Hybrid Analysis of Distinct Double Nominative Constructions in Korean.
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Introduction Several attempts have been made to explain the structures and properties of constructions like (1) dubbed Double Nominative Constructions (DNC henceforth) in Korean. For instance, as shown in (1), in DNCs, the Nominative (NOM henceforth) case is realized with more than one NP in a clause.

(1) khokkili-ka   kho-ka   kil-ta.
      elephant- NOM   trunk- NOM   is-long- PRST-DEC
      'An elephant's trunk is long.'

There are three questions to be addressed in this paper. The first question concerns how more than one NP can appear with NOM case. The second question concerns how two arguments can appear with a one-place predicate like *kil-ta* 'long'. The last question is which one is the real subject between the two NPs. Previously, there are two main approaches to the case of DNC; 1) Indirect Case assignment (Maling and Kim, 1992) 2) Direct Case assignment analysis (Maling and Kim, 1992). However, the previous studies only introduced DNCs with an intransitive verb. Contrary to the previous studies, I will suggest novel data to show that DNCs in Korean also can be revealed in transitive verb construction and suggest DNCs differ depending on verb types with respect to the constituency of the double nominatives.

Claim In this paper, I suggest a new observation in DNCs focused on the verb, especially in terms of transitivity. I also investigate the constituency of the two NPs by employing two different diagnostic tools, namely adverb insertion and replacement of double topic marker. Based on the distinct syntactic property(constituency) of NPs depending on the verb types, I suggest that there are two distinct underlying structures of DNCs in Korean. Ultimately, to account for these distinct DNCs, I propose a hybrid analysis that Case-agreement for DNCs with transitive, Direct Case-assignment for DNCs with intransitive.

DNCs with Intransitive verb In DNCs with intransitive verb structure, case assignment is accounted for by Direct Case assignment: each NP gets NOM Case independently and variably from two different heads, one from the Verb and the other from Inf, respectively (see Maling and Kim (1992)). As they assign cases separately, each NP is an independent constituent, in other words, two NOMs are not a constituent.
I provide further evidence to show that DNCs with intransitive verbs are indeed not a constituent with two diagnostics. First*,* adverbs can be located freely between the two NPs, the two NOMs are not a constituent, regardless of the adverb type as in (2).

(2)   khokkili-ka   (adverb)   kho-ka   (adverb)   kil-ta.
       elephant- NOM (ADV)   trunk-NOM   (ADV)   is-long-PRST-DEC
       'An elephant's trunk is (adverb) long.'

New data DNCs with transitive verb: I provide new DNC data with transitive verbs. I argue that the two NPs with each NOM case are one constituent in this structure. How the two NPs get each NOM case is that Indirect Case assignment: NOM case is assigned to the second NP and percolates to the first NP under Case-percolation (Yoon, 1990). I also suggest two approaches to show that two NOMs with transitive verb are a constituent, considering that constituents cannot be separated. The word order is fixed as two NPs are a constituent, as shown in (3) and (4).

(3)   [khokkili-ka   kho-ka]   kwaca-lul   cip-ess-ta.
       elephant-NOM   trunk-NOM   snack-ACC   pick-up-PAST-DEC
       'An elephant's trunk picked up the snack.'
(4)   [*kho-ka   khokkili-ka]   kwaca-lul   cip-ess-ta.
       trunk-NOM   elephant-NOM   snack-ACC   pick-up- PAST-DEC
       'An elephant's trunk picked up the snack.'

As one NP constituent is not free in moving separately to another position, the adverb cannot be located between two NPs freely as in (5).
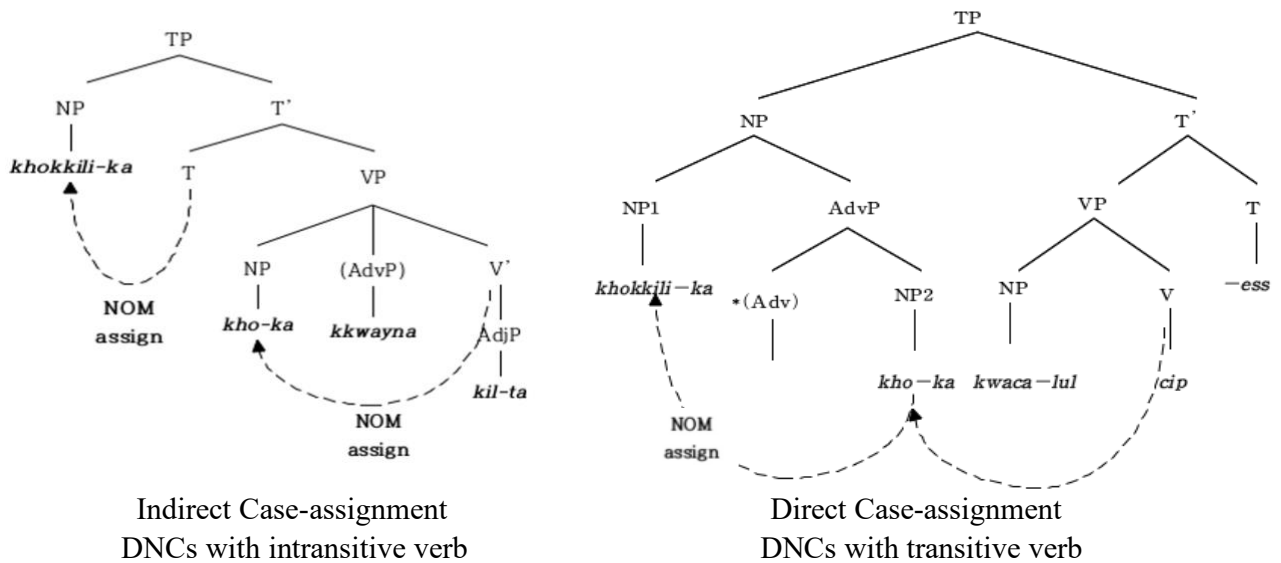
(5)　　khokkili-ka　*(adverb)　kho-ka　　　kwaca-lul　　cip-ess-ta.
　　　　elephant-NOM　*(ADV)　　trunk-NOM　snack-ACC　　pick-up- PAST-DEC
　　　　'An elephant's trunk picked up the snack (adverb).'

Only NOM case of the directly assigned & the independent genuine subject can be replaced with the topic marker. The availability of the double topic marking (marker: *nun*) proves that NPs with intransitive verb are independently assigned nominatives as in (6). On the contrary, the unacceptability of double topic markers of NPs with transitive shows that both NPs are not independently assigned nominative as in (7).

(6)　　khokkili-nun　　kho-nun　　kil-ta.　　　　(7) *[khokkili-nun　kho-nun]　kwaca-lul　　cip-ess-ta.
　　　　elephant-NOM trunk-NOM　is-long　　　　　　elephant-NOM　trunk-NOM snack-ACC　pick-up
　　　　'As for an elephant, its trunk is long.'　　　　'As for an elephant, its trunk picked up the snack.'

Moreover, the use of double topic markers, *-nun* indicates that double nominatives [*khokkili-ka kho-ka*] form a single constituent only when they can be marked with double topic markers as in (6). If NPs cannot be marked with double topic markers, they do not form a constituent as in (7).

Analysis of DNCs in Korean: Previous studies (Indirect/Direct Case assignment) have presented how case in DNCs is assigned. However, each of them cannot fully explain all Korean data especially DNCs with transitive verb. Therefore, I aim to provide a hybrid analysis that adopts both Case-agreement and Direct Case-assignment analysis: Indirect Case-assignment for DNCs with transitive and Direct Case-assignment for DNCs with intransitive. The underlying structure of distinct DNCs are as below.

Indirect Case-assignment
DNCs with intransitive verb

Direct Case-assignment
DNCs with transitive verb

Conclusion Starting with new data involving transitive verbs, I investigate the differences between DNCs with intransitive and transitive verbs. Through some diagnostic tests, such as adverb insertion and double topic markers, I have shown that NPs differ in their constituency. Specifically, in DNCs with intransitive verbs, two NPs can receive NOM cases independently and are not a constituent, allowing for the insertion of adverbs and the use of double topic markers. In contrast, DNCs with transitive verbs form a single constituent, where the NP is valued with only one NOM case and does not allow for adverb insertion or double topic markers. To provide a comprehensive explanation, I adopt both analyses (Indirect and Direct Case-assignment) and suggest a hybrid analysis to account for DNCs in Korean.