Korean Adposition and Case Supersenses v0.9 (compatible with English SNACS v2.5)

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December 9, 2020

Abstract

This document that provides guidelines for the annotation of Korean SNACS (Semantic Network of Adposition and Case Supersenses; Hwang et al. 2020). Korean SNACS retains an inventory of 54 semantic and pragmatic categories called **supersenses** for labelling preposition semantics with each postposition's lexical contribution as well as its semantic role. The annotation targets, known as *josa*, are bound adnominal suffixes; these suffixes help mediate a wide range of meaning relations.

This document is *supplementary* to the main English Guidelines (Schneider et al., 2020). It focuses on phenomena that merit in-depth discussion for Korean.

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1 Overview

This document is a *supplementary* document to the Adposition and Case Supersenses guidelines for English (Schneider et al., 2020). This document will detail Korean-specific phenomena that merits a more in-depth discussion from what is provided in the English guidelines. Additionally, in this guidelines we introduce a new subhierarchy called Context covering pragmatic usages not yet covered by the three semantic substrees.

1.1 What counts as an adposition in Korean?

Korean has a grammaticalized category of **postpositions** that includes highly polysemous morphemes that mediate semantic relationships between content words. On their own, they represent humble grammatical markers on nominals, but they play a whale of a role in piecing together the meaning of a sentence. Much like English prepositions (or collectively **adpositions**), the semantic relations that they encode range from thematic relationships like agentivity and instrumentality to relative circumstantial information like time, location, or purpose.

We focus on the well-researched category of *josa* (圣사), as postpositions are known in Korean linguistics, as a target of our annotation. Characteristic of agglutinative languages, *josa* are bound morphemes that are suffixed on a nominal unit, though some pragmatically motivated postpositions may also attach to non-nominal units such as predicates and adverbs. As noted earlier, while many of them can be thought of as rough counterparts to English prepositions and hence act primarily as encoders of semantic relations, the functions carried out by josa run a broader gamut: some are case markers (nominative, accusative and genitive), while others supply pragmatic or contextual information.

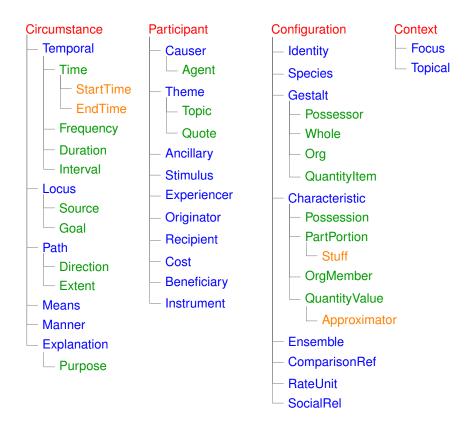
In terms of syntactic distribution, josa have two noteworthy traits. First, some may be show up stacked, as exemplified in 1. Such stacking is strictly governed by morphosyntatic rules. Another is that the case-marking *josa* are not mandatory: the nominative and accusative markers may not be present leaving bare nominals in place (example 2a) which is especially common in a spoken context where there is no ambiguity, or they may be superseded by another, pragmatically motivated, josa (2b).

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1. 나에게-만-이 아니라 우리 모두에게...
me-DAT-FOC-NOM not-but us all-DAT "Not just to me but to all of us..."

2. (a) 빌이 점심(을) 먹었다 (b) 빌은 점심(을) 먹었다
Bill-NOM lunch(-ACC) ate "Bill ate lunch" Bill-TOP lunch(-ACC) ate "Bill ate lunch"
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1.2 Inventory

We use the inventory of 50 semantic supersenses belonging to CIRCUMSTANCE, PARTICIPANT, and CONFIGURATION. Additionally, we include the CONTEXT subhierarchy with 2 additional pragmatic supersenses.



- Items in the CIRCUMSTANCE subhierarchy are prototypically expressed as adjuncts of time, place, manner, purpose, etc. elaborating an event or entity.
- Items in the Participant subhierarchy are prototypically entities functioning as arguments to an event.
- Items in the Configuration subhierarchy are prototypically entities or properties in a static relationship to some entity.
- Items in the CONTEXT subhierarchy prototypically evoke contextual information regarding the event with respect to the entities to which they attach, altering the overall pragmatic meaning of the sentence.

2 CIRCUMSTANCE

2.1 Postposition: 에 (-ey)

 $0 \parallel$ (*-ey*) is one of the most frequently used postposition in Korean language. It attaches to inanimate entities, mediating various relations such as location, time, or goal within the context of the nominal they attach to. On its own, it serves to specify that the nominal is in a certain circumstantial relationship with the predicate. Disambiguation of the specific meaning mediated by the postposition is dependent on the nominal to which it attaches as well as the event it modifies.

- (1) LOCUS→CIRCUMSTANCE:
 - a. 책생 위에 앉았다 table top*(-ey)* sat (They) sat on the table.
 - b. 나는 생각에 잠겼다 I thought*(-ey)* immersed I was immersed in thought.
- (2) 된장국에 두부를 넣었다 GOAL→CIRCUMSTANCE miso-soup(-ey) tofu put-in (They) put tofu in the miso soup.
- (3) TIME→CIRCUMSTANCE:
 - a. 세 시에 약속이 있다 3 o'clock(-ey) appointment exists There is an appointment at 3.
 - b. 이번 추석에 보자 this Thanksgiving(-ey) see-one-another We'll see each other this year's Thanksgiving.
- (4) 삼 년 만에 갑작이 나타난 친구 INTERVAL → CIRCUMSTANCE 3 year since (-ey) suddenly appeared friend A friend who appeared suddenly after 3 years of time.
- (5) 그는 요란한 소리에 잠을 깼다 CAUSER→CIRCUMSTANCE he loud noise(-ey) sleep wake
 He woke up from his sleep due to a loud noise.
- (6) 잔치집에서 밥에 떡에 술에 아주 잘 먹었다 ENSEMBLE→CIRCUMSTANCE party-house-at rice(-ey) cake(-ey) drinks(-ey) very well ate They ate very well at the party. What with rice and cake and drinks...

- (7) 너 때문에 또 지각했다 EXPLANATION → CIRCUMSTANCE you reason (-ey) again was-late.

 Because of you, [I] was late again.
- (8) 톰 대신에 빌이 갔다 COMPARISONREF→CIRCUMSTANCE Tom instead-of(-ey) Bill went Bill went instead of Tom.

Oll (-ey) is considered plain CIRCUMSTANCE when it provides the occasion or contextual setting in which the event takes place or a situation happens to be true. Plain CIRCUMSTANCES establish information regarding a surrounding situation or event without specific reference to a particular time or location.

(9) CIRCUMSTANCE → CIRCUMSTANCE:

a. 이 무더위에 어떻게 지냈니? this heat(-ey) how pass-time? How have you been in this heat?

Explanation: 'Heat' may correlate with the location (maybe this person lives in a hot climate) or time (perhaps we are referring to summer months). But the intent here is to provide the setting in which living happens (or one in which one might consider life may be difficult).

b. 왜 추석에는 송편을 먹는 걸까요?
why Thanksgiving(-ey)-TOP rice-cake eat it-be?
Why is it that we eat rice cakes for Thanksgiving?
Explanation: While Thanksgiving is temporally located, this question is posing Thanksgiving as a occasion or custom. It is not just about when, but the answer would imply the need to potentially address

the questions of why, what for, and with whom.

2.2 Time and Locus Postpositions

Korean has several postpositions for expressing point along a path or extent. 에서 (-eyse) is the only postposition that specifically marks the Locus relation. Rest of the postpositions mark either the starting or ending points of a physical or temporal path. Same adpositions are used for Originator and Recipient roles, so we include them here as well.

Beginning of a path/extent Six postpositions signal the beginning point of a path. The postpositions are: 에서 (-eyse), 부터 (-puthe), 에서부터 (-eyseputhe), 으로부터 (-uloputhe), 에게 (-eykey), 에게서 (-eykeyse), and 한테서 (-hanthese). A table containing expected labels for their temporal and locative usages are shown in the following table.

	Locus	Source	STARTTIME	Locus~→ Source	Originator → Source
에서	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
부터 으로부터 에서부터 에게/에게서/한테서	√		√	√ √ √	

Of the six postpositions, $0 \| \mathcal{A} \|$ (-eyse) (with allomorph $\mathcal{A} \|$ (-se)) is the most polysemous postposition in this category. It marks static location Locus, starting point of a temporal extent StartTime, and the initial location of a path Source, initial position of a fictive motion Locus \sim Source, and the source location of a possession in a transfer Originator \sim Source. Planned Should be plain originator purple The rest of the five postpositions are more semantically specialized to one or two labels.

- (10) 어디서 잘래? Locus where(-eyse) sleep? Where do you want to sleep?
- (11) 여기서 저기로 옮겨라 SOURCE here (-eyse) there-to move Move this from here to there.
- (12) 5시에서 6시까지 판매합니다 STARTTIME 5 o'clock(-eyse) 6 o'clock-to sell Sale is on from 5 to 6.
- (13) 머리에서 발끝까지 훝어봤다 Locus→Source head(*-eyse*) foot-to examined (They) examined from head to toe.
- (14) 그 애기는 어디서 들었니? ORIGINATOR→SOURCE that story where (-eyse) heard?
 Where did you hear that story?

End of a path/extent 7 postpositions signal the end point of a path or extent: 으로 (-ulo), 에다 (-eyta), 까지 (-kkaci), 에다가 (-eytaka), 에게 (-eykey), 한테 (-hanthey), and 케 (-kkey). Following is a table detailing their use.

	GOAL	ENDTIME	Locus→Goal	RECIPIENT~GOAL
으로	√			
에다/에다가	\checkmark			
까지		\checkmark	\checkmark	
에게/한테/께				\checkmark

으로 (-ulo) and its allomorph 로 (-lo) mark the GOAL argument of verbs of directed or caused motion (e.g., go, move, send), and 에다 (-eyta) and 에다가 (-eytaka) mark the GOAL argument of verbs of putting (e.g., put, leave, place).

(15) Locative GOALs:

- a. 여기서 저기로 옮겨라 here-from there(-lo) move Move this from here to there.
- b. 김치를 냉장고에다 두세요 kimchi fridge(*-eyta*) put Put the kimchi in the fridge.
- c. 어디로 가는 것이 좋겠어요?
- d. 모든길은 로마로 통한다고 했다.
- e. 오늘 광주로 가는 비행기를 탔다.

(16) Stative GOALs:

- a. 체온이 드디어 37도로 떨어졌다. GOAL temperature finally 37degrees(-lo) fell Temperature finally fell to 37 degrees.
- b. 엉망으로 만들었다 CHARACTERISTIC~→GOAL mess(-ulo) turned
 (They) turned it into a mess.

ENDTIME and LOCUS~GOAL are handled by 까지 (-kkaci).

- (17) 5시에서 6시까지 판매합니다 ENDTIME 5 o'clock-from o'clock(-kkaci) sell Sale is on from 5 to 6.
- (18) 머리에서 발끝까지 훝어봤다 Locus→Goal head-from foot-(-kkaci) examined (They) examined from head to toe.

One thing to keep in mind here is that not all instances of \mathfrak{P}^{1} (-kkaci) LOCUS \sim GOALs. Much like the postposition \mathfrak{P}^{1} (-mace), it brings focus to the marked nominal and identifies it as the least likely candidate of all potential candidates in the given event. This is examplified in the sentence below. Note how \mathfrak{P}^{1} (-mace) (18) cannot replace \mathfrak{P}^{1} (-kkaci). Usages like those seen in (19) receive the label of FOCUS.

(19) 너마저까지/마저 나를 떠나는구나 Focus you-(-kkaci)(-mace) me leaving (Even) you are leaving me.

RECIPIENT is marked by three postpositions: 에게 (-eykey), 한테 (-hanthey), and 케 (-kkey). The first two postpositions can be used interchangeably (though latter is more colloquial than former), and the third postposition generally accompanies higher honorific registers. These are assigned the construal of RECIPIENT \sim GOAL. PLANNED Update this to plain Recipient.purple

(20) RECIPIENT → GOAL:

- a. 봅한테 주세요 Bob(-hanthey) give Give (it) to Bob.
- b. 아버지께 드리세요 father(-kkey) give Give (it) to Father.

Please note that 에게 *(-eykey)* is a curious postposition that can be used as both the Originator Source and Recipient Goal. It's worth noting that while the goal endpoint (i.e., Recipient Goal) can be used as goals of transfer and communication, the source endpoint is only available to scene of communication. In scenes of transfer, the sender must be marked by either by 에게서 *(-eykeyse)* or 한테서 *(-hanthese)*.

(21) RECIPIENT → GOAL:

- a. 봅에게 말해 주세요 Bob*(-eykey)* talking give Tell (it) to Bob.
- b. 봅에게 주세요 Bob*(-eykey)* give Give (it) to Bob.

(22) Originator → Source:

- a. 봅에게 들었어요 Bob*(-eykey)* heard (I) heard it from Bob.
- b. 봅[*에게/에게서] 받았어요 Bob[**(-eykey)/(-eykeyse)*] received (I) received it from Bob.

Finally, the two protypically RECIPIENT postpositions 에게 (-eykey) and 한테 (-hanthey) can also be used to indicate Possessor or Gestalt. These labels are assigned at the scene level. PLANNED Update this to plain Possessor/Gestalt?.purple

- (23) 봅에게/한테 돈이 많다 POSSESSOR→GOAL Bob(-eykeyhanthey) money has-abundantly Bob has lots of money.
- (24) 나에게/한테 큰 책임이 있다 GESTALT~→GOAL I(-eykeyhanthey) great responsibility be I have a great responsibility.

2.3 Interval

The postposition 부터 *(-puthe)* marks Interval. In addition to marking Start-Time and Locus~Source as seen the above sections, it has a usage that is akin to the English "ever since":

(25) 어릴 때부터 좋아했어요 INTERVAL young time(-puthe) liked
(I) liked it since (I) was young.

2.4 Frequency

Korean postposition $\Box \vdash \Box \vdash (-mata)$ marks Frequency. The nominal to which the postposition attaches indicates the specified interval at which the event take place.

- (26) 이 수업은 3일마다 한다 This class 3-day(*-mata*) do This class takes place every 3 days.
- (27) 시계가 5분마다 종을 친다 Clock 5-minute(-*mata*) bell rings This clock rings its bell every 5 minutes.

This use is contrasted from RATEUNIT, where a second sense of $\Box \vdash \Box \vdash (-mata)$ that attaches to a rate expression.

(28) 한시간마다 25불이다 one hour*(-mata)* 25-dollar be It is \$25 per hour.

2.5 Postposition: 으로 (-ulo)

The coverage of the postposition $\supseteq \exists$ (-ulo) or its allophone \exists (-lo) within the CIRCUMSTANCE category falls into locative and manner/means usages.

Locative usages As discussed in §2.2, 으로 (*-ulo*) marks the GOAL argument in a path of motion (see examples (15a, 15c, 15d)). The preposition additionally also serves to mark PATH (ground covered along a path of motion), DIRECTION (orientation of motion along a path), and EXTENT (the size of path covered).

(29) PATH:

- a. 서울에서 대구로 해서 부산에 갔다. Seoul-from Daegu(-lo) by-way-of Pusan-to went. (I) went from Seoul to Pusan by way of Daegu.
- b. 범인이 뒷길로 빠져나갔다 criminal back-alley(-lo) slipped-away The criminal slipped away through the back alley.
- c. 모래가 소가락 사이로 흘러나왔다 sand finger between-space(-lo) flowed Sand flowed out through the fingers.
- (30) Paths of fictive motion is annotated with the construal Locus→PATH:
 - a. 나무가지 사이로 보이는 풍경... tree-branches between-space(-lo) seen scenery a scenery that was seen through the branches.

(31) DIRECTION:

- a. 티셔츠를 위로 벗겼다 t-shirt up(-lo) removed (I) removed the tshirt upwards.
- b. 게는 왜 옆으로 걷는가? crab why side(-ulo) walk? Why does a crab walk sideways?

c. (그게 무슨 말이냐고 따지려고) 앞으로 한발짝 나오는 그 순간... front(-ulo) step come-forward that moment ...
That moment (I) stepped forward a step (to accuse someone for non-sense) ...

(32) EXTENT:

a. 더 멀리로 여행을 계속하였다. more far(-lo) travel continued (I) continued travels further along.

HANWOOL hmm do we need to reevaluate 만큼 as extent??red

Manner usages 으로 (-ulo) also marks Manner. If the semantics of the propositional phrase qualitatively describes the event and its semantics are fully subsumed by the event, then we have a Manner. It generally answers the question of *How*? or *In what manner*? an event happened.

(33) MANNER:

- a. 그는 팔다 남은 물건을 염가로 팔았다. he sell-then remaining items discount(-lo) sold He sold items remaining from previous sale at a discount.
- b. 그는 큰 소리로 떠들었다. he loud sound(-lo) yelled He yelled in a loud voice.
- c. 보통시험이나 취미 목적으로 공부하시는 분들 normally test-or enjoyment goal(-ulo) studying people People who normally study for the goal of test or enjoyment

(34) Related construals:

- a. 우리는 연필을 낱개로도 판다. RATEUNIT→MANNER we pencil unit(-lo)-also sell We also sell the pencils by unit (individually).
- b. 이번 겨울에는 감기로 고생했다. CAUSER→MANNER this winter cold(-lo) suffered
 This winter, we suffered from cold.
- c. 갑작스러운 폭우로 농작물이 떠내려갔다. CAUSER→MANNER sudden downpour(-lo) crops washed-away
 The crops washed away by a sudden downpour.

Means usages If the postpositional phrase presents a secondary action that plays a causal role, then we have a MEANS. In other words, MEANS provides an information that is external action whose semantics is not included in the semantics of the main event. They are similar to instrument in that they hold a causal force, but they are not entities or objects as is for INSTRUMENT; rather, they themselves are actions or events. Postposition 으로써 (-ulosse) is generally interchangeable with MEANS sense of 으로 (-ulo).

(35) MEANS:

- a. 눈물로/로써 호소했다. tears(-ulo)/(-ulosse) petitioned (I) petitioned with tears (by crying).
- b. 거친 행동으로/으로써 나를 울렸다. harsh action(-ulo)/(-ulosse) me caused-to-cry. (They) made me cry with (their) harsh actions.

(36) Related construals:

- a. 사로 시작하는 단어. PARTPORTION → MEANS 'sa'(-lo) starting word Word that starts with 'sa'.
- b. 커피로 시작하는 아침. PARTPORTION → MEANS coffee (-lo) starting morning Morning that starts with (a cup of) coffee.
- c. 당신으로 충분하다. THEME→MEANS you(-lo) be-enough You are enough (You make things enough).
- d. 당신으로 충분하다. THEME→MEANS you(-lo) be-enough
 You are enough (You make things enough).

으로 (-ulo) also marks semantics of TOPIC, INSTRUMENT, and IDENTITY.

3 PARTICIPANT

3.1 Agent and Causer

AGENT marks the animate participant that instigates an event or action, answering *Who did it?* and CAUSER marks inanimate instigators of an action.

In *transitive* sentences, an AGENT or CAUSER is generally marked by the nominative postposition $0 \mid (-i)$ or its allomorph $7 \mid (-ka)$.

- (37) 빌이 사과를 먹었다 AGENT Bill (-i) apple ate Bill ate the apple.
- (38) 폭풍이 우리 집을 휩쓸어 갔다 CAUSER Storm(-i) our house swept-away went The storm swept away our house.

If there is a more semantically descriptive label identifiable for the relationship between the verb and the argument, this label is assigned at the scene level. For example, if the marked participant is the originator of communication, the stimulus of a perceptual experience, or the experiencer of an emotion or perceptual experience, then Originator, Stimulus, and Experiencer labels, respectively, are applied at scene level.

- (39) 친구가 나에게 비밀을 말해주었다 ORIGINATOR→AGENT friend(-ka) me-to secret told A friend told me a secret
- (40) 애들이 리사를 놀렸다. STIMULUS→AGENT kids(-i) Lisa made-fun
 The kids made fun of Lisa.
- (41) 그는 내가 사랑하는 사람이다. EXPERIENCER→AGENT He I(-ka) love-REL person-be He is a person that I love.

CAUSER can sometimes bemediated by the postposition 에 (-ey) in the form of "에 의하여/한". PLANNED Analyze this is multiword postposition purple In accordance to the guidelines set for 에 (-ey), discussed in §2.1, we label these uses with the construal CAUSER CIRCUMSTANCE.

- (42) CAUSER → CIRCUMSTANCE:
 - a. 이 일은 의논에 의하여 해결되었다. this issue discussion(-ey) instigated-by resolved This issue was resolved by a discussion.
 - b. 전쟁에 의한 참화. war(-ey) instigated-by tragedy Tragedy caused by a war.

In *intransitive* sentences, $0 \mid (-i)$ marks the AGENT only if the participant is indeed the agent of the action like in (43). If however the participant is the undergoer of the action like in (44), it receives the THEME label.

- (43) 리사가 파티에 갔다 AGENT Lisa(-ka) party went Lisa went to the party.
- (44) 사과가 나무에서 떨어졌다 THEME apple (-ka) tree-from tree
 An apple fell from the tree.

Secondary Agents If a participant is acting in a complimentary way to another more prominent AGENT in the sentence, the participant is marked by the postposition 와 (-wa), 랑 (-lang), or 하고 (-hako), then we label it with the construal AGENT ANCILLARY. Further discussion is available in the ANCILLARY section.

(45) AGENT → ANCILLARY:

- a. 리사와 파티에 갔다. Lisa(-wa) party went (I) went to party with Lisa.
- b. 동생이 우리 강아지랑 숨바꼭질 했다. younger-sibling dog(-lang) hide-and-seek do (My) younger our sibling played hide and seek with our dog.

3.2 Theme

THEME is the undergoer or patient in an event. It is assigned to participants marked with $\frac{1}{2}$ (-ul) or its allomorph $\frac{1}{2}$ (-lul) in a transitive event or to the undergoer participant marked with $\frac{1}{2}$ (-i) in an intransitive event (see (44)).

(46) THEME:

- a. 빌이 사과를 먹었다 Bill apple(-lul) ate Bill ate the apple.
- b. 폭풍이 우리 집을 휩쓸어 갔다 Storm our house(-ul) swept-away went The storm swept away our house.
- c. 애들이 리사를 놀렸다. kids Lisa(-lul) made-fun The kids made fun of Lisa.

THEMES can take on a different scene role depending on the semantics of the verb as seen in the following examples.

- (47) 빌이 운동장을 걸었다 Locus→Theme Bill field(-ul) walked Bill walked (around) the field.
- (48) 8월 2일에 서울을 갔다. GOAL→THEME 8month 2day Seoul(-ul) went (I) went to Seoul on August 2nd.

Postposition 와 (-wa), 랑 (-lang), or 하고 (-hako) can mark secondary themes, taking on an Ancillary construal.

- (49) 자전거가 빗길에 자동차와 부딪쳤다. THEME→ANCILLARY bicycle rain-in car(-wa) collided
 Bicycle collided with a car in the rain.
- (50) 포도주를 물과 섞었다. THEME→ANCILLARY wine water(-kwa) mixed
 (I) mixed wine with water.

3.2.1 **Topic**

TOPIC is the information content transferred in a communication scene or thought/knowledge content in a scene of cognition or perception (belief, decision, interest etc). TOPIC argument is generally marked by the postposition \geq (-ul).

- (51) TOPIC:
 - a. 리사가 노래를 불렀다. Lisa song(-ul) sang Lisa sang a song.
 - b. 할머니께서 말씀을 하셨다. grandmother words(-ul) do (My) grandmother spoke (words).
 - c. 무서운 소식을 들었다. scary news(-ul) heard (I) heard a scary news.
 - d. 이상한 꿈을 꾸었다. weird dream(-ul) dreamed (I) dreamed a weird dream.

Postposition 으로 *(-ulo)* TOPIC can also be mediated by 으로 *(-ulo)* and its allomorph 로 (-lo) (also see §2.5).

(52) TOPIC:

- a. 마당에 화초를 심기로 결심했다. garden-in plants plant(-lo) decided (I) decided to plant plants in the garden.
- b. 그와 내일 만나기로 약속했다. him-with tomorrow meet(-lo) promised (I) promised to meet with him.
- c. 다시는 그러지 않기로 부모님 앞에서 맹세했다. ever like not-do(-lo) parents before swore
 (I) swore to never do it again before his parents.
- d. 태풍이 남해를 지나갈 것으로 생각한다. typhoon South-Sea pass that(-lo) think (I) think that the typhoon will pass through the South Sea.

Postposition 에 *(-ey)* The postposition 에 *(-ey)*, when accompanied with "대 하여" or "관하여" can indicate TOPIC. In such cases we specify TOPIC as being construed as CIRCUMSTANCE.

(53) TOPIC→CIRCUMSTANCE:

- a. 책에 대한 책? book*(-ey)* content book? Book about books?
- b. '한국의 악기'에 관한 모든 것 'Korean instrument'(-ey) content all thing All things about 'Korean Instrument"
- c. 헌법에 대해서 공부하다. Korean-Constitution(-ey) content study (I) studied about the Korean Constitution.

Quote construal We also capture TOPICs that are either quoted by someone else (hearsay) or evidenced by the speaker via TOPIC QUOTE construal. This is discussed in the QUOTE section below.

3.2.2 **Quote**

The label QUOTE identifies direct and indirect quotative participants in a sentence. The participants are arguments of the verbs of communication (e.g., saying, telling) and cogitation (e.g., thinking, considering). By virtue of being marked by the label QUOTE, we also indicate that the sentence specifies that the information was heard or evidenced by the speaker/writer.

Currently QUOTE is only used as a function label. The scene role is dependent on the role assigned by the verb. Direct and indirect quotes are covered by TOPIC QUOTE (the content of what is said or communicated). Attributes that are evidenced or opined by the speaker is assigned IDENTITY QUOTE.

(54) TOPIC → QUOTE:

- a. 빌이 내일 올거라 했다. (Indirect quote; most common usage) Bill tomorrow come(-la) said (They) said Bill will come tomorrow.
- b. 빌이 "내일 올거야"라고 했다. (Direct quote) Bill "tomorrow come" (-lako) 했다. Bill said "(I) will come tomorrow".

(55) IDENTITY → QUOTE:

- a. 그녀는 남평을 오빠라 부른다. She husband oppa(-la) call She calls her husband 'oppa'.
- b. 그것은 심각한 문제이라고 생각한다. That grave problem*(-lako)* think (I) think that's a grave problem.

It sometimes distinguishing attributive descriptor (IDENTITY; READING 1 below) versus indirect quote (TOPIC; READING 2 below) can get tricky when introduced by a highly general purpose verb like "하다" (say, do). This is partially because the verb can mean "to consider" or "to say" (see example (56)), and partially because Korean is a subject dropping language, which makes it difficult know if the mentioned subject belongs to the matrix or the subordinate clause (see example (57)).

- (56) 그는 청주가 아름다운 마을이라고 했다 He ChongJu beautiful town(-lako) said/called READING 1: He considers [ChongJu = beautiful town] IDENTITY→QUOTE READING 2: He indirectly uttered "ChongJu is a beautiful town" TOPIC→QUOTE
- (57) 누가 사기꾼이라고 했어?
 Who swindler(-lako) said/called?
 READING 1: Who considers [(unspoken subject) to be swindler]? IDENTITY~QUOTE
 READING 2: (Unspoken subject) indirectly uttered "Who's a swindler"?
 TOPIC~QUOTE

When encountering a TOPIC vs IDENTITY ambiguity with QUOTE postpositions, then please use what context is available to disambiguate. If the two readings are equally feasible, we will default to the TOPIC QUOTE.

QUOTE postposition can sometimes mark a nominal that is evaluated against the expectation set by an ideal version itself. In essence, the marker evokes a baseline reference point of the marked nominal and then the current situation/entity described in the sentence is pitted against this baseline and is, generally, found failing (see (58)).

- (58) COMPARISONREF→QUOTE failing expectations:
 - a. 3년 동안 농사라고 지어 보았지만 번번히 실패만 거듭했지요. 3years duration farming(-lako) working tried in-turn failure repeated 3 years (we) have tried (so-called) farming to only repeatedly fail Explanation: there are certain expectations about successful farming such as producing crops. The "farming" we did wasn't it.
 - b. 그걸 말이라고 하니? that word(-ilako) say? you say the word as though it's word? **Explanation**: when one says something, one is expected to be contentful and appropriate. The "word" saying you did, didn't cut it.

Sometimes, the marker evokes common expectations about the marked nominal, and by virtue of stating it the speaker refutes such expectations offering the current situation/entity in the sentence as an exemplar (see (59)). He I think we should be dipping in from the Context tree for this in the futurecyan Both cases are marked with ComparisonRef Quote.

- (59) ComparisonRef → Quote refuting expectations:
 - a. 박사라고 무엇이든 다 아나? doctor(PhD kind)(-lako) whatever all know?

Do you know everything (just because you are called) a doctor? **Explanation**: Doctors know a lot. But not all do; this particular knowledge we are talking about, especially.

b. 시골 아이라고 그것도 모르겠니? country child(-lako) that won't-know?
Do you think (just because they are called) country bumpkin they won't catch on?

Explanation: Country bumpkins don't know as much city slicker. But some know more; this particular case we are talking about, especially.

3.3 Ancillary

ANCILLARY is defined as a surplus participant in relation to an event, state or situation. In linguistic literature, they are often called *accompaniers* or *concomitants* as they accompany another more prominent participant in the event. As it can be seen in examples in (60), participation by the entity marked as ANCILLARY is often similar to, compatible with, or done in collaboration with the prominent participant (generally the subject of the verb). These examples allow for "ই가" (together) insertion.

(60) ANCILLARY:

- a. 친구랑 (함께) 산책 나갔다. friend*(-lang)* (together) walk went (I) went for a walk (together) with a friend.
- b. 아버지와 (함께) 여행을 했다. father*(-wa)* (together) travels did (I) travelled (together) with my father.
- c. 남편하고 (함께) 점심을 먹습니다. husband(-hako) (together) lunch eat (I) eat lunch (together) with (my) husband.

ANCILLARY can take on a different scene role depending if there is a more specific meaning identifiable for the relationship between the prominent/primary participant and the surplus participant.

(61) Related construals:

a. 친구랑 앉아 있다. LOCUS→ANCILLARY friend(-lang) sitting be (They) are sitting with (their) friend.

- b. 숟가락을 젓가락과 두세요. GOAL→ANCILLARY spoons chopsticks(-kwa) put
 Put the spoons with chopsticks.
- c. 남편하고 일 합니다.SOCIALREL→ANCILLARY husband(-hako) work
 (I) work with (my) husband.

Certain verbs like fight, marry, or switch require specification of more than one participant in the event. In such cases, the surplus participant plays a prescribed, secondary role in the event. Sometimes these roles align with that of primary participant (conversant in a conversation), and sometimes they play a parallel but distinct role (opponent in a fight). We do not consider such cases as examples of "pure" Ancillary, and the role assigned by the predicate is dictated by the scene. We can distinguish these from pure Ancillary cases as these reject the '함께" (together) insertion test.

(62) AGENT → ANCILLARY:

- a. 누나랑 (*함께) 자주 다툰다. sister*(-lang)* (*together) often fight (I) often fight (*together) with my sister.
- b. 교수님과 (*함께) 의논해 보세요. professor*(-kwa)* (*together) discuss try Discuss it (*together) with (your) professor.
- c. 그 것에 대해 그와 (*함께) 동의합니다. that topic about he(-wa) (*together) agree (I) agree (*together) with him on that topic.
- d. 진절한 사람하고 (*함께) 결혼하고 싶어요. kind person(-wa) (*together) marry want (I) want to marry (*together) with a kind person.

(63) THEME → ANCILLARY:

- a. 자전거가 자동차와 (*함께) 부딪쳤다. bicycle car*(-wa)* (*together) collided Bicycle collided (*together) with with the car.
- b. 말을 그 소와 (*함께) 바꿨다. horse that cow(-wa) (*together) traded (I) traded the horse (*together) for the cow.
- (64) 자신을 다른 사람과 (*함께) 비교하지 마세요! COMPARISONREF→ANCILLARY self another person(-kwa) (*together) compare do-not-do
 Do not compare yourself (*together) with someone else.

For some verbs (e.g., *fight, compete*), "함께" (together) insertion can lead to an altered reading. The most common reading for (65a) is to see the sister as the enemy. In sentence (65b), by virtue having an enemy specified, the sister becomes an ally. In sentence (65c), "함께" (together) forces the plain Ancillary reading, where the sister is seen as an ally.

- (65) a. 누나와/AGENT→ANCILLARY 싸웠다. sister(-wa) fought READING: I fought against my sister.
 - b. 누나와/ANCILLARY (함께) 적과/AGENT→ANCILLARY 싸웠다. sister(-wa) (together) enemy(-kwa) together fought READING: I fought the enemy (together) with my sister.
 - c. 누나와/ANCILLARY 함께 싸웠다. sister(-wa) together fought READING: I fought with my sister (against an common enemy)

3.4 Instrument

INSTRUMENT is an entity that facilitates an action via causal force. In Korean, it is often marked by 으로 (-ulo) and 으로써 (-ulosse) with their allomorphs 로 (-lo) and 로써 (-losse), respectively.

- (66) INSTRUMENT:
 - a. 칼로/로써 과일을 깎는다. knife(-losse) fruit peel Fruit is peeled with a knife.
 - b. 꿀로/로써 단맛을 냈다. honey(-lo)/(-losse) sweetness introduced (I) introduced sweetness with honey (I made thing sweet with honey).
 - c. 복잡한 계산은 계산기로/로써 합니다. complicated calculation calculator(-lo)/(-losse) do (I) do complicated calculations with a calculator.

INSTRUMENT is to be distinguished from MEANS, where the causal force is an event/situation rather than an object or an entity. In (67), tears refers to the act of crying.

(67) 눈물로/로써 호소한다. tears(-lo)/(-losse) petition (I) petition with/in tears Things that are materials of construction can be expressed via 으로 (-ulo) or 으로 써 (-ulosse). These are are considered to be SourceInstruments:

(68) SOURCE → INSTRUMENT:

- a. 나무로 집을 짓는다. wood(-lo) house build Build a house out of wood.
- b. 이 안경은 유리로 만들어서 무겁다. these glasses glass(-lo) made-thus heavy These glasses are heavy because made of glass.

 I_H^{JENA} the following needs to be added in the future: instrument Instrument 시 상식은 TV를 통해 생중계된다 Cause Instrument 일제 강점기를 통해 숱한 동포가고난을 겪었다. cyan

4 CONFIGURATION

4.1 **Identity**

In (70), the postpositional phrase is pointing out a particular aspect or characteristic of the entity it is identifying, then we assign it as Characteristic \sim IDENTITY. In (71), the identity is the end state of a change.

(69) IDENTITY:

- a. 그는 나를 바보로 여긴다. he me idiot(-lo) consider He considers me an idiot.
- b. 그 여자는 현모양처로 가정을 지켰다. that woman 'good wife and wise mother' (-lo) family protect As (the paragon of) a 'good wife and wise mother', she protected her family.
- c. 그는 이 학교 교사로 있다. he this school teacher(-lo) be He is (employed) in this school as a teacher.

- (70) 이 고장은 사과로 유명하다. CHARACTERISTIC → IDENTITY this district apple (-lo) famous
 This district is famous for their apples.
- (71) GOAL → IDENTITY:
 - a. 영희가 현숙한 처녀로 성장했다. Yengi wise lady(-lo) grew Yengi grew into a wise and virtuous lady.
 - b. 좋았던 날씨가 눈보라로 변했다. good weather blizzard(-lo) turned Good weather turned into a blizzard.

4.2 Postposition \bigcirc (-ey)

The postposition □ (-ey) mediates GESTALT, POSSESSOR, and CHARACTERISTIC. The postposition also happens to be one of the very few postpositions that mediate two nominal phrases rather than a nominal phrase to its matrix verb.

4.2.1 Gestalt

GESTALT captures generalized notion of "whole" understood with reference to a component part, possession, set member or characteristics. Here are some examples of plain GESTALTS:

- (72) GESTALT:
 - a. 꽃의 향기 / flower(-ey) smell / smell of flower
 - b. 금의 무게 / gold(-ey) weight / weight of gold
 - c. 예술의 아름다움 / art(-ey) beauty / beauty of art

If a more semantically descriptive relationship between the two nominals is identifiable, this is expressed through construal:

- (73) WHOLE→GESTALT marked nominal is the WHOLE w.r.t. modified noun:
 - a. 영이의 얼굴 / Yengi(-ey) face / Yengi's face
 - b. 가진 돈의 얼마 / possessed money*(-ey)* some / some of the money in possession
- (74) Experiencer \sim Gestalt marked nominal is the one who experiences the emotions/experience described by the modified noun:
 - a. 너의 믿음 / you(-ey) belief / your beliefs
 - b. 나의 슬픔 / me(-ey) sorrow / my sorrow

- (75) In the following, marked nominals are a participant in an event/situation described by the modified noun:
 - a. 우리의 각오 / our commitment / AGENT~→GESTALT
 - b. 선생님의 말씀 / teacher's words / ORIGINATOR→GESTALT
 - c. 자연의 관찰 / observation of nature / THEME~→GESTALT
 - d. 질서의 확립 / establishment of order / THEME~→GESTALT
 - e. 몸의 병 / sickness of the body / THEME→GESTALT
- (76) TOPIC → GESTALT marked nominal represents the informational content of the modified noun:
 - a. 한국의 지도 / Korea(-ey) map / map of Korea
 - b. 독서의 계절 / book-reading(-ey) season / season of reading
 - c. 통일의 위업 / unification(-ey) efforts / efforts of unification
- (77) SOCIALREL GESTALT marked nominal and the head noun are in a social relationship with one another:
 - a. 친구의 아버지 / friend's father / SOCIALREL~→GESTALT
 - b. 나의 친구 / my friend / SOCIALREL → GESTALT
- (78) Others:
 - a. 축하의 잔치 / feast of celebration / CIRCUMSTANCE~→GESTALT
 - b. 승리의 길 / path to success / GOAL→GESTALT
 - c. 투쟁의 열매 / fruits of the conflict / SOURCE~→GESTALT
 - d. 여름의 바다 / summer seas (seas of summer) / TIME→GESTALT
 - e. 정오의 뉴스 / noon(midday) news / TIME~→GESTALT

4.2.2 Possessor

Possessor captures both permanent and temporary possession. A possession must be under the control of the Possessor (even if is only temporary; e.g., borrowed item), and it must be alienable. For common alienable possessions like body parts (73a) or kinship terms (77), we use Gestalt.

- (79) Possessor:
 - a. 리사의 집 / lisa(-ey) house / Lisa's house
 - b. 선생님의 책 / teacher(-ey) book / teacher's book

4.2.3 Characteristic

CHARACTERISTIC represents a component part, set member or characteristics belonging to a larger "whole". Here are some examples of plain CHARACTERISTICS:

(80) CHARACTERISTIC:

- a. 긴 머리의 여인 / long hair(-ey) woman / long-haired woman
- b. 붉은 얼굴의 노인 / red face(-ey) elderly / red-faced elderly person
- c. 파랑과 빨강의 모자/ blue-and red(-ey) hat / blue and red colored hat
- d. 철의 여인 / iron(-ey) woman / woman of iron
- e. 바둑판 무늬의 손수건 / checkered pattern(-ey) handkerchief / checkered-patterned handkerchief
- f. 순금의 보석 / pure-gold (-ey) treasure / golden treasure (treasure made of pure gold)
- g. kg의 단위 / kg(-ey) measure / measure in kg
- h. 100C의 끓는물 / 100C(-ey) boiling water / boiling water of 100C
- (81) QUANTITYVALUE→CHARACTERISTIC supplies a particular count or number as a characteristic of the modified noun:
 - a. 100명의 위인 / 100-unit(-ey) famous-people / 100 famous people
 - b. 서너명의 사람 / 3-4(-ey) person / 3 or 4 persons
 - c. 10년의 세월 / 10year(-ey) time / 10 years worth of time
- (82) IDENTITY→CHARACTERISTIC supplies the identity or descriptive label to the modified noun:
 - a. 45kg의 몸무게 / 45kg(-ey) body-weight/ body weight of 45kg

4.3 Ensemble

ENSEMBLE is an entity that is grouped with other entities. In Korean, ENSEMBLE is mediated by the conjunctive postposition 와 (-wa) (also allomorph 과 (-kwa)), 이랑 (-ilang) (also allomorph 랑 (-lang)), and 하고 (-hako). Unlike ANCILLARY usage that mediates a nominal and its verb (approximately English's with), ENSEMBLE relates two nominals and roughly translates to English and.

(83) ANCILLARY vs. ENSEMBLE:

a. 오랜만에 할머니께서 어머니와 외식을 하셨다 ANCILLARY a-long-while-in grandmother mom(-wa) eat-out did First time in a long time, grandmother ate out with my mother.

b. 오랜만에 어머니와 할머니께서 외식을 하셨다 ENSEMBLE a-long-while-in I mother(-wa) grandmother eat-out did First time in a long time, mother and grandmother went out to eat.

The semantics of the two sentences above are similar. However, note that in (83a) the grandmother is the primary participant and the mother is the secondary participant that joins the grandmother in the event—thus, they example takes an Ancillary construal. In (83b), the mother and grandmother are grouped as a single unit via \mathfrak{P} (-wa), and together they participate in the event. This is considered a case of Ensembles. Following are further examples of Ensembles:

(84) Conjunctive Ensemble:

- a. 개와 고양이. dog(-wa) cat a dog and a cat
- b. 빵이랑 과일 먹어요. bread*(-ilang)* fruit eat Eat some bread and fruit.
- c. 배하고 사과하고 감을 가져오너라. pear(-hako) apple(-hako) persimmon(-hako) bring Bring pears, apples, and persimmons.

Nominals marked with disjunctive postposition 이나 (-ina) (also allomorph 나 (-na)) are also considered ENSEMBLES.

(85) Disjunctive Ensemble:

- a. 건강을 위해 담배나 술을 끊어야 한다. health benefit smoking*(-na)* drinking stop-must do For health, one must stop smoking or drinking.
- b. 말하는 것으로 보아 그는 소설가나 시인일 것이다. talking that seen he novelist(-na) poet be Given how he talks, he is likely a novelist or a poet.

4.4 ComparisonRef

(86) COMPARISONREF:

- a. 형제같이 사이가 좋다. brother(-*kathi*) relationship good/strong Their relationship is strong as though they were brothers.
- b. 생각과 달리 문제가 많다. thought(-kwa) differently problem abound There were more problems than we had thought.
- c. 큰것은 큰것대로 따로 모아주세요. large-one large-one(-taylo) separately group Group the large ones separately (according to their large size).
- d. 집을 대궐만큼 크게 지었다. house palace(-mankhum) large built (They) built (their) house as big as a palace.
- e. 마실것은 물밖에 없다. drink-items water*(-pakke)* does-not-exist There is nothing to drink but water.
- f. 지리산보다 한라산이 더 높다. Cili-mount(-pota) Hanla-mount more tall Mt. Hanla is taller than Mt. Cili.
- g. 부끄러움을 못 견디는 것처럼 고개를 숙이었다. embarrassment cannot enduring thing(-chelem) head lowered (He) lowered his head like he could not endure the embarrassment.
- (87) 물가가 작년에 비해 많이 오른 것 같다. ComparisonRef→Circumstance prices last-year(-ey) comparing much increased that seems It seems that prices are higher than last year.

4.5 RateUnit

RATEUNIT is primarily marked by 마다 (-mata). The postposition plays the role of a quantifier akin to the English "for every" or "each". That is, event described is a true statement about each instance of the marked nominal. Thus, RATEUNIT is the function, and the scene role is assigned by the verb.

- (88) 한 시간마다 25불 입니다. RATEUNIT one hour(-mata) 25-dollars be It is \$25 per hour.
- (89) 만나는 사람마다 친구로 만들어라. SOCIALREL→RATEUNIT meeting people(-mata) friend-into make
 Make every people you meet a friend.
- (90) 리사는 지나가는 사람마다 인사를 한다. RECIPIENT→RATEUNIT Lisa passing person(-mata) greeting do Lisa greets every person she comes across.
- (91) 하는 짓마다 얄밉다. STIMULUS→RATEUNIT doing act(-mata) annoys
 Every act (he) does is annoying (to me).

When this postposition is used to indicate time intervals between each instances of a repeating event, it is labeled as FREQUENCY. See FREQUENCY section for more discussion.

Postposition 으로 (-ulo) can also be used in a RATEUNIT sense.

- (92) RATEUNIT → MANNER:
 - a. 우리는 연필을 낱개로도 판다. we pencil unit(-lo)-also sell We also sell pencils by unit.
 - b. 번데기 2킬로로 묶어 판다. silk-pupa 2kg(-lo) bundled sell (They) sell silk pupa (snacks) by 2 kg bundles

5 CONTEXT

Macrolabel that marks adpositions that evoke contextual information regarding an entity, the governor or the utterance.

Not used directly—see subtypes.

5.1 Focus

Focus of a sentence; contributing information like contrastiveness, likelihood or value judgements regarding the contextual elements that the focus evokes

Focus postpositions evoke a set of likely candidates for the given event/situation, then the marked nominal is evaluated against these candidates in the capacity specific to the Focus marker.

	Postpositions (allomorphs)	Description	
Contrastive/ Concessive	이라도 (-ilato) (라도 (-lato)), 이나 (-ina) (나 (-na))	despite; notwithstanding	
Additive	도 (-to)	also, too	
Exclusive	만 (-man)	only and nothing else	
Inclusive	이며 (-imye) (며 (-mye))	for example, among others	
Scalar (less than)	이라도 (-ilato) (라도 (-lato))	just or merely	
Scalar (more than)	조차 (-cocha), 까지 (-kkaci)	even	

(93) Focus:

- a. 선생님이라도 모르는 것이 있다. (Concessive) teacher(-ilato) unknowing thing be Teachers, notwithstanding, don't know certain things.
- b. 늦게 시작했어도 벌써 반이나 끝냈다. (Concessive) late start-despite already half(-ina) finished Already finished half (surprisingly a lot!), despite starting late.
- c. 빵도좋아요. (Additive) bread(-to) like. I like bread. (Bread is added on as one of the things I like.)

- d. 빵이며 피차며 다 좋아요. (Inclusive) bread(-imye) pizza(-mye) all like Bread, pizza are examples of the many things I like.
- e. 밥이 없으면 라면이라도 주세요. (**Scalar (less than)**) rice none-exist ramen(*-ilato)* give If there is no rice, just give me ramen.
- f. 리사조차 시험에 떨어졌다. **(Scalar (more than))** Lisa*(-cocha)* test failed Even Lisa (least likely candidate to fail) failed.
- g. 바트까지 시험에 합격했다. (Scalar (more than)) Bart(-kkaci) test passed Even Bart (least likely candidate to pass) passed.

5.2 Topical

Information topic of the sentence.

The nominal that is marked with the TOPICAL postposition $\stackrel{\leftarrow}{\leftarrow}$ (-un) and its allomorph $\stackrel{\leftarrow}{\leftarrow}$ (-nun) is the entity that the speaker identifies what they are commenting about. In English, topicality is marked by certain phrases like "Speaking of X" or "As for X".

(94) TOPICAL:

- a. 오늘은 날씨가 좋아요. today(-un) weather good Lit: Today's weather is good. Speaking about today's weather, it is good (e.g., though it was not yesterday).
- b. 리사는 지금 공부하고 있어요. Lisa(-nun) now studying be Lit: Lisa is studying right now. Speaking of Lisa, she is studying right now.

6 Special Labels

6.1 DISCOURSE ('d)

Two discourse postpositions, the vocative postposition $0 \nmid (-ya)$ (allomorph $0 \nmid$ -a) and politeness marker Ω (-yo), are marked with a special non-supersense label 'd. Vocative postposition marks the hearer whose attention the speaker is seeking to get. Politeness marker adds a level of deference, social distance, or respect to the utterance.

(95) 'd:

- a. 리사야 가지마! Lisa(-ya) go-don't Lisa! Don't go.
- b. 어서요 읽어보세요. soon(-yo) read Read it soon (pretty please!)

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