theories and findings that inform our analysis. Next, we describe the methodology, detailing the data collection and analysis. In the subsequent section, we present the results of the study, followed by a discussion of the implications of these findings. We conclude with a summary of the study’s contributions to the field.

## 2. Literature Review

For scholars like Silverstein (2003), Irvine and Gal (2000), Woolard (2002), and Caravedo Barrios (2013), among others, language ideologies constitute a social process (see also Cargile, Giles, Ryan & Bradac 1994; Milroy 2004). Silverstein (1992, 1995) delineated this process into two interconnected types of indexicality: first- and second-order indexicality. First-order indexicality involves a speech community associating a linguistic form (the index) with a broad social category (e.g., women, upper class, older age, countryside folk). For instance, in European Spanish, the convergence of the interdental [θ] and alveolar [s] fricatives into one phoneme /s/, a phonological phenomenon known as “seseo,” is associated with speakers from the Andalusian region of Spain and from Latin America.

This phonological phenomenon along with other features stereotypical of Andalusia may seem arbitrary to outsiders. However, for European Spanish speakers, the features of southern European Spanish carry sociohistorical and sociocultural information that often result in negative attitudes toward members of this speech community (see Muñoz Milla 2020). The process of noticing and reacting to such indexes is what Silverstein (1992, 1995) calls second-order indexicality. Members of a community, influenced by local, political, and economic conditions, may distort relationships between the index (i.e., the linguistic form) and the indexed social group (Milroy 2004). They may use such indexes as evidence for what they believe to be systematic behavioral, aesthetic, affective, and moral contrasts among said social groups (Irvine & Gal 2000).

These associations do not necessarily reflect reality (see D’Arcy 2017; Buchstaller 2014). From a research standpoint, these community-held beliefs provide insight into how the community values or devalues members based on the language choices they make. Milroy (2004) and Moreno Fernández (2005) argued that language variation and change are influenced by language ideologies. Speakers make linguistic choices according to the social context, and such choices may in turn influence how their interlocutors perceive them (Bell 1984; Labov 1972). Over time, speakers may alter their language use to conform to social conventions or to avoid being categorized as members of an out-group. Conversely, they may adopt language forms that are positively evaluated in the community or that enable them to belong to the in-group (Eckert 2010, 2014; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2013).

Studies in Hispanic linguistics have primarily focused on linguistic attitudes toward regional varieties (e.g., Blas Arroyo 1997, 1999; Bernal, Munévar & Barajas 2014; Castero & Paredes 2018; Yraola 2014), with fewer exploring attitudes toward second languages (e.g., Crismán & Núñez-Vázquez 2020). Notably, to the authors’ knowledge, there has

been a gap in research focusing on linguistic attitudes toward discourse-pragmatic forms, including quotatives. This study seeks to address this gap, particularly concerning the variation in these forms, often associated with younger demographics, and potentially with younger women. Such an examination offers valuable insights into the ideological perceptions of age and gender within the community, an insight Andersen (2001) and D’Arcy (2015) have aptly gleaned from English-speaking communities.

Research on English quotatives “be like,” “be all,” and “go” has shown that younger generations quickly adopt these forms as quotative markers (Buchstaller 2014). Over time, these forms become associated with younger speakers, particularly females, and are accompanied by negative attributes consistent with community views toward adolescent youth and women (Buchstaller 2006). Older members of a community may stigmatize innovations originating from younger speakers, viewing them as inexperienced, juvenile, and lacking in communicative skills (Buchstaller 2014; Buchstaller & Van Alphen 2012).

The negative perception of youth speech is reinforced by the belief that language change reflects the deterioration of language (D’Arcy 2017). However, as younger speakers form their own communities and identities, they develop new ways of communicating and relating to one another. Consequently, community social conventions and language undergo changes, which are often viewed as detrimental to sociocultural traditions and language standards, leading to contempt for youth speech. This ideological trend is not unique to English, as similar patterns have been documented in other languages such as Belgian Dutch (Van Alphen 2008) and Hebrew (Maschler 2002; Ziv 1998).

In a leading study on linguistic attitudes toward American English quotative “be like,” Dailey-O’Cain (2000) employed a matched-guise test, surveying forty participants divided into two age groups (18-30 and 45-60) and two gender groups (male and female). Participants were given four monologues, two with frequent use of “be like” and two without. Dailey-O’Cain (2000) found that monologues with “like” were significantly associated with younger speakers and positively characterized for interpersonal traits (e.g., friendly, cheerful) but negatively perceived for status-oriented traits (e.g., responsible, educated, reliable).

In a related study comparing American and British English quotatives “be like” and “go,” Buchstaller (2014) used a matched-guise test with written dialogues to avoid biases from voice quality judgments. Participants were randomly assigned to judge dialogues featuring “like” or “go.” Buchstaller found no significant differences between the groups and confirmed Dailey-O’Cain’s (2000) findings on personality traits. Additionally, she found that age and self-reported use of innovative quotatives significantly influenced judgments, with younger participants viewing the forms more positively.

Building on these findings, this study aims to test the hypothesis that if “en plan” is associated with younger speakers as an innovative form, participants will associate its use with the stereotypical traits of young speakers, bringing to light the first- and second-order indexical processes. This investigation extends our understanding of how linguistic innovations are perceived and evaluated within a community and the effects it may or may not have on its continued spread.

Currently, few published works delve into the topic of linguistic attitudes toward *en plan*. To date, Casanova Martínez (2020) is the only study that provides some data on ideological stances toward the use of this form. He found from conversations with friends and colleagues that a common perception is that *en plan* is a colloquial filler used primarily

by young speakers and some adults. Aside from this study, there is no other published work known to the authors on language attitudes toward quotatives and their users in Spanish. Nevertheless, comments posted in online venues about the Spanish language provide some first impressions of general ideological trends toward innovative *en plan* (see 2-5).

- (2) También se usa hoy “en plan” como muletilla en la jerga juvenil. No es incorrecta, pero conviene no abusar de ella.  
 “En plan” is also used today as a filler (lit. little crutch) in youth jargon. It is not incorrect, but it is best not to abuse its use.’  
 (Twitter, @RAE 2016)
- (3) No es real, pero podría serlo: “en plan” es el nuevo chicle, es flexible y está todo el día en la boca de nuestros hablantes más jóvenes.  
 ‘It’s not real, but it could be: “en plan” is the new chewing gum, it is flexible and it is in our youngest speakers’ mouths all day long.’  
 (Pons Rodríguez 2018)
- (4) “En plan” está en boca de los más jóvenes, pero todos acabaremos usándola también sin darnos cuenta ¿O quizás ya lo hacemos?  
 “En plan” is in the mouths of the youngest, but we will all end up using it too without noticing, or are we already doing it?’  
 (Profesores de ELE 2018)
- (5) “En plan... mi crush me putoflipa:” Diccionario de la jerga adolescente [...] En plan: la muletilla reina del argot adolescente, un auténtico monocultivo de la nada. Podrían cogerse un puñado y repartirse sin ton ni son a lo largo de unas cuantas frases sin que le chirrie a nadie, siempre y cuando se tenga menos de 30 años (aunque su multiplicación aumenta conforme disminuye la edad).  
 “Like... my crush fucking shocks me”: Dictionary of Adolescent Jargon [...] En plan: the reigning filler of adolescent jargon, an authentic monoculture out of nothing. They could grab a handful and share it among themselves without any meaning in a bunch of phrases without upsetting anyone, so long as they are younger than 30 (although its multiplication increases as age decreases).’  
 (Marrón & Fernández 2020)

The examples in (2-5) were extracted from various sources online. They may serve as indication that the use of *en plan* is strongly associated with youth speech. More importantly, in examples (4) and (5), the writers highlight its apparent diffusion in the community.

### 3. Methodology

In this article, we investigate linguistic attitudes towards the apparent diffusion of the quotative “en plan” across generations. We explore the relationship between language change and ideologies by addressing the following research questions: (1) How do native speakers of European Spanish view, implicitly and explicitly, the use of the quotative “en plan”?; (2) What personal attributes do they associate with its use?; and (3) How does the social meaning of “en plan” influence its ongoing spread through the community? We delve into these questions through examining linguistic attitudes towards the use of the

quotative, both implicitly and explicitly with the goal of tapping into the social psychology behind this linguistic innovation.

To study the linguistic attitudes toward *en plan*, we used a background questionnaire and implicit and explicit attitudinal tasks using the Qualtrics web-based application. The implicit task consisted of a written matched-guise test adopted from Buchstaller’s (2014) study and it was translated and adapted to European Spanish to reflect the community’s linguistic conventions (see Section 3.2). Following the implicit survey, participants answered direct questions about the use of quotative *en plan* as well as other uses of the form. The three tasks were completed in the following order to avoid revealing the goal of the survey prior to the implicit task: (1) background questionnaire; (2) matched-guise test; and (3) explicit attitudes survey.

### 3.1 Participants

Participants were recruited online through a snowball sampling method. Given that this form is only present in European Spanish (cf. Latin American *de plano* “at the outset” or “absolutely”), we included in the analysis only those participants who claimed to have been born and raised in Spain and whose dominant language was Spanish. After screening, a total of eighty-eight (88)<sup>1</sup> participants were included in the analysis. Table 1 lists the distribution of participants according to age and gender.

Table 1. Participant distribution by age cohort and gender

	Over 45		31-45		Under 31	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Female	9	60%	13	38%	14	36%
Male	6	40%	21	62%	25	64%
Total	15	100%	34	100%	39	100%

### 3.2 Matched-Guise Test

A matched-guise test, adopted from Buchstaller (2014) and adjusted for our purposes, was used to investigate the implicit attitudes toward the use of quotative *en plan*. The test consisted of two written dialogues titled *Fragmento 1* and *Fragmento 2*. In both dialogues, there was one speaker who was telling a story about a doctor’s visit and another speaker listening and responding to the story. In *Fragmento 1*, the storyteller was labeled A and his/her interlocutor B. On the other hand, in *Fragmento 2*, the storyteller was labeled X and his/her interlocutor Y. As speaker A or X tells the story, he/she retells what the doctor told them, how they responded to the doctor, and what they were thinking during the visit. Each dialogue had a total of six (6) quotatives.

The dialogues were translated from the English original (Buchstaller 2014) and were revised and edited by four native speakers of European Spanish; two speakers were from Madrid and two from Seville. The text was then stripped of linguistic features that would be recognizable as coming from a particular region, class, age, or gender. To identify potential effects from the dialogues themselves rather than the use of quotatives, participants were automatically distributed into two groups by Qualtrics. Each group read different versions of the two dialogues: Version A and Version B. In Version A, speaker

<sup>1</sup>

A uses *en plan* four (4) times, whereas speaker X uses only canonical quotatives. Conversely, in Version B, speaker A uses canonical quotatives in all six quotative constructions, whereas speaker X uses *en plan* four (4) times. Figures 1 and 2 are Versions A and B, respectively.

*Figure 1. Version A of the matched-guise test*

**Fragmento 1**

A: A mí me gustan los frutos secos, pero me dan alergia. Al principio no me gustaba la idea de ir al médico. Era *en plan*, “¿cómo podría ayudarme con esto un doctor?” Pero al final, fui a ver este médico.

Y le dije, “cuando como nueces siento que me da un infarto,” y ella *en plan*, “tendrás que seguir un régimen especial y te voy a hacer un análisis de sangre”.

Y ella, “tenemos que asegurarnos de que no estés reaccionando a otra cosa más.”

B: Aha, ¿y luego?

A: Y le dije *en plan*, “¿tengo que evitar las nueces completamente?” y ella *en plan*, “sí, lo tienes que hacer. Cuando te sientas mejor, puedes reutilizarlos poco a poco.”

**Fragmento 2**

X: El café me cae mal al estómago. Cuando lo huelo, pienso “bueno, me tomo sólo un cortado” y luego siento la acidez.

Y: A mí sí que me gusta el olor del café.

X: Claro, ¡a quién no! Bueno, te cuento, fui al doctor y me hicieron una prueba de alergias alimenticias y el médico me dijo, “¿Tiene alguna alergia a algo?” Y le dije, “Definitivamente creo que el café me da alergia” y ella, “puede que no sea el café. Puede ser lo que Ud. le añade al café.” Entonces me hizo el examen con leche y luego café solo, sin leche y ella dice “Tiene razón”. Y al final me dijo, “Por favor, no tome ninguna cosa que contenga cafeína”.

*Figure 2. Version B of the matched-guise test*

**Fragmento 1**

A: A mí me gustan los frutos secos, pero me dan alergia. Al principio no me gustaba la idea de ir al médico. Y pensaba, “¿cómo podría ayudarme con esto un doctor?” Pero al final, fui a ver este médico.

Y le dije, “cuando como nueces siento que me da un infarto,” y ella me dice, “tendrás que seguir un régimen especial y te voy a hacer un análisis de sangre”.

Y ella, “tenemos que asegurarnos de que no estés reaccionando a otra cosa más.”

B: Aha, ¿y luego?

A: Y le dije, “¿tengo que evitar las nueces completamente?” y ella, “sí, lo tienes que hacer. Cuando te sientas mejor, puedes reutilizarlos poco a poco.”

**Fragmento 2**

X: El café me cae mal al estómago. Cuando lo huelo, es *en plan* “bueno, me tomo sólo un cortado” y luego siento la acidez.

Y: A mí sí que me gusta el olor del café.

X: Claro, ¡a quién no! Bueno, te cuento, fui al doctor y me hicieron una prueba de alergias alimenticias y el médico me dijo, “¿Tiene alguna alergia a algo?” Y le dije *en plan*, “Definitivamente creo que el café me da alergia” y ella, “puede que no sea el café. Puede ser lo que Ud. le añade al café.” Entonces me hizo el examen con leche y luego café solo, sin leche y ella *en plan* “Tiene razón”. Y al final me dijo *en plan*, “Por favor, no tome ninguna cosa que contenga cafeína”.

After reading the dialogues, participants evaluated Speaker A and Speaker X across forty personality-based and physical attributes using a 10-point bipolar scale (e.g., friendly vs. unfriendly). The scale numbers were concealed, making the 10-point range arbitrary to participants, eliminating potential influence on their choices. Attributes were derived from a survey involving eight informants aged 25 to 35, separate from the participants who completed the matched-guise test. These attributes, along with others significant in previous quotative studies (Dailey-O’Cain 2000; Buchstaller & Deeringer 2005), were categorized into three common groups typically used in sociology, psychology, and education to classify character strengths and virtues (Peterson & Seligman 2004; Lickona & Davidson 2005).

The first category encompassed interpersonal competence, defined by Lickona and Davidson (2005) as qualities necessary for successful interpersonal relationships and ethical behavior. Interpersonal traits gauge one’s ability to establish positive rapport during communication, including social appeal, kindness, and interpersonal skills, commonly referred to as “solidarity traits” in sociolinguistic studies. Previous attitude studies consistently link positive interpersonal attributes with non-standard varieties (Blas Arroyo 1999; Giles & Billings 2004).

The second category comprised intrapersonal competence, reflecting a person’s potential for excellence, including reliability, industriousness, and carelessness. This category is often termed “status” or “power” traits in attitude studies (e.g., Blas Arroyo 1999; Salazar Caro 2014).

The third category represented intellectual competence, associated with one’s capacity to learn or express themselves in a refined manner. Attributes included educated vs. uneducated, refined vs. unrefined, and sophisticated vs. simple. Both intrapersonal and intellectual competences are typically rated positively in accordance with prestigious dialects, while non-standard dialects are negatively associated with attributes in these categories (Giles & Billings 2004).

Additionally, two categories from studies on English quotatives were included: origin of the word and traditional social attributes. Origin attributes comprised rural vs. urban and Spanish vs. foreign. Participants also assessed “en plan” use based on age, gender, socioeconomic class, and political ideology. Table 2 outlines each category and its bipolar attribute pairs.



Table 2. Summary of bipolar attribute pairs within their respective categories

Category	Translation
<b>Interpersonal character</b>	
Extrovertido/a vs. Introvertido/a	<i>Extroverted vs. Introverted</i>
Antipático/a vs. Simpático/a	<i>Unfriendly vs. Friendly</i>
Superficial vs. Genuino/a	<i>Superficial vs. Genuine</i>
Amigable vs. Pesado/a	<i>Likable vs. Annoying</i>
Abierto/a vs. Reservado/a	<i>Open vs. Reserved</i>
Propio/a vs. Vulgar	<i>Proper vs. Vulgar</i>
Dicharachero/a vs. Callado/a	<i>Chatterbox vs. Quiet</i>
Feo/a vs. Guapo/a	<i>Ugly vs. Attractive</i>
<b>Intrapersonal character</b>	
Despreocupado/a vs. Esmerado/a	<i>Careless vs. Hardworking</i>
Inseguro/a vs. Seguro/a	<i>Insecure vs. Confident</i>
Pijo/a vs. Modesto/a	<i>Uppity vs. Modest</i>
<b>Intellectual character</b>	
Culto/a vs. Inculto/a	<i>Refined vs. Unrefined</i>
Sin educación vs. Con educación	<i>Uneducated vs. Educated</i>
Sofisticado/a vs. Sencillo/a	<i>Sophisticated vs. Simple</i>
<b>Geographical origin</b>	
Rural vs. Urbano/a	<i>Rural vs. Urban</i>
Español vs. Extranjero/a	<i>Spanish vs. Foreign</i>
<b>General social categories</b>	
Joven vs. Mayor	<i>Younger vs. Older</i>
Femenino/a vs. Masculino/a	<i>Feminine vs. Masculine</i>
Clase media-alta vs. Media/Obrera	<i>Upper-middle vs. Middle/Working Class</i>
Progresivo/a vs. Conservador/a	<i>Progressive vs. Conservative</i>

### 3.3 Explicit Survey

After completing the matched-guise test, participants responded to a series of direct questions about the use of *en plan* as a quotative of direct speech, which is the most innovative stage of the quotative development (see AUTHOR1 2021). Prior to answering the questions, participants read an example of the use of quotative *en plan*, which was adapted from *Fragmento 1* in the matched-guise test (see 6).

- (6) Ella me dijo, “el problema son las nueces.” Y yo **en plan**, “¿Tengo que dejar las nueces del todo?” y ella, “Que sí que las tienes que dejar.”  
 ‘She told me, “The problem is walnuts” I was like, “Do I have to stop (eating) walnuts altogether?” and she (says) “Yes, absolutely, you have to stop (eating) them.”’

Following this example, participants responded to four questions. Question (1) asked whether they used this function of *en plan* very frequently, a lot, sometimes, hardly, or

never. In the second question, Question (2), participants classified this use of *en plan* as solely colloquial, more colloquial than formal, equally colloquial and formal, more formal than colloquial, or solely formal. In Question (3), participants made value judgments about the typical user of *en plan* by selecting from the twenty (20) attribute pairs displayed in Table 2. As with the matched-guise test, participants selected an attribute on a bipolar scale.

Finally, Question (4) was an open-ended question in which participants expressed their general opinions about the use of *en plan* by responding to the question: “What is your opinion about the use of *en plan* in this example?” We then qualified each response from Question (4) as negative with a score of -1, neutral with a score of 0 or positive with a score of 1. Participants that used diminishing evaluations such as “improper use” or “I don’t like it” were classified as having a negative attitude toward *en plan*. Conversely, we coded responses that contained favorable positions such as “it’s a useful word” or “I like it” as having a positive attitude. Lastly, we coded as neutral any response that either lacked a position toward the form or that described an alternative form to *en plan*. To illustrate, we provide excerpts from the survey and their corresponding qualifications in Table 3.

*Table 3. Excerpts from responses to the question “What is your opinion about the use of en plan in this example?”*

<b>Evaluation</b>	<b>Excerpt</b>	<b>Translation</b>
Negative	<p>a. Es una muletilla que denota poca capacidad de elaboración del pensamiento.</p> <p>b. Me parece innecesario, muchas veces utilizado como muletilla que representa un mensaje vulgar.</p>	<p>a. <i>It’s a filler that denotes poor elaborative thinking skills.</i></p> <p>b. <i>I find it unnecessary, often used as a filler that represents a vulgar message.</i></p>
Neutral	<p>a. Que es una manera bastante común y coloquial de expresarse cuando le cuentas algo a tus amigos o personas cercanas.</p> <p>b. Es un uso que le damos mucho los jóvenes, cuando no sabemos qué enlace usar para continuar la frase [...]</p>	<p>a. <i>That it is a fairly common and colloquial way of expressing yourself when you are telling something to a friend or people you are close with.</i></p> <p>b. <i>It’s something that we use a lot, as young people, for when we don’t know what connector to use when we want to continue the phrase [...]</i></p>
Positive	<p>a. En plan es algo muy madrileño y prácticamente se usa en cualquier contexto y circunstancia, por lo que el uso es correcto.</p> <p>b. Me parece adecuado y con sentido. Está correcto y tal cual yo mismo lo diría.</p>	<p>a. <i>En plan is something very much from Madrid and it is used in practically any context and circumstance, for this reason its use is correct.</i></p> <p>b. <i>It seems to me adequate and meaningful. It is correct and I, myself, would say it like that.</i></p>

#### 4. Results and Discussion

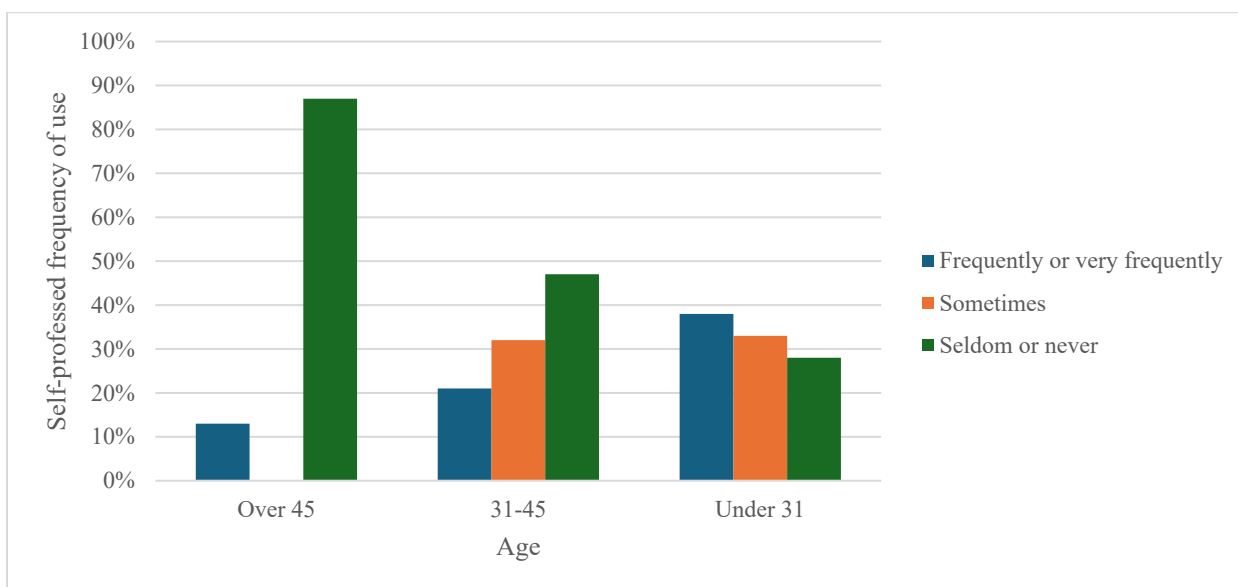
##### 4.1 Overall Attitudes and Sociolinguistic Awareness

In the first test, we examined the relationship between self-professed use of "en plan" and participants' birth year cohort using a Fisher's Exact Test, a statistical test for categorical factors. Results show a significant interaction between participants' self-professed use and birth cohort ( $p < 0.005$ ). Among participants over age 45, 87% claimed they used "en plan" seldomly or never ( $N = 13/15$ ). For those between 31 and 45, 32% claimed to use it sometimes ( $N = 11/34$ ) and 21% claimed frequent use ( $N = 7/34$ ). For those under 31, 33% claimed to use it sometimes ( $N = 13/39$ ), while 38% claimed frequent use ( $N = 15/39$ ). These differences mirror each other in the two youngest cohorts, as illustrated in Figure 2.

*Table 5. Distribution of self-professed use of en plan by participant age*

	Over 45		31-45		Under 31	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Frequently or very frequently	2	13%	7	21%	15	38%
Sometimes	0	0%	11	32%	13	33%
Seldom or never	13	87%	16	47%	11	28%
Total	15	100%	34	100%	39	100%
Fisher's Exact Test: $p = 0.001658$						

*Figure 2. Distribution self-professed use of en plan by participant age*



In a second test, we examined the possible interaction between self-professed use and participants' overall attitudes toward the use of "en plan." Results revealed a significant

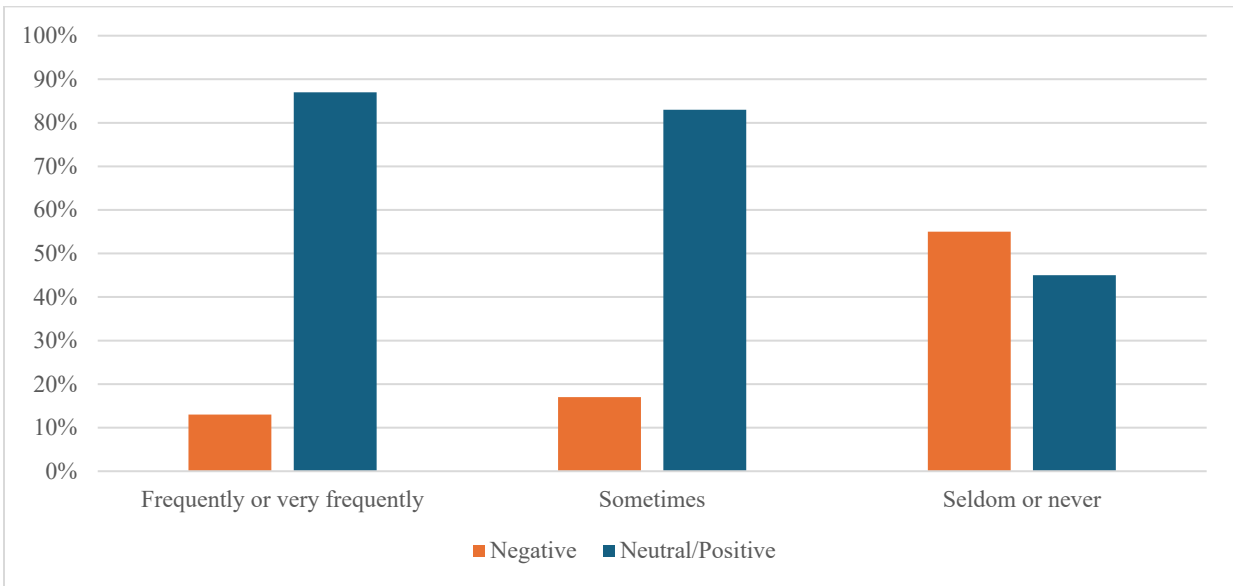
relationship between these two factors ( $p < 0.000$ ). Table 6 indicates that participants with a neutral or positive attitude toward “en plan” tended to claim that they use it sometimes or frequently (85%,  $N = 41/48$ ). Conversely, those disliking “en plan” also claimed seldom use or no use at all (55%,  $N = 22/40$ ). This inverse relationship is illustrated in Figure 3.

*Table 6. Distribution of participants’ self-professed use by overall attitude toward en plan*

	Frequently or very frequently		Sometimes		Seldom or never	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Negative	3	13%	4	17%	22	55%
Neutral/Positive	21	87%	20	83%	18	14%
Total	24	100%	24	100%	40	100%

Fisher’s Exact Test:  $p = 0.000211$

*Figure 3. Distribution of participants’ self-professed use by overall attitude toward en plan*



Consistent with the previous two tests, participants’ self-reported usage of “en plan” correlated significantly with both their age and their overall perception. Consequently, attitudes towards this innovative quotative mirrored participants’ age cohorts. Table 7 reveals a prevailing trend: younger cohorts tended to hold more neutral or favorable views towards “en plan.” Notably, negative attitudes between participants over 45 and participants between 31-45 differ by 21 points. Interestingly, the attitudes of the 31-45 age group did not markedly differ from those of participants under 31. However, a statistical analysis via Fisher’s Exact Test suggested that this association lacks significance. These findings may suggest a gradual generational gradience from negative towards more positive or neutral perceptions of this linguistic innovation along a generational line.

*Table 7. Distribution overall attitude toward en plan by participant age*

	Over 45		31-45		Under 31	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Negative	8	53%	11	32%	10	26%
Neutral/Positive	7	47%	23	68%	29	74%
Total	15	100%	34	100%	39	100%
p = 0.152						

The findings presented in this section reveal a significant correlation between speakers' general attitudes towards "en plan" and their self-reported frequency of employing it. Those who reported higher usage tended to express more neutral or positive views. Drawing upon insights from Bolinger (2014), Blas Arroyo (1999), and Labov (2001), among others, we contend that certain linguistic ideologies can attain in-group prestige, irrespective of possible negative out-group pressures. Regarding "en plan," the attitudes delineated in this section suggest that individuals who claim to integrate "en plan" within their linguistic repertoire are more inclined to assess it in accordance with how they view themselves, while those who claim not to use it seem to have a prejudice against its use. This inference sheds light on the substantial disparity in attitudes towards "en plan" between proponents and non-adopters of this linguistic form.

#### 4.2 Personality Traits

Regarding the results from the matched-guise test, we found various significant correlations between participants' implicit views of "en plan" as a quotative marker and the stereotypical attributes associated with the speech patterns of young people and women. A series of one-way ANOVAs were conducted to identify significant relationships between the personality trait score and the judged person in each dialogue (i.e., Person A and Person X).

Tables 8 and 9 display the results for the character traits implicitly associated with the use of "en plan" in quotative contexts. The tables are divided into four columns. The first column lists the attributes with their position on the bipolar scale. For instance, the attribute "Extroverted" was assigned a value of 1 on the scale, while its opposite attribute, "Introverted," was assigned a value of 10. The second and third columns reveal the mean scores for each dialogue: the dialogue with quotative "en plan" and the dialogue with only canonical quotative forms (revisit Figures 1 and 2 above). The fourth column presents the results from the ANOVA statistical test.

Table 8. Results from a one-way ANOVA for each attribute implicitly associated with *en plan* in Version A

	Means by variant		One-way ANOVA
	<i>en plan</i>	Canonical	
Bipolar scale	<i>en plan</i>	Canonical	<i>F</i> (1,86)
<b>Interpersonal character</b>			
Extroverted (1) vs. Introverted (10)	3.67	5.78	18.459***
Unfriendly (1) vs. Friendly (10)	5.95	6.42	1.139 n.s.
Superficial (1) vs. Genuine (10)	4.02	5.73	14.638***
Likeable (1) vs. Annoying (10)	5.84	4.82	4.568*
Open (1) vs. Reserved (10)	3.30	5.87	36.761***
Proper (1) vs. Vulgar (10)	6.91	4.78	22.959***
Chatterbox (1) vs. Quiet (10)	3.28	5.78	29.125***
Ugly (1) vs. Attractive (10)	6.23	6.31	.040 n.s.
<b>Intrapersonal character</b>			
Careless (1) vs. Hardworking (10)	3.65	6.13	30.907***
Insecure (1) vs. Confident (10)	4.95	5.27	.487 n.s.
Uppity (1) vs. Modest (10)	4.58	5.98	7.238**
<b>Intellectual character</b>			
Uneducated (1) vs. Educated (10)	4.02	6.20	25.734***
Refined (1) vs. Unrefined (10)	7.21	4.87	29.125***
Sophisticated (1) vs. Simple (10)	6.49	6.04	.719 n.s.
Significance: n.s. = Not significant, * <i>p</i> < 0.05, ** <i>p</i> < 0.01, *** <i>p</i> < 0.001			

Table 9. Results from a one-way ANOVA for each attribute implicitly associated with *en plan* in Version B

	Means by variant		One-way ANOVA
	<i>en plan</i>	Canonical	
Bipolar scale	<i>en plan</i>	Canonical	<i>F</i> (1,86)
<b>Interpersonal character</b>			
Extroverted (1) vs. Introverted (10)	4.29	4.70	.669 n.s.
Unfriendly (1) vs. Friendly (10)	6.82	7.05	.312 n.s.
Superficial (1) vs. Genuine (10)	5.38	7.16	16.178***
Likeable (1) vs. Annoying (10)	5.62	4.53	4.868*
Open (1) vs. Reserved (10)	3.89	5.19	8.097**
Proper (1) vs. Vulgar (10)	6.18	4.21	19.401***
Chatterbox (1) vs. Quiet (10)	3.78	5.14	8.533**
Ugly (1) vs. Attractive (10)	6.33	5.86	1.300 n.s.
<b>Intrapersonal character</b>			
Careless (1) vs. Hardworking (10)	5.29	7.44	21.705***
Insecure (1) vs. Confident (10)	6.71	7.12	.765 n.s.
Uppity (1) vs. Modest (10)	4.98	5.74	2.289 n.s.
<b>Intellectual character</b>			

Refined (1) vs. Unrefined (10)	5.98	4.21	14.352***
Uneducated (1) vs. Educated (10)	5.33	6.86	13.398***
Sophisticated (1) vs. Simple (10)	6.13	5.35	2.514 n.s.
Significance: n.s. = Not significant, * $p < 0.05$ , ** $p < 0.01$ , *** $p < 0.001$			

The results show little variation in the responses between the two versions. Regarding the attributes related to the persons' interpersonal character, statistically significant differences were found between the dialogues containing the use of "en plan" and the dialogues with only canonical variants. When either person (i.e., Person A or Person X) in either dialogue (i.e., Version A or Version B) used "en plan," they were perceived as significantly more superficial, annoying, open, vulgar, and characteristic of being a chatterbox. Moreover, in Version A the person using "en plan" was seen as significantly more extroverted ( $F = 18.459$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). Although these attributes did not show statistically significant differences in Version B of the dialogue, the mean scores suggested a similar trend to that of Version A. That is, the mean score for the use of "en plan" by Person X in Version B leaned more towards extroversion (mean score = 4.29) compared to its canonical counterpart (mean score = 4.70).

In terms of intrapersonal and intellectual character, Person A and X were almost identically profiled when either person used "en plan." En plan users were seen as significantly more careless, uneducated, and unrefined. Person A, in particular, was significantly characterized as uppity ( $F = 7.238$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ). Person X followed a similar pattern, but the results were not statistically significant. Results from both versions of the matched-guise test show minimal influence on participants' judgment of "en plan." Even when one trait was significant in one version and not the other, the linear tendencies remained consistent in mean scores.

Combining both test versions into one dataset, we conducted a one-way ANOVA test to explore significant relationships between the use of "en plan" and its canonical counterparts in implicit perception. The results are presented in Table 10.

*Table 10. Results from a one-way ANOVA for attributes implicitly associated with en plan in comparison to the use of canonical quotatives*

Bipolar scale	Mean	$F(9,78)$
<b>Interpersonal character</b>		
Extroverted (1) vs. Introv. (10)	3.99	2.176*
Superficial (1) vs. Genuine (10)	4.72	3.880***
Likeable (1) vs. Annoying (10)	5.73	3.225**
Open (1) vs. Reserved (10)	3.60	2.189*
Proper (1) vs. Vulgar (10)	6.53	2.750**
Ugly (1) vs. Attractive (10)	6.28	3.322**
<b>Intrapersonal character</b>		
Careless (1) vs. Hardworking (10)	4.49	2.144*
Insecure (1) vs. Confident (10)	5.85	6.207***
Uppity (1) vs. Modest (10)	4.78	4.889***
<b>Intellectual character</b>		

Refined (1) vs. Unrefined (10)	6.58	5.024***
Uneducated (1) vs. Educat. (10)	4.69	2.182*
Sophisticated (1) vs. Simple (10)	6.31	6.512***
Significance: n.s. = Not significant, * $p < 0.05$ , ** $p < 0.01$ , *** $p < 0.001$		

Results from Table 10 reveal consistent associations across three personal character categories. The use of “en plan” correlated significantly with being perceived as more extroverted ( $F = 2.176$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ), open ( $F = 2.189$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ), vulgar ( $F = 2.750$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ), and attractive ( $F = 3.322$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), all of which relate to interpersonal character. “En plan” was also linked to some degree of superficiality ( $F = 3.88$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) and annoyance ( $F = 3.225$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ). In terms of intrapersonal character, “en plan” users in both dialogues were perceived as more or less careless ( $F = 2.144$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ), confident ( $F = 6.207$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), and uppity ( $F = 4.889$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). Regarding intellectual character, en plan was associated with being significantly more unrefined ( $F = 5.025$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) and simplistic ( $F = 6.512$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), as well as more or less uneducated ( $F = 2.182$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ).

The matched-guise test findings align with explicit questionnaire responses (see Table 11). Participants consistently associated “en plan” usage with certain personal traits that echoed the implicit survey results. Interpersonally, “en plan” users were explicitly perceived as extroverted (54.5%), open (55.57%), and talkative (60.2%). A good number of participants also viewed “en plan” users as friendly (40.9%) and superficial (45.5%). Regarding intrapersonal traits, people who use “en plan” were seen as careless (62.5%), simplistic (50%), and sometimes uppity (40.9%). Intellectually, “en plan” was linked to being unrefined by over 40% of participants, with only 6.8% associating it with refinement. These findings collectively reinforce perceptions of “en plan” users across various personal character domains, highlighting consistent societal associations with this linguistic feature.

*Table 11. Results from a descriptive analysis for each attribute explicitly associated with en plan*

Bipolar scale	Mean	% of participants scoring between 1-3	% of participants scoring between 8-10
<b>Interpersonal character</b>			
Extroverted (1) vs. Introv. (10)	3.42	54.5% (+ extrovert.)	3.4% (+ introverted)
Friendly (1) vs. Unfriendly (10)	4.07	40.9% (+ friendly)	8.0% (+ unfriendly)
Superficial (1) vs. Genuine (10)	4.05	45.5% (+ superficial)	8.0% (+ genuine)
Likeable (1) vs. Annoying (10)	4.39	38.6% (+ likable)	12.5% (+ annoying)
Open (1) vs. Reserved (10)	3.52	55.7% (+ open)	4.5% (+ reserved)
Proper (1) vs. Vulgar (10)	6.22	14.8% (+ proper)	29.5% (+ vulgar)
Chatterbox (1) vs. Quiet (10)	3.30	60.2% (+ chatterbox)	2.3% (+ quiet)
Ugly (1) vs. Attractive (10)	5.36	17.0% (+ ugly)	6.8% (+ attractive)
<b>Intrapersonal character</b>			
Careless (1) vs. Hardworking (10)	3.28	62.5% (+ careless)	6.8% (+ hardworking)
Insecure (1) vs. Confident (10)	5.05	25.0% (+ insecure)	14.8% (+ confident)
Uppity (1) vs. Modest (10)	4.36	40.9% (+ uppity)	12.5% (+ modest)
<b>Intellectual character</b>			
Refined (1) vs. Unrefined (10)	7.07	6.8% (+ refined)	46.6% (+ unrefined)
Educated (1) vs. Uneducat. (10)	6.40	8.0% (+ educated)	30.7% (+ uneducated)



Sophisticated (1) vs. Simple (10)	7.11	9.1% (+ sophist.)	50.0% (+ simple)
-----------------------------------	------	-------------------	------------------

The overall findings of these results present significant trends in stereotypes associated with “en plan.” That is, there is a prevalent inclination to attribute positive interpersonal traits to speakers who use “en plan,” while associating negative intrapersonal and intellectual traits with them. This ideological pattern aligns with prior literature (e.g., Giles & Billings 2004), which commonly observes such trends when describing non-standard or “substandard” language varieties. Furthermore, this type of association is also seen when speakers judge young people and/or women (see e.g., Buchstaller 2011, 2014; D’Arcy 2007).

When examining participants’ age, self-reported “en plan” usage, and attitudes towards it, significant interactions were observed. There was an especially notable interaction between participants’ overall attitude and their implicit attitudes from the matched-guise test. Positive views of “en plan” were significantly associated with greater genuineness ( $F = 5.692, p < 0.01$ ), propriety ( $F = 6.475, p < 0.01$ ), and industriousness ( $F = 4.132, p < 0.05$ ). Conversely, neutral or negative attitudes were linked to perceptions of conversational openness ( $F = 3.497, p < 0.05$ ) and excessive talkativeness ( $F = 3.411, p < 0.05$ ), rather than specific traits. These findings suggest nuanced associations between attitudes towards “en plan” and perceptions of social characteristics, often connected to how women are perceived (Buchstaller 2014; D’Arcy 2007).

*Table 12. Results from a one-way ANOVA for attributes implicitly associated with en plan by participants’ overall attitude*

Bipolar scale	Means by overall attitude			$F(9,78)$
	Negative (n = 29)	Neutral (n = 38)	Positive (n = 21)	
<b>Interpersonal character</b>				
Superficial (1) vs. Genuine (10)	4.52	4.11	6.10	5.692**
Open (1) vs. Reserved (10)	3.52	3.18	4.48	3.497*
Proper (1) vs. Vulgar (10)	6.69	7.16	5.19	6.475**
Chatterbox (1) vs. Quiet (10)	3.21	3.24	4.52	3.411*
<b>Intrapersonal character</b>				
Careless (1) vs. Hardworking (10)	4.24	3.97	5.76	4.132*
Significance: * $p < 0.05$ , ** $p < 0.01$ , *** $p < 0.001$				

With respect to explicit commentary about the use of the form, there was a significant interaction with participants’ age. As displayed in Table 13, most participants over the age of 31 considered “en plan” to be characteristic of being uppity ( $F = 3.266, p < 0.05$ ). In terms of education, participants in the two age groups under 45 years old characterized the use of the innovative quotative as having less education ( $F = 3.829, p < 0.05$ ).

*Table 13. Results from a one-way ANOVA for attributes explicitly associated with en plan by participants' age cohort*

Bipolar scale	Means by age			F(2,85)
	Over 45 (N = 15)	31-45 (N = 34)	Under 31 (N = 39)	
<b>Intrapersonal character</b>				
Uppity (1) vs. Modest (10)	3.53	3.94	5.05	3.266*
<b>Intellectual character</b>				
Educated (1) vs. Uneducat. (10)	5.27	6.35	6.87	3.829*
Significance: * $p < 0.05$				

Another statistically significant interaction involved participants' self-reported usage of “en plan” and the attributed characteristics associated with its use. Table 14 illustrates significant differences in opinions regarding “en plan” among individuals who reported frequent or very frequent use compared to those who reported occasional, rare, or no usage. Regarding interpersonal traits, frequent users perceived “en plan” as indicative of friendliness ( $F = 4.312, p < 0.05$ ), likability ( $F = 6.249, p < 0.01$ ), and attractiveness ( $F = 5.262, p < 0.01$ ), contrasting with the perceptions of occasional or non-users. Conversely, infrequent or non-users viewed “en plan” as indicative of superficiality ( $F = 3.668, p < 0.05$ ), reduced friendliness, likability, and attractiveness. In the intrapersonal domain, the attribute pair “insecure vs. confident” emerged as the sole significant factor. Participants who occasionally or frequently used “en plan” associated its use with confidence, whereas those who seldom or never used it linked its usage to insecurity ( $F = 4.699, p < 0.05$ ). These findings underline the nuanced perceptions of individuals based on their reported use of the form in interpersonal and intrapersonal contexts.

*Table 14. Results from a one-way ANOVA for attributes explicitly associated with en plan by participants' self-professed use of en plan*

Bipolar scale	Means by self-professed use of <i>en plan</i>			F(2,85)
	Seldom/ Never (n = 40)	Sometimes (n = 24)	Frequently/ Very frequently (n = 24)	
<b>Interpersonal character</b>				
Friendly (1) vs. Unfriendly (10)	4.50	4.46	2.96	4.312*
Superficial (1) vs. Genuine (10)	3.55	3.92	5.00	3.668*
Likeable (1) vs. Annoying (10)	5.08	4.50	3.13	6.249**
Ugly (1) vs. Attractive (10)	4.68	5.83	6.04	5.262**
<b>Intrapersonal character</b>				
Insecure (1) vs. Confident (10)	4.38	5.13	6.08	4.699*
Significance: * $p < 0.05$ , ** $p < 0.01$ , *** $p < 0.001$				

Lastly, a significant interaction emerged between participants' overall attitude toward “en plan” and their explicit perceptions of interpersonal and intrapersonal traits (refer to Table 15). Participants holding negative opinions of “en plan,” in comparison to those with neutral or positive attitudes, associated its usage with superficiality ( $F = 4.670$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ), annoyance ( $F = 4.996$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ), reduced physical attractiveness ( $F = 3.156$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ), and insecurity ( $F = 5.163$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ). These findings underscore differential associations individuals make between their attitudes towards the quotative and the attributed character traits of its user.

*Table 15. Results from a one-way ANOVA for attributes explicitly associated with en plan by participants' overall attitude toward en plan*

Bipolar scale	Means by self-professed use of <i>en plan</i>			$F(2,85)$
	Negative (n = 29)	Neutral (n = 38)	Positive (n = 21)	
<b>Interpersonal character</b>				
Superficial (1) vs. Genuine (10)	3.14	4.29	4.86	4.670*
Likeable (1) vs. Annoying (10)	5.38	4.11	3.52	4.996**
Ugly (1) vs. Attractive (10)	4.72	5.47	6.05	3.156*
<b>Intrapersonal character</b>				
Insecure (1) vs. Confident (10)	4.10	5.21	6.05	5.163**
Significance: * $p < 0.05$ , ** $p < 0.01$ , *** $p < 0.001$				

The findings presented in this section highlight a significant interdependency among several factors: overall opinion of “en plan,” self-reported usage of “en plan,” and participants' age. Therefore, it is unsurprising to observe a similar pattern in the attribution of personality traits. The data from Tables 11-15 suggest that while many speakers view “en plan” as indicative of positive interpersonal traits but negative intrapersonal and intellectual traits, their overall perception of the form heavily relies on whether they identify with the community of “en plan” speakers. Specifically, individuals who utilize “en plan” tend to hold neutral or positive views across all trait categories. These significant associations underscore the notion that speakers who employ “en plan” may be less influenced by the opinions of individuals outside their generational or social circles. It's conceivable that younger generations, particularly those who identify as “en plan” users, interpret the innovation more as a reflection of themselves and their in-group members rather than an assessment of out-group members. However, when examining the perspectives of individuals not aligned with this group, they tend to apply common negative stereotypes associated with colloquial or informal speech. Nonetheless, these attitudes become more intricate upon further examination of participants' social profile with relation to the use of “en plan,” as explored in the subsequent section.

#### 4.3 Social Profile

In a study examining the general use of “en plan” among adolescents in Madrid, Jørgensen (2009) discovered a higher frequency of its use among girls. Her research involved a qualitative analysis drawn from the Corpus del Lenguaje Adolescente de Madrid (COLAm), consisting of natural conversations among teenagers in the late 1990s and early

2000s. Regarding its quotative function, sporadic instances were found, but no generalizations could be drawn. Similarly, in the PRESEEA data from the same period as COLAm, the quotative function was seldom observed among young adults and entirely absent among older speakers. Rodríguez Lage (2015), in a study of Galician Spanish speakers, found that “en plan” was predominantly used by women aged 20 to 31 across various functions. Other studies, albeit anecdotally, suggest that it is primarily younger and urban speakers who commonly use “en plan” (see Casanova Martínez 2020; Rodríguez-Abruñeras 2020). These observations are aligned with some of the views that participants shared in this study. Upon examining the open responses to the explicit attitude survey in this study, certain participants noted that the origin of the phrase is generally attributed to young Spaniards (see 7a), and one informant stated that specifically those from Madrid (see 7b).

- (7) a. Me parece muy común en el habla de los jóvenes españoles.  
 ‘It seems very common to me in the speech of young Spaniards’  
 (Participant ID 68823, Seville, born 1994)
- b. En plan es algo muy madrileño y prácticamente se usa en cualquier contexto  
 [...]
 ‘En plan is something that’s very Madrilian and it is basically used in any context’  
 (Participant ID 38331, Madrid, born 1997)

The evidence available, though limited, suggests a prevailing perception that “en plan” is emblematic of European Spanish speakers, particularly those residing in urban areas of the country. To elucidate these perceptions, participants in both implicit and explicit segments of the survey were tasked with evaluating attributes related to geographical origin, alongside typical social factors such as age, gender, socioeconomic status, and political alignment.

Concerning implicit attitudes toward the use of “en plan,” results derived from one-way ANOVAs indicated that both iterations of the matched-guise test corroborated the initial observations outlined in section 4.2 and the commentaries provided in (6a-b). As illustrated in Tables 16 and 17, the employment of “en plan” in Version A exhibited significant associations with speakers from Spain ( $F = 27.196$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), particularly those from urban areas ( $F = 4.587$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ). While this association did not attain statistical significance in Version B, the directional trend mirrored that of Version A. It is evident from these outcomes that speakers harbor a strong association between the use of “en plan” and individuals from urban areas.

Regarding age and gender in both versions of the dialogue, these attributes emerged as statistically predictive factors for how speakers employing “en plan” were perceived. Implicitly, the use of “en plan” was linked with younger speakers (Version A,  $F = 73.864$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ; Version B,  $F = 38.189$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) and female speakers (Version A,  $F = 13.131$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ; Version B,  $F = 6.747$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ). Moreover, in both versions, individuals utilizing canonical quotative variants were perceived as more upper-middle class than working class, a relationship that achieved significance solely in Version B.

Table 16. Results from a one-way ANOVA for each attribute implicitly associated with *en plan* in Version A

	Means by variant		One-way ANOVA
	<i>en plan</i>	Canonical	
Bipolar scale			$F(1,86)$
<b>Geographical origin</b>			
Rural (1) vs. Urban (10)	7.40	6.38	4.587*
Spanish (1) vs. Foreign (10)	2.09	4.36	27.196***
<b>General social attributes</b>			
Younger (1) vs. Older (10)	2.49	5.98	73.864***
Feminine (1) vs. Masculine (10)	3.67	5.76	13.131***
Upper-mid. (1) vs. Mid./Work. (10)	5.77	5.62	.086 n.s.
Progressive (1) vs. Conserv. (10)	5.00	5.67	2.472 n.s.
Significance: n.s. = Not significant, * $p < 0.05$ , ** $p < 0.01$ , *** $p < 0.001$			

Table 17. Results from a one-way ANOVA for each attribute implicitly associated with *en plan* in Version B

	Means by variant		One-way ANOVA
	<i>en plan</i>	Canonical	
Bipolar scale			$F(1,86)$
<b>Geographical origin</b>			
Rural (1) vs. Urban (10)	7.04	6.98	.024 n.s.
Spanish (1) vs. Foreign (10)	3.58	3.27	.351 n.s.
<b>General social attributes</b>			
Younger (1) vs. Older (10)	4.09	7.72	38.189***
Feminine (1) vs. Masculine (10)	4.84	6.40	6.747**
Upper-mid. (1) vs. Mid./Work. (10)	5.40	4.56	4.360*
Progressive (1) vs. Conserv. (10)	5.29	6.07	3.221 n.s.
Significance: n.s. = Not significant, * $p < 0.05$ , ** $p < 0.01$ , *** $p < 0.001$			

In both versions of the matched-guise test, most participants decisively selected urban, Spanish, younger, and feminine as attributes that best described the person in the dialogue who used “*en plan*” (see Table 18 for a descriptive distribution).

Table 18. Results from a descriptive analysis for each attribute associated with “*en plan*” in both versions of the matched-guise test

Bipolar scale	Mean	% of participants scoring between 1-3	% of participants scoring between 8-10
<b>Geographical origin</b>			
Rural (1) vs. Urban (10)	7.22	6.8% (+ rural)	<b>53.4% (+ urban)</b>
Spanish (1) vs. Foreign (10)	2.79	<b>70.5% (+ Spanish)</b>	3.4% (+ foreign)

<b>General social categories</b>			
Younger (1) vs. Older (10)	2.86	<b>54.5% (+ younger)</b>	12.5% (+ older)
Feminine (1) vs. Masculine (10)	4.27	<b>40.9% (+ feminine)</b>	17.0% (+ masculine)
Upper-mid. (1) vs. Mid./Work. (10)	5.58	14.8% (+ upper-mid.)	18.2% (+ mid./work.)
Progressive (1) vs. Conserv. (10)	5.15	23.9% (+ prog.)	11.4% (+ conserv.)

A series of one-way ANOVAs using the collapsed data set showed statistically significant relationships regarding geographical origin and general social categories. In Table 19, the results show that participants implicitly associated the use of “en plan” as significantly characteristic of being from Spain ( $F = 6.114, p < 0.001$ ), younger ( $F = 3.341, p < 0.01$ ), middle to working class ( $F = 4.771, p < 0.001$ ), and politically progressive ( $F = 4.321, p < 0.001$ ).

*Table 19. Results from a one-way ANOVA for attributes implicitly associated with “en plan” in comparison to the use of canonical quotatives*

Bipolar scale	Mean	$F(9,78)$
<b>Geographical origin</b>		
Spanish (1) vs. Foreign (10)	2.69	6.114***
<b>General social categories</b>		
Younger (1) vs. Older (10)	3.31	3.341**
Upper-mid. (1) vs. Mid./Work. (10)	5.58	4.771***
Progressive (1) vs. Conserv. (10)	5.15	4.321***
Significance: n.s. = Not significant, * $p < 0.05$ , ** $p < 0.01$ , *** $p < 0.001$		

Participants’ explicit views toward “en plan” showed similar tendencies to the implicit ones. The majority of participants decisively considered people who use “en plan” to be from Spain and young. It is also notable that over 40% of participants characterized “en plan” users as clearly urban. Additionally, while only 35.2% of participants showed strong support for the idea that “en plan” users are feminine, only 3.4% considered the use of the form to be masculine. Therefore, we see an inclination to relate the form to feminine rather than masculine speech (see Table 20).

*Table 20. Results from a descriptive analysis for each attribute explicitly associated with en plan*

Bipolar scale	Mean	% of participants scoring between 1-3	% of participants scoring between 8-10
<b>Geographical origin</b>			
Rural (1) vs. Urban (10)	6.70	9.1% (+ rural)	<b>46.6% (+ urban)</b>
Spanish (1) vs. Foreign (10)	2.93	<b>72.7% (+ Spanish)</b>	9.1% (+ foreign)
<b>General social categories</b>			
Younger (1) vs. Older (10)	2.86	<b>73.9% (+ younger)</b>	5.7% (+ older)
Feminine (1) vs. Masculine (10)	4.32	<b>35.2% (+ feminine)</b>	3.4% (+ masculine)
Upper-mid. (1) vs. Mid./Work. (10)	5.77	10.2% (+ upper-mid.)	23.9% (+ mid./work.)
Progressive (1) vs. Conserv. (10)	4.59	26.1% (+ progressive)	5.7% (+ conservative)

Age and overall attitudes towards the use of “en plan” also played an important role in participants’ implicit choices with regard to geographical and social attributes. Participants over the age of 45 and under the age of 31 significantly classified the use of “en plan” as stereotypical of an extroverted person. Moreover, participants under the age of 45 consistently categorized the use of “en plan” as originating from Spain ( $F = 5.588$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ). Table 21 provides a summary of the results of the one-way ANOVAs.

*Table 21. Results from a one-way ANOVA for attributes explicitly associated with en plan by participants’ age cohort*

Bipolar scale	Means by age			$F(2,85)$
	Over 45 (N = 15)	31-45 (N = 34)	Under 31 (N = 39)	
<b>Interpersonal character</b>				
Extroverted (1) vs. Introv. (10)	3.93	4.79	3.31	3.331*
<b>Geographical origin</b>				
Spanish (1) vs. Foreign (10)	4.20	2.50	2.28	5.588**
Significance: * $p < 0.05$ , ** $p < 0.01$ , *** $p < 0.001$				

A second factor, participant’s overall opinion of “en plan,” was significant in the implicit survey. When compared to those with negative or neutral opinions, participants with positive attitudes toward the use of “en plan” did not show a strong disposition toward traits related to geographical origin. On the other hand, participants with negative or neutral positions covertly viewed “en plan” as characteristic of younger speakers ( $F = 6.689$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) and people from urban areas ( $F = 3.493$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ). Table 22 displays these results.

*Table 22. Results from a one-way ANOVA for attributes implicitly associated with en plan by participants’ overall attitude*

Bipolar scale	Means by self-professed use			$F(9,78)$
	Negative (n = 29)	Neutral (n = 38)	Positive (n = 21)	
<b>Geographical origin</b>				
Rural (1) vs. Urban (10)	8.00	7.08	6.38	3.493*
<b>General social categories</b>				
Younger (1) vs. Older (10)	3.59	2.50	4.38	6.689**
Significance: * $p < 0.05$ , ** $p < 0.01$				

Participants over the age of 45 categorized the use of “en plan” as distinctive of politically progressive people ( $F = 4.715$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ). On the other hand, younger cohorts did not express strong inclinations regarding political affiliation. Moreover, younger speakers classified the use of “en plan” as pertaining to the middle and working classes ( $F = 3.564$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ). See Table 23 for a summary.

*Table 23. Results from a one-way ANOVA for attributes explicitly associated with “en plan” by participants’ age cohort*

Bipolar scale	Means by age cohort			F(2,85)
	Over 45 (n = 15)	31-45 (n = 34)	Under 31 (n = 39)	
<b>General social attributes</b>				
Upper-mid. (1) vs. Mid./Work. (10)	5.67	5.15	6.36	3.564*
Progressive (1) vs. Conserv. (10)	3.53	5.21	4.46	4.715*
Significance: * $p < 0.05$				

Overall, the participants in this study revealed that they associated the use of “en plan” with young city-dwelling Spanish women. While these associations were stable across all age groups, there were some remarkable differences when accounting for participants’ age and general opinions toward the form. Participants in the oldest cohort did not have a strong inclination to categorize the “en plan” users as either Spanish or Foreign. A possible explanation for this tendency is that older participants may be in less frequent contact with the demographic of “en plan” users and thus they may have a weaker prototypical association (see Chambers 2017 on age cohorts in the labor force and Milroy and Milroy 1992 on social networks). On the other hand, younger speakers, who for the most part significantly claim to use “en plan” at least sometimes, demonstrated awareness of the form being widely used locally. These results corroborate Buchstaller’s (2014) finding that speakers who confirm using *be like* or *go*, whether from the U.S. or the U.K., consider the form to be a local linguistic phenomenon given that they use it.

In addition to generational differences, general opinion toward “en plan” also played an important role. Participants with negative opinions toward “en plan” also showed decisive covert choices, considering the use of “en plan” to be associated with urban and younger speakers. The social stereotypes, in general, appeared to be magnified especially among speakers who were older, those who felt negatively toward “en plan,” and those who claimed to seldom or never use the form. This result can also be an indication of having less contact with “en plan” users and making broad generalizations based on a few encounters or on stereotypes depicted via other communication means.

**5. Conclusion**

In his seminal work, Bolinger (2014: 45) states, “attitudes toward a form of speech are hardly other than attitudes toward the speakers.” Research on the evolution and ideology of newcomer quotatives across various languages shows that linguistic innovation from younger community members often becomes associated with personality and intellect-based traits typically attributed to adolescents, young adults, and women (see Buchstaller 2014; Buchstaller & Van Alphen 2012; and D’Arcy 2017). This study supports that relationship.

Eighty-eight informants of different ages, genders, and academic backgrounds described the use of the DM “en plan” with social features often used to characterize the speech of young people and women. When community members saw “en plan” in a matched-guise dialogue, they made assumptions about the speakers’ traits, typically linked to colloquial language forms and the speech of younger generations and, to some extent,



women. People who used “en plan” were mostly seen as sociable community members. However, the degree of sociability varied depending on the participants’ self-image and their relationship with the quotative innovation. Participants who used and viewed the form positively judged “en plan” favorably, associating it with traits like friendly, likable, and attractive. Conversely, those with unfavorable or neutral opinions described “en plan” users with negative traits such as superficial, annoying, and chatterbox.

These findings suggest that speakers who use “en plan,” as opposed to those who claim not to use it or feel negatively towards its use, are likely making value judgments about themselves and other in-group members rather than about an out-group. This is further supported by the fact that participants who had favorable views towards “en plan,” most of whom were under 31, did not have strong opinions on the typical age of “en plan” users. This low awareness may reflect a high degree of entrenchment in their own and their community's grammar. Additionally, speakers under 31 may interact with speakers aged 31-45 who use “en plan,” and thus, they may not associate its use with a particular age group. However, they recognize that “en plan” is uncommon among older generations (e.g., over 45), as their responses leaned more towards the attribute “younger” rather than “older.”

Nevertheless, speakers who use “en plan,” despite positive feelings towards their usage, cannot escape common stereotypes related to their age and, to a lesser extent, their gender. Most participants who viewed “en plan” negatively or claimed to seldom or never use it, associated its use with poor interpersonal, intrapersonal, and intellectual qualities. Additionally, most participants agreed that “en plan” was more typical of younger speakers and women. Analyzing these results through the lens of first and second order indexicalities reveals possible covert prejudices against young women. According to this analysis and previous studies, young women are seen as socially aware but lacking in intellect or professional potential (see also Buchstaller 2014; D’Arcy 2017).

“En plan” is neither an ephemeral neologism typical of youth speech nor a meaningless filler contributing to the so-called detriment of language (see AUTHOR1). Instead, “en plan,” like other quotatives, is a productive construction that allows speakers to tell colorful stories including direct speech quotes, sounds, emotions, and trains of thought. However, it is crucial to note that a single language form can be imbued with social meaning to the extent that a speaker may be judged and classified based on specific demographics. Consequently, speakers may face discrimination based on regional (e.g., Andalusian vs. Madrid Spanish) or ethnic (e.g., African Americans in the U.S., indigenous communities in Latin America) linguistic membership and character traits deemed unworthy in more formal or professional contexts.

More research on linguistic attitudes toward Spanish discourse markers, particularly quotatives, is needed given the rich social meanings of these linguistic particles. Moreover, it is essential to explore how these linguistic forms relate to generational differences in storytelling styles as D’Arcy (2017) has noted in her diachronic study on New Zealander English. Further research into the possible effects of American cultural influence on Latin American countries is also warranted, especially with regard to the use of “como que” (like, as) to introduce direct quotations, which may now be competing with the canonical quotative verb “decir” (see e.g., Kern 2020).

Juan Escalona Torres, Ph.D.  
Spanish Language Program Director  
Department of Romance Studies  
Olin Center 215  
Tufts University  
Medford, MA 02155  
Juan.Escalona\_Torres@tufts.edu

Megan DiBartolomeo, Ph.D.  
Assistant Professor of Spanish and Language Pedagogy  
Department of English and Modern Languages  
201 High Street  
Longwood University  
Farmville, VA 23901  
dibartolomeomr@longwood.edu

## References

- Abella Fernández, T. (2022). When planning means no plan: Bidirectional subjectification in Peninsular Spanish en plan – From adverbial phrase to discourse marker functions. *Studies in Hispanic and Lusophone Linguistics*, 15(2), 255-290. <https://doi.org/10.1515/shll-2022-2062>
- Andersen, G. (2001). *Pragmatic markers and sociolinguistic variation: A relevance-theoretic approach to the language of adolescents*. London: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.84>
- Escalona Torres, J. M. (2021). *The social and historical workings of an evolving quotative system: The case of european spanish* (Order No. 28546731). Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global. (2557177227). Retrieved from <https://login.proxy.longwood.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/social-historical-workings-evolving-quotative/docview/2557177227/se-2>
- Barrio de la Rosa, F. D., & Hernández, I. A. (2021). Grammaticalization in action and beyond: The emergence of en plan as a pragmatic marker in 21st century Spanish. *International Review of Pragmatics*, 13(2), 234-264. <https://doi.org/10.1163/18773109-01302006>
- Bell, A. (1984). Language style as audience design. *Language in Society*, 13(2), 145-204. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S004740450001037X>
- Bernal, J., Munévar, A., & Barajas, C. (2014). Actitudes lingüísticas en Colombia. *Bergen Language and Linguistics Studies*, 5, 189-245. <https://doi.org/10.15845/bells.v5i0.680>
- Blas Arroyo, J. L. (1997). De nuevo el español y el catalán, juntos y en contraste: Estudio de actitudes lingüísticas. *Sintagma*, 7, 21-41.
- Blas Arroyo, J. L. (1999). Las actitudes hacia la variación intradialectal en la sociolingüística hispánica. *Estudios Filológicos*, 34, 44-72. <https://doi.org/10.4067/S0071-17131999003400005>
- Bolinger, D. (2014). *Language: The Loaded Weapon*. London: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315842103>

- Brinton, L. J. (1996). *Pragmatic markers in English: Grammaticalization and discourse functions*. Berlin: De Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110907582>
- Brinton, L. J. (2005). Processes underlying the development of pragmatic markers: The case of (I) say. In J. Skaffari, M. Peikola, R. Carroll, R. Hiltunen, & B. Wårvik (Eds.), *Opening Windows on Texts and Discourses of the Past* (pp. 279-299). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Brinton, L. J. (2006). Pathways in the Development of Pragmatic Markers in English. In A. van Kemenade & B. Los (Eds.), *The Handbook of the History of English* (pp. 307-334). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Buchstaller, I. (2006). Social stereotypes, personality traits and regional perception displaced: Attitudes towards the 'new' quotatives in the UK. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 10(3), 362-381. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1360-6441.2006.00332.x>
- Buchstaller, I. (2011). Quotations across the generations: A multivariate analysis of speech and thought introducers across 5 decades of Tyneside speech. *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory*, 7(1), 59-92. <https://doi.org/10.1515/cllt.2011.004>
- Buchstaller, I. (2014). *Quotatives: New trends and sociolinguistic implications*. Malden: Wiley Blackwell. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118584415>
- Buchstaller, I., & Deeringer, M. (2005). Attitudes towards new ways of reporting and intensifying: *All*. Paper presented at the *New Ways of Analyzing Variation 34* (NWA34), New York University.
- Buchstaller, I., & Van Alphen, I. (2012). Introductory remarks on new and old quotatives. In I. Buchstaller & I. Van Alphen (Eds.), *Quotatives: Cross-linguistic and cross-disciplinary perspectives* (pp. xi-xxx). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company. <https://doi.org/10.1075/celcr.15.02pre>
- Caravedo Barrios, R. (2013). La valoración lingüística como modo de percepción y significación. In N. Jiménez (Ed.), *Conciencia y valoración del habla andaluza* (pp. 45-71). Sevilla: Universidad Internacional de Andalucía.
- Cargile, A. C., Giles, H., Ryan, E. B., & Bradac, J. J. (1994). Language attitudes as a social process: A conceptual model and new directions. *Language & Communication*, 14(3), 211-236. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0271-5309\(94\)90001-9](https://doi.org/10.1016/0271-5309(94)90001-9)
- Casanova Martínez, F. (2020). Estudio de la expresión *en plan*: ¿Muletilla o unided fraseológica? *Tonos Digital*, 38, 1-43.
- Castero, A. M., & Paredes, F. (2018). Beliefs and attitudes towards educated varieties of contemporary Spanish: the PRECAVES XXI Project. *Boletín de filología*, 53(2), 11-43. <https://doi.org/10.4067/S0718-93032018000200011>
- Chambers, J. K. (2017). Sociolinguistic theory: Systematic study of the social uses of language. In M. Aronoff & J. Rees-Miller (Eds.), *The Handbook of Linguistics* (pp. 505-518). <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119072256.ch24>
- Crismán-Pérez, R., & Núñez-Vázquez, I. (2020). Las actitudes lingüísticas de estudiantes universitarios extranjeros de ELE hacia la modalidad lingüística andaluza: Componentes cognitivos, afectivos y conductuales. *Porta Linguarum*, 33, 201-216. <https://doi.org/10.30827/portalin.vi33.26650>
- D'Arcy, A. (2007). Like and language ideology: Disentangling fact from fiction. *American Speech*, 82(4), 386-419. <https://doi.org/10.1215/00031283-2007-025>

- D'Arcy, A. (2015). Quotation and advances in understanding syntactic systems. *Annual Review of Linguistics*, 1, 43-61. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-linguist-030514-125220>
- D'Arcy, A. (2017). *Discourse-pragmatic variation in context: Eight hundred years of like*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/slcs.187>
- Dailey-O'Cain, J. (2000). The sociolinguistic distribution of and attitudes toward focuser like and quotative like. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 4(1), 60-80. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9481.00103>
- Eckert, P. (2010). Affect, Sound Symbolism, and Variation. *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics*, 15(2), 70-80.
- Eckert, P. (2014). Language and gender in adolescence. In S. Ehrlich, M. Meyerhoff, & J. Holmes (Eds.), *The handbook of language, gender, and sexuality* (pp. 529-545). London: John Wiley & Sons. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118584248.ch27>
- Eckert, P., & McConnell-Ginet, S. (2013). *Language and gender*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139245883>
- Giles, H., & Billings, A. C. (2004). Assessing language attitudes: Speaker evaluation studies. In A. Davies & C. Elder (Eds.), *The handbook of applied linguistics* (pp. 187-209). <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470757000.ch7>
- Irvine, J., & Gal, S. (2000). Language Ideology and Linguistic Differentiation. In P. Kroskrity (Ed.), *Regimes of Language* (pp. 35-83). Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.
- Jørgensen, A. M. (2009). En plan used as a hedge in Spanish teenage language. In A. B. Stenström & A. M. Jørgensen (Eds.), *Youngspeak in a multilingual perspective*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.184.08jor>
- Kern, J. (2020). Like in English and *como, como que, and like* in Spanish in the speech of Southern Arizona bilinguals. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 24(2), 184-207. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1367006919826329>
- Labov, W. (1972). *Sociolinguistic patterns*: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Labov, W. (2001). *Principles of linguistic change: social factors*. Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell.
- Lickona, T., & Davidson, M. (2005). *Smart & good high schools: Integrating excellence and ethics for success in school, work, and beyond*. Paper presented at the Center for the 4th and 5th Rs/Character Education Partnership, New York.
- Maschler, Y. (2002). On the grammaticization of *ke'ilu* ('like', lit. 'as if') in Hebrew talk-in-interaction. *Language in Society*, 31(2), 243-276. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404501020176>
- Milroy, J., & Milroy, L. (1992). Social network and social class: Toward an integrated sociolinguistic model. *Language in Society*, 21(1), 1-26. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500015013>
- Milroy, L. (2004). Language ideologies and linguistic change. In C. Fought (Ed.), *Sociolinguistic Variation: Critical Reflections* (pp. 161-177). Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780195170399.003.0010>
- Moreno Fernández, F. (2005). *Principios de sociolingüística y sociología del lenguaje*. Barcelona: Ariel.
- Muñoz Milla, Á. (2020). *Beyond Stereotypes and Visual Cues: Assessing Language Attitudes toward Andalusian Spanish* (PhD). Indiana University, Bloomington, IN.

- Peterson, C., & Seligman, M. (2004). *Character strengths and virtues: A handbook and classification*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rodríguez Lage, L. (2015). *Marcador conversacional en plan en el habla de Galicia*. [Master's thesis]. Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.
- Rodríguez-Abrunheiras, P. (2020). Me vais a permitir que me ponga en plan profesor: Las funciones de en plan (de) en un estudio de corpus. *Revista Española de Lingüística*, 278-301. <https://doi.org/10.1075/resla.17061.rod>
- Salazar Caro, A. (2014). El prestigio frente a la identidad: las actitudes lingüísticas de los monterianos hacia el español hablado en Montería. *Cuadernos de Lingüística Hispánica*, 25, 39-55. <https://doi.org/10.19053/0121053X.3370>
- Silverstein, M. (1992). The indeterminacy of contextualizations: When is enough enough? In P. Auer & A. di Luzio (Eds.), *The Contextualization of Language* (pp. 55-76). Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.22.05sil>
- Silverstein, M. (1995). Indexical Order and the Dialectics of Sociolinguistic Life. *Proceedings of the Third Annual Symposium about Language and Society*, 36, 266-295.
- Silverstein, M. (2003). Indexical order and the dialects of sociolinguistic life. *Language and communication*, 23(3-4), 193-229. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0271-5309\(03\)00013-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0271-5309(03)00013-2)
- Traugott, E. C. (1995). Subjectification in grammaticalisation. In D. Stein & S. Wright (Eds.), *Subjectivity and subjectivisation: Linguistic Perspectives* (pp. 31-54). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511554469.003>
- Van Alphen, I. (2008). 'Het zijn niet mijn woorden hoor'. Gender and (pseudo-)citaten. [These are not my words hey, Gender and pseudo-quotations]. In Tijdschrift voor Genderstudies, *Themanummer Taal*, [Journal for Genderstudies, Special Issue on Language], 11(1): 37-52.
- Woolard, K. (2002). Bernardo de Aldrete and the Morisco Problem: A Study in Early Modern Spanish Language Ideology. *Society for Comparative Study of Society and History*, 4(3), 446-480. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417502000221>
- Yraola, A. (2014). Actitudes lingüísticas en España. *Language and Linguistics Studies*, 5, 551-636. <https://doi.org/10.15845/bells.v5i0.685>
- Ziv, Y. (1998). Hebrew *kaze* as Discourse Marker and Lexical Hedge: Conceptual and Procedural Properties. In A. H. Jucker & Y. Ziv (Eds.), *Discourse Markers: Description and Theory* (pp. 203-221). <https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.57.11ziv>

### Corpus and Source References

- Davies, M. (2012-2019). Corpus del español [Spanish corpus] (CdE). Retrieved April 10, 2019.
- Jørgensen, A. M. (2008). COLA: Un corpus oral de lenguaje adolescente. *Anejos a Oralia*, 3(1), 225-235.
- PRESEEA. (2014-). *Corpus del Proyecto para el estudio sociolingüísticos del español de España y de América*. Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá.
- Real Academia Española: Banco de datos (CORDE). Corpus diacrónico del español. Retrieved April 10, 2019.

- Real Academia Española: Banco de datos (CREA). Corpus de referencia del español actual. Retrieved April 10, 2019.
- Real Academia Española* (n.d.). Plan. In *rae.es*. Real Academia Española. <https://dle.rae.es/>
- Educatrip (ca. 2019-2020). *En plan, obvio, básicamente, en verdad...* [Like, obviously, basically, really...]. Educatrip. <http://www.educatrip.com/blog/en-plan-obvio-basicamente-en-verdad-uso-desmesurado/>
- Marrón, N. & Fernández, J. (2020, March 10). “*En plan... mi crush me putoflipa*”: *Diccionario de la jerga adolescente* [“Like...my crush fucking shocks me”: Adolescent jargon dictionary]. Cuaderno. <https://www.elperiodico.com/es/cuaderno/20190706/en-plan-crush-putoflipa-diccionario-de-argot-adolescente-7538640>
- Pons Rodríguez, L. (2018, April 2). *Estamos en plan explicando la expresión “en plan”* [We are like explaining the expression “en plan”]. El País. [https://verne.elpais.com/verne/2018/04/01/articulo/1522599285\\_066782.html](https://verne.elpais.com/verne/2018/04/01/articulo/1522599285_066782.html)
- Pons Rodríguez, L. (2018, September 19). *O sea, la de muletillas que usamos, ¿sabes?* [I mean, the fillers we use, y’know?]. El País. [https://verne.elpais.com/verne/2018/09/18/articulo/1537286566\\_909735.html](https://verne.elpais.com/verne/2018/09/18/articulo/1537286566_909735.html)
- Profesores de ELE. (2018, October 18). *Las muletillas: “En plan,” en plan repetitivo* [Fillers: “Like,” repetitive like]. Profesores de ELE. <https://profesoresdeele.org/2018/10/18/las-muletillas/>