Defaults and Gaps: The Mystery of the Neuter in Lithuanian*

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1 Introduction

In this talk, we explore the relationship between defaults and gaps through the lens of the morphosyntax of Lithuanian (Baltic) neuter adjectives.

- There are two types of situations that lead to the insertion of defaults (Corbett and Fraser 2000):
  - **Normal case default**: a rule that applies generally (e.g., the most productive rule):
    1. English past tense *-ed*
    2. English plural *-s*
  - **Exceptional case default**: 'a rule that applies to anomalous items that would fall between the cracks':
    1. Default Case Assignment (Schütze 2001) in the absence of a case assigner
    2. Spanish Spurious *se* (e.g. Bonet 1991)
- Various types of operations/principles/mechanisms can be used to derive these types of defaults:
  - Elsewhere Condition (e.g., Halle 1997)
  - Impoverishment (e.g., Halle and Marantz 1993; Halle 1997)
  - Feature Insertion (e.g., Schütze 2003; Farkas 1990)

We provide evidence from Lithuanian neuter adjectives suggesting that *exceptional case defaults* can give rise to morphological gaps, and shed light on the mechanisms that are responsible for this relationship.

- Neuter adjectives in Lithuanian can appear in a nominative environment and function like predicative adjectives (PAs) as in (1a) when the subject also bears neuter.
- Neuter adjectives can also appear in *exceptional case default environments* e.g., when the subject is not projected as in (1b) (Adamson and Šereikaitė 2019).

(1) a. Viskas buvo tams-ù.
everything.N.NOM was dark-N.NOM
'Everything was dark.' **Canonical Agreement**

b. (Lauke) tams-ù
(outside) dark-N.NOM
'It is dark (outside).' **Default Environment**

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- However, neuter PAs have only a nominative form; no other case form is possible.

		NOM	ACC	GEN	DAT	INS	LOC
M	SG	*tams-ùs*	*taműs-ų*	*tams-aũs*	*tams-iám*	*tams-iù*	*tams-iamè*
	PL	*taműs-ūs*	*tams-iùs*	*tams-ių̃*	*tams-íems*	*tams-iaĩs*	*tams-iuosè*
F	SG	*tams-ì*	*taműs-ią*	*tams-iõs*	*tãms-iai*	*tams-ià*	*tams-iojè*
	PL	*taműs-ios*	*tams-iàs*	*tams-ių̃*	*tams-ióms*	*tams-iomìs*	*tams-iosè*
N		*tams-ù*	*				

Table 1: *-us/-i* declension of the adjective *tamsus* 'dark'

- Thus, the neuter nominative can act as a default in nominative environments as in (1b), but is not available in other case environments. This is a **morphological gap**, leading to *morphological ineffability* (e.g. Arregi and Nevins 2014; Mendes and Nevins 2022).

This talk:

(i) Following Adamson and Šereikaitė (2019), neuter corresponds to the absence of gender features in Lithuanian.

(ii) Default neuter PAs necessarily correspond to the realization of some set of features/nodes rather than their complete absence (i.e., **the default is not 'nothing'!**)

– This is accomplished via neuter Vocabulary Items **being specified for nominative case** as in (2c)(which can be inserted postsyntactically for default environments), rather than being completely unspecified as in (3).

(2) a. *a*Infl[MASC][NOM] ↔ -us (tams-us 'dark.M.SG.NOM')
b. *a*Infl[FEM][NOM] ↔ -i (tams-i 'dark.F.SG.NOM')
c. ***a*Infl[NOM] ↔ -u (tams-u 'dark.N.NOM')**

(3) ✗*a*Infl [...] ↔ -u (tams-u 'dark-N.NOM') not possible for Lithuanian!

(iii) **Exceptional case defaults can give rise to a morphological gap**: this can arise when the least specified Vocabulary Item is nevertheless 'too specific', see Table 1.

Roadmap

-Section 2: Background on Neuter Pronouns and Adjectives in Lithuanian
-Section 3: Morphological Gap in various environments
-Section 4: Analysis
-Section 5: Concluding Remarks

2 Background on Neuter Pronouns and Adjectives in Lithuanian

- Lithuanian has been reported to have three (adjectival) genders: masculine, feminine, and neuter (Ambrazas et al. 1997:134).

(4) a. Ežeras buvo tams-us.
lake.M.NOM.SG was dark-M.SG.NOM
'The lake was dark.'

b. Upė buvo tams-i.
river.F.NOM.SG was dark-F.SG.NOM
'The river was dark.'

c. Viskas buvo tams-ù.
everything.N.NOM was dark-N.NOM
'Everything was dark.'

- The neuter, however, is unusual. There are *no lexical nouns* with inherent neuter gender, only pronouns and quantifier-like elements (cf. other languages with three genders, such as Greek):

(5) Neuter pronouns: ***taĩ*** ('it, this'), ***viskas*** - 'everything', *šitaĩ* ('it, this'), *víena/kìta* ('one/another' for events), *vìsa/ vìsa taĩ* ('everything'), *kas* ('what'), *kažkas* ('something'), *niekas* ('nothing')

→ Because there are no neuter lexical nouns in the language, there are **no attributive neuter adjectives**.[1]

- Neuter pronouns can occur in different case positions and in different case forms.

	viskas- everything.N
NOM	visk-as
ACC	visk-ą
GEN	visk-o
DAT	visk-am
INS	visk-uo
LOC	visk-ame

Table 2: Paradigms of *taĩ* and *viskas*

- Neuter adjectives are available for declension classes: ***-as/-a*** **and** ***-us/-i***.[2]

- Neuter adjectives only have **a nominative form**. See Table 1 for *-us/-i* and Table 3 for *-as/-a* declension class.

		NOM	ACC	GEN	DAT	INS	LOC
M	SG	*gẽr-as*	*gẽr-ą*	*gẽr-o*	*ger-ám*	*ger-ù*	*ger-amè*
	PL	*ger-ì*	*ger-ùs*	*ger-ų̃*	*ger-íems*	*ger-aĩs*	*ger-uosè*
F	SG	*ger-à*	*gẽr-ą*	*ger-õs*	*gẽr-ai*	*ger-à*	*ger-ojè*
	PL	*gẽr-os*	*ger-às*	*ger-ų̃*	*ger-óms*	*ger-omìs*	*ger-osè*
N		*gẽr-a*	*				

Table 3: *-as/-a* declension of the adjective *geras* 'good'

- Neuter nominative PAs occur in **TWO** main syntactic environments:

(i) **Copular constructions** with a nominative neuter pronoun subject, as above in (4c).

[1] As discussed by Adamson and Šereikaitė (2019), even with nouns that arguably are assigned default gender e.g., an interjection, a neuter attributive form is ungrammatical with the masculine form being used instead. Also as discussed by Adamson and Šereikaitė (2019) fn.24, neuter pronouns can occur with postnominal adjectives; they suggest that these adjectives are PAs within reduced relative clauses, as supported by the inability for them to be stacked.

[2] The *-is/-ė* lacks a neuter form; we set this to the side.

(ii) **Default Nominative environments** where subject features are not accessible for agreement, including weather predicates as in (6) and infinitival subjects as in (7) (Adamson and Šereikaitė 2019).

(6) (Lauke) tams-ù.
(outside) dark-N.NOM
'It is dark (outside).'

(7) [Pavargti už tėvynę] (yra) graž-ù.
suffer.INF for homeland.ACC be.PRS.3 beautiful-N.NOM
'To suffer for one's homeland is beautiful.' (adapted from Ambrazas et al. 1997:643)

- SUM UP: Neuter PAs have a nominative form, and exhibit default behavior.
  - EXPECTATION: If neuter nominative PAs can exhibit default behavior in nominative environments, they may be expected to be available in **non-nominative (including default) environments** in the absence of more specific forms. This is not borne out as we show below.

3 The GAP: no neuter PAs in non-nominative environments

In this section, we demonstrate a striking GAP with neuter adjectives.

- **GAP:** In non-nominative environments where we would expect neuter:
  - Neuter nominative PA forms are ungrammatical.
  - No other form of a PA is possible in such environments, either, resulting in *morphological ineffability*.
- **CONTRAST:** The examples become grammatical if the predicate is **nominal** rather than **adjectival**.
  - This indicates that the locus of the problem with the ungrammatical examples is **the neuter PA**. See Appendix A for alternative approaches.

3.1 Accusative/Instrumental

- Causative 'make' constructions require agreement between object causees and resultative adjectives in gender and number. When it comes to case, PAs in this environment may inflect for either accusative (8a), in agreement with the accusative causee, or for instrumental (8b).

(8) a. Turizmas padarė šį miestą **populiar-ų**.
Tourism.M.SG.NOM make-PST.3 this city.M.SG.ACC popular-M.SG.ACC
'Tourism made this city popular.'

b. Turizmas padarė šį miestą **populiar-iu**.
Tourism.M.SG.NOM make-PST.3 this city.M.SG.ACC popular-M.SG.INS
'Tourism made this city popular.'

- **GAP**: Neuter pronouns cannot occur with resultative adjectives regardless of the form of the adjective as in (9), resulting in **ineffability**.[3]

[3] (9b) is also ungrammatical with feminine inflections of the adjective in both accusative and instrumental.

(9) a. Tai laikais viskas buvo **populiar-u**.
those times, everything.N.NOM be.PST.3 popular-N.NOM
'In those days, everything was popular.'

b. *Tai laikais turizmas padarė viską
those times tourism make.PST.3 everything.N.ACC
populiar-ų/-iu/-u.
popular-M.SG.ACC/-M.SG.INS/-N.NOM
' In those days, tourism made everything popular.'

- **CONTRAST:** The example is grammatical when neuter pronouns occur in the same environment with a nominal predicate. Importantly, the nominal predicate does not agree with the causee in gender, number, and case.

(10) a. Turizmas padarė miest-ą **tikrà betvarkè**.
tourism.M.SG.NOM make.PST.3 city.M.SG.ACC real.F.SG.INS mess.F.SG.INS
'Tourism made the city into a real mess.'

b. Turizmas padarė viską **tikrà betvarkè**.
tourism.M.SG.NOM make.PST.3 everything.N.ACC real.F.INS.SG mess.F.SG.INS
'Tourism made everything into a real mess.'

- Here is an additional example with the causative predicate *paversti* 'to turn to'.

(11) Ši revoliucija pavertė viską **niekais**.
this revolusion.F.NOM.SG turn.PST.3 everything.N.ACC nothing.PL.INS
'This revolution turned everything into nothing.'

3.2 Genitive

Genitive of Negation

- Lithuanian exhibits Genitive of Negation (Sigurðsson and Šereikaitė 2024), whereby an object that would otherwise bear accusative case instead becomes genitive. Inherent case is always retained.

(12) Jie valgė daržoves.
they.NOM eat.PST.3 vegetables.ACC
'They ate vegetables.'

(13) Jie ne-valgė daržov-ių/*-es.
they.NOM NEG-eat.PST.3 vegetables-GEN/-ACC
'They didn't eat vegetables.'

- **GAP:** In (14), the masculine object becomes genitive when negation is present, with the resultative adjective allowing agreement in genitive (or is inflected with the instrumental). In (15), the neuter object pronoun is also genitive, but the resultative form is ungrammatical.

(14) Turizmas ne-padarė šio miesto **populiar-aus/-iu**.
tourism.M.SG.NOM NEG-make.PST.3 this city.M.SG.GEN popular-M.SG.GEN/-M.SG.INS
'Tourism didn't make this city popular.'

(15) *Turizmas ne-padarė visko
tourism.M.SG.NOM NEG-make.PST.3 everything.N.GEN
populia{-aus/-iu/-u...}.
popular.[M.SG.GEN]/-[M.SG.INS]/-[N.NOM]
'Tourism didn't make everything popular.'

- **CONTRAST**: The example with the neuter pronoun becomes grammatical in this environment when the predicate is nominal as in (16).

(16) a. Turizmas ne-padarė miesto **tikra** **betvarke**.
tourism.M.SG.NOM NEG-make.PST.3 city.M.SG.GEN real.F.SG.INS mess.F.SG.INS
'Tourism didn't turn the city into a real mess.'

b. Turizmas ne-padarė visko **tikra** **betvarke**.
tourism.M.NOM.SG NEG-make.PST.3 everything.N.GEN real.F.SG.INS mess.F.SG.INS
'Tourism didn't turn everything into a real mess.'

- Here is an addtional example with the causative predicate *paversti* 'to turn.'

(17) Ši revoliucija vos ne-pavertė visko **niekais**.
This revolution almost NEG-turn.PST.3 everything.N.GEN nothing.SG.INS
'This revolution almost turned everything into nothing.'

Evidentials with Genitive Subjects

- Lithuanian has non-finite evidential constructions with a genitive subject, which agrees with a PA in gender, number, and case as in (18a) (Lavine 2006, 2010; Legate et al. 2020).
- **GAP:** When a neuter pronoun appears in the subject of an evidential construction with a PA, the sentence becomes ungrammatical (18b).

(18) a. Medžių bū-t-a **stor-ų**.
tree.M.GEN.PL be-PPP-[-AGR] thick-[M.PL.GEN]
'The trees must have been thick.'

b. *Tais laikais visko bū-t-a
those times everything.N.GEN be-PPP-[-AGR]
nuostab-u/-aus/-ios.
wonderful-[N.NOM]/-[M.SG.GEN]/-[F.SG.GEN]
'In those times, everything must have been wonderful.'

- **CONTRAST:** The neuter pronoun can occur in the evidential when there is no PA.

(19) Juk kiekvieno jaunystėje visko bū-t-a.
of.course each youth.LOC everything.N.GEN be-PPP-[-AGR]
'And of course a lot of things must have happened in each of our youths.'

3.3 Dative

Dative with 'Let'

- **GAP:** 'Let' takes dative objects, and PAs agree in DAT with these objects. (PAs in this position may also appear in INS.) Neuter pronouns are ungrammatical in this context with agreeing predicates.

(20) Tai leidžia maistui būti sveik-esn-iam ir skan-esn-iam.
That let.PRS.3 food.M.SG.DAT be.INF healthy-CMPR-M.SG.DAT and tasty-CMPR-M.SG.DAT
'That lets the food be healthier and tastier.'

(21) ??Tai leidžia viskam būti sveik-iau ir skan-iau.
That let.PRS.3 everything.N.DAT be.INF healthy-CMPR.N.NOM and tasty-CMPR.N.NOM
'That lets everything be healthier and tastier.'

- **CONTRAST:** However, this type of example becomes grammatical when the predicate is nominal.

(22) Meditavimas yra menas leisti viskam būti pačia giliausia prasme.
meditation.NOM is art.NOM let.INF everything.N.DAT be.INF most deepest meaning.F.SG.INS
'Meditation is the art of letting everything have the deepest meaning.' (internet example)

3.4 Non-Nominative Default Environments

- As discussed above, neuter PAs can occur in what we consider an *exceptional case default environment*, for example, when features of a subject are not available for agreement e.g., as in (23) (Adamson and Šereikaitė 2019). The nominative neuter form is the default here.

- However, neuter PAs cannot be used as default forms in non-NOM environments as in (24), resulting in ineffability.

(23) (Lauke) yra tams-ù.
outside be.PRS dark-N.NOM
'It is dark (outside).'

(24) *Lauke bū-t-a tams-ù.
outside be.[PPP-AGR] dark-N.NOM
'It must have been dark outside.'
Genitive of Evidential Environment

See Appendix B for an additional environment.

3.5 Summary

- Masculine (M) and feminine (F) PAs that agree with a M or F nominal allow all case forms.
- Neuter (N) PAs cannot occur in non-NOM environments, even though N shows default properties.

	M/F PA	N PA	
Nominative Copular	✓	✓	Agreement with a nominal
Accusative/Instrumental Causative	✓	✗	
Genitive of Negation	✓	✗	
Genitive of Evidential	✓	✗	
Dative *let*	✓	✗	
Non-Nominative Default		✗	Exceptional Case Default
Nominative Default		✓	

Table 4: PAs in different case environments

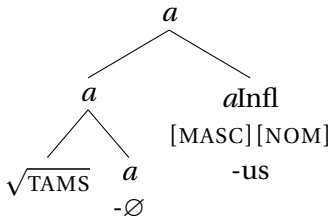
4 Analysis: Capturing the Morphological Gap Behavior

- Neuter PAs have a nominative form. They exhibit a morphological gap, lacking non-nominative forms, recall (Tables 1, 3 & 4).
- They exhibit morphosyntactic default behavior, but ONLY in default nominative environments.
  - This is **unexpected** if nominative is underspecified or if its features are a subset of other cases.
- Nominative is indeed the 'default' case in the language: it occurs in situations where no case assigner is present (Lavine 2010).[4] Here is an example with a modified pronoun:

(25) Aš noriu atrasti savo tikrąjį {'aš'/*mane}.
I.NOM want.PRS.1SG discover.INF self.GEN real.ACC I.NOM/*ACC
'I want to discover the real 'me'.'

- We offer an account couched within the Distributed Morphology (DM) framework (Halle and Marantz 1993, a.o.), and assume a decomposition of adjectives along the lines of (26),where an inflectional morpheme *a*Infl bears gender, number, and case features received via agreement/concord.[5]

(26) *tams-us* - dark-M.SG.NOM

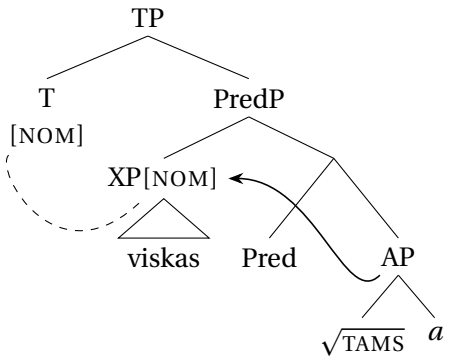


4.1 Canonical Agreement with a neuter pronoun

- In (27), the PA agrees with the neuter pronoun, which bears nominative case.

(27) Viskas buvo tams-ù.
everything.N.NOM was dark-N.NOM
'Everything was dark.'

(28)

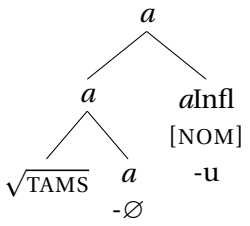


[4] We assume that nominative can be a case assigned in syntax e.g., by a finite T (Šereikaitė 2020).

[5] We set declension class and number to the side. As far as number is concerned, our account would be compatible with the representation of singular number for masculine and feminine nouns as a feature [SG] (either privative or not) being transmitted to masculine/feminine PAs. However, we do not represent number features here. As far as neuter PAs are concerned, we believe they have no value for number, as is also the case for neuter pronouns (see Adamson and Šereikaitė 2019 for discussion).

- Neuter corresponds to the absence of masculine and feminine gender features (Adamson and Šereikaitė 2019). This reflects the fact that no lexical nouns are inherently neuter in the language, as well as the default status of neuter. (We provide Vocabulary Items below in 4.2.)

(29) *tams-u* - dark-N.NOM

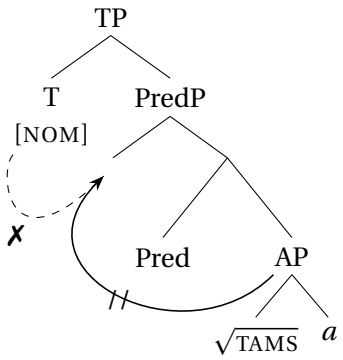


4.2 Neuter in default nominative environments

- (30) is an example of neuter acting as default in a nominative environment where there is no projected subject. This is an example of *an exceptional case default.*

(30) Lauke yra tams-ù.
(outside) be.PRS dark-N.NOM
'It is dark (outside).'

(31)



- **Step 1:** We propose feature insertion applies in the absence of case features.
- We suggest that 'default case' in Lithuanian requires Feature-Filling (in Schutze's (2001) sense): default [NOM] must be inserted in the absence of case features on nominals, as well as on adjectives. This operation occurs prior to Vocabulary Insertion.

(32) **Feature-Filling Rule** (PF Component): $\varnothing_{case} \rightarrow$ [NOM]

- For (30): in the absence of agreement, no case features are transmitted to *a*Infl. The feature-filling rule applies, inserting [NOM].
- **Step 2: Vocabulary Insertion.** We propose that an exceptional case default like that in (30) can be specified for an unmarked feature value in the Vocabulary rather than being fully underspecified. e.g. an item may be specified for nominative case, as in (33).[6]

(33) *-us/i* declension **(nominative)**
  a. *a*Infl[MASC][NOM] ↔ -us (tams-us 'dark.M.SG.NOM')
  b. *a*Infl[FEM][NOM] ↔ -i (tams-i 'dark.F.SG.NOM')
  c. ***a*Infl[NOM] ↔ -u (tams-u 'dark.N.NOM')**

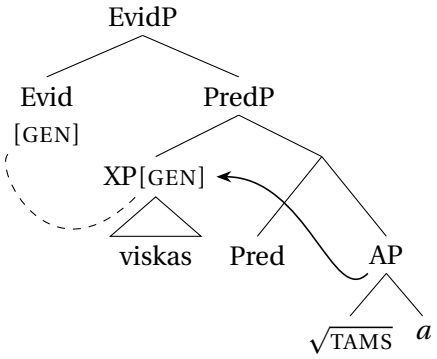
[6]Note that in Adamson and Šereikaitė 2019, we propose that the more marked feminine gender is represented as a bundle of features that includes [FEM][MASC]. We set this issue to the side presently, as it plays no role in our analysis.

4.3 *Neuter in non-nominative (default) environments

- Given the feature specification of the Vocabulary Item in (33), we correctly capture that neuter nominative forms should be unavailable in non-nominative cases when there is a neuter pronoun (34). This is an example of **morphological ineffability**.

(34) *Visko bū-t-a tams-u/-aus/-os
everything.N.GEN be-PPP-[-AGR] dark-N.NOM/-M.SG.GEN/-F.SG.GEN
'Everything must have been dark.' Evidential with a Genitive Subject

(35) Nothing goes wrong in the Syntax!



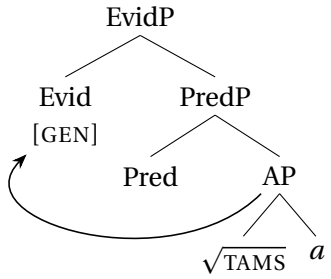
(36) *-us/i* declension **(genitive)**
a. *a*Infl[MASC][GEN] ↔ -aus (tams-aus 'dark.M.SG.GEN')
b. *a*Infl[FEM][GEN] ↔ -os (tamsi-os 'dark.F.SG.GEN')
c. ***a*Infl[NOM] ↔ -u (tams-u 'dark.N.NOM')**

- Because the PA then bears genitive case but no gender feature, the Vocabulary Items in (36a) and (36b) cannot be used given that their entries include gender specification (in addition to case) and the Vocabulary Item in (36c) cannot be used because the PA lacks a nominative case feature.

- We also correctly capture that default environments in non-nominative contexts are also incompatible with the neuter nominative form, and are in fact **ineffable** (37).

(37) *Lauke bū-t-a tams-ù.
Outside be-PPP-[-AGR] dark-N.NOM
'It must have been dark outside.' Evidential without a Genitive Subject

(38)



- In this case, the PA receives case features from the Evidential head that assigns genitive to nominals as in (38). The Evid head has no ϕ-features that need to be valued in order for this case to be assigned (similarly to a PredP head in Slavic, which can assign instrumental case to secondary nominative predicates, see e.g. Citko 2014).

- Here again, the Vocabulary Item in (36c) cannot be used because the PA lacks a nominative case feature.

- If we were to instead have a Vocabulary Item for *a*Infl that was not specified for any features as in (39), we would fail to capture the ungrammaticality of non-nominative neuter forms. (See relatedly Harley 2014; Arregi and Nevins 2014, among others on the derivation of gaps in DM.)

  (39) ✗*a*Infl ↔ -u (tams-u 'dark-N.NOM') not possible for Lithuanian!

  – Relatedly, a case containment view, where NOM is contained as part of the representation of other cases, would also fail to capture the morphological gap.

5 Conclusion

- Lithuanian neuter PAs only have one form, which is nominative, and the use of this form is very restricted despite its default status.

- To derive the restricted use of neuter PAs, we argued that default neuter PAs necessarily correspond to the realization of some set of features/nodes rather than their complete absence (i.e., **the default is not 'nothing'!**). Nominative can be specified as a case feature.

- DM (with the Subset Principle) derives the morphological gap in Lithuanian by saying that the 'default' form is specified (i.e. with NOM case) via the possibility of *post-syntactic feature insertion* rather than being completely underspecified.

- There are different sources of morphological ineffability: while previous studies have focused on feature conflicts as a source of morphological ineffability (e.g. Asarina 2011; Coon and Keine 2021), our work supports the existence of a type of morphological ineffability *whose source is a lack of a true elsewhere form* (cf. Arregi and Nevins 2014).

- Exceptional case default environments can give rise to *systematic* gaps that can apply across *a natural class of items*, while normal case defaults may not. This is because normal case defaults are productive rules that can apply more generally.

Thanks for listening! Email us for a copy of this paper!

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Appendix A: Against alternatives

Agreement with viskas

- One alternative to consider: a syntactic constraint on agreement with neuter pronouns, e.g. neuter pronouns, lacking gender features, cannot agree in (non-nominative) case with a neuter PA.
- This would not readily extend to our exceptional case default environments, where *viskas* is not present.
- Also not consistent with the lack of case agreement in make-causatives (for instrumental case), which shows independent valuation of the adjective
- More evidence: agreement between non-nominative neuter pronouns and relative pronouns is possible – there is no morphological gap for relative pronouns – suggesting there is no agreement-related issue more generally for neuter pronouns.

(40) *Full Relative Clauses*

a. Aš valgiau saldainį, **kur-is** buvo sald-us.
1SG.NOM ate candy.M.SG.ACC that-M.SG.NOM was sweet-M.SG.NOM
'I ate a piece of candy that was sweet.'

b. Aš valgiau sriubą, **kur-i** buvo sald-i.
1SG.NOM ate soup.F.SG.ACC that-F.SG.NOM was sweet-F.SG.NOM
'I ate a soup that was sweet.'

(41) Aš valgiau viską, **kas** buvo sald-u.
1SG.NOM ate everything.N.ACC that.N.NOM was sweet-N.NOM
'I ate everything that was sweet.'

(42) a. Aš valgiau viską, **kam** nebuvau alergiškas.
I.NOM ate everything.N.ACC that.N.DAT not.be-PST.1SG allergic.M.SG.NOM
'I ate everything that I wasn't allergic to.'

b. Aš valgiau viską, **kuo** žavėjausi.
I.NOM ate everything.N.ACC that.N.INS admired
'I ate everything that I admired.'

Finiteness

- Another alternative we consider is one where finiteness plays a role, since many of our ungrammatical neuter examples appear in small clauses or (for the genitive of evidential) nonfinite clauses
- There exist examples with verbs that take nonfinite complements where a neuter PA may appear and is grammatical.
- Thus, we suggest that finiteness does not play a role in whether a neuter PA is grammatical or not.

(43) Pamažu šis procesas pradėjo tapti aišk-esn-is.
Slowly this process.M.SG.NOM start.PST.3 become.INF clear-CMPR-M.SG.NOM
'Slowly, this process started to become clearer.'

(44) Pamažu viskas pradėjo tapti aišk-iau.
slowly everything.N.NOM start.PST.3 become.INF clear-CMPR-N.NOM
'Slowly, everything started to become clearer.'

Appendix B: Another Ungrammatical Combination of Non-Nominative + Default Environment

- Another syntactic default environment with a non-nominative context is pancake sentences plus causative 'make' constructions.
- While the subject in (45a-45b) is a F.PL nominal, a PA may appear in either a neuter form as in (45a) (yielding an eventive reading) or a F.PL form as in (45b), which yields a somewhat different interpretation (where the PA describes an individual property of the nominal); see Adamson and Šereikaitė 2019 for discussion.

(45) a. Grožio procedūros yra brangu.
beauty procedures.F.PL.NOM are expensive.N.NOM
'Beauty procedures are expensive (to get).'

b. Grožio procedūros yra brangios.
beauty procedures.F.PL.NOM are expensive.F.PL.NOM
'Beauty procedures are expensive.'

- As discussed above, the make-causative construction takes a non-nominative PA in either accusative or instrumental that agrees with the accusative causee in gender and number.
- The 'make' construction yields ungrammaticality with the neuter (46a)
- The F.PL agreeing form, in contrast, is grammatical for both accusative and instrumental agreeing PAs (46b).
- We suggest that this contrast arises due to the morphological ineffability of neuter PAs in non-nominative settings.

(46) a. *Tai padarė grožio procedūras brangu.
that make.PST.3 beauty procedures expensive.N.NOM
'That made beauty procedures expensive (to get).'

b. Tai padarė grožio procedūras brangias/brangiomis.
that made beauty procedures.F.PL.ACC expensive.F.PL.ACC/expensive.F.PL.INS
'That made beauty procedures expensive.'