Collocations of dimension adjectives with the names of human body parts in Polish and Korean

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COLLOCATIONS OF DIMENSION ADJECTIVES WITH THE NAMES OF HUMAN BODY PARTS IN POLISH AND KOREAN

Emilia Szalkowska-Kim*

Keywords: comparative semantics, adjectives of dimensions, names of body parts, collocations, conceptualisation of body parts and their dimensions, Polish language, Korean language, teaching a foreign language

Abstract. This article presents the results of comparative research into the collocations of the names of human body parts with dimension adjectives. The aim of the analysis was to indicate the similarities, limitations and differences in the manners of conceptualising the world established in Polish and Korean, or more precisely: how both languages define the elements of the world of human body parts, and how they assign dimensions to the elements depending on the needs and experiences of native users of both. The results of the research could have a practical application in teaching both languages, facilitating students’ absorption of the lexis of the other language, and result in a deeper mutual understanding of linguistic and cultural differences.

1. INTRODUCTION

This article presents the initial results of a study comparing the methods of approaching the dimensions of the human body in Polish and Korean. I analysed the collocations of basic spatial adjectives carrying the meanings: big, small, tall,

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1 The results of the research were presented at the International Academic Conference “Polish Studies’ Meetings of Three Countries: China – Korea – Japan (PSMTC)” in 2009 in Tokyo.

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short, broad, narrow, long, thick, thin, deep, shallow, with over 50 pre-selected nouns denoting human body parts. Additionally, I considered the collocations of adjectives which replace the basic dimension adjectives referring to humans and some of their body parts, e.g. Korean nalssinhan ‘slim’ – saljjin ‘obese’ instead of yalbeun ‘thin’ – dukkeoun, gulgeun ‘fat’. This comparative analysis of Polish and Korean focused not only on the literal meanings of the studied combinations, but it also considered their figurative meanings in idioms, e.g. Polish mieć długi język [to have a long tongue] ‘to have a tendency for talking too much or gossiping, to not be able to keep a secret.’

When attempting the recreation of this portion of the linguistic (Korean and Polish) image of the world, I used the following sources of data: surveys conducted among native users of both languages, dictionary definitions, consultations (e.g. with Korean professors and masters of Polish studies at HUFS), source texts, previous studies of the present issue in relation to various languages, and my own intuition as I am a native user of Polish, but for the last dozen or so years I have lived in Korea and I use Korean every day. I assigned priority to the results of the surveys – a major role was played by the number of indications of a combination (dimension adjective + name of a body part) as acceptable by the native speakers of a language.

Similar studies for Polish had been conducted in comparison to, e.g.: English, German, Russian, Ukrainian, Swedish, Vietnamese, and Japanese (cf. e.g. Linde-Usiekniewicz 2000, 2003; Achterberg 2000), which is why in this article I also referred to those earlier studies. I am not aware of any comparative studies conducted for Korean.

The aim of the analysis is to indicate some similarities and differences in the manners of conceptualising the world established in Polish and Korean, or more precisely: how both languages define the elements of the world which are human body parts, and how they assign dimensions to the elements depending on the needs and experiences of native users of both. The article offers not only a cognitive focus, but it can also have a practical teaching application by facilitating students’ absorption of the lexis of the other language, and result in a deeper mutual understanding of linguistic and cultural differences.

### 2. METHODOLOGY

In the analysis of the data regarding both languages I decided to begin with a comparison of individual units, not a recreation of the structures of notional fields and the comparison of the material on that basis. I began by preparing a list of lexemes denoting human body parts in Polish and then I determined their Kore-
Collocations of dimension adjectives with the names of human body parts... an counterparts, based on the picture dictionaries: *Five language visual dictionary* (David Shaffer 2003), *Korean Picture Dictionary* (Kan Hyoun-hwa 2006), and *The Heine English / Korean picture dictionary* (Thomson, 2005). Unlike in the study by Linde-Usiekniewicz (2000), I omitted animal body parts, e.g.: Polish *ogon* [tail], *kiel* [fang], *trąba* [trunk], *sierść* [fur], etc., but I included in the list lexemes which the author did not include in her study, e.g.: Polish *człowiek* [human], *ciało* [body], *rzęsy* [eyelashes], *brwi* [eyebrows], *powieka* [eyelid], *mięsień* [muscle], *mózg* [brain], *serce* [heart], *wątroba* [liver], *żołądek* [stomach], *nerka* [kidney], and their Korean counterparts. If I suspected lexemes in the languages did not correspond, I consulted Korean professors of Polish studies at HUFS and other linguists. In the description, I included all the discrepancies I identified in the meanings and extents of the studied noun and adjective lexemes between the languages (cf. sections 3 and 4).

As for Korean, I analysed only the collocations of native adjectives with native nouns, and if there was no native noun denoting a human body part or if it was not commonly used, I analysed collocations with a Sino-Korean noun (I discuss this in detail in sections 3 and 4).

The surveys which were the main source of data were filled out in the case of Korean by 35 Korean students of Polish studies, HUFS, aged 20–25, and in the case of Polish by 20 similarly aged Polish students of ethnolinguistics at the Adam Mickiewicz University. I do not possess a more extensive or balanced material which would include other age groups or other factors which might increase the representativeness of the sample (e.g. level of education, dialect-based differences, etc.), but I plan to expand on the initial study to include a larger number of respondents. The survey was structured as tables which included the names of body parts in columns and positive dimension adjectives in the attributive form in rows (a list of positive adjectives is presented in Table 4.1 in section 4). Respondents were asked to state which of the adjectives connect in their language in their literal meaning with a noun which is a body part, and to indicate which connections are also possible in figurative terms. If not certain, the respondents were asked to mark a connection as +/−.

An expression which was a combination of a dimension adjective and the name of a body part, e.g., Korean *nopeun ko* ‘tall nose’, was considered fully acceptable in the language when the level of agreement among the respondents about whether it was acceptable was high, i.e. when total acceptance was within the 70–100% range. If a combination was evaluated as acceptable by not much more than half of the respondents, I recorded the precise percentage. The fact that a combination was deemed acceptable by less than 50% of the respondents does not mean that it does not exist, but for the purposes of the study it was rejected due to low reliability. Naturally, the collocations of dimension adjectives with the nouns of the studied thematic area could be elaborated upon, based on a statistical
analysis of acceptance conducted on much larger, more diverse groups of users of both languages or usage frequency research based on sufficiently large corpora, yet that was not possible in the case of this study.

I analysed the contemporary figurative meanings of the studied combinations in more detail on the basis of dictionaries of idioms and phrasemes (cf. *Słownik frazeologiczny współczesnej polszczyzny* 2001; *Słownik idiomów polskich PWN* 2006; *Gwanyongeo sajaon* 1996; *Gwanyongeo pyohyeonsajaon* 2008), which enabled me to supplement the data collected from the surveys. I additionally verified the created lists of combinations existing in phrasemes by checking their usage in source texts (mainly periodicals, though I did not browse only internet resources) and, in the case of Korean, by consulting Korean professors of Polish studies at HUFS. During the consultations I established that some of the idioms indicated in dictionaries are no longer used in contemporary Korean, so I omitted them in the discussion of the results.

I used English as the language of description, however, mainly for teaching purposes, in sections 3, 4, and 5, I also included Korean and Sino-Korean names recorded using the *hangeul* alphabet together with the appropriate *hanja* signs. In the case of Romanisation of Korean names, I used the 2000 Romanisation system officially used in South Korea (*Revised Romanization of Korean* 2000).

### 3. DIFFERENCES IN MEANING AND SCOPE OF THE STUDIED NOUN LEXEMES IN BOTH LANGUAGES

For the matter of the collocations of dimension adjectives with the names of body parts, it is important to discuss the differences in nominal lexical resources of both languages. The main issue is the common lack of 1-to-1 correspondence between Polish and Korean lexemes denoting human body parts.

Firstly, in Korean there exist side by side native names of body parts and their Sino-Korean counterparts, but in the case of the majority of body parts, native names are used as the commonly used Korean vocabulary denoting the basic issues of human life mainly belongs to the native nominal corpus\(^2\). For example,

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\(^2\) Korean vocabulary consists of three layers: native words and affixes (approx. 35%), Sino-Korean words (approx. 60%), and borrowed words (mainly from English, approx. 5%). Korean vocabulary which originated in Chinese is classified in this article under a separate category and it is not totalled with the same group as words borrowed from other languages. Native vocabulary mainly includes the names of food, clothes, places, basic actions, activities and conditions, body parts, animals, and natural objects. The native corpus also includes thousands of onomatopoeias, idioms and proverbs which reflect the native Korean culture. Sino-Korean borrowed words and borrowed words from other languages mainly include cultural borrowings (cf. Sohn 1999; Lee, Ramsey 2000).
regarding the face, hand, leg, back, or smaller body parts, e.g., forehead, cheek, eyelash, eyebrow, elbow, finger nail, knee, finger, heel, etc., Koreans use native Korean names and not their Sino-Korean counterparts.

However, in the case of internal organs, such as the brain, muscle, heart, lung, liver, kidney, and stomach, the situation is reversed: the Sino-Korean names are used, and their native counterparts are obscure to modern Koreans. According to my Korean informants, such categorisation is mostly based on cultural conditions. In Korean, the first to be formed were the native names of visible body parts, while internal (non-visible) organs lacked specific names for a long time as there was need to use those or no one knew about their existence. Their Sino-Korean names are specialised terms, and they formed alongside the development of traditional Korean medicine and the arrival of Chinese medicine in Korea. It is worth indicating that, when talking about their disposition and illnesses, contemporary Koreans usually avoid using the names of the above-mentioned internal organs and use more general terms denoting general locations within their bodies as it is a taboo for them. For example, a Korean would rather say: ‘My chest (breast) hurts’ than ‘My heart hurts’, or ‘My abdomen hurts’ rather than ‘My stomach/liver hurts.’ Unlike Koreans, Poles seem to display a general tendency to use precise names of specific internal organs in such expressions as Boli mnie wątroba, nerka, trzustka, kręgosłup [My liver, kidney, pancreas, spine hurts], along with such expressions as Boli mnie brzuch, w piersi, w boku, w plecach [My abdomen, chest, side, back hurts].

The third group consisted of body parts for which both names – native Korean and Sino-Korean – are commonly known and used, while the actual applications of specific nouns depend on the context. That group included, e.g., such organs as: the head, eye, tooth, ear, throat. The Sino-Korean terminology related to those human body parts mainly exists in medical contexts, e.g., when referring to names of ailments (e.g., du [두, 頭] ‘head’ > du-tong [두통] ‘headache’), illnesses (e.g. an [안 眼] ‘eye’ > an-yeom [안염] ‘eye inflammation’), medication (an-yak [안약] ‘eyedrops’), medical specialisations (an-gwa [안과] ‘ophthalmologist’), etc.

As I have already mentioned in section 2, in this article I analysed the collocations of native Korean dimension adjectives mainly with native names of body parts as those combinations are most commonly used in contemporary Korean. Only if a native lexeme was not used often or was not used at all, as in the case of references to internal organs (cf. muscle, bone, brain, heart, lung, liver, stomach, kidney) and skin, did I analyse the collocations with a Sino-Korean noun.

The case of double naming is basically non-existent in Polish as any additional Latin terminology denoting human body parts is obscure to all users of Polish other than medical staff. Interestingly enough, Latin terminology also exists, through English, in Korean medical jargon in Western-type hospitals as medical documentation is maintained in English, not Korean, while doctors specialising in traditional Korean medicine use native and Sino-Korean names exclusively.
Another issue is lexical polysemy, i.e., the phenomenon of lexical ambiguity of expressions, which also results in non-correspondence between the lexemes of the two languages (a polysemic lexeme in Polish corresponds to several different lexemes in Korean and vice versa). Some Polish polysemic lexemes denoting human body parts\(^3\) include:

I. *ręka* – (1) ‘a prehensile part of the upper limb, palm’; (2) ‘the entire upper limb from the shoulder to the fingers’
II. *noga* – (1) ‘entire lower limb’; (2) ‘the end part of the leg, the foot’
III. *ramię* – (1) ‘a joint between the shoulder blade and the shoulder with the surrounding muscles’; (2) commonly referred to as ‘bark’ [shoulder]; (3) ‘part of the hand from the shoulder to the elbow’; (4) ‘entire hand’.
IV. *broda* – (1) ‘the lower protruding part of the face beneath the mouth’; (2) ‘facial hair on the lower part of the face, beneath the mouth’
V. *podbródek* – (1) ‘a part of the face beneath the lips’; (2) ‘fleshy part of the face beneath the jaw’
VI. *pierś* – (1) ‘the front upper part of the trunk, the chest’; (2) ‘in women: one of two glands located in the upper front part of the trunk’

The differences in meaning are particularly visible in collocations with dimension adjectives. For example, the expression *długie ramiona* [long arm] refers to the upper limb while the term *szerokie ramiona* [wide arms] defines shoulders. Similarly, the expression *krótkie/długie nogi* [short/long legs] defines the entire lower limb while the expression *duże/male nogi* [big/small legs] refers to the size of the feet.

In the case of Korean, I identified the following polysemic lexemes:

I. *heori* (허리) – (1) ‘waist’; (2) ‘lower part of the spine’
II. *meori* (머리) – (1) ‘head’; (2) commonly ‘hair on the head’
III. *kaseum* (가슴) – (1) ‘chest’; (2) ‘breasts (women’s)’\(^4\)
IV. *teok* (턱) – (1) ‘entire jaw’; (2) ‘chin’
V. *mok* (목) – (1) ‘neck’; (2) ‘throat’; (3) ‘nape’

The notional scopes of the provided examples are blurry, which is caused by the very processes of forming the notions which refer to body parts in both languages. According to Langacker (1995) and Usiekniewicz (2003) no body part is conceptualised exclusively as a separate whole, rather as a more distinct structure from a larger whole (the human body) which constitutes the basis (cognitive domain).

That which in Polish is conceptualised as “a more distinct structure” does not always appear as such to a user of Korean and vice versa. For example, the nape

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3 I shall not discuss at this point the meanings of the lexemes in reference to animal body parts and their figurative meanings.
4 Similarly to Polish.
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(back of the neck) is basically not identified by Koreans as an additional distinct structure separate from the neck. One could only speak of ‘back neck’ (tui-mok [뒤목]), though the location (back) is usually omitted.

A similar situation applies to the chin – there is no Korean name which would separate that part from the whole of the lower face (the whole of the jaw). The hips and buttocks are other examples of that. In Polish biodro [hip] is ‘a part of the body including the hip joint, the side of the pelvis and the external part of the thigh’ while pośladek [buttock] is ‘in humans: one of two highly muscular parts of the body located beneath the spine.’ In Korean, there is no notion of the hip as a body part separate from the buttocks. The dunbu (둔부), gungdungi (궁둥이) and eondeongi (언덩이) lexemes denote the whole of the external upper part of the thigh combined with the buttocks, the bolgijjak (볼기짝) lexeme corresponds to the Polish poślądki [buttocks] lexeme, while the golban (골반) lexeme carries the meaning of ‘hip bone (external part of the pelvis)’ and it does not include the meaning of ‘external upper part of thigh.’

Korean identifies both the part of the body which in Polish is called nadgarstek [wrist], i.e., the section of the hand connecting the palm with the forearm (Korean son-mok [손목], literally ‘hand’s neck (narrowing)’), and a similar narrowing above the foot (Korean bal-mok [발목], literally ‘foot’s neck (narrowing)’), while in Polish there is no specific equivalent of the latter. The Polish term kostka [ankle] only refers to the bulging of the tibia to the left and right above the foot, and its literal Korean equivalent is the word boksunga-bbyeo (복숭아뼈).

The above-mentioned problems in seeking equivalents between noun lexemes in both languages denoting some body parts were largely related to establishing the following issues:

• whether a lexeme refers to a body part defined as a complete muscle and bone connection (cf. the Polish word goleń [shin] ‘a part of the lower limb between the knee and the foot’),

• is it the case of a name which identifies only one muscle (e.g. the Polish word łydka [calf] ‘a set of muscles in the back part of the leg, between the knee and the foot’) or a bone (e.g. Korean golban ‘hip bones’),

• what the location of the part being described is in relation to a larger whole (e.g. the Polish lexeme łydka [calf] and the Korean lexeme jongari (종아리) refer to the back part of the lower leg, the Polish kark [nape] to the back part of the neck).

When discussing differences, it is worth mentioning that Korean includes the lexeme teol (털) which refers generally to body hair (the term is also used regarding fur and coat covering animal bodies) and the more specific lexeme meori-teol (머리털, literally ‘fur on head’) referring to the whole of the hair on the head, while more common than meori-teol is the term: meori-garak (머리가락, literally ‘long thin object on the head’) and the common meori (머리; original meaning ‘head’).
It must be also mentioned that in Polish, the lexeme palec [finger] carries the meaning ‘one of the five oblong digits terminating a human palm or foot.’ Its specifications: (palec) u ręki [hand digit], u nogi / u stopy [leg/foot digit] can, in many contexts, be omitted. Korean offers separate lexemes (1) son-garak (손가락) and (2) bal-garak (발가락) constituting the following assemblies: (1) ‘hand+long thin object’ and (2) ‘foot+long thin object’, while none of the morphemes in either of the assemblies can be omitted\(^5\).

4. DIFFERENCES IN MEANING AND SCOPE OF DIMENSION ADJECTIVES IN THE TWO LANGUAGES

There are some differences between the languages being compared in terms of dimension adjectives. Firstly, in Korean there is a differentiation into native and Sino-Korean adjectives, but native spatial adjectives are used more often, and they are mostly used for defining the dimensions of body parts.

Table 4.1. Basic dimension adjectives in Polish and Korean

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Polish</th>
<th>Korean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>native adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duży [big]</td>
<td>keun ( 큰 ) &gt; kiga keun (기가 큰)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mały [small]</td>
<td>jageun (작은 ) &gt; kiga jageun (기가 작은)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wysoki [tall]</td>
<td>nopeun (높은 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niski [short]</td>
<td>najeun (낮은 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>długi [long]</td>
<td>gin (긴 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krótki [short]</td>
<td>jjalbeun (짧은 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>szeroki [wide]</td>
<td>neolbeun (넓은 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wąski [narrow]</td>
<td>jobeun (좁은 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gruby [thick]</td>
<td>dukkeoun (두꺼운 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gruby [thick]</td>
<td>gulgeun (곧은 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cienki [thin]</td>
<td>yalbeun (약은 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>głęboki [deep]</td>
<td>gipyeon ( Replies )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>płytki [shallow]</td>
<td>yateun ( 약은 )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own study

\(^5\) The situation is different in the case of the above-mentioned lexeme meori-garak meaning ‘hair’, which has the form of the assembly ‘head+long thin object’, where the garak morpheme can be omitted, which leads to a polysemy of the word meori – ‘head’; ‘hair’.
Table 4.1. is a summary of Polish and Korean dimension adjectives in attributive forms. I also included in it Sino-Korean adjectives, although the study only applied to native adjectives, as I identified the following regularities:

(1) Korean native names of body parts, e.g. meori (머리, ‘head’) collocate only with native dimension adjectives, cf. keun meori (큰 머리 ‘big head’), but not *dae meori (*대(大) 머리 *‘big head’), jageun nun (작은 눈 ‘small eye’) and not *so nun (*소(小) 눈).

(2) some Sino-Korean lexemes denoting body parts, the native Korean equivalents of which are obscure or not used, also collocate only with native adjectives and not Sino-Korean ones (!). As in the case of the names of internal organs, cf. keun simjang ( 큰 심장 ‘big heart’) and not *dae simjang (*대 심장 心臟).

(3) the remaining Sino-Korean lexemes denoting body parts collocate only with Sino-Korean adjectives, cf. dae du (대두 大頭 ‘big head’) and not *keun du (*큰두). However, similar Sino-Korean expressions are less frequently used than their native counterparts, which was why only the latter were analysed (cf. keun meori ‘big head’).

(4) Sino-Korean dimension adjectives with the meanings of ‘thick’, ‘thin’ and ‘shallow’ are generally not used in contemporary Korean.

(5) Sino-Korean spatial adjectives with the meanings of ‘wide’, ‘narrow’, ‘high’, ‘short’, ‘deep’ are used, but not in collocations with lexemes denoting body parts.

Korean includes pairs of native adjectives corresponding in terms of meaning to Polish adjectives: dużý – maly [big – small], długi – krótki [long – short], szeroki – waści [wide – narrow], głęboki – płytki [deep – shallow]. Unlike in the case of the Polish adjectives wysoki – niski, the Korean adjective pair nopeun (높은) – najeun (낮은), though referring to the height of objects (including the discussed human body parts), cannot be used for describing a person’s height. In relation to people, the following expressions are used: kiga keun (키가 큰, ‘big height’) – kiga jageun (키가 작은, ‘small height’). The Polish adjective gruby has two corresponding adjectives in Korean: dukkeoun (두꺼운) and gulgeun (굵은). Their antonyms are yalbeun (얇은) and ganeun (가는). The adjective dukkeoun usually refers to a dimension perpendicular to the surface of a flat object (e.g., a sheet of paper), or a rectangular object (e.g., a book), but it can also refer to cylindrical objects (e.g., a leg, finger, hair). The adjective gulgeun usually refers to the transversal dimension of cylindrical objects (e.g., a tree trunk), less often to a dimension perpendicular to the surface of rectangular objects (e.g., a book), but never to flat objects (e.g., a sheet of paper). In the case of the names of body parts, in some cases they collocate both with dukkeoun and gulgeun (cf. Korean meori-garak ‘hair’, dari ‘leg’), while in others there is a clear limitation of their
ability to collocate (e.g. the lexeme denoting ‘skin’ can only collocate with the adjective *dukkeoun* and not *gulgeun*). The adjective *ganeun* ‘thin’ mainly refers to the transversal dimension of long and cylindrical objects (e.g., hair, leg, thread). Additionally, Korean includes the adjectives *saljjin* (*살찐*) and *ddungddunghan* (*똥똥한*) which correspond to the Polish adjective *gruby* [thick], as well as *otyły* [obese], *tegi* [corpulent], *tlusty* [fat] and their antonyms: *nalssinhan* (*날씬한*), *mareun* (*더운*), and *yawin* (*야윈*) similar in terms of meaning to the Polish adjectives *szczupły* [slim], *chudy* [skinny], and *wychudzony* [emaciated], which are used in reference to human body parts defining the thickness of fat in a specific location (cf. Korean *nalssinhan bae* ‘slim abdomen’). In the analysis, I omitted such adjectives as *pociągły* [oval], *podłużny* [oblong], as it is not certain whether they describe the shape or rather the dimensions.

Adjectives in their literal meanings were indicated in their attributive forms (cf. Korean *keun gan* 큰 간, ‘big liver’), while for their figurative meanings predicative forms were also included (cf. Korean *gani keuda* 간이 크다, literally ‘liver is big’ > figuratively ‘to be very bold, audacious’).

5. COLLOCATIONS OF ADJECTIVES WITH THE NAMES OF BODY PARTS

To ensure the clarity of the discussion, I divided the material into 6 groups:

(1) humans and the human body as a whole (this group also included the skin covering the entire human body),
(2) head and its parts: face, hair, forehead, ear, cheek, nose, chin, eye, eyelash(es), eyebrow(s), eyelid, mouth, lips, tongue, tooth,
(3) parts of the trunk: arms/shoulders, chest, woman’s breast, back, waist, hips and buttocks, abdomen (I also included the neck/napa in this group),
(4) arm/hand and its elements: palm, finger, fingernail, wrist, elbow,
(5) leg and its elements: thigh, calf, ankle, foot, heel, toe, knee,
(6) selected internal body parts: muscle, bone, brain, throat, heart, lungs, liver, stomach, kidney.

Considering the possible teaching applications of the collected material, though the language of description is English, I provide below also the Korean lexemes in their original spellings, where the first element is the native noun and the second is Sino-Korean with the corresponding hanja sign. Lexemes provided in parentheses were not analysed in terms of collocations with dimension adjectives as those collocations are used less often (cf. sections 3 and 4).
5.1. HUMANS AND HUMAN BODY AS A WHOLE

5.1.1. Polish człowiek [human], Korean saram 사람, (in 인 人). Korean avoids defining humans as tall or short which is why I did not identify collocations of the lexeme denoting ‘human’ with the adjectives ‘tall’ – ‘short’. However, it is acceptable to use adjectives meaning ‘big’ – ‘small’ and ‘thick’ in the sense of ‘obese’ (saljjin, ddungddunghan) – ‘slim’, ‘skinny’ (yawin, mareun, nalssinhan). In Polish, acceptable collocations include: wysoki – niski [tall – short], duży – mały [big – small], gruby – szczupły [fat – slim] and chudy [skinny].

Figuratively, one might use in Polish expressions with the adjectives głęboki – płytki [deep – shallow]:

**głęboki człowiek** – ‘a person of deep creative thinking’

Example: **Człowiek głęboki, to człowiek refleksyjny. Jest to osoba która skupia się na istocie rzeczy, stara się dąży do przyczyn, nie skupia się na warstwie zewnętrznej, tylko patrzy głębiej. Ma bogate życie wewnętrzne.** [A deep person is a thoughtful person. It is a person who focusses on core issues, who tries to reach the cause, who does not focus on the external but who peers more deeply inside. It is a person with a rich internal life](http://pytamy.pl/question/co-znaczy-ktos-jest-gleboki/1)

A similar expression in Korean is: **sog-i gipeun saram** (속이 깊은 사람; ‘a person with a deep interior’).

**płytki człowiek** – ‘mindless person’

Example: **Szczęście może przeżywać tylko osoba zdolna do głębokich przeżyć. Człowiek płytki będzie przeżywał przyjemności, lecz nie szczęście.** [Joy can be experienced only by a person capable of deep experiences. A shallow person can experience pleasure but not joy](http://www.psychologia.net.pl/artykul.php?level=32)

5.1.2. Polish ciało [body], Korean mom 몸, (che 체). According to most Polish respondents, the body can be evaluated in terms of its thickness: **grube – szczupłe/chude** [thick – slim/skinny] and size: **duże – małe** [big – small]. Additionally, in the case of newborns that cannot yet stand, in Polish one would speak about the length of their bodies. Korean respondents indicated as available for collocations adjectives denoting ‘thick’ in the sense of ‘fat, obese’ (saljjin, ddungddunghan) – ‘skinny, slim’ (yawin, mareun, nalssinhan), but they did not evaluate the body in terms of its size or length. Half of Polish respondents also indicated adjectives wysokie – niskie [tall – short] as available for collocations, while none of the Korean respondents did so.
5.1.3. Polish skóra [skin], Korean sal 살, (pibu 피부 皮膚). In both languages, skin is defined only in terms of its thickness using the adjectives ‘thick’ – ‘thin’. In this case, the Korean language uses the adjective pair: dukkeoun – yalteun, as it is those (and not gulgeun and ganeun) that indicate the thickness of flat objects. Additionally, in Polish there are idiomatic expressions:

mieć grubą skórę / być gruboskórnym / gruba skóra – figuratively ‘to be insensitive, rude, indelicate, tactless; an unscrupulous person, devoid of feelings or empathy’

Example: Polityka postrzegana jest jako twarda gra. – Aby poruszać się w świecie polityki, trzeba mieć naprawdę gruba skórę. [Politics is considered as a tough game. To operate in the world of politics, one has to have a truly thick skin] (source: survey by sociologists of the University of Zielona Góra: Politics not for women, miasta.gazeta.pl/gorzow)

mieć cienką skórę / być cienkoskórnym – ‘to be sensitive’

Example: Był człowiekiem o cienkiej skórze. Nie ma osoby, która nie powiedziały o nim „wrażliwiec”. Jeśli śmiał się – to na cały głos. Jeśli płakał – to całym sobą. [He was a person of a thin skin. There is no one who would not call him “sensitive”. If he laughed, he laughed out loud. If he cried, he cried with his whole body] (polki.pl/viva_artykul,10003837.html);

Pawel, żartowalem, coś ty taki cienkoskórny się zrobił? [Paweł, I was just kidding, when did you get so thin-skinned?] (www.jelonek.org)

5.2. HEAD AND ITS PARTS

5.2.1. Polish głowa [head], Korean meori 머리, (du 두 頭). Both in Korean and Polish, the head is defined within the categories of: ‘big’ – ‘small’, whereas the name of the body part does not collocate with other dimension adjectives in Korean, and its collocations in Polish are doubtful; in the study only 35% of Polish respondents answered that the head may be szeroka – wąska [wide – narrow]. In Korean, the expressions jageun meori/eolgul and keun meori/eolgul (‘small head/face’ – ‘big head/face’) have recently become idiomatic, meaning ‘beautiful person’ – ‘ugly person’. Within the contemporary Korean model of beauty, a small head and small face are desirable qualities of one’s appearance (particularly in women). In the Polish culture, we do not attach too much attention to that feature of one’s appearance, so the term mała głowa/twarz [small head/face] does not in Polish entail beauty.

5.2.2. Polish twarz [face], Korean eolgul 얼굴, (anmyeon 안면 頭面). In both studied languages, the face may be big or small. In Korean both long and short,
while in Polish it can rather be long (70% respondents answered yes; short – 40%), whereas, in that same meaning, a common term is pociągła [oval]. In both languages one could talk about a wide or narrow face, though Korean respondents more often indicated an adjective denoting ‘wide’ than ‘narrow’ (80% and 60% of answers, respectively). Considerably fewer respondents of both nationalities (40–60%) indicated adjectives denoting ‘thick’ – ‘skinny/slim’ as collocating with that lexeme. In Korean, the expression ‘thick face’ also conveys an idiomatic meaning:

**eolgul (gajug)i dukkeop-da** (얼굴 (가죽)이 두껍다) – literally ‘face/skin on the face is thick’, figuratively ‘disregard someone’s opinion, to be impudent, insolent’.

**5.2.3. Polish włos(y) [hair], Korean meori-karak 머리(카락), (meori-teol 머리털; mobal 모발 毛髮).** As I have already mentioned, in Korean there are separate lexemes for defining hair on the head (meori-garak, meori-teol) and on the body in general (teol), where the latter also refers to animal fur. Hair, both on the head and on the rest of the human body, in both languages, can be long or short and thick or thin. However, in Korean in reference to hair on the head (meori-garak) meaning ‘thick’ users use both adjectives equally: dukkeoun and gulgeun (70% of respondents answered yes for each), while in the case of hair on the body (teol) respondents more often indicated collocations with the adjective dukkeoun than gulgeun.

In Polish, there is an idiomatic expression which carries a negative evaluation of a person, usually a woman:

**długie włosy, krótki rozum** – ‘a not very wise person’.

Example: *U białychgłów długie włosy, krótki rozum. / Krótki ma rozum, a długie włosy – o białogłowie pospolite głosy.* [Women have long hair but short wits. / Short wits, long hair – common words about women] (traditional Polish proverb).

**5.2.4. Polish czoło [forehead], Korean ima 이마, (jeondu 전두 前頭).** Within the vertical plain, the forehead is defined in Polish as high – low, while in Korean as wide – narrow. Additionally, 60% of Polish respondents indicated the adjective sze-roki [wide] to collocate with the lexeme denoting ‘forehead’, while approx. 50% of respondents of both nationalities indicated adjectives denoting ‘big’ – ‘small’.

**5.2.5. Polish ucho [ear], Korean kwi 귀, (i 이 耳).** In both studied languages, an ear may be big or small. In Polish, one could talk about long ears, though usually figuratively:

**mieć długie uszy** – ‘to tend to eavesdrop, to be nosy’.

Example: *Długie uszy FBI – nowe regulacje prawne dotyczące podsłuchu danych przesyłanych drogą elektroniczną pozwolą FBI namierzać użytkowników*
telefonów komórkowych. [FBI’s long ears – new legal regulations regarding wire taps of data sent electronically are going to enable the FBI to locate mobile phone users] (www.idg.pl/news/27648/Dlugie.uszy.FBI.html)

Additionally, in Korean, no one talks about thin ears, yet there is a phraseme: gwi-ga yalp-da (귀가 얇다) – literally ‘ears are thin’, figuratively ‘not to have one’s own opinion; to be credulous, to be easily convinced or deceived’.

5.2.6. Polish policzek [cheek], Korean ppyam 뱃, (hyeop 혗). Survey results indicated a very limited ability to collocate with the lexeme denoting a ‘cheek’ with dimension adjectives in both languages. According to the majority of respondents, in Korean it is possible to discuss only a thick (fat) cheek. In that meaning the adjective ttungttunghan is used. 40% of respondents also indicated the adjective neolbeun ‘wide’ as able to collocate. The majority of Polish respondents indicated as able to collocate not only the adjective gruby [thick], but also chudy [skinny] and szczupły [slim], while only 50% indicated the ability to collocate with the adjective duży.

5.2.7. Polish nos [nose], Korean ko 코, (bi 비 鼻). In both studied languages the nose may be big or small and long or short, whereas more Polish respondents than Korean respondents defined it in terms of length. There are, however, big differences in terms of its collocations with other dimension adjectives. Only in Korean do users talk about a high or short nose (similarly to Japanese, cf. Linde-Usiekniewicz 2000), while in Polish users talk about a wide or narrow nose. The Korean term nopeun ko (‘tall nose’) denotes a nose like that of Europeans, with a long base bone, and it carries an idiomatic meaning:

ko-ga nop-da, kot-dae-ga nop-da (코가 높다, 콧대가 높다) – literally ‘nose is tall / to have a tall nose / a tall nasal septum’, figuratively ‘have high expectations regarding someone or something, also a high opinion about oneself, to be exalted’.

Even though Polish idiom and phraseme dictionaries do not provide the entry ‘long nose’, Polish newspapers write from time to time about długie nosy [long noses] of various public figures with the figurative meaning ‘a lie; a nose like Pinocchio’s nose caused by his lying’, cf. e.g. the expression długi nos ministerstwa [the long nose of the ministry].

5.2.8. Polish podbródek [chin], Korean teok 퍽 ‘chin; jaw, bottom of the face’, (이 고) 頬), in Korean, dimension adjectives settle the polysemy of the lexeme teok – in combination with adjectives ‘long’ – ‘short’ it denotes ‘chin’, while with adjectives ‘big’ – ‘small’ it denotes the ‘jaw’. Only a small portion of Korean respondents indicated collocations of the teok lexeme with adjectives meaning ‘tall’ – ‘short’, ‘wide’ – ‘narrow’, so they are doubtful, though not impossible. According to Linde-Usiekniewicz (2000) in Polish one can talk about a big, small, long or
short chin, while our survey indicated the name of the body part to collocate with the adjectives *duży – maly* [big – small], while less than 50% of respondents indicated collocations with adjectives: *długi – krótki* [long – short], *szeroki – wąski* [wide – narrow], *gruby* [thick].

5.2.9. Polish *oko* [eye], Korean *nun* 눈, *(an 안 眼)*. In both languages one can talk about large or small eyes. Over 60% of Korean respondents indicated the word *nun* ‘eye’ to collocate with the adjective ‘deep’. The Korean expression ‘deep eyes’ denotes their beauty and clarity (purity). Additionally, in Korean it is possible to speak figuratively about tall or short eyes:

*nun-i nop-da* (눈이 높다) – literally ‘eyes are tall’, figuratively ‘to have high expectations’


*nun-i nat-da* (눈이 낮다) – literally ‘eyes are short’, idiomatically ‘to have low expectations’.


In Polish, users figuratively use expressions with the adjective *wielki* [huge] instead of *duży* [big]:

*robić wielkie oczy* – figuratively ‘to be surprised, to show surprise’.

Example: Mężczyzna zrobił wielkie oczy, bo zobaczył, że ktoś sfalszował jego podpis. [The man made huge eyes because he saw that someone had forged his signature] (www.kurierlubelski.pl)

*strach ma wielkie oczy* – ‘to be excessively afraid of something’.

Example: Strach ma wielkie oczy. Kryzys ma wielkie oczy. Ale damy sobie radę, o ile zdobędziemy się na radykalne działania. [Fear has huge eyes. Crisis has huge eyes. But we will manage if only we muster the courage for radical action] (www.biznes-firma.pl/Liderzy_Polskiego_Biznesu_wylonieni,13656.html)

5.2.10. Polish *rzęsa* [eyelash], Korean *sok-nun-sseop* 속눈썹, *(cheop 被睫)*. In Korean, one can talk about long and short eyelashes, while in Polish as well as those expressions, it is also acceptable to create collocations with *gruby* [thick] and *cienki* [thin].

5.2.11. Polish *brew* [eyebrow], Korean *nun-sseop* 눈썹, *(mi 미 眉)*. Collocations with the lexeme denoting ‘eyebrow’ are not parallel in the studied languages. According to most Polish respondents, it best collocates with the adjectives *szeroki – wąski* [wide – narrow] and *gruby – cienki* [thick – thin] in the vertical dimension, and *długi – krótki* [long – short] in the horizontal dimension, and with
the adjective *duży* [big] (60% of respondents answered yes about the last combination). According to Korean respondents, brows can be long – short, but not necessarily thick – thin (60% responders answered ‘no’), even less so as for determining them using adjectives denoting ‘wide’ – ‘narrow’ (87% of respondents answered ‘no’).

5.2.12. Polish *powieka* [eyelid], Korean *nun-kkeo-pul* 눈꺼풀, (geom 검瞼). In the studied languages, collocations of the noun with dimension adjectives are not significant. The largest share of indications (indicated by nearly 50% of Polish and Korean respondents) was recorded for collocations with the adjectives ‘thick’ – ‘thin’ (Korean *dukkeoun* – *yalbeun*).

5.2.13. Polish *usta* [mouth], Korean *ip* 입, (gu 구 입). In Korean, the mouth may be big or small, and figuratively short:

*ib-i jjalp-da* (입이 짧다) – literally ‘mouth is short’, figuratively ‘to have no appetite, to eat little, to be picky regarding food’.

Example: 아내는 입이 짧아 잘 먹는 것이 거의 없다. 특히 기름진 것은 더 못 먹는다 (http://blog.joins.com/nulmuni/6709412)

In Polish, the mouth can be *duże* [big] or *małe* [small], but also *szerokie* [wide] or *wąskie* [narrow].

5.2.14. Polish *wargi* [lips], Korean *ipsul* 입술, (sun 순 唇). In both languages, it is possible to talk about thick (Korean *dukkeoun*) or thin lips, while in Polish also about *szerokie* – *wąskie* [wide – narrow] and *duże* – *małe* [big – small].

5.2.15. Polish *język* [tongue], Korean *hyeo* 혀, (seol 설 舌). In both languages, the tongue may be long or short. The results of the survey also indicated collocations with adjectives: *szeroki* – *wąski* [wide – narrow], *gruby* [thick], *duży* – *mały* [big – small], and the results of the Korean survey indicated collocations with the adjective ‘thick’ (Korean *dukkeoun*). Figurative meanings identified in Korean included:

*hyeo-ga jjalp-da* (혀가 짧다) – literally ‘tongue is short’, figuratively ‘to have an unclear articulation’

*hyeo jjalb-eun sori* (혀 짧은 소리) – ‘speech of a short tongue’, figuratively ‘unclear speech, gibberish’


In Polish, the following expression is used figuratively:

*mieć (za) długi język/jeżor/ozór* - to tend to talk a lot or gossip; to reveal a secret, a mystery, to not be able to keep a secret:

Example: A ile razy ci mówiłem, że nie wolno mu nic mówić, bo ma za długi język. I wyszło szydło z worka. B. jest plotkarzem i to jeszcze jakim. [And how
many times have I told you that you can’t tell him anything because he has too long a tongue. And now everything became clear. B. is a gossip and a huge one, at that.]

5.2.16. Polish ząb [tooth], Korean ippal 이빨, (i 이), chia 치아 齒. In both languages, a tooth may be big or small. Additionally, in Polish it is possible to talk about długie [long] animal teeth (e.g. rodents) and idiomatically:

mieć długie zęby na coś – ‘to eat something not eagerly, to not find food tasty’
(a dialect phraseme) Example: Mam długie zęby na pierogi. [I have long teeth for dumplings.] (http://www.gwarypolskie.uw.edu.pl/)

5.3. PARTS OF THE TRUNK

5.3.1. Polish szyja i kark [neck and nape], Korean mok 목, (→). In Korean, which has the same lexeme for the neck and nape (Korean mok), the noun mok collocates with adjectives with the meanings of ‘long’ – ‘short’ and ‘thick’ – ‘thin’, where the meaning of ‘thick’ is conveyed in this case equally by two adjectives: dukkeoun and guleun, while the meaning of ‘thin’ by the adjectives: yalbeun and ganeun. In Polish, the neck can be długa – krótna [long – short], gruba – cienka [thick – thin], while the nape can be szeroki – wąski [wide – narrow] and gruby [thick]. In contemporary Polish, the expression szeroki kark [wide nape] has assumed an idiomatic meaning, though it has not yet been included in dictionaries:

szeroki kark / szerokie karczycho, also: mieć szeroki kark – ‘a man who works out too much = “jock”, thug, dresiarz [a person who regularly wears a tracksuit], also a halfwit, a not very intelligent person’.

Example: Przy wyjściu czekał na nas jakiś szeroki kark, wraz z równie przyjemnym towarzyszem. Wdaliśmy się w zbędną dyskusję. Za chwilę w ruch poszły automatyczne pistolety maszynowe (...) [At the exit, some wide nape was waiting for us, with a similarly pleasant companion. We engaged in a pointless dispute. A moment later, we all drew machine guns (...)] (blog).

Chodzi ciągle w dresie i na dodatek jeździ BMW. Ma szeroki kark, więc to na pewno musi być łobuz i rzezimieszek, przynajmniej woczach większości Polaków. [He constantly wears a tracksuit and, additionally, he drives a BMW. He has a wide nape, so he must be a scoundrel and a brigand, at least in the eyes of most Poles.] (internet commentary, www.sport.interia.pl)

5.3.2. Polish barki [shoulders], Korean eokkae 어깨, (gyeon 肩). In both languages the noun denoting ‘shoulders’ collocates with the adjective pair with the meaning ‘wide’ – ‘narrow’. In Polish, the expression mieć szerokie barki (bary) [to have wide shoulders] is synonymous with being fit or physically strong.
Example: *Niedźwiedzie bary przyciągają kobiety. Szerokie barki świadczą o silu partnera i bezpieczeństwie u jego boku.* [Bearlike shoulders draw women. Wide shoulders are indicative of a partner’s strength and security by his side] (dlastudenta.pl).

5.3.3. Polish *klatka piersiowa* [chest], Korean *gaseum* 가슴, (*hyungbu* 흉부 鬢胸). In both languages, the chest may be wide or narrow; in Korean, it can also carry a figurative meaning. Additionally, in Polish the lexeme may also be characterised by the adjectives *duża* [big] and *mała* [small].

*gaseum-i neolp-da* (가슴이 넓다) – literally ‘chest/breast is wide’, figuratively ‘to be forgiving, kind-hearted, to have a broad perspective’

Example: 가슴이 넓은 남자의 길버트의 지휘 동작도 크고 힘찼다”

*gaseum-i jop-da* (가슴이 좁다) – literally ‘chest/breast is narrow’, figuratively ‘to be severe, to have a narrow perspective’.

Example: 프티부르주아의 좁은 가슴과 도덕성을 위무”
(http://www.mediaus.co.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno=8232)

5.3.4. Polish *pierś kobieca* [woman’s breast], Korean *jeot-gaseum* (젖)가슴, (*yubang* 유방 乳房). In both languages, breasts may be big or small. Even though Linde-Usiekniewicz (2000) indicated also that in Polish they can collocate with the adjective *wysokie* [tall], none of our respondents indicated that combination.

5.3.5. Polish *plecy* [back], Korean *deung* 등, (*bae* 배 背). In both languages, the back can be wide or narrow, and in Polish, according to 65% respondents, it can be large or small. In Polish, the expression *szerokie plecy* [wide back] can also be used figuratively:

*mieć szerokie plecy* – ‘to have backing, connections, extensive contacts’

Example: *Szerokie plecy wicekuratora* [Deputy inspector’s wide back] (title of article) – *Trzy osoby starają się o fotel kujawsko-pomorskiego kuratora oświaty. Paradoksalnie jednak, zanim jeszcze upłynął termin składania ofert na to stanowisko, zatrudnienie w urzędzie znalazło... wicekurator.* [Three persons have applied for the position of the Kuyavia and Pomerania education inspector. Paradoxically, though, before the deadline for submitting applications for the position expired, the office employed... the deputy inspector] (http://bydgoszcz.naszemiasto.pl)

W telewizji Morąg pokazujemy, jakie panują układy w lokalnej polityce, i kto ma szerokie plecy. Czym zajmują się grube ryby i co dzieje się na wysokich stołkach. [Morąg television shows what the connections in the local politics are, and who has a wide back. What fat cats are doing and what is happening in the top positions] (http://forum.wm.pl/ Forum Warmińsko-Mazurskiego Portalu Regionalnego)
5.3.6. Polish *talia* [waist], Korean *heori* 허리, *(yo 요 腰)*. The collocations of this body part name with dimension adjectives differ considerably in both languages. In Polish, it collocates with the adjectives szeroka – wąska [wide – narrow] and gruba – szczupła [thick – slim] (not cienka [thin]) or it is possible to use the expression być grubym/szczyplym w pasie [to be thick/slim at the waist]. In Korean, it is possible to determine a waist as long – short, thick (Korean dukkeoun or gulgeun), fat, obese (Korean saljjin, ddungddunghan) – cienkiej [thin] (Korean yalbeun), slim (Korean nalssinhun) and skinny (Korean mareun), but users do not use expressions with the adjectives ‘wide’ (Korean neolbeun) – ‘narrow’ (Korean jobeun).

5.3.7. Polish *biodra i pośladki* [hips and buttocks], Korean *gungdungi* 공 동이, *(eongdeongi 엉덩이)*, *dunbu* 둔부 臀 ‘hips and buttocks’, *golban* 골반 骨盤 ‘hip bones’), *(bolgijjak 볼기짝* ‘buttocks’). In Korean, this body part understood as ‘hips+buttocks’ can be big – small, but also thick, meaning ‘fat, obese’ (Korean saljjin and ddungddunghan). In Polish, one can talk about wide or narrow hips, as well as big – small and thick – skinny/slim buttocks. Approximately half of Polish respondents also indicated the following expressions as possible: *grube* [fat], *szczupłe* [slim] and *duże biodra* [big hips], and *szerokie/wąskie pośladki* [wide/narrow buttocks].

5.3.8. Polish *brzuch* [abdomen], Korean *bae* 배, *(bokbu 복부 腹)*. The majority of the Korean respondents agreed that the name of the body part collocates only with the adjectives ‘fat’ (Korean saljjin and ddungddunghan) – ‘slim’ *(nalssinhun)* reflecting not the size, but the content of fat. Polish respondents, similarly to the Koreans, mostly indicated that the noun collocates with the adjectives *gruby* – *szczupły/chudy* [fat – slim/skinny]. Poles also indicated that it collocates with the adjectives *duży* – *maly* [big – small].

5.4. ARM/HAND AND ITS PARTS

5.4.1. Polish *ręka* (dłoń) [arm/hand (palm)], Korean *son* 손, *(su 수 手)*; *pal* 手, *(wan腕)*. In Polish, the word for hand/arm may be understood as the part between the wrist and the bottom of the fingers or as the entire upper limb. In the former meaning, it is defined in Polish as *duża – mała* [big – small], *szeroka – wąska* [wide – narrow] and *gruba – szczupła/chuda* [fat – slim/skinny] (not *cienka* [thin]). Then, as the name of the entire limb, it collocates with the adjectives *dluga – krótka* [long – short], *gruba – cienka* [thick – thin] (only half of the respondents indicated *chuda* [skinny], *szczupła* [slim]). Contrary to the Polish
respondents, the Korean respondents indicated that a hand may be not only big – small and thick/fat (Korean dukkeoun, saljjin, ddungddunghan), but also long or short. The results of the survey indicated that in Korean one does not talk about a hand as thin/slim or wide – narrow. A hand meaning ‘the entire upper limb’ is defined in Korean using the adjectives long – short.

Additionally, in Polish there exists an idiomatic meaning of the expression:  

mieć długie ręce – 1. ‘to be a thief, to tend to steal’

Example: Mówią o nim, że ma długie ręce. Lepiej nie powierzaj mu kluczy od domu. [They say he has long arms. You’d be better off not entrusting him with your keys to your home] (www.edupedia.pl)

2. ‘to have much influence and ways to harm someone, to have an opportunity to take revenge on someone; to be able to get and hurt someone who is located at a place hard to reach for others’

Example: „Ja o prawdziwej mafii rosyjskiej nie powiem ani słowa. Ani o ludziach, ani o interesach, jakie w Polsce prowadzą” – mówi jeden z gdańskich gangsterów. “Życie mi mile, a oni mają zbyt długie ręce.” [,I won’t say a word about the real Russian mob. Neither about the people, nor about their business in Poland,” said a Gdańsk mobster. “I value life too much, and they have too long arms”] (www.dziennik.pl/opinie/article96728/)

In Korean, there is a phraseme:

son-i keu-da; keun son (손이 크다, 큰 손) – literally ‘hand/palm is big, huge hand’, figuratively ‘to be generous, to be generous with money’

Example: 아주 아주 손이 큰 할머니가 있습니다. 무엇이든지 하기만 하면 엄청 많이 엄청 크게 하는 할머니입니다. (책 : 손 큰 할머니의 만두 만들기)

큰손들 증권사 찾는 발길 잦아졌다. (http://blog.joins.com/palao30/7994919)

5.4.2. Polish palec u ręki [finger], Korean son-garak 손가락, (suji 수지 手指). In both studied languages, a finger can be long – short, thick (Korean both dukkeoun and gulgeun, as well as ddungddunghan meaning ‘fat’) and thin. According to a majority of the Polish respondents, the lexeme denoting a finger also collocates with the adjectives szczupły [slim] and chudy [skinny] as well as duży [big] or mały [small], yet the latter pair are used rather as identification terms: maly palec [small digit] is the smallest (fifth) finger or toe, while duży palec [big digit] is usually the identification name of the largest (first) toe.

In Polish, there exists a phraseme:

mieć coś w małym palcu – ‘to have a perfect command of something; to know something perfectly; to be a master in an area’

Example: Nie mam języka (angielskiego) w małym palcu, ale chcę zdawać na angielsytkę na dzienne, bo kocham ten język. [I don’t have the (English) language in my little finger, but I want to apply for full-time English studies because I love the language] (www.ang.pl/angielsytka_zacznia_11624.html).
5.4.3. Polish paznokieć [nail], Korean son-top 손톱, (jo 조 爪). According to the respondents, in both languages one can talk about long or short and big or small nails, while in Polish one can also talk about szerokie [wide] or wąskie [narrow], (less often) grube – cienkie [thick – thin] (“easily broken”) nails. The results for Polish partly contradict Linde-Usiekniewicz’s study (2000) as she concluded that in Polish one could talk about wąskie [narrow], duże [big] or małe [small] nails.

5.4.4. Polish nadgarstek [wrist], Korean son-mok 손목 > (son-mok-ppyeo 손목뼈, wango ol완골腕骨 ‘wrist bones’). The majority of the Polish respondents indicated that the name of the body part collocates with the adjectives: szeroki – wąski [wide – narrow] and cienki/szczupły/chudy [thin/slim/skinny], while less than 50% indicated it can collocate with the adjective gruby [thick]. The majority of the Korean respondents indicated the noun collocates with the adjectives thick (Korean duggeoun and gulgeun) – thin (yalbeun).

5.4.5. Polish łokieć [elbow], Korean pal-kkumchi 팔꿈치 (-). In the studied languages, the noun does not collocate with any of the studied dimension adjectives.

5.5. PARTS OF LEG

5.5.1. Polish noga [leg], Korean dari 다리 (-). In both languages, a leg can be long – short, thick (also in the sense ‘fat’; in Korean, the name of a part of body collocates with all 4 adjectives, i.e. dukkeoun, gulgeun, saljjin, and ddung-ddunghan) and thin, slim, and skinny. In both of the compared languages, the lower limb is defined using the adjectives big – small (similarly as in the case of the upper limb).

In Polish, one can say figuratively that klamstwo na krótkie nogi – ‘lies always come out’. Example: W towarzystwie udajemy zapalonych miłośników jazzu i opery, degustatorów drogich win, (...), żeby przedstawić się w lepszym świetle, zdobyć uznanie towarzystwa (...). Ale działa to tylko na krótką metę, bo „klamstwo na krótkie nogi”. [In company, we pretend to be lovers of jazz and opera, samplers of expensive wine, (...) to present ourselves in a better light, to acquire the appreciation of others (...) But that only works for a short time because “lies have short legs”] (http://www.poradnikzdrowie.pl).

5.5.2. Polish udo [thigh], Korean heobeokji 허벅지 (-). Only half of the Polish respondents indicated the name of the body part to collocate with the adjectives: długi – krótki [long – short] and gruby [thick]. The Korean respondents
mostly indicated that the noun collocates with adjectives denoting ‘fat, corpulent’ (duggeoun, gulgeun, saljjin, ttungttunghan) and ‘thin, slim’ (yalbeun, mareun, nalssinhan).

5.5.3. Polish lydka [calf], Korean jongari 종아리, (jeonggangi 정강이, gyeong 경 윗). In Polish, one can talk about a fat or slim or skinny calf, but not about a thin calf. In Korean, a calf can be thick (dukkeoun, gulgeun, and ddung-dunghan meaning ‘fat’) or thin (yalbeun), slim (nalssinhan).

5.5.4. Polish kostka [ankle], Korean bal-mok 발목 ‘narrowing of the leg at the ankle’, (boksunga-ppyeo복숭아뼈 or boksa-ppyeo 복사뼈, gwagol 과골 腓骨 / geogol 거골 踝骨 ‘ankle bones’). In both languages, an ankle can be thick (Korean dukkeoun and gulgeun) or thin, while according to a majority of the Polish respondents it can be also slim or skinny.

5.5.5. Polish stopa [foot], Korean bal 발, (jok 足). According to a majority of the Korean respondents, a foot in the literal meaning can only be big or small, while figuratively one can talk about a wide foot:

bar-i neolp-da (발이 넓다) – literally ‘foot is wide’, figuratively ‘to have extensive relations, contacts.’

Example: 대기업 M&A전략 간 큰 놈ㆍ야무진 놈ㆍ발 넓은 놈.
(http://www.asiae.co.kr/news/view.htm?idno=2009101413313876807)

A majority of the Polish respondents indicated the noun to collocate with the adjectives: duża – mała [big – small], szeroka – wąska [wide – narrow], długa – krótka [long – short], but more people indicated the adjective długa (80%) rather than krótka (55%). Only in economics can one talk in Polish about a high or low foot:

wysoka stopa (of living, birth rate, percentage, inflation, unemployment, growth, etc.) – a term in economics

żyć na wysokiej stopie – ‘to live at a high level, luxuriously’

Example: Bohater jest pisarzem, utrzymującym się... z pisania książek! W Polsce! Posiada złotą kartę VISA, żyje na wysokiej stopie, pije drogie trunki, śpi w luksusowych hotelach (...). A to wszystko z honorariów autorstwych. [The protagonist is a writer, who earns his living by... writing books! In Poland! He has a gold VISA, he lives on a high foot, he drinks expensive alcohol, he sleeps in luxurious hotels (...) And all that from royalties] (xenna.com.pl)

żyć na szeroką stopę – better: żyć na wysokiej stopie

Example: Kobiety lubią mieć stopę wąską, a żyć na szerokiej [Women prefer to have a narrow foot, but to live on a wide one] – Julian Tuwim

niska stopa (of unemployment, inflation etc.) – a term in economics
5.5.6. Polish pięta [heel], Korean balkkumchi 발꿈치, (jong 종 踵). The survey results indicated that in Korean the noun does not collocate with any of the studied dimension adjectives, while in Polish it collocates only with the pair duża – mała [big – small], though Linde-Usiekniewicz (2000) indicated that in Polish it only collocates with the adjective szeroka [wide].

5.5.7. Polish palec u nogi [toe], Korean balgarak 발가락, (jokji족지 足指). In both of the studied languages, a toe can be big – small (the name of the little toe in Polish), long – short, and thick (Korean dukkeoun and gulgeun), while according to a majority of the Polish respondents it can also be skinny.

5.5.8. Polish kolano [knee], Korean mureup 무릎, (seul 슬 膝). The survey results for Korean indicated that the lexeme does not collocate with any of the studied dimension adjectives. In Polish, one can talk about a fat, slim or skinny knee, but not about a thin knee.

5.6. SELECTED INTERNAL BODY PARTS

5.6.1. Polish mięsień [muscle], Korean (himsal 힌살), geun-yuk 근육 肌肉. A muscle can be big or small in both languages; and in Polish, according to a majority of the respondents, it can be also long or short.

5.6.2. Polish kość [bone], Korean ppyeo 뼈, (gol 골 骨). In both languages, the lexeme denoting ‘bone’ collocates with adjective pairs: ‘long’ – ‘short’, ‘big’ – ‘small’, and ‘thick’ – ‘thin’, while according to the Korean respondents mostly with the pair ‘thick’ – ‘thin’ (Korean gulgeun – yalbeun, ganeun) because the adjectives gulgeun and ganeun are used to define non-flat cylindrical items. Less than half indicated that it collocates with the adjective dukkoun.

5.6.3. Polish mózg [brain], Korean nwe 뇌 腦. In the compared languages, the lexeme denoting ‘brain’ only collocates with the adjective pair ‘big’ – ‘small’. The expression mały mózg [small brain] has in Polish also a figurative meaning.

mieć mały mózg – ‘to be stupid, of little intelligence’

Example: Miał wspaniałe nogi do kopania, ale ma za mały mózg do myślenia – skomentował polityczną działalność Maradony prezydent Meksyku. [He had wonderful legs for kicking, but he has too small a brain for thinking – the president of Mexico thus commented on the political activities of Maradona] (http://www.sport.pl/pilka/1,65085,3083494.html).
5.6.4. Polish gardło [throat], Korean mok-gumeong 목구멍, mok 목, (in-hu 인후 咽喉). In Korean, one can talk about a wide or narrow throat, while according to 45% of respondents the body part can be defined using the adjectives ‘big’ – ‘small’. In Polish, a collocation with the adjectives szerokie – wąskie [wide – narrow] is possible but usually only as a medical term or a figurative expression. In the study, literal collocations with the adjectives were indicated by only 45% of the respondents.

wąskie gardło [bottle-neck] – 1) ‘a part of a road blocking the free flow of vehicles’

Example: Wąskie gardło na autostradzie A4 – Wczoraj zamknięto jedną jezdnię w rejonie budowanego węzła w Gliwicach. [A narrow throat on the A4 motorway – Yesterday, one lane was closed near the Gliwice junction under construction] (http://katowice.naszemiasto.pl)

Wąskie gardło sprawia, że przez cały dzień ulicę paraliżują korki. [The narrow throat is the reason why the street is paralysed with traffic jams all day long] (www.wirtualna.warszawa.pl)

2) ‘a part of production, the economy, a device, material, etc. which hinders the pace of work, economic development, work of an institution, etc.’

Example: W moim przekonaniu wąskie gardło w Polsce występuje nie w nauce. Wąskim gardłem jest gospodarka, która nie ujawnia zapotrzebowania na wyniki badań naukowych. [I believe that a narrow throat in Poland exists not in science. The narrow throat is the economy, which does not indicate demand for results of scientific research] (a statement by Professor A. Wiszniewski, http://pryzmat.pwr.wroc.pl)

szerokie gardło – ‘a part of a road enabling free flow of vehicles, a wide roadway’

5.6.5. Polish serce [heart], Korean (yeom-tong 엽통), simjang 심장 心臟.

In both languages, the heart can be big or small. According to Linde-Usieknie-wicz (2000), in the languages compared by the author (Polish, Russian, Ukrainian, Swedish, Vietnamese, Japanese), only in Polish is it not possible to talk literally about a big or small heart, but the results of my survey contradicted that conclusion. 100% of the respondents indicated that the lexeme serce [heart] collocates with the adjectives duży – mały [big – small]. When used figuratively, the noun instead of the adjective duży uses the adjective wielki [huge]:

miec wielkie serce (być człowiekiem wielkiego серca) – ‘to be a good, kind-hearted, noble person’.

Example: Takim pozostał w mojej pamięci: człowiekiem wielkiego serca, dobrym, zawsze służącym innym, zawsze innym oddanym. [That is how I remembered him: a man of huge heart, good, always helpful to others, always devoted to others] (blogi-politykow.com/zbigniew-religa-czlowiek-wielkiego-serca)
**człowiek małego serca** – ‘insensitive, mean; cowardly’

Example 1: Marian okazał się **człowiekiem małego serca**, nie wierząc w powodzenie naszego planu. Spodziewałem się po nim innego podejścia.

[Marian turned out to be a **man of small heart** as he did not believe in the success of our plan. I expected more of him] (http://www.edupedia.pl/words/index/show/474483_slownik_frazeologiczny-czlowie克_malego_serca.html)

Example 2: Napatrzysz się, pani, do woli, jak ludzie małego serca tłumem opuszczać pobitego, ale mnie między nimi nie obaczysz... [You will see enough, my lady, how **people of small hearts** in crowds leave the beaten, but you will not see me amongst them...] (H. Sienkiewicz, *The Deluge*, univ.gda.pl/~literat/potop/0087.htm)

5.6.6. Polish **płuca** [lungs], Korean (heopa **허파**), pe 폐 肺. The results of the survey for both languages indicated collocations of the lexeme denoting ‘lungs’ with the adjectives ‘big’ – ‘small’.

5.6.7. Polish **wątroba** [liver], Korean (-), gan 간 肝. In both languages, one can talk about a big or small liver and no other adjectives are used to describe it. Additionally, in Korean the expressions carry figurative meanings:

*gan-i keu-da* (간이 크다) – literally ‘liver is big’, figuratively ‘to be bold, impudent’

Example: 열쇠공 불러 집주인 행세하며 귀금속 훔친 간큰 여성. (http://www.jejusori.net/news/articleView.html?id=xno=69232)

*gan-i jak-da* (간이 작다) – literally ‘liver is small’, figuratively ‘to be fearful, faint-hearted’

Example: 그는 간이 작아 큰일은 못할 거야. (http://krdic.naver.com/detail.nhn?docid=555800)

5.6.8. Polish **żołądek** [stomach], Korean (bap-tong 밥통), wi 위 胃. The collected data indicate that in both languages the lexeme denoting ‘stomach’ collocates with only one adjective pair: ‘big – small’.

5.6.9. Polish **nerka (nerki)** [kindey (kidneys)], Korean (kong-pat 공팥), sin-jang 신장 腎臟. Both a majority of the studied Koreans and Poles indicated that it is possible to combine the lexeme denoting ‘kidney’ only with the adjectives ‘big – small’.
6. CONCLUSION

Based on the material discussed above, one can formulate some general conclusions regarding the collocations of dimension adjectives with the names of human body parts in Polish and Korean.

Firstly, I identified several significant differences regarding the adjectives and lexemes denoting human body parts. I wish to reiterate that in Korean there exist in parallel native and Sino-Korean words, where Sino-Korean dimension adjectives seldom collocate with the names of body parts (they collocate only with Sino-Korean nouns), while Sino-Korean names of body parts are less often used than their native Korean counterparts (the opposite applies only to the majority of the names of internal body parts and other individual names, cf. 

Some of the differences identified for the names of body parts are related to their diverse conceptualisations (cf. the part – whole relationship):

(1) Korean meori vs. Polish głowa [head] and włosy [hair]
(2) Korean dunbu vs. Polish biodra [thighs] and pośladki [buttocks]
(3) Korean mok vs. Polish szyja [neck], kark [nape] and gardło [throat]
(4) Korean teok vs. Polish szczęka dolna [jaw] and podbródek (broda) [chin]
(5) Polish noga [leg/foot] vs. Korean dari ‘upper limb’ and bal ‘foot’
(6) Polish włos [a hair] vs. Korean meori-garak, meori-teol ‘a hair on the head’ and teol ‘a hair on the body’
(8) Polish ramiona [shoulders] vs. Korean pal ‘hands’ and eokkae ‘shoulders’

In both languages, the cases of polysemy of the names of body parts are settled in combinations with dimension adjectives, cf. Polish krótkie/długie nogi ‘long/short legs’ and duże/male nogi ‘big/small feet’ or Korean keun/jageun meori ‘big/small head’ compared to kin/jjalbeun meori ‘long/short legs’ (for similar regularities for other languages cf. Linde-Usiekniewicz 2000).

As for the differences and similarities identified for adjectives, those apply to, e.g., adjectives denoting ‘thick’ – ‘thin’. For example, in Polish and Korean I identified in some cases collocations with only one adjective from an antonym pair, cf. gruba dłoń / *cienka dłoń [thick palm / *thin palm], gruby kark / *?cienki kark [thick nape / *?thin nape]. In Korean, there exists a pair of adjectives gulgeun ‘thick’ and ganeun ‘thin’, which mainly refer to the transversal dimension of cylindrical objects, including body parts (e.g., leg, hair, finger, neck), and a pair of adjectives dukkeoun ‘thick’ and yalbeun ‘thin’, which collocate mainly with the names of flat or rectangular objects, but they can also refer to cylindrical objects. Both pairs of Korean adjectives correspond to a single Polish pair gruby – cienki [thick – thin]. The results of my study indicated that both adjectives dukkeoun
and gulgeun collocate with the majority of (cylindrical) names of body parts, cf. waist, thigh, leg, leg at the ankle (ankle), finger, wrist, neck, and hair. There are exceptions, though. In the case of lexemes denoting ‘skin’, ‘hand’ and ‘lip’ (i.e. flat objects) I identified their ability to only collocate with the adjective dukkeoun, and only with the adjective gulgeun in the case of the lexeme denoting ‘bone’ (i.e. cylindrical objects).

In both languages, there are specialised adjectives which replace or co-exist with the dimension adjective pair ‘thick’ – ‘thin’ when referring to some body parts, e.g. the Polish otyły [obese], tęgi – szczupły [corpulent – slim], chudy [skinny], wychudzony [emaciated] and the Korean saljjin, ddungddunghan – nalssinhan, mareun and yawin. For example, in both languages, one can talk about a slim person, their body and abdomen, slim waist (Polish also być szczupłym w talii [to be thin at the waist]) and leg. In Polish, it is also possible to talk about slim hands, fingers (apart from: thin), wrists (apart from: thin), cheeks, knees and buttocks, and even about a slim face (also być szczupłym na twarzy [to be slim in the face]). Then, regarding skin, bones, hair, and lips, in both languages, users use an adjective denoting ‘thin’. More examples of usage of those adjectives can be found in section 5.

What is noteworthy is the complete divergence of both languages in collocations with adjectives denoting ‘tall’ – ‘short’ with the names of body parts. However, their collocations in both languages are also narrow. For that matter, in Polish they collocate only with the lexemes człowiek [human] and czolo [forehead], and figuratively with the lexeme stopa [foot], while in Korean with the lexemes: ko ‘nose’ (literally and figuratively) and nun ‘eyes’ (only figuratively). Interestingly enough, the Korean division into tall and short noses has an anthropological/cultural foundation: users differentiate European-type and Far Eastern (oriental) noses, yet the canon of beauty in contemporary Korea is the tall not the short, oriental, nose.

The adjectives głęboki – płytki [deep – shallow] (Korean gipeun – yateun), as they refer to the internal dimension of objects, practically do not collocate with the names of body parts in either of the studied languages. In Polish, only figuratively can one talk about a deep or shallow person. However, one should note that a minor share of the Polish respondents (below 40%) indicated that they both collocate with the lexemes płuca [lungs] and oko [eye], and only the adjective głęboki [deep] with the lexeme gardło [throat]. Then, 60% of the Korean respondents indicated the existence of the expression ‘deep eyes’ meaning ‘beautiful innocent eyes’, while a small number of people considered as possible the expression ‘deep/shallow eyelids’. The fact that both Polish and Korean respondents, though minor shares of both, indicated the existence of the expression ‘deep eyes’ may be related to the existence of other expressions, e.g. Polish głębokie spojrzenie [deep look], głęboki oczodół [deep eye socket].
As for describing human body parts within the category of size (using the adjectives: Polish duży – mały [big – small], Korean keun – jageun), both Korean and Polish respondents agreed that, first of all, such an evaluation applies to internal organs (cf. brain, heart, lung, liver, stomach, kidney), and, what is even more interesting, they were not willing to assign those organs the dimensions of length, width or thickness. According to the respondents, the names of body parts collocate only with adjectives denoting ‘big’ – ‘small’. Secondly, Koreans and Poles agreed about the ability to form collocations by those adjectives with the names denoting: ‘human’, ‘body’, ‘palm’, ‘foot’, ‘finger’, ‘nail’, ‘head’, ‘face’, ‘eye’, ‘ear’, ‘nose’, ‘chin’, ‘tooth’, ‘woman’s breasts’, ’buttocks(+)-thighs’. Thirdly, the Polish adjectives duży – mały [big – small] seem to collocate with more names of body parts than their Korean counterparts as Polish respondents indicated that they collocate well also with the nouns: mięśień [muscle] (Korean +/-)6, kość [bone] (Korean +/-), palec [finger] (Korean +/-), pięta [heel], usta [mouth], wargi [lips], język [tongue], klatka piersiowa [chest], plecy [back], and brzuch [abdomen].

Similarly, adjectives denoting ‘wide’ – ‘narrow’ form more collocations in Polish than in Korean. Koreans and Poles agreed about their ability to collocate with lexemes denoting: ‘shoulders’, ‘back’, ‘chest’, ‘throat’ (Polish figuratively), Polish ‘hips’/ Korean ‘hip bones’. Additionally, Polish respondents indicated collocations of both adjectives with lexemes denoting smaller or less distinct body parts: hand, wrist, nail, foot, waist, buttocks, nape, brows, nose, chin, mouth, and lips, while Koreans indicated only collocations with the lexeme denoting ‘forehead’. I also noticed an interesting discrepancy in collocations, i.e. collocations of only one adjective in an antonymic pair: Poles were more inclined to talk about a broad, but not a narrow forehead or chin, while Koreans were more willing to talk about a wide rather than a narrow face.

The use of adjectives denoting ‘long’ – ‘short’ is similar in both languages. They collocate both in Korean and Polish with lexemes denoting the following body parts: leg, hand (arm), finger, neck, nail, hair, brows, eyelashes, nose, and tongue. The differences which I identified applied to their collocations in Korean with lexemes denoting ‘waist’, ‘hand’, and ‘chin’, while there existed no distinct collocations in Polish, and vice versa: their ability to collocate in Polish with lexemes denoting ‘muscle’ and ‘bone’ where there existed no distinct collocations in Korean. Interesting asymmetries included: Polish długa (pociagła) twarz / *krótka twarz [long (oblong) face / *short face] (in Korean both combinations are possible), Polish długa stopa / *?krótka stopa [loong foot / *?short foot], Korean gin ko ‘long nose’ / *?jjalbeun ko ‘short nose’. It is worth noticing that in Polish the adjective długi [long] (*krótki [short]) also collocates well with the names of human body parts, while there are no such collocations in Korean phrasemes, cf. Polish

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6 (+/-) – collocations uncertain.
mieć długi język / długie ręce / długie zęby / długie uszy [to have a long tongue / long hands / long teeth / long ears].

It is noteworthy that some names of body parts indicated almost no collocations with dimension adjectives, cf. Korean and Polish ‘elbow’, Korean ‘heel’, ‘knee’, Polish ‘eyelid’. That may be a result of the fact that they are treated as “connectors” or ends of other larger body parts. Interestingly enough, for approx. 40% of the names of body parts both in Korean and in Polish I identified collocations with only one pair of dimension adjectives, but that was usually either a pair defining the size or width of a body part (cf. the results in section 5).

The findings discussed above are of a preliminary nature. In the article, I have indicated how individual dimensions are assigned to individual body parts in the languages being compared, and their literal and figurative meanings. The next steps will include a continuation of the study on a larger and more balanced respondent group, a further analysis of the results discussed above and their comparison with the results achieved for Polish, Korean, and other languages by other researchers to expand the understanding of the modes of conceptualisation of the dimensions of human body parts in the studied languages. I shall mainly seek explanations for harmony and disharmony in terms of the collocations of dimension adjectives with specific body parts, which could enable the formulation of more general conclusions for, e.g., more or less distinct body parts.

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ŁĄCZLIWOŚĆ PRZYMIO TNIKÓW WYMIARU Z NAZWAMI CZĘŚCI CIAŁA CZŁOWIEKA W JĘZYKACH: POLSKIM I KOREAŃSKIM

Słowa kluczowe: semantyka porównawcza, przymiotniki wymiaru, nazwy części ciała, kolokacje, konceptualizacja części ciała i ich wymiarów, język polski, język koreański, glottodydaktyka

Streszczenie. Artykuł prezentuje wyniki badań porównawczych dotyczących łączliwości nazw części ciała człowieka z przymiotnikami wymiaru. Celem analizy było pokazanie podobieństw, ograniczeń i asymetrii w sposobach konceptualizowania świata utrwalonych w języku polskim i języku koreańskim, a dokładniej – jak oba języki wydzielają elementy świata będące częściami ciała człowieka oraz jak przypisują im wymiary zależnie od potrzeb i doświadczeń rodzimych użytkowników tych języków. Wyniki badań mogą mieć praktyczne zastosowanie w dydaktyce obu języków, ułatwiając osobom uczącym się języka koreańskiego lub języka polskiego nabywanie leksykonu drugiego języka oraz przyczynić się do głębszego, wzajemnego zrozumienia odmienności językowej i kulturowej.