Everywhere here can say this: The English locative impersonal[1]

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For many speakers of English, locative *everywhere* can be used instead of the universal pronoun *everyone* in certain contexts, to denote a generic or impersonal set of individuals. This paper documents "impersonal *everywhere*" for the first time, applying a range of syntactic tests to determine its synchronic status. Based on a large-scale acceptability study, we find that it requires overt reference to a large location, as in *everywhere on the coast*. The results further indicate that UK speakers are more accepting of it than US speakers, in particular younger UK speakers. We discuss the grammatical properties of this construction, how it might have arisen (from variationist and diachronic perspectives), and possible typological correlates – all outlining a range of questions for future study on this understudied variant.

Keywords: impersonals, locatives, innovation, restrictor, metonymy

1   INTRODUCTION

Many speakers of English have an as-yet undocumented impersonal construction, in which quantified locative indefinite forms like *everywhere* are used as generic subjects: (1) means that broadly everyone on the coast eats fish and chips. This usage contrasts with a metonymic "institutional" use of *everywhere* already available in English, as in (2), which refers to institutions.

(1)   Everywhere [= everyone] on the coast eats fish and chips.

(2)   (a) Everywhere [= every shop] takes credit cards these days.
      (b) Everywhere [= every shop] will fillet their fish for you, if you ask them.
      (c) Linguistics was once a rare subject in English higher education, but pretty much everywhere [= every university] in England has a linguistics department these days.

As we explain in what follows, the impersonal (1) is more acceptable with a geographic description in PP form following *everywhere*, in this case *on the coast*. We call this a *restrictor*, as it delineates the domain in which *everywhere* is to be understood. Utterances like (1) but without a restrictor are degraded, if not completely unacceptable:

(3)   ?? Everywhere eats fish and chips.

In this paper, we document this construction for the first time based on a large-scale acceptability study and explore the basic grammatical properties of this "impersonal *everywhere*". We also provide a first characterization of how different age groups use it in the UK and North America, and how differences between both samples are relevant in a language-change scenario.

We focus on establishing four empirical findings for what we call "impersonal", "generic" or "indivdal" *everywhere*: first, language users show a preference for a large overt locative restrictor in order for *everywhere* to be acceptable. Second, this construction is widespread, attested at least on both sides of the Atlantic. Third, UK speakers show higher acceptability of the construction than those in North America. And fourth, younger speakers are more accepting of the impersonal usage in the UK sample, suggestive of a change in progress.

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 provides an overview of our methodology (further elaborated on in the Appendix). Section 3 goes through our findings in quantitative as well as qualitative terms. We discuss some of the findings in more depth in Section 4, before moving to consider them from a variationist and diachronic perspective in Section 5. A brief cross-linguistic comparison of the impersonal *everywhere* construction follows in Section 6. Section 7 concludes. We highlight what we think are the most important outstanding questions throughout, acknowledging that we cannot address any of these individual topics fully in the scope of the current paper.

2 IMPERSONAL ARGUMENTS AND *EVERYWHERE*

This section covers the basics of our experiment, an online acceptability study. The study was piloted and preregistered. Our data files and the analysis script are available in an OSF repository. A summary of the experimental methods is given in the Appendix.

2.1 Rationale

Our experiment was based on attested data like (4) from corpora and Twitter, our pilot study, and preliminary introspection by the first author (whose idiolect and that of their peers contains this variant).

(4) (a) **British English:**
Everywhere in England knows what Cottage Pie is.
[based on an anonymized tweet][2]

(b) So everywhere in the UK is saying it's raining.
[based on an anonymized tweet]

(c) **American English:**
The fact that everywhere in America thinks it's acceptable to keep the thermostat on 68 is UNACCEPTABLE! [public tweet]

(d) **Canadian English:**
Everywhere in the world knows it doesn't work. [NOW corpus][3]

(e) **Nigerian English:**
Everywhere in the country has been gaslighted. [NOW corpus][4]

We aimed to test the following hypotheses, H1-H3; see the Appendix and pilot for an earlier (preregistered) H4, which predicted that *everywhere* is not possible with promoted subjects. While we originally thought that this phenomenon was a dialectal feature of the south of England (along the Solent), our investigation revealed that it is not geographically restricted.

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[2]Similar examples can be found on social media but will not be reproduced here due to issues of informed consent (Fiesler and Proferes 2018).

[3]http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/thunder-bay/first-nation-housing-managers-1.4525994

[4]https://tribuneonlineng.com/2023-buhari-apc-run-nigeria-aground-says-hayatu-deen/

H1 Speakers of English can use *everywhere* as a subject with a meaning similar to 'everyone'.

H2 Speakers require an overt "restrictor" for this construction to be acceptable.

H3 Younger speakers are more accepting of this construction, and might be able to use it without the overt restrictor.

In order to understand what kind of element *everywhere* is, we probed its syntactic and semantic properties as reflected in its acceptability in different linguistic contexts. We checked whether it is most like a full noun phrase (regular DP, synonymous with *everyone*), a frozen lexical form, or an implicit argument that is not fully nominal.

This theoretical grounding was provided by existing work on non-canonical arguments which supplies a range of diagnostics teasing apart different kinds of nominal elements. For example, the implied agent in a passive clause might be more syntactically substantiated in one language, and less so in another. Likewise, the semantic and syntactic properties of impersonal arguments cross-linguistically can also vary in the same way. The exact diagnostics used will be established as we go, in Section 3. We draw on Landau (2010a), who suggests ways to distinguish between "strong" and "weak" implicit arguments empirically as well as theoretically; on Legate (2014), who discusses the syntactic features that might be relevant; on the individual works cited in what follows; and on the general overview by Bhatt and Pancheva (2017).

To preview what these diagnostics look like, the use of the agent-oriented adverb *enthusiastically* diagnoses the existence of an implicit agent in the passive construction (5a), but not in the anticausative construction (5b). We ask whether clauses with impersonal *everywhere* are more like the former or the latter.

(5) (a) The ship was sunk enthusiastically.

(b) * The ship sank enthusiastically. (Roeper 1987)

Some of the diagnostics are meant to probe the syntactic "size" and compositional makeup of *everywhere*, while others test its interaction with other elements in the clause (e.g. control and binding). Since we use a range of diagnostics, we introduce them as they come up. These diagnostics or tests will also be referred to as Contexts, in the sense of an experimental factor, in what follows. Each Context was also tested with standard *everyone*, which was predicted to receive very high ratings throughout.

2.2 Experimental setup

Full details of the methods are given in the Appendix and in the OSF repository, which also includes all data files and analyses. We recap the basic points here.

Our study was an acceptability rating task, carried out online. Sentences were presented with specific contexts to facilitate comprehension and were rated by participants on a 7-point Likert scale. All responses were z-transformed and fed to a mixed effects linear regression for statistical analysis.

Aside from our critical items and fillers, the experiment also contained examples which were undoubtedly grammatical and examples which were undoubtedly ungrammatical; these were treated as control conditions. For each Context, we tested whether the ratings diverged from the ratings provided for the ungrammatical control examples. For each example we created one version with a restrictor and one without; a given participant only saw one of the two versions.

The participants were native speakers of English from the UK, USA and Canada. The total number of participants after exclusions was 407 (261 female). Table 1 provides a breakdown of speakers by region, sex and age after exclusions (see Sections 3.3 and A.2 for an explanation of why the UK group originally contained two different groups).

Table 1: *Final Ns after exclusions.*

		General UK	US/Canada
		339	68
Gender	Female	224	37
	Male	115	25
	Other / N/A	0	6
Age	18–29	35	31
	30–49	122	21
	50–69	145	16
	70+	37	0

3 RESULTS

In this section we will see support for the following generalizations:

(6) Main findings

    (a) Overt restrictor: with an overt restrictor, *everywhere* patterns like a regular noun phrase (DP).

    (b) No restrictor: without a restrictor, *everywhere* is much less acceptable across the board. The standard *everyone* does not have this requirement, as would be expected.

    (c) Younger speakers: participants aged 18-29 are more accepting of most uses of *everywhere* (with and without Restrictor).

    (d) Region: participants from the UK rate examples with *everywhere* higher than participants from North America.

Before presenting the findings by Context (Section 3.2) and by demographic factors (Section 3.3), we first explain how the findings are presented (Section 3.1).

3.1 Acceptability markings

Our findings will be presented using traditional acceptability diacritics for ease of exposition, which we base on the quantitative findings. Recall that each condition was contrasted with an ungrammatical control condition. When this difference was statistically significant at the p=0.05 level, we added an acceptability diacritic. In order to express the magnitude of the effect, the difference in mean z-scores was translated into diacritics, giving the overall schema in Table 2. This translation into diacritics should help give an overview of the patterns, without relying too heavily on p-values.

Table 2: *Judgement diacritics based on rating differences*

Z-score difference	Diacritic	Intuitive description
<0.5 or n.s.	(none)	"grammatical"
0.5–1	?	"contrast between matched conditions"
1–1.5	??	"ungrammatical"
1.5<	*	"clearly ungrammatical"

Examples are usually given in pairs, where the (a) example contains a restrictor and the (b) example does not. We present only the *everywhere* results in this section unless stated otherwise. This means that all of the *everyone* examples are not discussed here. Examination of the results shows that ratings are at ceiling for all conditions (except the ungrammatical control), as expected.[5] Where examples

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[5] The one exception is the Middle context, which is more variable. Again, see the results in the online repository.

differed slightly in lexicalizations for our UK and North American participants, the North American one is given in a footnote.

3.2 Results by diagnostic (Context)

Contexts are discussed in groups, according to the theoretical questions they address: the controls, which establish a baseline; transitive constructions; whether *everywhere* is compositional; whether it behaves like a full DP; and whether it can be a promoted subject.

3.2.1 Control baselines

We first establish the baselines or gold standards. The **grammatical controls** were the following three sets of sentences (each having one version with and one version without a restrictor). As expected, all received very high ratings.

(7)   I've travelled a fair bit and different countries aren't all that different.
    (a)   People everywhere in the world are the same really.
    (b)   People everywhere are the same really.

(8)   I think I lost my phone.
    (a)   I've looked everywhere in my apartment and I still can't find it.
    (b)   I've looked everywhere and I still can't find it.

(9)   I lived abroad for many years,
    (a)   but nowhere in the world was nicer than home.
    (b)   but nowhere was nicer than home.

Plots like those in Figure 1 accompany each set of examples. The left-hand panel shows UK participants and the right-hand one shows North American participants. The normalized z-score is on the y-axis, with the mean rating for all grammatical controls indicated by the dashed green line. Mean ratings are given by the bars: (a) examples with the restrictor on the left of each panel, "+R", and (b) examples without a restrictor on the right, "–R". Error bars plot 95% confidence intervals. The dotted red line indicates the mean rating for the ungrammatical controls, which come next.
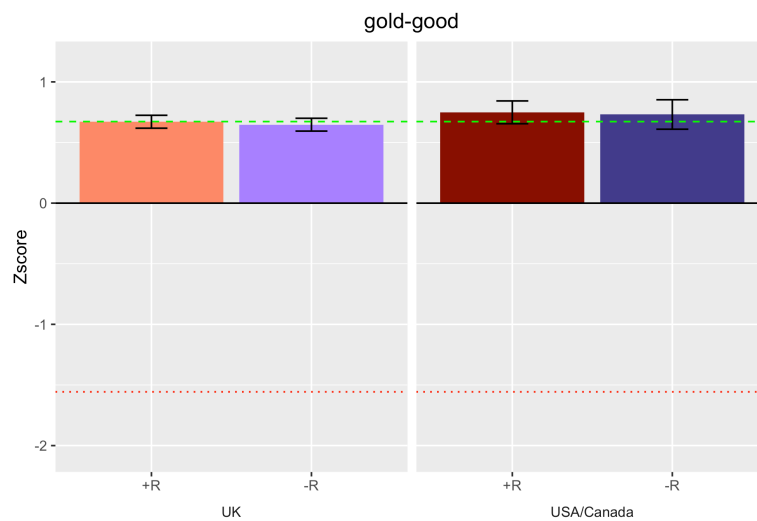

Figure 1: Grammatical controls.

Our **ungrammatical controls** were the following three sets of examples. Here ratings were very low, as expected, and accordingly all examples receive the "*" diacritic.

(10)   We were worried that John would see the photos,
    (a)   * and then John the pictures everywhere in the papers saw.
    (b)   * and then John the pictures everywhere saw.

(11)   We're having a gap year reunion at my place.[6]
    (a)   * My friends at everywhere in my travels arrived last night.
    (b)   * My friends at everywhere arrived last night.

(12)   My local library contains lots of books.
    (a)   * I read most of them nowhere in school.
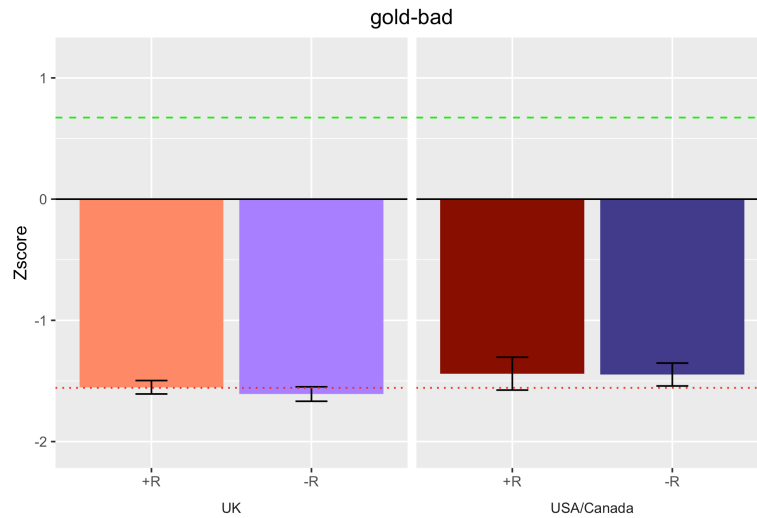   (b)   * I read most of them nowhere.

Figure 2: Ungrammatical controls.

With these baselines in place to orient ourselves, we move on to the various critical conditions. If *everywhere* is acceptable, we would expect it to be rated lower than the grammatical controls—since it is, after all, a non-standard variant—but significantly higher than the ungrammatical controls.

3.2.2 Transitive

We first tested a **simple transitive** construction in order to see if *everywhere* could be an agentive subject. As reflected by the diacritics, we found that the transitive clause with the restrictor, (13a), was significantly different than the ungrammatical condition. The example without the restrictor, (13b), was rated significantly but slightly lower than the one with the restrictor, earning it the "?" diacritic. In this case the effect is driven by the UK sample, but we will see it generalize to the North American sample in other Contexts.

(13)   Is eating fish and chips[7] a regional thing?
    (a)   No, these days everywhere in Britain eats fish and chips!
    (b)   ? No, these days everywhere eats fish and chips!

We next tested a number of **agent-oriented adverbs** (Roeper 1987, Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995, Alexiadou et al. 2015), to verify that *everywhere* functions as an agentive subject. This expectation was borne out, again with lower ratings without a restrictor.

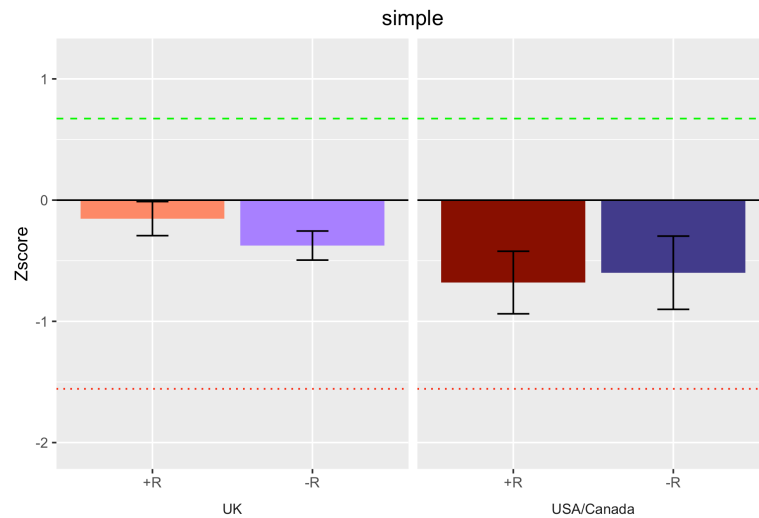[6]US/Canada: college reunion.
[7]US/Canada: French fries.

Figure 3: Simple transitives

(14) Fighting about Brexit[8] has got pretty boring.

    (a)   These days everywhere in the UK is **deliberately** avoiding the subject.

    (b)   ? These days everywhere is **deliberately** avoiding the subject.

(15) Legend has it that some of the best Brazilian football[9] players grew up poor and didn't have money for shoes.

    (a)   ? The FA has decided to make this a training technique, so now everywhere in England is playing football **shoe-less**.

    (b)   ? The FA has decided to make this a training technique, so now everywhere is playing football **shoe-less**.

(16) When Chinese food first reached Europe, people used a knife and fork,

    (a)   but everywhere in Europe eats Chinese food **using chopsticks** these days.

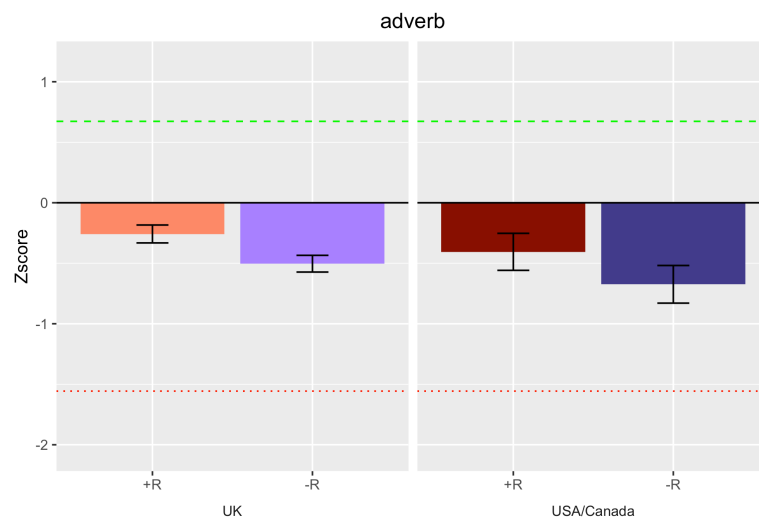   (b)   ? but everywhere eats Chinese food **using chopsticks** these days.

Figure 4: Adverbs.

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[8]US/Canada: 2016 election.

[9]US/Canada: soccer.

Transitive *everywhere* is also compatible with a number of **modal and modal-like constructions**, including epistemic modals, negation and embedded questions. Such constructions have different properties than standard declarative clauses, which lead to them being less compatible with certain kinds of impersonal or implied subjects (e.g. Bhatt and Pancheva 2017). Middles were less acceptable across the board, (20).

(17) Even though for us it's common to have a shower daily,

    (a)   not everywhere in the world **can** shower every day!

    (b) ?? not everywhere **can** shower every day!

(18) Donald Trump thought he was loved unanimously and unconditionally,

    (a)   but it turned out that everywhere in America **didn't** love Trump, just a few crucial states did.

    (b) ? but it turned out that everywhere **didn't** love Trump, just a few crucial states did.

(19) My friend told me that people abroad eat some exotic things like fried grasshoppers and bird's nest soup.

    (a)   I knew about the first one, but I don't know **where** in the world eats bird's nest soup.

    (b) ?? I knew about the first one, but I don't know **where** eats bird's nest soup.

(20) Bribery doesn't just affect backward places.

    (a) ? Everywhere in the developed world **bribes easily** if the price is right.

    (b) ?? Everywhere **bribes easily** if the price is right.
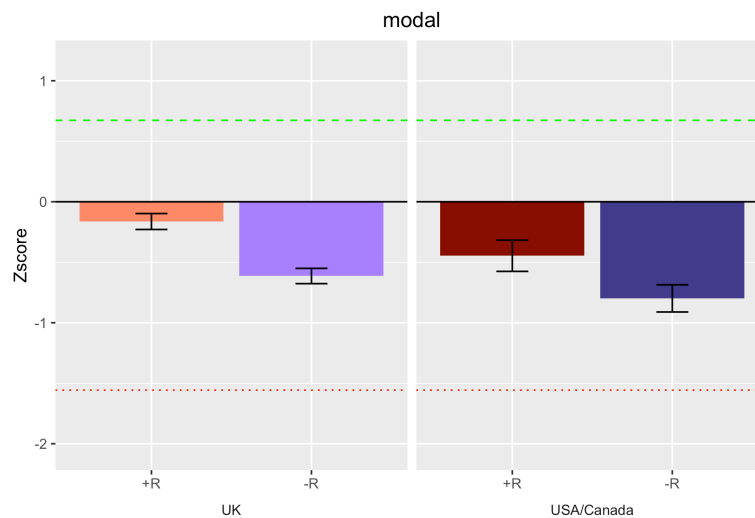
Figure 5: Modals.

So far, *everywhere* shows the behavior of a regular agentive subject, just like *everyone*, though ratings are higher when a restrictor is present.

3.2.3 *Decomposition*

The next question was whether *everywhere* is a frozen expression or whether it's compositional, consisting of *every+where*. By keeping *where* constant and changing the quantifier, we confirmed that *everywhere* decomposes into two parts: quantifier + *where*.

Anywhere:

(21)   Most Middle Eastern religions forbid their followers from eating eagles,

    (a)   but I wonder if **anywhere** in the Middle East does actually eat eagles.

    (b)   ? but I wonder if **anywhere** does actually eat eagles.
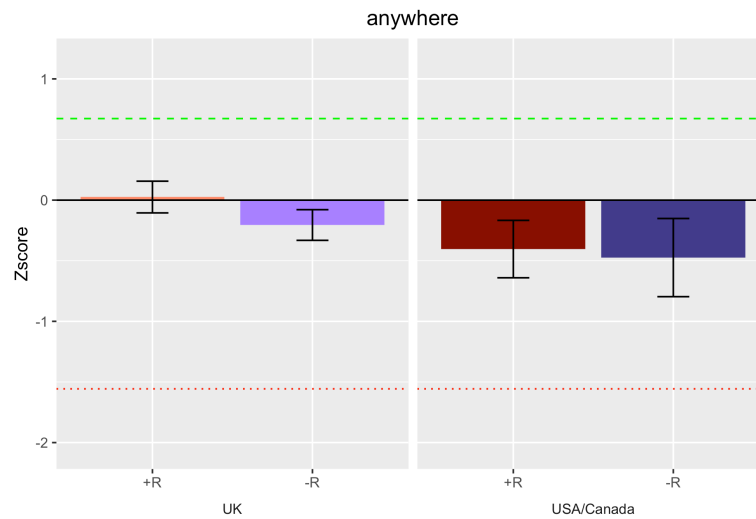

Figure 6: Anywhere.

Nowhere:

(22)   Some Royals are more popular than others.

    (a)   In fact, Prince William is very popular but basically **nowhere** in the UK likes Camilla[10].

    (b)   In fact, Prince William is very popular but basically **nowhere** likes Camilla.
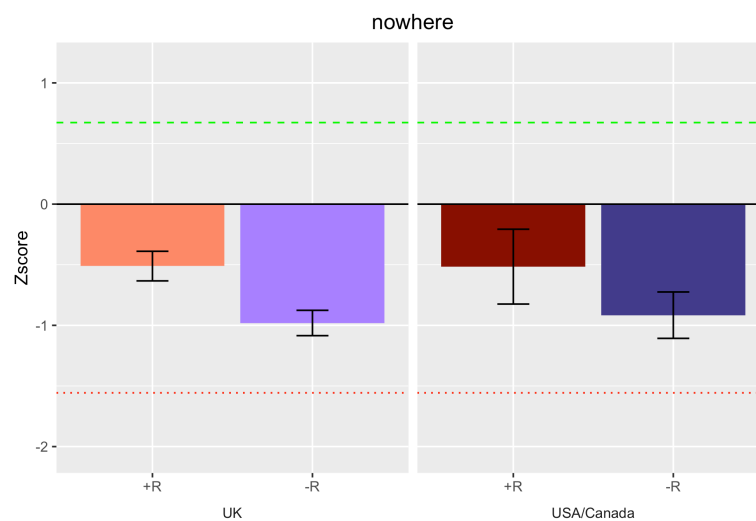

Figure 7: Nowhere.

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[10]US/Canada: Prince Andrew.

Somewhere:

(23)   People say that nobody eats cat,

    (a)   but **somewhere** in the world probably does eat cat!

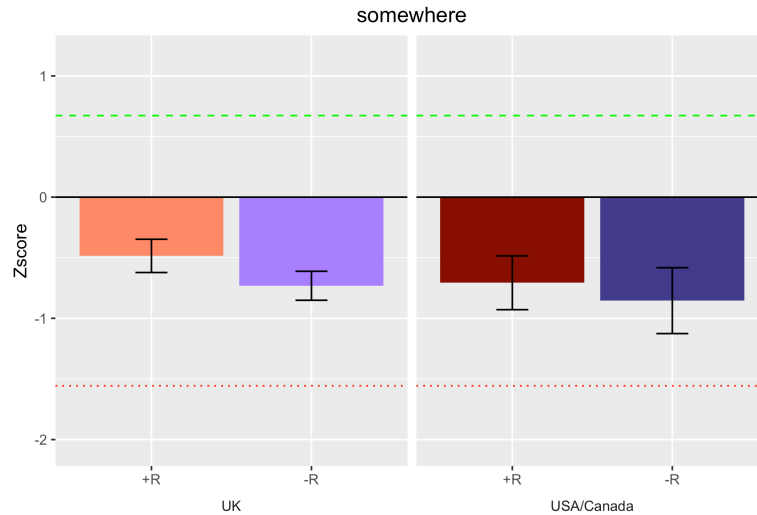   (b)   but **somewhere** probably does eat cat!

Figure 8: Somewhere

These results indicate that the *where* of *everywhere* is some kind of impersonal operator, combining compositionally with *every*, *no* and *some*.

3.2.4   Full DP

Our next set of tests probed the grammatical behavior of *everywhere*. It is commonly assumed that nominal arguments active in the syntax, i.e. full DPs, are able to **control**, rendering the control relationship a diagnostic for nominalhood (Williams 1985, Landau 2010a, Williams 2015, Bhatt and Pancheva 2017); purely semantic implicit arguments cannot behave like this; we discuss such an example from Brazilian Portuguese in Section 6. Repeating example (5) in (24), it is generally accepted that the implied agent of a passive clause is represented in the grammar at whatever level that allows it to control, whereas there is no such agent in the anticausative variant. Here, e signifies the silent, understood agent.

(24)   (a)   The ship was e_i sunk [PRO$_i$ to claim the insurance].

    (b)   * The ship e_i sank [PRO$_i$ to collect the insurance].

Using the canonical control predicate *try*, we find that *everywhere* can also control.

(25)   Ad campaigns against smoking have been running since the 90s.

    (a)   ? Pretty much everywhere in the UK has been **trying** to quit since then.

    (b)   ?? Pretty much everywhere has been **trying** to quit since then.
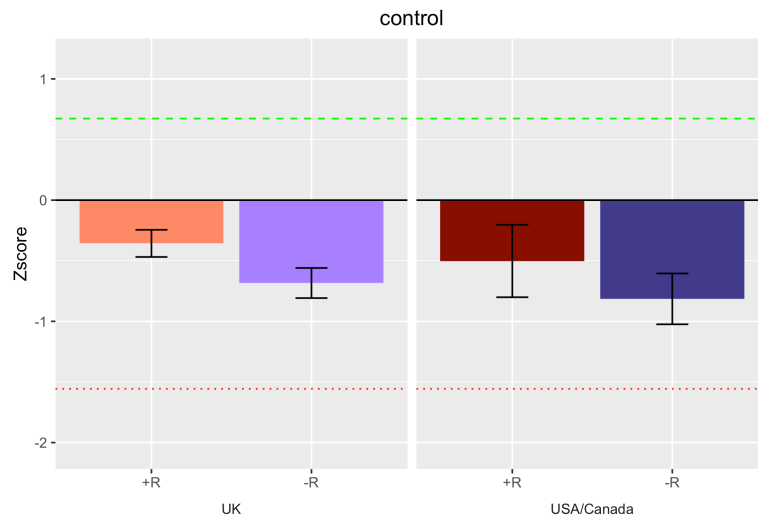
Figure 9: Control.

Full DPs can also **antecede a pronoun** (Koenig and Mauner 2000, Akkuş 2021), an option not available to many kinds of implicit arguments.

(26) (a) A woman$_i$ smiled. She$_i$ was happy.

(b) * The first male mayor$_i$ was e_j assassinated. She$_j$ was from France, it seems.

(after Koenig and Mauner 2000:213)

We find that *everywhere* is able to antecede a pronoun:

(27) It's not just my niece who actually says "LOL" now.

(a) Everywhere in the UK is saying it these days! And **they** don't think it's strange.

(b) ? Everywhere is saying it these days! And **they** don't think it's strange.
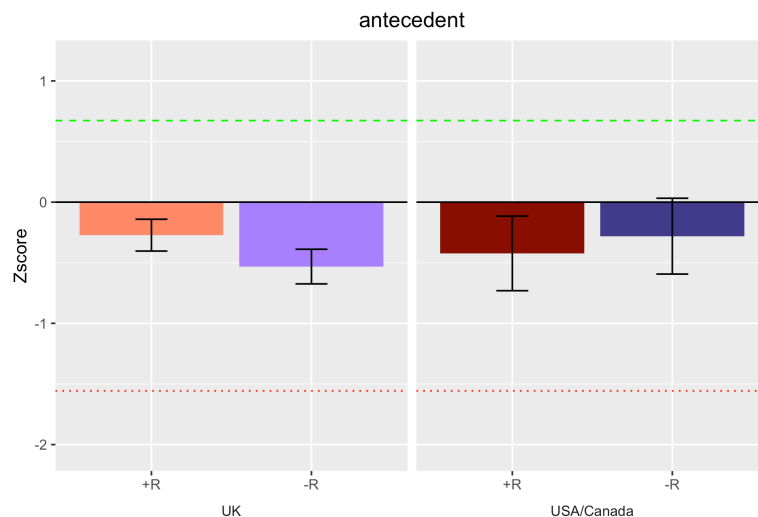
Figure 10: Antecedent.

As discussed in depth by Williams (1987), Landau (2010a) and Bhatt and Pancheva (2017), not all impersonal or implied arguments can **bind anaphors**. *Everywhere* can bind reflexive anaphors, reciprocal anaphors and bound pronouns.

(28) It has been revealed that people are giving less and less to charity.

    (a)   It seems that everywhere in modern Britain helps **themselves** first and others later.

    (b)   ? It seems that everywhere helps **themselves** first and others later.

(29)   There should be more sharing of resources.

    (a)   That way everywhere in the country helps **each other**.

    (b)   ? That way everywhere helps **each other**.

(30)   The press has revealed that English supermarkets[11] have been selling dirty salad.

    (a)   Now everywhere in England washes **their** salad before eating it.

    (b)   ? Now everywhere washes **their** salad before eating it.
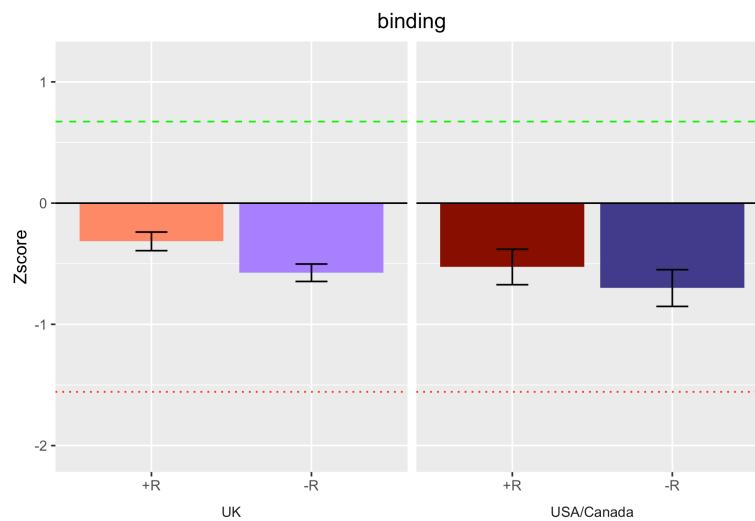
Figure 11: Binding.

In sum, *everywhere* can control, antecede and bind like any regular noun phrase. It is a syntactically active impersonal subject.

3.2.5 *Promoted subjects*

The last question regarding individual Contexts has to do with the derivational history of the *everywhere* DP. It is commonly assumed that the subjects of unaccusative and passive clauses start off as the logical objects, being promoted to non-agent subjects during the derivation (however formalized in different frameworks). A similar claim is often made about psychological predicates (Belletti and Rizzi 1988, Croft 1993, Bickel 2004, Landau 2010b, Verhoeven 2014, a.m.o).

Psychological predicates are compatible with *everywhere*:

(31)   My friend Seb wanted to see how Marmite is received abroad by taking a jar of it[12] on his travels.

    (a)   It turns out, everywhere outside of the UK **hates** Marmite.

    (b)   ? It turns out, everywhere **hates** Marmite.

Unaccusative predicates are also compatible with *everywhere*, be they directed motion as in (32) or change of state as in (33).

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[11]US/Canada: East Coast supermarkets.
[12]US/Canada: a bar of Hershey's.
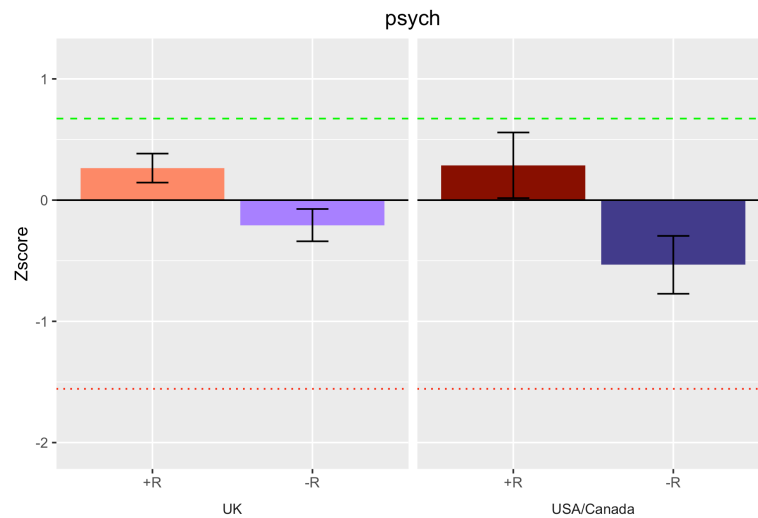
Figure 12: Psych.

(32) People always take their jobs most seriously on a Monday.

    (a)   Basically everywhere in the Western world **arrives** at work bright and early on a Monday but late on a Friday!

    (b) ?? Basically everywhere **arrives** at work bright and early on a Monday but late on a Friday!

(33) Changes in the time of the sunrise are known to influence how we sleep.

    (a)   For example, everywhere in the Northern Hemisphere **wakes up** earlier in summer than in winter.

    (b)   ? For example, everywhere **wakes up** earlier in summer than in winter.
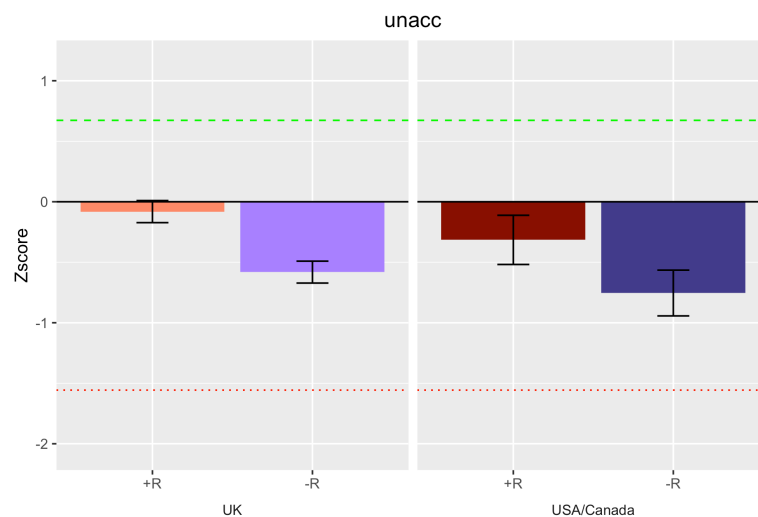
Figure 13: Unaccusative.

Our passive clause was not as compatible with *everywhere*, a point we return to in Section 4.5:

(34) The financial crisis of 2008 hit industry hard.

    (a) ?? During the crisis, everywhere in the industrial North East was **made redundant**.[13]

    (b) *? During the crisis, everywhere was **made redundant**.
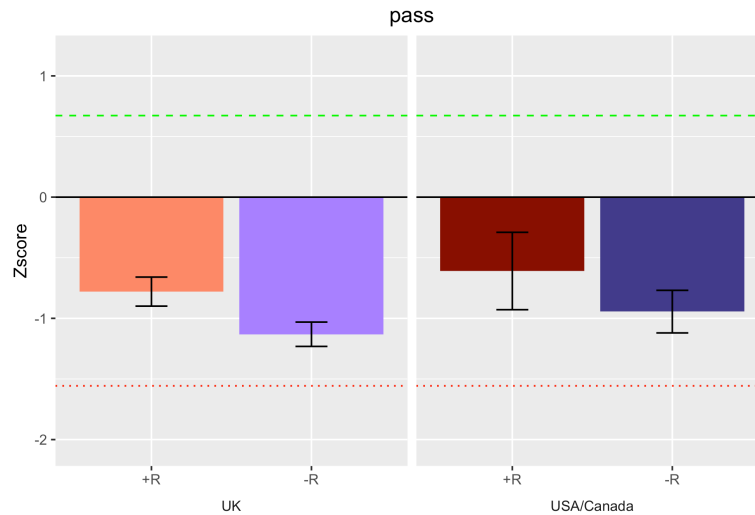
Figure 14: Passive.

These results indicate that *everywhere* shows some but not limitless syntactic and semantic flexibility in that it may encode various semantic roles associated with subjecthood.

3.2.6   Interim conclusion

Our findings confirm that *everywhere* is a valid impersonal subject for many speakers of contemporary English in the UK and North America. However, *everywhere* is most easily accepted when the clause contains a geographical "restrictor". The statistical analysis reveals an interaction of Context and Restrictor: ratings are higher in [+Restrictor] than in [–Restrictor] for almost all contexts.

Since ratings for the Passive condition were lower than for all other Contexts, we conducted a post-hoc analysis with Passive as the reference level for Context, comparing all other contexts to it (recall that our original reference level was the ungrammatical baseline). Under this coding, there is no statistical difference between Passive and Nowhere ($p=0.51$). Somewhere ($p=0.081$) and Control ($p=0.059$) were rated only marginally higher. The significant difference between Passive and the ungrammatical control remains.

The results discussed so far average over all of our participants. We now turn to an analysis based on geographical location, age and gender.

3.3   Demographic factors

In order to inform the study from a variationist perspective, participants were asked to provide basic demographic information after completing the experiment itself: their age (in the groups 18–29, 30–49, 50–69 and 70+), gender (where we resorted to a simplistic choice between Male, Female and Other/NA),[14] level of education and geographical location (first part of their postal code in the UK; state, province or territory in North America).

As explained in the preregistration, we had originally thought that *everywhere* was a feature of a specific dialect, namely that spoken along the Solent in southern England (primarily around Southampton and Portsmouth). For this reason, we first ran a study sampling participants from that population. We then sampled from a non-Solent UK population as a control group and from North America, only to find very similar patterns. In our current discussion, we collapse both UK groups together, maintaining the comparison between UK and North America; full analyses can be found and replicated

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[13]US/Canada: everywhere in the Rust Belt was laid off.

[14]While our initial reasoning was based on the premise that men and women might adopt or lead language change at different rates (Labov 1990), the design could have done a better job at targeting this question. See Conrod (2021).

in the OSF repository. Because of our original emphasis on Solent speakers, the samples are unbalanced: North American speakers are underrepresented. Issues of geographical spread are addressed in Section 5. Gender and Education Level did not emerge as significant factors in any of the analyses (p>0.05).

3.3.1 Findings across Contexts

Taking all of the data together while disregarding the different levels of Context (i.e. the different syntactic diagnostics), we find a positive main effect of Restrictor (β=0.27, p<0.001), meaning that an overt restrictor does lead to higher ratings. We also find a negative main effect of Region (β=–0.07, p=0.0228), meaning that ratings from our North American participants were lower than those from our UK participants (keeping in mind the imbalance in participant numbers). There was no interaction between these two main effects, although the remainder of this section examines higher-order interactions with additional factors. As a first pass, however, we have statistical confirmation that Restrictor improves ratings whereas UK participants give higher ratings to *everywhere* sentences.

Adding Age as a predictor provides a better fit to the data: $\chi^2(17)$ = 25.298, p=0.0048. Restrictor is still facilitatory and Region (North America) is still inhibitory. The youngest age group now shows a number of interactions, as the Restrictor is facilitatory for 18–29-year-olds overall, but inhibitory for those from North America in a three-way interaction of Restrictor:Region:Age. The model's output is given in Table 3.

Table 3: *Regression model excluding Context.*

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>t)
(Intercept)	–0.556	0.12	4.79	<0.001
Restrictor	0.275	0.04	6.90	<0.001
Region	–0.088	0.04	2.33	0.0202
Age (18–29 vs older)	0.008	0.01	0.77	0.4419
Age (30–49 vs older)	0.011	0.01	1.08	0.2796
Age (50–69 vs older)	0.001	0.02	0.06	0.9526
Restrictor:Region	–0.073	0.05	1.48	0.1405
Restrictor:Age (18–29)	0.028	0.01	1.96	0.0507
Restrictor:Age (30–49)	0.020	0.01	1.49	0.1377
Restrictor:Age (50–69)	0.028	0.03	0.97	0.3311
Region:Age (18–29)	0.015	0.02	0.80	0.4242
Region:Age (30–49)	–0.027	0.03	0.96	0.3364
Restrictor:Region:Age (18–29)	–0.053	0.02	2.17	0.0306
Restrictor:Region:Age (30–49)	0.036	0.04	0.98	0.3262

Summing up and summarizing all the relevant coefficients, North American participants gave lower ratings to *everywhere*, young participants gave higher ratings than older participants, and young UK participants gave slightly higher ratings than young North American participants. Having a restrictor improved ratings further for UK participants, especially young ones. Figure 15 visualizes the differences between age groups; note the difference between the 18–29 and 30–49 age groups in the UK sample, which does not obtain in the North American sample.
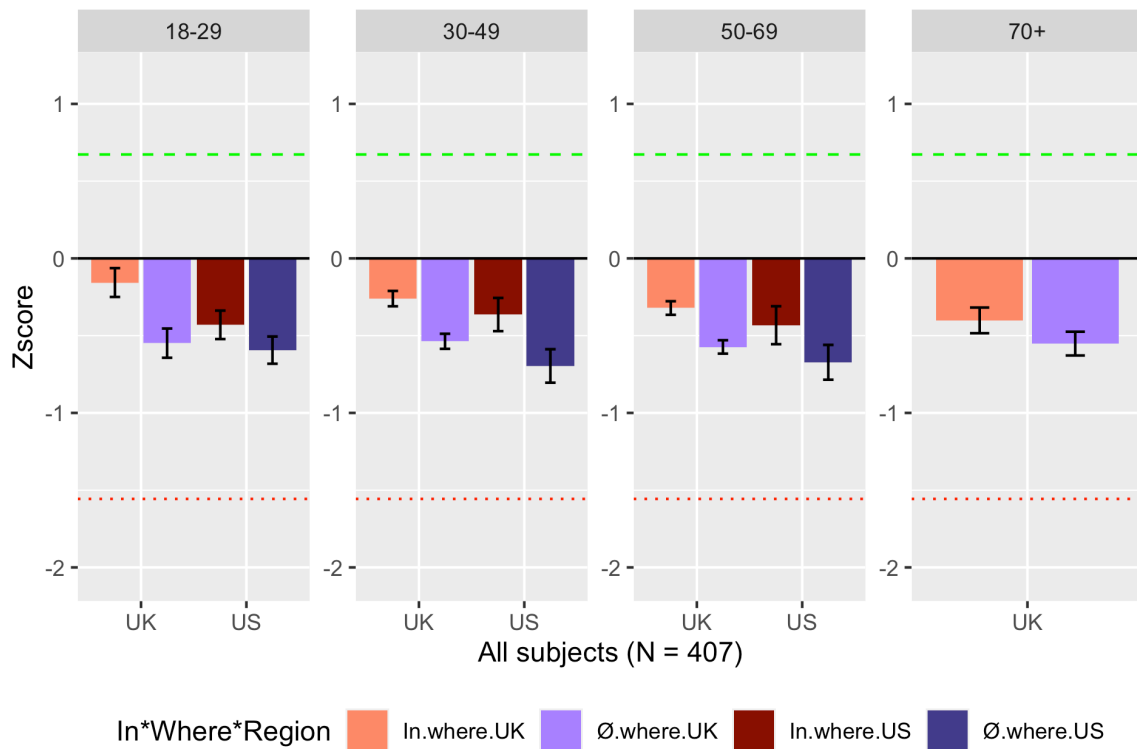
Figure 15: Age groups by region.

3.3.2 Findings for individual Contexts

We now turn to the statistical analysis of individual Contexts. A model containing Restrictor, Region and Context reveals the following patterns. First, there are main effects for all Contexts, reflecting higher ratings for regular usage of *everywhere* over the ungrammatical control condition. Second, the interaction of Restrictor and Context is facilitatory for all Contexts, as expected, meaning that an overt restrictor improves the ratings for each diagnostic (albeit only at the p<0.1 level for Anywhere, Simple and Somewhere).

With Region interacting with the other predictors, the third finding is that many Region:Context interactions have significant negative coefficients, supporting the observation that as a whole, North American participants rate *everywhere* slightly lower than UK participants. This finding holds for Adverb, Anywhere, Binding, Control (p<0.1), Modal, Psych, Simple and Unaccusative (but not for Antecedent, Control, Nowhere, Passive and Somewhere, all not significant). No three-way interactions between Restrictor:Region:Context reached significance.

The model which provides the best fit overall includes Age as a predictor as well: $\chi^2(140) = 236.98$, p<0.0001. This is the final model we report on.[15] Given the four-way interaction, the model output is fairly long and not all parts of it are informative. We reproduce the significant predictors in the Appendix, aware as we are of the fact that statistical significance is not the main goal to be pursued.

Summarizing, the findings are as follows. In terms of main effects, all Contexts are facilitatory. The Restrictor is not significant on its own, and Region is facilitatory (higher ratings for North America). This last result on its own stands in contrast to the higher ratings we have seen for UK participants, but it is not the final word given the many interactions; the interaction Context:Region is largely inhibitory, meaning that on balance UK participants do provide slightly higher ratings.

Context:Restrictor interactions are facilitatory for almost all Contexts (except for Antecedent and Simple), confirming the preference for a Restrictor to combine with *everywhere*. Interactions of Re-

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[15]The random effect structure included random slopes by participant and by item. More complex structures either did not converge, or did not improve model fit.

strictor:Age and Region:Age were not significant.

Looking at the two-way interactions of Age:Context within each age group, we can see which Contexts are particularly robust, receiving consistently higher ratings in each younger generation, (35). These appear to be Adverb, Anywhere, Binding, Psych and Simple, although it is also possible that their strength is an artifact of our materials. These results seem to drive the overall effect of Age, whereby the younger the participant group, the higher they rate *everywhere* (with a Restrictor).

(35) Facilitatory interactions of Context:Age (for each age group, compared to all older age groups).

  (a) 18–29 vs all older: Adverb, Anywhere, Binding, Control, Psych, Simple, Unaccusative.

  (b) 30–49 vs all older: Adverb, Anywhere, Binding, Modal, Psych, Simple, Unaccusative.

  (c) 50–69 vs older: Adverb, Anywhere, Binding, (Modal p=0.07), (Nowehere p=0.093), (Psych p=0.053), Simple, (Unaccusative p=0.062).

Some examples of these interactions are given in Figures 16–17 (Adverb and Unaccusative, facilitatory in the two younger age groups) and 18 (Control, only 18–29). The remaining interactions can be found in Table 5 of the Appendix; none of those patterns lead us to draw additional generalizations.
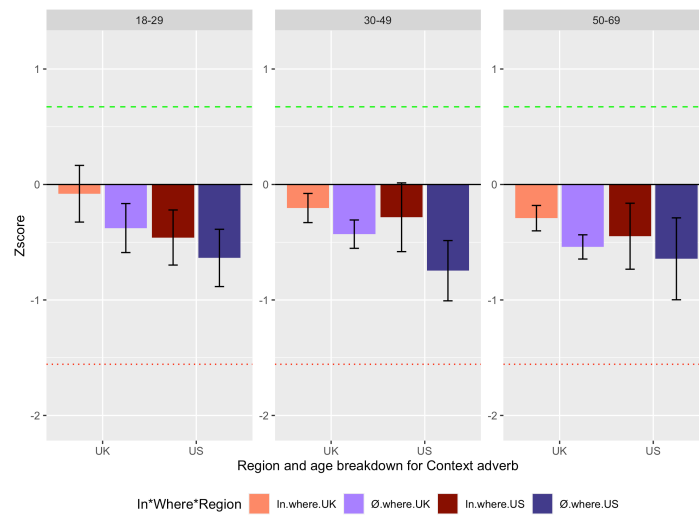

Figure 16: Region:Age interaction for Adverb.
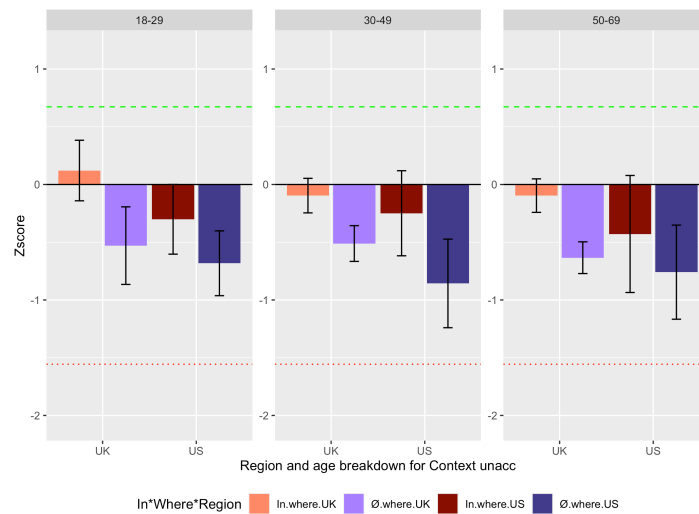
Figure 17: Region:Age interaction for Unaccusative.
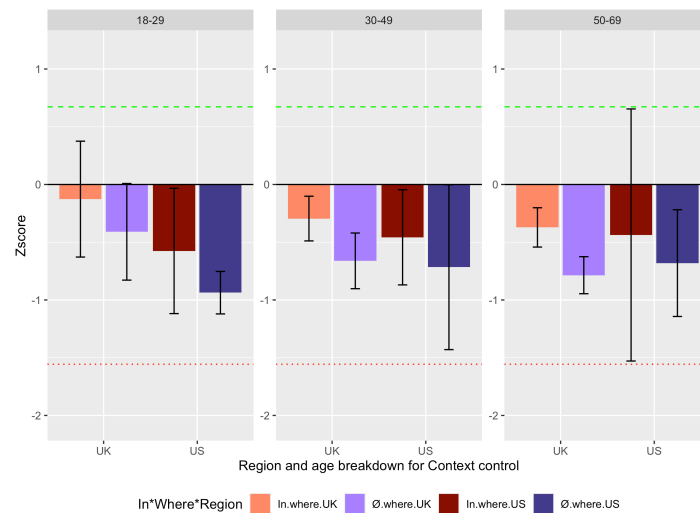
Figure 18: Region:Age interaction for Control.

3.4 Summary

While standard *everyone* is perfectly acceptable as a universally quantified subject in English, results were more varied for impersonal *everywhere*, as expected. The impersonal subject was never rated as highly as *everyone* or unrelated grammatical controls, but it was also consistently rated higher than ungrammatical controls. Moreover, the other patterns emerging from our study indicate that *everywhere* has a systematic nature of its own.

The most robust finding is that *everywhere* is rated higher when it combines with an overt restrictor, in which case it patterns like any full noun phrase. Such a requirement does not exist for standard *everyone*, of course. Younger speakers (especially aged 18–29) are more accepting of most uses of *everywhere*, especially with a restrictor, and most especially in the UK compared to North America. No effect of gender or education level was found. While we did not explore individual differences here, the materials in the OSF repository can be used to perform additional analyses.

In the remainder of the article, we discuss these findings from descriptive, variationist and typological perspectives.

4 Understanding *everywhere*

This study provided what we believe to be the first description of impersonal *everywhere*. Being an exploratory study, it was clearly limited in many ways, raising various additional questions. We discuss some of the findings in the remainder of the paper. In our further exploration, we made use of native intuitions on the part of the first author, whose predictions for the study correlated highly with the experimental findings (t(90) = 7.182, p < 0.0001, R^2 = 0.364). Judgement diacritics in this section therefore do not indicate findings from the main study, but hypotheses for further investigation.

4.1 What does 'everywhere' quantify over?

4.1.1 Metonymy 'everywhere'

As we mentioned at the outset, English allows [quantifier + *where*] to be employed metonymically in what we have called the 'institutional' use, where *where* simply stands in for a non-human noun which does not have to be inherently locative, e.g. shop, university, local authority, and so on, (36).

(36)   (a)   Everywhere [= every shop/business] takes credit cards these days.

(b)   Everywhere [= every fishmonger(shop)] will fillet their/its fish for you, if you ask them.

(c)   Linguistics was once a rare subject in English higher education, but pretty much everywhere [= every university] in England has a linguistics department these days.

This use is typical *metonymy*, following Radden and Kövecses (1999:336): a process by which "one conceptual entity is mentally accessed via another entity". Specifically, the institutional use of *everywhere* reflects a wider sub-type of metonymy whereby places can stand in for institutions (Radden and Kövecses 1999, Littlemore 2017), e.g. employing *Whitehall* or *Washington* for the British or American governments respectively.

The impersonal use of *everywhere* is different because it quantifies over a set of individuals who live in a set of locations limited by the restrictor. Thus, from a semantic perspective, we see similarity to another well-documented sub-type of metonymic coercion: LOCATION-NP → INDIVIDUALS, by which places may stand in for inhabitants (Radden and Kövecses 1999, Littlemore 2017), e.g. *London* (London's inhabitants) *drinks more than Edinburgh* (Edinburgh's inhabitants). The incrementally higher acceptability ratings for younger age groups in the UK sample suggest that we may be witnessing the transmission and actualisation of a newly grammaticalized construction which has its roots in metonymy; we return to this point in the next section.

What sets the impersonal use aside is that the restrictor is necessary, whereas in the institutional use it is an optional addendum. While the institutional use may have some general contextual requirement for *everywhere* to a familiar and thereby specific type of entity, the impersonal use requires the restrictor to allow a generic subject reading within a broader specific location. Given the requirement for a locative restrictor for the impersonal reading, we can now be more specific about the quantificational domain of *everywhere*: *everywhere* quantifies over a set of all individuals in a given location. This is not the case in the institutional use for which a restrictor is not obligatory.

4.1.2   *'Everywhere' binding 'their'*

Further evidence that restricted *everywhere* denotes generic individuals comes from the choice of personal possessive pronoun bound by the impersonal subject, namely 3rd person *their*. This pronoun can be bound by non-referential/generic antecedents. Such usage is frequent with indefinite pronouns (37a) containing quantifiers and quantified nouns (37b), both of which can be understood with what Fodor and Sag (1982) call *quantifier interpretation* as opposed to a *referential interpretation*.

(37)   (a)   No one$_i$ felt that they$_i$ had been misled.   (Huddleston and Pullum 2002:493)

(b)   Every student$_i$ failed their$_i$ exam(s).

Everywhere binds *they* as well:

(38)   (a)   Everywhere in the world helps their family first and others second.

(b)   * Everywhere in the world helps its family first and others second.

(c)   * Everywhere in the world helps his/her family first and others second.

Both institutional and impersonal readings are ruled out in (38b) because individual countries cannot have families, yet individuals in countries can have families (cf. 38a). The pronoun *it* is incompatible with the impersonal use due to its generally [−HUMAN] behaviour. In contrast, we also see in (38c) that specific 3SG and [+HUMAN] pronouns *he/she* are also infelicitous.

Now, *they/their* alone is not a diagnostic of an impersonal reading, as the institutional use can bind both *their* and *it* (39). More accurately, we can say that 3SG pronouns such as *he/his, she/her, it/its* are ruled out in the impersonal use of *everywhere*. The exact factors governing the choice of pronoun in the institutional use are beyond the goals of this paper, but we suspect it relates to picking out a single entity or the entire set of entities for agreement.

(39)   Everywhere [every country] relies on its/their economy.

So while *everywhere* references a particular place, the indefinite to which the pronoun refers remains non-referential on account of the universal quantifier. Thus, *everywhere* requires *they* in the same way as any other indefinite pronouns, such as *everyone, everybody, somebody, nobody*. Indeed, if impersonal *everywhere* is based either diachronically or synchronically on metonymy of the type PLACE → INDIVIDUAL, as we believe, then this behaviour is expected. Thus, while selection of bound *they* is not a definitive indicator of the impersonal, it does contribute to an array of indications that the impersonal use is quantifying over a set of possible individuals in particular places.

4.2   Separating impersonal and institutional uses

Instances without bound anaphors can also show ambiguity. Distinguishing the individual and institutional readings can be context-based and subject to the speaker or hearer's interpretation of that context. Alternatively, the choice of verb can also have some impact.

In (40) we see that it makes more sense for individuals to disapprove of something than to forbid something in a wider public context. Swapping out canonical *everyone* for *everywhere*, we find that both examples are acceptable, but now a difference in meaning emerges: (41a) allows the reading of either 'every person' or 'every local authority'; the second instance, (41b), lends itself more clearly to an institutional reading.

(40)   (a)   Everyone in England disapproves of public displays of affection.

       (b)   ? Everyone in England forbids public displays of affection.

(41)   (a)   Everywhere in England disapproves of public displays of affection.   [individual/inst.]

       (b)   Everywhere in England forbids public displays of affection.   [institution]

In a potentially ambiguous sentence such as (41a), omission of the restrictor predictably removes the impersonal reading, leaving the only possible reading as institutional, (42). The exact nature of the restrictor is our next topic.

(42)   Everywhere disapproves of public displays of affection.   [institution]

4.3   Limitations on the restrictor

The experimental portion of this study demonstrated that speakers prefer an overt restrictor in order to get the impersonal reading of *everywhere*. During the pilot study, it became clear that some restrictors were better than others. In this section, we present two core characteristics of the restrictor:

(43)   **Generalizations about the restrictor in impersonal *everywhere***
       (a) The restrictor must denote an adequately large location.
       (b) The restrictor must be syntactically locative, like a PP or locative adverb.

We motivate each of these generalizations in turn.

4.3.1   Location size

A particularly striking feature of impersonal *everywhere* is that the locative restrictor must denote a geographical location of adequate size for the impersonal reading to be available. Cases in which restrictors refer to small and/or non-geographic locations are generally infelicitous (44a), while large locative restrictors like *in the county/state/country* or perhaps a known large city comprising many boroughs such as London or New York are felicitous (44b).

(44)   (a)   * Everywhere in the background/room/pub/village was celebrating.

       (b)   Everywhere in London/Yorkshire/Scotland/the world was celebrating.

This is likely linked to the fact that metonymy of places as individuals tends to denote inhabitants (Radden and Kövecses 1999, Littlemore 2017). While large locations can have inhabitants, small places like rooms or pubs do not host a population.

In the discussion above, we pointed out that an institutional use of *everywhere* showed fewer limitations, such as the optionality of the restrictor. Indeed, while "small" restrictors are generally infelicitous in the impersonal use, they are more acceptable within a very rich context in which small locations have their own quasi-institutional status. For example, consider a scenario in which many children are sitting at a set of different tables in a classroom and each table is working on a project. In this scenario, each table equates to a little institution, a working unit. In this context, the sentence in (45) seems felicitous to us; furthermore, in this case the restrictor becomes optional, as long as the context is linguistically or situationally rich enough.

(45)   Everywhere (in the front of the room) is making good progress.

We understand a requirement for a "large" restrictor for impersonal *everywhere* to be a semantic or pragmatic requirement; see the discussion of Brody (2013) in Section 6.2.2.[16] The degradedness of "small" restrictors appears to explain some outlying results in the pilot study. While it is clear that some relation holds with established patterns of metonymy (Radden and Kövecses 1999, Littlemore 2017), we leave detailed formal syntactic and semantic analysis of the construction as a whole for further work until we have a better understanding of the restrictor. In any case, the "large" restrictor appears necessary to induce a type of sort-shifting from location to (a group of) individuals, as opposed from location to institution (see work on sorts by Dölling 1992 and sort shifting and metonymy by Borschev and Partee 2001). If the processes involved in producing impersonal *everywhere* have in fact gone beyond a synchronic metonymy, i.e., if it is developing or has developed into a stand-alone construction of its own, then any synchronic sort-shifting will have translated into a the innovation of a selection constraint.

4.3.2   Restrictor type

For canonical indefinite pronouns such as *everyone*, aside from being optional, a restrictor can take the form of a PP or a relative of the type *who* or *that*. But considering the syntactic properties of the restrictor next, we see that while canonical *everyone* can take restriction by [+human] *who*, *everywhere* cannot:

(46)   (a)   Everyone who knows Mary loves her.

       (b)   * Everywhere who knows Mary loves her.

(47)   (a)   Everyone who's heard of Mother Teresa loves her.

       (b)   * Everywhere who's heard of Mother Teresa loves her.

The ungrammaticality of relative *who* may come down to the inability of an explicitly human relative element to be bound by a locative antecedent, indicating some syntax-semantics mismatch. In contrast, native consultants are somewhat more amenable to restriction via a *that*-relative, which does not require a human/animate referent. Consider first the sentences in (48).

(48)   (a)   Everywhere that has a royal family loves their queen.

       (b)   Everywhere that has a royal family loves its queen.

---

[16]The correct analysis for this particular constraint will likely be semantic rather than syntactic, since formalizing "big" as a syntactic feature strikes us as stipulative.

Consultants accept both these variants, yet given that both singular and plural 3rd person pronouns are available, we cannot make a definitively clear distinction between individual and institutional readings as the institutional allows both pronouns. Indeed, some speakers prefer *their* to *its* but consultants commented that their interpretation was akin to the collective love of each country in a set of possible countries. However, the objects *royal family* and *queen* are unlikely to involve a true generic impersonal and individual use of *everywhere* because it is more normal for countries as institutions to have royal families and queens than for individual subjects to speak of having queens. In support of this point, we find that trying to force an individual reading using *everyone* is degraded:

(49)   ? Everyone that has a royal family loves their queen.

A quantificational *that*-sentence such as (50a) with canonical *everyone* is acceptable on an individual reading, as is *everywhere* with a geographic PP restrictor (50b). However, attempting to use *everywhere* with a *that*-restrictor is again rejected (50c).

(50)   (a)   Everyone that has a house looks after/loves their garden.
          (b)   Everywhere in England looks after/loves their garden.
          (c)   * Everywhere that has a house looks after/loves their garden.

Further examples of *that*-restriction that do not easily set up institutional readings but also do not completely rule them out were considered heavily degraded by consultants. Nonetheless, these were not rejected as strongly as (50c).

(51)   (a)   Everyone that knows Mother Teresa helps the poor.
          (b)   ?? Everywhere that knows Mother Teresa helps the poor.

(52)   (a)   Everyone that's heard of Mother Teresa helps the poor.
          (b)   ?? Everywhere that's heard of Mother Teresa helps the poor.

In summary, preliminary evidence suggests that an individual reading is less readily available with *that*-restriction than with a geographic locative PP restrictor, if at all.

This short discussion has highlighted a further possible test for the impersonal use: both *everywhere* and *everyone* must be available. If the latter is unavailable or degraded, then the impersonal reading is unavailable. Furthermore, if *everywhere* cannot be used with a particular restrictor, then that restrictor appears to be incompatible with the individual impersonal use. While some insitutional readings are certainly available with both *that* and PP restriction, this observation can contribute to an emerging wider set of diagnostics.

4.4   Reordering effects

Let us now consider some final data on the syntax of *everywhere*. Although it was not included in the experiment, native speakers do permit a certain level or syntactic flexibility regarding the position of the restrictor. That is, in addition to a post-modifying position adjacent to the subject (53a), the restrictor can also surface in either a dislocated sentence-initial or sentence-final position (53b,c). This leads to the generalization that the PP is separable from *everywhere*.

(53)   (a) [everywhere] [in the UK] loves Marmite.
          (b) [in the UK][everywhere ~~in the UK~~ loves Marmite.
          (c) [everywhere] ~~in the UK~~ loves Marmite [in the UK].

An initial explanation for such reordering can be found in information structure. It is well established that information-structural needs are associated with word order variation (Rizzi 1997). In

(53b) the topicalized restrictor could be considered to encode either aboutness or a frame-setting function (Chafe 1976, Jacobs 2001); both of these effects are typically associated with an earlier position in the clause, above the canonical subject position (see Frey 2004, Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl 2007, Miyagawa 2017, Rizzi 2018, Sluckin et al. 2021, Sluckin 2021). Given the local relationship to *everywhere*, the preceding PP provides contextual control in the same way as the post-modifying restrictor. In contrast, in (53c) the restrictor falls in a sentence final position, which can be interpreted as a late focus position; English is well-known to place foci in a sentence final position, known commonly as *the principle of end focus* (Ross 1967, 1986, Quirk et al. 1985, Rochemont 1986). We assume that the PP has been dislocated from its original environment within a larger complex subject structure to an adjoined focus position, yet it is still inherently linked to *everywhere* and is not merely an adjunct. However, to confirm exactly how flexible the construction is and which information-structural interpretations are available in certain positions, future work should compare the acceptability of reordered restrictors and the strength of the facilitatory effect of the restrictor in different iterations.

Lastly, it is also impossible for the restrictor to occupy the subject position:

(54)   * In the UK loves Marmite everywhere.

This is significant only in that it shows that the true subject is *everywhere*, which requires the restrictor. Moreover, it fits into a wider picture in English that PPs can never act like subjects of transitive or unergative verbs, but can in unaccsuative instances of locative inversion (Stowell 1981, Bresnan 1994, Roberts 2010, Sluckin et al. 2021, Sluckin 2021). This is in contrast to locative impersonals in Brazilian Portuguese, for example, which place a locative PP in the subject position in lieu of a DP subject (Alexiadou and Carvalho 2017). We return briefly to the situation in Brazilian Portuguese in Section 6.2.2.

(55)   ... no   Brasil fala   inglês   muito bem
        ... in.the Brazil speaks English very   well
        '... in Brazil people speak English very well.'   (Alexiadou and Carvalho 2017:44)

4.5   Individual 'everywhere' is a subject

In the experimental and qualitative data presented so far we have documented use of *everywhere* as a subject. We also suspect that *everywhere* cannot receive a generic individual reading as a direct object. Consider the examples in (56)–(57). In (56a), for example, *everywhere* equates to generic individuals, i.e. *people on the coast*. In (56b), however, *everywhere* in object position does not allow any individual reading; it can only be understood adverbially.

(56)   (a)   Everywhere [people] on the coast eats Fish'n'Chips.
        (b)   Vengeful sea monsters eat everywhere [*people/in all places] on the coast.

(57)   (a)   Everywhere in Scotland waits eagerly for Burns Night.
        (b)   ? William Wallis helped everywhere in Scotland.
        (c)   * King James VI greeted/met everywhere in Scotland.

In instances of Exceptional Case Marking (ECM), the object of the initial verb is simultaneously the subject of the second part of the clause and is as such permissible with an individual reading of *everywhere*:

(58)   Thanks to constant news coverage, the Queen watched **everywhere** in the UK enjoying (their) street parties for the Jubilee celebrations.

These facts can be taken as evidence that *everywhere* must act as a syntactic subject in order to receive a generic individual reading. However, recall that *everywhere* as the syntactic subject of a passive was the worst performing condition in our experiment. It is possible that this relates to a requirement that *everywhere* be an Agent, i.e. a semantic subject as well as a syntactic one; yet our unaccusative and psych-verb conditions show that Themes are possible subjects for *everywhere*. The issue may come down to the fact that our passive condition was episodic, while most others were generic. Future work should test generic individual *everywhere* in both generic and episodic contexts.

Notably however, *everywhere* is also degraded as the semantic subject in passives within a *by*-phrase (59a). This is also possibly, at least in part, down to a conflict between the semantics and the syntax of subjecthood. But then again, the Agent in a *by*-phrase is syntactically restricted in English: the language lacks an impersonal passive, and impersonal *one* can never participate in a *by*-phrase (59b). There is some improvement of *everywhere* in a *by*-phrase with a psych-verb (59c), although it is still marked. We are unsure as to why *everywhere* in the by-phrase is potentially better with psych-verbs, but we leave investigation of this contrast for future work.

(59)   (a)   ?? Fish and Chips are eaten by everywhere in the UK.

(b)   * Fish and Chips are eaten by one.

(c)   ? In the 1970's, Winston Churchill was revered by pretty much everywhere in Britain.

In contrast to the facts for the individual reading, an institutional reading for *everywhere*, or other Q+*where* indefinite locative pronouns, is more amenable to use as the grammatical object, (60), although in this case restriction from a relative clause strongly improves the acceptability of the sentence.

(60)   The wholesalers sold their excess stock to everywhere/anywhere ?(that would take it).

Likewise, institutional *everywhere* seems to work better with a *by*-phrase, (61). Modification by a PP once again improves the sentence slightly.

(61)   Credit Cards are accepted by everywhere ?(with a card machine).

Further investigation of the full range of institutional uses of *everywhere* is outside the scope of this paper. Nonetheless, we take this as more evidence of the special status of the generic individual use of *everywhere*.

4.6   Summary

The [*everywhere* + restrictor] construction differs from the "institutional" use, in which a place or establishment is afforded subject-like properties via metonymy. Overall, a set of diagnostics are emerging, which when employed together can distinguish impersonal and institutional uses of *everywhere*. The impersonal use shows all in all a greater set of restrictions. In short, *everywhere* requires an explicitly locative and "large" PP restrictor; *everyone* should also be possible; and *everywhere* necessarily binds 3rd person *they/their*, which we believe to be akin to the singular non-referential use. In this final respect, impersonal *everywhere* mirrors the agreement and binding facts for the indefinite pronoun *everyone*, e.g., *everyone loves their mother*. All in all, this discussion contributes to the emerging picture that [*everywhere* + PP$_{\text{LOC}}$ restrictor] is a special construction in which a restricted locative quantifier may act as a generic subject.

Remaining questions include the exact nature of the restrictor, including the extent that it can be omitted given an appropriate context; how large it has to be; and how much agentivity has to be encoded in *everywhere*. We set these aside for future work, entertaining next the hypothesis that *everywhere* is a change in progress.

5   Variation and Change

We now turn to a discussion of the findings from a variationist and diachronic perspective. As reported, the study collected a number of demographic variables that typically inform us about the sociolinguistic behaviour and/or trajectory of a given variant, namely age, location, gender and education.[17] Coding the data for age allows us to make use of the apparent-time construct, a basic tenet of sociolinguistic analysis (Labov 1963, 1966, 1990, 1994). Generally speaking, if such a study finds a correlation between progressively younger age groups and higher acceptability of *everywhere*, it can be taken to infer a change in progress.

We first compare the sociolinguistic variation in the samples before moving on to a discussion of how one can model this change hypothesis in terms of phenomena linked to grammaticalization.

5.1   Sociolinguistic Variation across British and North American Englishes

In Section 3.3, we showed that both Age and Location are good predictors for the acceptance of the restricted impersonal *everywhere*. British English showed greater and increasing levels of acceptance for increasingly younger age groups, an effect that was less reliable in the sample of US/Canadian English speakers. Gender and Education were uninformative. What might be going on?

It is well known that English is a pluricentric language with multiple standards. While some linguistic innovations come to transcend distant speech communities, perhaps via popular media or social media (e.g. Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999, Buchstaller and D'Arcy 2009), different behaviour of different speech communities is expected in both sociolinguistic variation and change. With this in mind, let us now pay closer attention to each of the two samples.

5.1.1   British English

Looking first at the UK sample, the collated data by Age shown in Figure 15 and the Context-specific findings such as those in Figures 16, 17 and 18 show higher ratings for younger participants. If younger people really are more accepting of *everywhere* with a restrictor, then this phenomenon is an incoming variant: a change in the process of diffusing throughout the speaker population, undergoing incremental transmission from one generation to the next (see Labov 2007).

Whilst the patterning in British English may indicate a change, we did not find any effects of Gender or Education. From a sociolinguistic perspective, this is unexpected, as changes are usually led by upper working-class or middle class women (Labov 1990, 2001, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003).[18] Indeed, women are found to lead many changes "by up to a generation" (Labov 2001:516). However, generalizations from Labovian studies have often been based on phonological variants. The lack of Education/Class and Gender effects, however, indicates a relatively universal diffusion of the variant of impersonal *everywhere* in British English. We consider it possible that because impersonal *everywhere* involves both a syntactic and semantic component, it may be less strictly aligned with gender and class differences than changes in the phonological domain.

An alternative explanation invoking *age-grading* is less likely. In age-grading, an apparent generational change is in fact stable variation in the community, whereby each generation of individuals shifts its linguistic behaviour in the same way over the life span, often towards standard use in middle age (Labov 1994, 2001, Eckert 1997, Wagner 2012). This behaviour is notably associated with conscious style-shifting and correction involving variants/variables above the level of social awareness (Labov 1994:101). Yet post-hoc questioning of speakers in out study indicated a general unawareness

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[17]The latter as a rough indicator of socio-economic status.

[18]This tendency transcends types of change in that women tend to use incoming variants more frequently in both changes 'from above' involving socially salient variables or 'from below' where speakers are unaware of the variable (Labov 1990:213–218).

of the generic *everywhere* construction until it was made explicit. Impersonal *everywhere* thus operates system-internally and below the level of social awareness. So while age-grading is unlikely, we may have found a so-called *change from below* in progress in the UK.

5.1.2 North American English

In contrast to British English, participants from our small North American sample were slightly less accepting of the construction. We also failed to find an age-related preference for restricted impersonal *everywhere* among the youngest North American speakers. On its own, the North American sample is not immediately indicative of a change that is actively progressing.

As it stands, we lack the data to elucidate a change scenario in more empirical detail. Given the presence of the construction in both varieties, it is possible that the innovation has simply failed to 'get off the ground' in the same way in North America as it has in Britain. Overall, we cannot tell at this point whether the restrictor facilitates the metonymy, resulting in reanalysis, grammaticalization, or some related process; or whether a grammaticalization (or similar) process resulted in a requirement for a restrictor. This question brings us next to discussion of how the construction might have developed.

5.2 Change, reanalysis and grammaticalization

Given the age-related patterning in the British English sample, there is reason to believe that impersonal *everywhere* is establishing itself in the speech community. We would thus like to discuss a potential scenario for change. This discussion applies in part to the North America sample inasmuch as it may be desirable to posit an innovation, even if it may not be diffusing as actively as in British English. While we will not suggest an exact point at which the construction was innovated, as it is impossible for an apparent-time study, a relative lack of hits in historical and contemporary corpora suggests a recent innovation; this follows from the assumption that written language is more conservative than spoken language.

We suggest that [*everywhere* + restrictor] is in the process of becoming a stand-alone grammatical construction. In this section, we will show that the *everywhere* construction bears some hallmarks of changes associated with reanalysis and grammaticalization (and Constructionalization in Traugott and Trousdale's (2013) terms). We aim to show that characteristics familiar from known processes of change are present, without arguing for an exact subtype of grammaticalization.

Consider first a broad definition of grammaticalization as a change in which "a lexical unit or structure assumes a grammatical function, or where a grammatical unit assumes a more grammatical function" (Heine et al. 1991:2).[19] Notions such as "more" or "less" grammatical are not easily defined outside of typical morphosyntactic clines such as the one in (62). Indeed, the development of *everywhere* from an indefinite locative pronoun to an impersonal pronoun is a purely syntactic change involving reanalysis from one grammaticalized functional (closed class) category to another; it is orthogonal to the grammaticalization clines.

(62)   Lexical word > Grammatical word > Clitic > Affix

The fact that the source material is already functional overlaps with so-called *secondary grammaticalization*, the grammaticalization of functional material from other functional material (Givón 1991, Closs Traugott 2002); but then again, secondary grammaticalization is not the most appropriate term either (regardless of how it is formulated, e.g. Breban 2015).

We suggest in what follows that *everywhere* shows some reductive properties associated with grammaticalization, namely loss of syntactic freedom and a level of semantic bleaching. On the other hand,

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[19]Several definitions of grammaticalization are available (see discussions by Heine et al. 1991, Haspelmath 1998, Harris and Campbell 1995, Campbell 2000, Hopper and Traugott 2003, Roberts and Roussou 2003, Lehmann 2015, among others), not all of which are mutually compatible.

everywhere also shows syntactic and semantic *expansion* (Himmelmann 2004, Traugott and Trousdale 2010b, 2013). These facts make it difficult to treat *everywhere* as a case of typical grammaticalization, posing challenges for theories of language change.

5.2.1 Metonymy as a driver of change

We have already established that both the institutional and the impersonal uses of *everywhere* are related to two different types of metonymy by which one linguistic unit may stand in for another, i.e., X FOR Y (Radden and Kövecses 1999, Littlemore 2017). The impersonal use of *everywhere* appears linked to metonymic coercion of restricted *everywhere* from a place to a stand-in for its inhabitants. Such metonymic coercion of typical NPs denoting place names is commonplace. What is remarkable in the case of *everywhere* is that an indefinite pronoun consisting of a quantifier and a WH-word can also behave in this way. Indeed, the category of *where* is not immediately clear; it has properties akin to nouns, locative pronouns, and adverbs. An innovation will have involved speakers reanalysing metonymic use of the restricted construction *everywhere* as a single grammatical syntagm. This lends support to and draws on a well-established relationship between metonymy and a range of grammaticalization phenomena (e.g. Hopper and Traugott 2003:87–93).[20] In this sense, some renalaysis-driven rebracketing appears to have taken place, as in (63) (cf. Harris and Campbell 1995); that is, incorporation of two adjacent yet syntactically independent phrases into a single larger structure.

(63) (a) [*Everywhere*] [PP *in Britain*]

(b) [*Everywhere* [PP *in Britain*]]

5.2.2 Loss of syntactic freedom

A tell-tale sign of grammaticalization is a loss of syntactic freedom (Lehmann's 2015 [1995] "syntagmatic variability"). As reported in Section 4.5, we see just this for *everywhere* in its generic individual use, which can be a subject but not a direct object. This loss of syntactic freedom associated with development into an impersonal subject opens the door to a possible diachronic explanation for why promoted subjects in passives and *by*-phrases were resistant to the impersonal reading, as shown in Sections 3.2.5 and 4.5.

5.2.3 Semantic bleaching and expansion

Moving on, a further and straightforward similarity to grammaticalization is semantic bleaching of -*where* in the individual use (Sweetser 1988, Heine 2003, Hopper and Traugott 2003, Lehmann 2015).[21] While *where* canonically refers to places, in the observed use it does not. Instead, -*where* requires support from an overt locative PP; this suggests that some locative content has been retained yet it is not realized overtly, i.e. it has gone from an exponent to a requirement. This means that *everywhere* has not been totally bleached.

Simultaneously, -*where* appears to have gained both new semantic and syntactic content; *expansion* in the sense of Himmelmann (2004). On the semantic side, -*where* now refers to individuals. *everywhere* has also expanded to serve a new syntactic function as an impersonal and has gained new semantic properties in a requirement for a "large" geographic locative restrictor. This expansion appears tied to a metonymic process of synchronic coercion which facilitated the reanalysis of an indefinite locative pronoun to an individual generic subject construction with both a [+human] and

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[20]We remain agnostic on the exact causational relationship between metonymy and grammaticalization, yet there is little doubt that semantic changes and competing possible analyses can feed morphosyntactic changes.

[21]Semantic bleaching is also known as semantic reduction, semantic weakening (Heine 2003, Hopper and Traugott 2003), and desemanticization (Lehmann 2015).

secondary locative content.[22] Given the established relationship with metonymy in both synchronic and diachronic terms, we can view the newer [+human, +individual] properties of *-where* as the result of novel semanticization of the inference made via metonymy, in this particular context contributing to a new layered use of *everywhere*. From both a syntactic and semantic (and perhaps also pragmatic) perspective, *-where* has gained selectional properties of requiring not only a locative PP, but also one that is "large" enough in terms of the location size. Since *everywhere* is compatible with a range of locative preposition, e.g. *at, in, on*, other reductive morphological or phonological processes associated with later-stage grammaticalization phenomena (Heine et al. 1991, Heine 2003, Hopper and Traugott 2003, Lehmann 2015) remain absent. From a Construction Grammar perspective, such change could be classified as "Grammatical Constructionalization".

Formal-generative approaches would also need to reconsider their assumptions. Usually in such approaches, grammaticalization is considered to be reanalysis up or down hierarchical clause structure (e.g. Roberts and Roussou 2003, van Gelderen 2018). This is not obviously the case for impersonal *everywhere*.

In sum, we have shown that the restricted generic individual use of *everywhere* not only appears to be advancing in British English, but that its grammatical behaviour shows certain characteristics typical of grammaticalization-related phenomena in terms of both reduction and expansion, which following Traugott and Trousdale (2010a:3) need not be in opposition but rather refer to complementary processes affecting changes in morphosyntactic form, on the one hand, and changes in function on the other. Clearly, the latter is most relevant for the case of *everywhere*.

5.3   *Summary*

Individual *everywhere* can be considered an incipient impersonal structure which appears to be undergoing incremental transmission from one generation to the next in at least British English. We cannot offer any definitive answer with the current data as to why we find the same grammatical effects in North American English, but there the change has either stopped or is failing to diffuse; this is again a question we must leave open.

We have taken the incrementally higher acceptability ratings of impersonal *everywhere* in each younger group of UK speakers as an indication of change that goes beyond simple metonymy of the type LOCATION-NP → INDIVIDUALS. We have argued that [*everywhere* + PPLOCATIVE] shows several hallmarks of grammaticalization-related phenomena: loss of syntactic freedom, semantic bleaching, and syntactic and semantic expansion, which we understand as reanalysis at both the structural level and of the semantic and selectional properties of *where*. We have deliberately been unspecific about the most fitting classification for the change at hand since *everywhere* does not appear to sit on a classic grammaticalization cline or follow a prototypical trajectory. Depending on the theoretical framework and one's definition of grammaticalization, the *everywhere*-construction may represent different types of classifiable change with particular repercussions for the relevant theories. For instance, the combination of reductive and expanding properties of impersonal *everywhere* are a challenge for traditional approaches to grammaticalization, however conceptualized. We leave it to others to decide which exact diachronic treatment is best suited to *everywhere* and what ramifications that may have for whichever framework is applied.

6   A TYPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Both the use of *everywhere* as an institutional subject and especially [*everywhere* + locative restrictor] as a generic individual subject are striking for the reason that a purely locative construction takes on

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[22]We take reanalysis to be a necessary step in any grammaticalization process (Campbell 2000, but see Haspelmath 1998).

the properties of a generic individual. In this section, we investigate exactly how exceptional English is in this regard from both a system-internal and cross-linguistic perspective.

6.1 The locative subject in English

It is well known that locatives can show certain syntactic or even semantic subject-like properties in particular constructions in English. For example, in Locative Inversion (Stowell 1981, Bresnan 1994), a fronted PP resembles a subject, occupying a preverbal position (64a), giving rise to that-trace effects (64b), and binding tag-questions which take locative *there* rather than referring to the semantic low subject (64c).

(64) (a) Out of the cave came a mountain lion.

     (b) Out of which cave did you say (*that) came a mountain lion?

     (c) Out of the cave came a mountain lion, didn't there/*it?

Likewise, expletive constructions using *there*, an expletive use deriving from the locative adverb use which grammaticalized in Middle English (Breivik 1991), work in a similar way to Locative Inversion (Hartmann 2008, Sluckin 2021).

(65) Suddenly, there appeared a small boy.

Furthermore, in the so-called 'swarm' alternation (Dowty 2001), English NPs denoting locations may act as both the semantic and syntactic subject while the agent subject is relegated to a prepositional adjunct, (66). Like Locative Inversion, this subject-like behaviour of locatives is cross-linguistically well-attested (cf. Hoeksema 2009).

(66) (a) Bees were swarming in the garden.

     (b) The garden was swarming with bees.

However, unlike the *everywhere* construction, Locative Inversion, expletive *there*, and the swarm-alternation are subject to much stricter semantic and syntactic constraints. The former correlates strongly with unaccusatives and intransitive motion verbs more widely (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995, Sluckin 2021), while the latter is also most associated with intransitives of motion, emission, and sound (Dowty 2001:172). Although *everywhere* showed some resistance to passivization, it shows no resistance to transitivity. And it does not show the lexical-semantic or argument-structural syntactic constraints of other locative subject constructions.

Finally, impersonal *everywhere* differs from the aforementioned constructions in another crucial aspect: other locative-subject constructions all involve an apparently locative syntactic subject early in the clause, yet the semantic subject is present as an associate later in the clause. Impersonal *everywhere* is special because it fulfils both the role of syntactic and semantic subject.

In sum, from this short discussion, we may conclude that impersonal *everywhere* fits into a set of constructions in English in which a locative fulfils certain properties of a subject, yet *everywhere* goes further in its subject-like behaviour than others and is subject to less lexical-semantic restrictions. We now turn to locative impersonal subjects from a cross-linguistic perspective.

6.2 A cross-linguistic comparison

In this section, we briefly survey a selection of Romance and Germanic languages, showing that analogous uses of quantified indefinite locative pronouns are absent in different levels of geographically close and genetically related languages. We then turn to semi-analogous constructions in Brazilian Portuguese and Mandarin Chinese. This comparison informs the potential requirements for quantifier locative subjects to be able to function as impersonals.

6.2.1   *English among its neighbours*

In French (West Romance), Italian (East Romance), German (West Germanic), and Norwegian (North Germanic), indefinite locative pronouns with quantifiers such as *everywhere* cannot easily act as subjects.

Firstly, an impersonal generic individual use of *everywhere* is ungrammatical both with and without a restrictor in the surveyed languages. In (67), German, Norwegian, Italian, and French all require an impersonal pronoun to render the sentence grammatical and give rise to an impersonal reading: for Italian, insertion of impersonal clitic *si*; German and Norwegian use impersonal pronoun *man*, and French requires the impersonal pronoun *on*. While we do not provide examples of Welsh or other Celtic languages, no construction like [*everywhere* + PPLOCATIVE] is known to exist in Welsh; Welsh instead employs an impersonal form of the verb in such contexts, although PP-subjects are possible with copulas (David Willis, p.c.).

(67) (a)   Everywhere on the coast eats fish and chips.

     (b)   Überall   an der Küste isst *(man) Fischbrötchen.
              everywhere on the coast eats IMP.PN Fish-buns.
              'Everywhere on the coast, one eats fish buns.'   **German**

     (c)   Overalt   i Norge spiser *(man) fårikål.
              everywhere in Norway eats   (IMP.PN) fårikål.
              'Everywhere in Norway, one eats mutton and cabbage.'   **Norwegian**

     (d)   Ovunque   in Italia *(si)   mangia la pizza.
              everywhere in Italy IMP.PN eats   the pizza
              'Everywhere in Italy, one eats pizza.'   **Italian**

     (e)   Partout   (en France) *(on)   mange du   steak.
              everywhere (in France) (IMP.PN) eats   of.the steak
              'Everywhere in France, one eats steak.'   **French**

Equivalents of the English institutional reading are also ungrammatical in German, Norwegian, Italian, and French, regardless of a restrictor, (68).

(68) (a)   Everywhere (=every shop) takes Visa.

     (b)   * Überall   (in Deutschland) akzeptiert Visa.
            everywhere (in Germany)   accepts   Visa
            (int. 'Everywhere in Germany accepts Visa')   **German**

     (c)   * overalt   (i Norge) aksepterer Visa
            everywhere (in Norway) accepts   Visa
            (int. 'Everywhere in Norway accepts Visa')   **Norwegian**

     (d)   * Ovunque   (in Italia) accetta Visa
            everywhere (in Italy) accepts Visa
            (int. 'Everywhere in Italy accepts Visa')   **Italian**

     (e)   * Partout   (en France) accepte Visa
            everywhere (in France) accepts Visa
            (int. 'Everywhere in France accepts Visa')   **French**

We speculate that one reason these languages do not allow the respective versions of *everywhere* as a subject may be that none of the locative indefinite pronouns (*überall*,[23] *overalt*, *ovunque* or *partout*)

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[23]Negative or existential/free-choice indefinites such as *nirgendwo* 'nowhere' and *irgendwo* 'any/somewhere' do contain a 'where' element *wo*; nonetheless they do not work as impersonals. Perhaps their failure to develop as impersonals is linked to the entrenched role of impersonal pronoun *man*, while English *one* is more archaic and marked in spoken language, paving the road for innovated pronouns such as *everywhere* or Multicultural London English *man* (Cheshire 2013). It is also possible that *wo* is less N-like or that an *everywhere*-type pronoun is required first before the impersonal use can spread across the entire paradigm. We leave these questions open. Thanks to Nadine Dietrich and Ina Mangold for discussion.

can be decomposed into an independent Q-element equivalent to *every*, modified by a locative indefinite with noun-like properties, as is the case for *where*. Italian *ovunque* can be traced to Latin *ubī-[cum-que]* (where-each), which does resemble *everywhere* but the historical decomposition is inaccessible in Modern Italian. German *über-all*, Norwegian *over-alt* [*over* + *all*] and French *par-tout* [*through/by* + *all*] decompose into preposition + quantifier.

In sum, German, Norwegian, Italian and French cannot employ locative indefinite pronouns as generic individual subjects. However, looking further afield, the use of a locative construction along the lines of [*everywhere* + restrictor] as a key part of generic individual or impersonal structures is not without cross-linguistic precedent. We now turn to two specific instances in Brazilian Portuguese and Mandarin Chinese which resemble [*everywhere* + restrictor] in different ways.

6.2.2   Impersonal PPs in Brazilian Portuguese and implications for English

In Brazilian Portuguese (a partial null-subject language), a generic impersonal reading is licensed by a preposed overt locative without the presence of an overt generic subject pronoun. Consider the example in (69), given by Alexiadou and Carvalho (2017:44), with a fronted locative in an embedded generic clause:

(69)   João afirma que [no   Brasil fala   inglês   muito bem]
       João claims that in.the Brazil speaks English very   well

       'João claims that in Brazil people speak English very well.'

In such an embedded context, the fronted locative gives rise only to a generic reading in which people speak English well (rather than matrix subject *João*). However, if the locative is absent, then *João* is the subject of the embedded clause, i.e. *João* (and not people in general) speaks English very well. Alexiadou and Carvalho (2017) argue that the locative alone acts as the syntactic subject. The impersonal itself is taken to be implicit, i.e. semantic and not present as a silent syntactic component. They come to this conclusion on the basis that the impersonal cannot bind anaphors and is incompatible with subject-oriented adverbials, control into purpose clauses, unaccusative verbs, and individual-level verbs. In this sense, the locative generic impersonal in Brazilian Portuguese does not behave like the English *everywhere* construction; recall that we showed binding of anaphors, control, agent-oriented adverbials, and unaccusatives to all be compatible with impersonal *everywhere*. We did not test for differences between individual and stage-level predicates in English, yet we believe *everywhere* to be at least in part compatible with the former, as shown in (70).

(70)   Everywhere in Italy is generous with their time.

An interesting and especially relevant aspect of Alexiadou and Carvalho's (2017) argument draws on work by Brody (2013), who argues that locative PPs in English can introduce a silent person argument that is semantically but not syntactically active. The crux of this argument comes down to the universal impersonal reading of 3PL *they* after a locative PP, a reading unavailable without a locative PP (Brody 2013:34–35); note the contrast between the two sentences in (71). The sentence in (71a) is impersonal with *they* corresponding to people in Italy, or rather *they* refers to a covert semantic antecedent [PEOPLE] licensed by the PP; the lack of locative in (71b) removes an impersonal reading as a silent impersonal antecedent of *they* is unavailable.

(71)   (a)   In Italy they [people] like to take a nap in the afternoon.
       (b)   # They like to take a nap in the afternoon.

Thus, in Brazilian Portuguese the covert semantics is the source of the impersonal reading for Alexiadou and Carvalho (2017). Without going into the extended particularities of their analysis, Brazilian Portuguese allows for the PP to act alone as the subject in lieu of any overt subject DP. This is not possible in English, which can be taken as an argument against underlyingly true prepositional subjects in English (see also Bruening 2021, Sluckin 2021).

(72)   * In Italy speaks good English.

This line of argumentation employed by both Alexiadou and Carvalho (2017) and Brody (2013) is of consequence for impersonal *everywhere* from both a synchronic and diachronic perspective. If it is correct that locatives are capable of introducing a generic semantic argument, then it may explain why we see some limitations on the size of the depicted location in the restrictor; the sentence in (73a) takes an impersonal reading, while (73b) is infelicitous as an impersonal.

(73)   (a)   In Italy they like to take a nap in the afternoon.

      (b)   # In Italian restaurants they like to take a nap in the afternoon.

Furthermore, if we are correct that *everywhere* has been reanalyzed, a process likely facilitated by metonymy, then Brody's (2013) suggestions are particularly relevant. The assumption that a locative PP can license a covert impersonal is a potential part of the puzzle as to how a restricted version of *everywhere* could act as the impersonal subject. Given that *where* has both N- and P-like properties, it is a better candidate to act as syntactic subject than the lone PP. Thus if it is syntactically sufficient to be a subject, the addition of the locative PP may contribute to the felicity of the entire construction when acting as a non-locative subject. Assuming furthermore that this construction has undergone reanalysis (in some ways akin to grammaticalization), as argued in Section 5.2, it is perhaps the case that the covert semantic impersonal on the locative PP contributed to a reanalysis in which impersonal syntactic properties were reanalysed onto *where* itself, yet *where* alone still requires restriction via the locative PP to be felicitous.

6.2.3   An analogous construction in Mandarin Chinese

Mandarin Chinese shows two similar constructions to impersonal *everywhere*, whereby *dàochù* 'everywhere, around' and *měi ge dìfāng* 'everywhere' (lit. 'every CLF place') appear to act as an impersonal subject when restricted by a locative XP and the distributed universal quantifer *dōu* (roughly 'all', Szabolcsi et al. 2014). Typical uses of *dàochù* as an adverbial modifier and *měi ge dìfāng* as a locative nominal structure are given in (74)–(75).

(74)   Wǒ cóngxiǎo   jiù   xǐhuān dàochù   pǎo.
       I   from-young PTCL.ADV like   everywhere run
       'From the time I was young, I loved traveling everywhere.'

(75)   wǒ měi   ge   dìfāng dōu qù guò le.
       I   every CLF place   all   go ASP ASP
       'I have been to everywhere.'

A replication of the English pattern is shown next in (76)–(77). Some speakers can drop the quantifier *dōu*, albeit with slight degradation (Mingya Liu, p.c.), yet one consultant cannot. Given that *dàochù* does not contain a quantifier in and of itself, combination with *dōu* renders it more like the English *everywhere*. Both forms, restricted via *dōu* but without an overt locative restrictor, may act as impersonal subjects equivalent to *everywhere*; impersonal instances without *dōu* can also be found, (77c); we note that this example from the song *Zài zhèlǐ děng nǐ* 'Waiting for you here' by Taiwanese boy band F4 is considered improved by one consultant with addition of quantifier *dōu* and aspect marker *zài*. Future work could test the impersonal properties of *dàochù* and *měi gè dìfāng* with and without restriction via a locative PP and Q-element *dōu* in different combinations, in the same way that we have done for English.

(76) (a) Chéngshì lǐ dàochù   ? (dōu) zài qìngzhù shèngdàn jié.
           city   in everywhere (all) ASP celebrate Christmas
           'Everywhere in the city is celebrating Christmas.'

      (b) Xiànzài dàochù   dōu xǐhuān yòng :) Zhè-ge biǎoqíng.
           now   everywhere all like   use [:)] this   expression
           'Nowadays, everywhere likes to use the [:)] expression.'

      (c) Dàochù   dōu zài dú zhèběn shū.
           everywhere all ASP read this-CLF book
           'Everywhere is reading this book.'

(77) (a) Yìndù jīhū   měi gè dìfāng dōu zài qìngzhù.
           India almost every CLF place all ASP celebrate
           'In India almost everywhere is celebrating.'

      (b) Měi gè dìfāng dōu shuō zìjǐ dāngdì de wénzi   zuì měng.
           every CLF place all say self local POSS mosquito most ferocious
           'Everywhere says their own local mosquitos are the most ferocious.'

      (c) Měi gè ? (dōu zài) dìfāng děngzhe yùjiàn nǐ.
           every CLF (all ASP) place wait   meet you
           'Everywhere is waiting to meet you.'

The syntactic impersonal properties of *měi ge dìfāng* also mirror English *everywhere* in that it can act as an impersonal subject while inside a predicate. In the case of (78), *měi gè dìfāng* could be unsterstood simultaneously as the object of *ràng* 'let' and the subject of *zhīdào* 'know'. In this sense, the structure resembles English ECM or a German *lassen*-passive.

(78) Tā yě ràng měi gè dìfāng dōu zhīdào liúlí zhū.
      He also let   every CLF place all know   glass bead
      'He introduced everyone [everywhere] to glass beads.'

Given that Mandarin Chinese is a null-subject language, it is of course a challenge to determine if *dàochù* or *měi ge dìfāng* alone are taking on the impersonal role, or if they instead license a null impersonal subject in tandem with the restrictor, along the lines of the impersonal-inducing powers of locative PPs as argued by Brody (2013). Nonetheless, our consultants' intuition was that *dàochù* and *měi gè dìfāng* were indeed acting as the subject. In any case, the Mandarin pattern indicates some typological precedent beyond Germanic or Romance for *everywhere* to be able to quantify over individuals. Notably, *dàochù* can be deconstructed as a compound containing the verbal root *dào* 'arrive' and the locative noun *chù* 'place'. While *chù* may act as a standalone locative (79a), it is most common in compound locative nouns, e.g. *wúchù* 'nowhere' (not-have-place), *mǒuchù* 'somewhere' (some-place) and *zhùchù* 'residence' (lit. live-place). The rarity of standalone *chù* might be due to the general preference for disyllabic words in Mandarin (Sun Hongyuan, p.c.). The more complex *měi ge dìfāng* similarly contains the synonymous locative noun *dìfāng* 'place', which is far more common in standalone contexts on account of its disyllabic structure (79b).

(79) (a) Kàojìn luòshuǐ **chù** bīng miàn   gèng báo.
           Near   fall-water place ice surface more thin
           'Near the place/where they fell into the water, the ice was thinner.'

      (b) hǎobàng de   dìfāng a.
           excellent POSS place PTCL.MOD
           'This is a great place.'

It is fairly clear that *chù* 'place' in *dàochù* 'everywhere' and *dìfāng* 'place' in *měi ge dìfāng* 'everywhere' resemble the N-like properties of English *where*. However, the fact that both *chù* and *dìfāng* are more powerful locatives than *where* may be enough to induce the impersonal locative reading alone. That is, they can produce a location reading more easily than *where*, either as a lone noun, compounded or complex noun structure, or potentially *chù* as a classifier; in its classifier role, it precedes the noun it is classifying (80). There is no limitation on *chù* and *dìfāng* to occur with indefinites, as is the case with English *where* in any nominal form (excluding relatives); the limitations on English *where* appear to track back to a well-known relationship between wh-words and indefiniteness (see Haspelmath 1997).

(80)   yī   chù yí-zhǐ
       one CLF ruins-site
       'an archaeological site'

The improvement via both *dōu* and a locative PP may then be due to the effect of both elements making the location more specific, meaning that it is easier to reconstruct generic people in that location in a similar way to the restrictor in English *everywhere*. Building on this idea, note also the English contrast in (81) in which 'the World' or adverbial 'everywhere' are incapable of inducing an impersonal reading on *they* but 'in Germany' is. These facts may come down to the fact that 'the World' or adverbial 'everywhere' fail to adequately delimit the geographical domain. In short, if it is correct that both English and Mandarin show an impersonal use of *everywhere*, domain restriction is an important ingredient in both.

(81)   (a)   # In the world/everywhere, they air out their bedrooms in the morning.
       (b)   In Germany, they air out their bedrooms in the morning.

In sum, the apparent uses of *dàochù* and *měi ge dìfāng* as impersonal subjects lends support to the idea that when indefinite locatives of the *everywhere* type are used as impersonal subjects, an N-element is a facilitating factor; recall that the N-less equivalent in German, Norwegian, French and Italian were unable to take on or license an impersonal function. Ultimately, any hypothesis regarding the power of locative-N compounds akin to *everywhere* requires much wider testing than in six languages. All in all, there indeed appears to be something special about the ability of locative restrictors to license impersonals cross-linguistically, either overtly on an *everywhere*-type word or covertly as in Brazilian Portuguese.

7   CONCLUSION

In this paper, indefinite locative *everywhere* was argued to be an available impersonal subject in English when restricted by a locative PP. Quantitative and qualitative findings suggest a difference between an institutional use, apparently working at the level of metonymy, and the impersonal use. While the former does not appear to show semantic and syntactic restrictions on its use, the impersonal use was shown to stand out in that a generic individual reading is only available when *everywhere* is (a) restricted by a large geographic locative PP, and (b) acts simultaneously as the semantic and syntactic subject. We have not attempted a formal analysis, yet future theoretical work should aim to better understand the syntactic and semantic mechanisms at hand.

From a diachronic and variationist perspective, the apparent-time construct showed increased acceptance among younger generations of impersonal *everywhere* for speakers from the UK, perhaps indicating a change in progress. Notably, this was not the situation for participants from North America. We suggested that the UK data shows how the impersonal use has gone beyond metonymic coercion from PLACE → INDIVIDUALS, and has developed into a fully fledged impersonal. If correct, these proposals fit into a well-known link between metonymy and phenomena related to grammaticalization, reanalysis, and processes of change.

Finally, cross-linguistic comparison showed English to be exceptional among continental Romance and Germanic. On the other hand, data from Brazilian Portuguese and Mandarin Chinese gave typological support to the idea that locative arguments can be associated with impersonal interpretation. The interplay between quantification, nouns of place and locative PPs in both English and Mandarin speak to a more complex interaction at the syntax-semantics interface. Future theoretical work should investigate this interaction more thoroughly.

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A   APPENDIX: EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

This appendix contains additional details on our experimental setup. Full details can be found in the preregistration and the OSF repository. The current study was based on a pilot with slightly different materials. We had initially thought that *everywhere* was a feature of Solent English (spoken in the south of England), but the results from our UK control group ended up looking very similar to the Solent group. At that point we revised the hypothesis and contrasted the UK groups with a USA/Canadian sample, only to find that it too behaved similarly (with the more nuanced differences discussed in the main text).

The pilot study also suggested an additional hypothesis to the three of Section 2.1, H4:

H4   Impersonal *everywhere* is not acceptable with promoted subjects (passives and unaccusatives).

The status of promoted subjects was discussed in the main text. We found no support for this hypothesis regarding unaccusatives (or psych verbs), and inconclusive results for passives.

A.1 Materials

The experiment was run in two versions, a UK one and a US/Canadian one, which differed minimally from one another.

Items were constructed by crossing three conditions: ±Where (*everywhere* vs *everyone*), ±Restrictor and Context (the syntactic and semantic diagnostics). Two lists were created, such that Where and Restrictor were counterbalanced per item.

The 10 levels of Context were spread across 20 items. For example, the level Adverb consisted of three different items (lexicalizations, or variants on the same diagnostic).

Six gold standard control items were added as fillers, consisting of three grammatical and three ungrammatical examples with *everywhere* (two items) and *nowhere* (one item).

In total, the 2x2x10 design (+/- Restrictor, +/- Where, and 10 levels of Context) with six controls resulted in two lists of 46 trials each.

A.1.1 ±Where

In order to contrast impersonal *everywhere* with standard impersonal *everyone*. The expectation was that the –Where variant would be at ceiling across condition, with the +Where variant dispreferred in comparison given that it is substandard. The basic contrast looks as in (82), ignoring whether an overt Restrictor was given or not.

(82) (a) Everyone (on the coast) eats fish and chips.   [–Where]
      (b) Everywhere (on the coast) eats fish and chips.   [+Where]

A.1.2 ±Restrictor

The Restrictor condition contrasted usage of bare *everywhere* (83a) with that of *everywhere* combined with an overt "restrictor" (83b). The basic contrast looks as in (83), ignoring the value of ±Where.

(83) (a) Everywhere/Everyone eats fish and chips.   [–Restrictor]
      (b) Everywhere/Everyone on the coast eats fish and chips.   [+Restrictor]

A.1.3 Context

The last condition, Context, spanned ten different syntactic and semantic contexts meant to probe the grammatical behavior of *everywhere* (Williams 1987, Koenig and Mauner 2000, Williams 2015, Bhatt and Pancheva 2017). The first set of contexts contained simple transitive constructions, agent-oriented adverbs (following the literature discussed earlier), and different kinds of modal constructions. The next set of contexts examined whether *everywhere* was a frozen construction or decomposable to *every*+*where*. The third set of contexts tested whether *everywhere* behaves like a full DP in that it can antecede a pronoun; bind a possessive, reflexive or reciprocal pronoun;, and control. The last set tested subjects which are not typical agents or causers, namely undergoers of psych-predictaes, and subjects of passive and unaccusative verbs (both motion and change of state). Examples were given together with the results in the main text.

A.2 Participants

Participants were recruited from three regions. Since our initial hypothesis was that this feature is unique to the variety of English spoken along the Solent in southern England (around Southampton and Portsmouth), we recruited speakers from this area via social networks and word of mouth. All volunteered their time. A control group was created by recruiting speakers from other parts of the UK on Prolific, who were paid £1.5 for participation. As it became clear that there was little difference

between the UK groups, we sampled a smaller control group of US and Canadian participants on Prolific, who were likewise paid £1.5 for participation.

Demographic information was collected for participants' age, gender, level of education and geographical region (the first part of the postcode of the participant's childhood home for the UK; state or province for US/Canada).

Table 4: *Final Ns after exclusions (three groups).*

		Solent	General UK	US/Canada
		224	115	68
Gender	Female	153	71	37
	Male	71	44	25
	Other / N/A	0	0	6
Age	18–29	18	17	31
	30–49	67	55	21
	50–69	118	27	16
	70+	21	16	0

A.3   Procedure

Participants rated the acceptability individual sentences on a 7-point Likert scale. The leftmost radio button was labeled "least acceptable" and the rightmost one "most acceptable". Materials were presented visually using PCIbex (Drummond n.d, Zehr and Schwarz 2018). Three practice trials preceded the main experiment, in which the order of trials was randomized.

A.4   Analysis

Responses were z-transformed into a continuous variable and fed to a maximal mixed effects linear regression in R (Baayen et al. 2008).

Participants were removed from analysis if their responses on the gold standard items are, on average, more than 2 SDs away from the mean ratings across all participants.

The levels of Context were compared the gold standard grammatical and ungrammatical examples, as well as to each other in post-hoc analyses. Age, gender and level of education were added (separately) as covariates. Age and level of education were Helmert coded, such that each group was compared to the mean of the following ones (e.g. 18–29 vs. all older, or undergraduate education vs. all more advanced degrees). Analyzing additional geographic distributions lies beyond the scope of the current paper. As noted in the original text, predictors significant at the $p<0.05$ level are given in Table 5, although we encourage readers to explore the publicly available data themselves, rather than rely on notions of "significance".

Table 5: *Significant predictors from the regression model including Context.*

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)	−1.581	0.0083	19.104	<0.001
Region				
All Conditions				
All ages				
Restrictor:Conditionadverb	1.904e-01	8.380e-02	2.273	0.023077 *
Restrictor:Conditionanywhere	2.474e-01	1.212e-01	2.041	0.041318 *
Restrictor:Conditionbinding	2.368e-01	8.380e-02	2.826	0.004724 **
Restrictor:Conditioncontrol	2.424e-01	1.203e-01	2.014	0.044004 *
Restrictor:Conditionmodal	3.977e-01	7.803e-02	5.097	3.52e-07 ***
Restrictor:Conditionnowhere	4.183e-01	1.203e-01	3.476	0.000512 ***
Restrictor:Conditionpass	3.780e-01	1.203e-01	3.141	0.001691 **
Restrictor:Conditionpsych	4.315e-01	1.203e-01	3.586	0.000338 ***
Restrictor:Conditionsomewhere	2.552e-01	1.212e-01	2.106	0.035260 *
Restrictor:Conditionunacc	4.891e-01	9.318e-02	5.249	1.56e-07 ***
RegionUS:Conditionadverb	-4.459e-01	1.396e-01	-3.195	0.001403 **
RegionUS:Conditionanywhere	-6.551e-01	2.135e-01	-3.068	0.002159 **
RegionUS:Conditionbinding	-4.674e-01	1.396e-01	-3.349	0.000813 ***
RegionUS:Conditioncontrol	-3.256e-01	1.840e-01	-1.769	0.076878 .
RegionUS:Conditionmodal	-4.328e-01	1.279e-01	-3.384	0.000716 ***
RegionUS:Conditionpsych	-6.633e-01	1.840e-01	-3.604	0.000315 ***
RegionUS:Conditionsimple	-4.662e-01	2.135e-01	-2.183	0.029022 *
RegionUS:Conditionsomewhere	-4.288e-01	2.135e-01	-2.008	0.044647 *
RegionUS:Conditionunacc	-4.114e-01	1.536e-01	-2.679	0.007400 **
Conditionadverb:Age18-29vs	1.098e-01	4.057e-02	2.707	0.006810 **
Conditionanywhere:Age18-29vs	1.365e-01	6.105e-02	2.235	0.025423 *
Conditionbinding:Age18-29vs	1.073e-01	4.057e-02	2.645	0.008181 **
Conditioncontrol:Age18-29vs	1.372e-01	5.453e-02	2.516	0.011869 *
Conditionpsych:Age18-29vs	1.807e-01	5.453e-02	3.314	0.000924 ***
Conditionsimple:Age18-29vs	1.827e-01	6.105e-02	2.993	0.002772 **
Conditionunacc:Age18-29vs	9.397e-02	4.478e-02	2.098	0.035890 *
Conditionadverb:Age30-49vs	1.345e-01	3.825e-02	3.517	0.000438 ***
Conditionanywhere:Age30-49vs	1.272e-01	5.188e-02	2.451	0.014250 *
Conditionbinding:Age30-49vs	8.786e-02	3.825e-02	2.297	0.021635 *
Conditionmodal:Age30-49vs	1.050e-01	3.621e-02	2.900	0.003736 **
Conditionpsych:Age30-49vs	1.842e-01	5.834e-02	3.157	0.001599 **
Conditionsimple:Age30-49vs	1.915e-01	5.188e-02	3.692	0.000224 ***
Conditionunacc:Age30-49vs	1.202e-01	4.307e-02	2.791	0.005267 **
Conditionadverb:Age50-69vs	2.218e-01	8.205e-02	2.703	0.006887 **
Conditionanywhere:Age50-69vs	3.823e-01	1.087e-01	3.518	0.000436 ***
Conditionbinding:Age50-69vs	1.685e-01	8.205e-02	2.054	0.039968 *
Conditionmodal:Age50-69vs	1.418e-01	7.825e-02	1.813	0.069925 .
Conditionnowhere:Age50-69vs	2.194e-01	1.305e-01	1.681	0.092805 .
Conditionpsych:Age50-69vs	2.530e-01	1.305e-01	1.939	0.052576 .
Conditionsimple:Age50-69vs	2.273e-01	1.087e-01	2.092	0.036470 *
Conditionunacc:Age50-69vs	1.730e-01	9.282e-02	1.863	0.062425 .
Restrictor:Conditionpass:Age18-29vs	1.380e-01	8.229e-02	1.677	0.093536 .
Restrictor:Conditionantecedent:Age30-49vs	1.622e-01	7.756e-02	2.091	0.036561 *
Restrictor:Conditionbinding:Age30-49vs	1.025e-01	5.424e-02	1.890	0.058780 .
Restrictor:Conditionantecedent:Age50-69vs	3.982e-01	1.682e-01	2.367	0.017953 *
Restrictor:Conditionanywhere:Age50-69vs	-4.547e-01	1.694e-01	-2.684	0.007293 **
RegionUS:Conditioncontrol:Age18-29vs	-1.735e-01	9.094e-02	-1.908	0.056470 .
RegionUS:Conditionantecedent:Age30-49vs	4.251e-01	1.429e-01	2.975	0.002936 **
Restrictor:RegionUS:Conditionpass:Age18-29vs	-3.071e-01	1.413e-01	-2.173	0.029770 *