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MULTIMEANINGFULNESS IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN

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Abstract: In this paper we examine conceptual structures that may communicate different meanings when employed in contemporary general and specialised English and Serbian. The analysis reveals that various word classes may be polysemic. The results suggest that the use of English and Serbian lexemes is context-dependent, and that lexeme usage in English is even more context-oriented than lexeme usage in Serbian. The findings also indicate that the same lexemes, slightly different or completely different lexical units can convey the same concept meanings in the two analysed languages. **Keywords:** cognitive theory, English and Serbian, polysemous primary and secondary lexemes,

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1. Introduction

Multimeaningfulness, i.e. polysemy, is a characteristic of all natural languages. While multimeaningfulness gives general language rich variety of expression, it may introduce imprecision in specialised languages. It is, therefore, important to be aware of polysemy in both realizations of natural languages, to be able to understand the exact meaning of lexical units as employed in written and spoken discourse, and to avoid multimeaningful terms in specialised usage.

John Taylor argues that "polysemy is not only ubiquitous but also conceptually necessary in an evolving semiotic system that can communicate the dynamic aspects of conceptual structure" (Taylor 2002:471). Vyvyan Evans and Melanie Green define polysemy as "the phenomenon where a single linguistic unit exhibits multiple distinct yet related meanings", and contrast polysemy with homonymy, "where two words are pronounced" (*soul* and *sole*) "and/or spelt the same way" (*bank* and *bank* – "bank of a river" and "a financial institution") "but have distinct meanings" (Evans and Green 2006:36). Cognitivists determine the metaphor as "the phenomenon where one conceptual domain is systematically structured in terms of another" (Evans and Green 2006:38), as in *Love is a journey* – *Ljubav je putovanje*, and Günter Radden and Zoltán Kövecses (1999) see metonymy as a conceptual process in which one conceptual entity, the 'target', is made mentally accessible by means of another conceptual entity, the 'vehicle', within the same idealized cognitive model (ICM), as proposed by Lakoff (1987).

Linguistic forms expressing a variety of meanings reflect the world around us, which constantly changes. To describe new phenomena or concepts, we often exploit the already existing forms. Metaphor and metonymy may be therefore considered to be two productive ways of semantic extension, and we offer here examples containing them in order to illustrate their semantic value. Apart from a small number of metonyms and metaphors, we also discuss homographs, homonyms, and collocations briefly, as well as a couple of ambiguous sentences, comprising polysemous words. The corpus analysed in the article is built from 25

lexical units, and the focus of our exploration is on semantics and pragmatics of the lexemes under consideration.

The aim of this article is to demonstrate that different word classes may be polysemic in English and Serbian (see Dimković-Telebaković 2013, Dimković-Telebaković 2014). A synchronic and contrastive approach, placed within the framework of a cognitive theory, has been adopted here to illustrate that both primary and secondary lexemes may be multimeaningful. Some of the examples given below are taken from relevant dictionaries or three textbooks written by the author of this paper (Dimković-Telebaković 2009a, Dimković-Telebaković 2009b, Dimković-Telebaković 2012), a number of them are adapted from other sources, and many examples are made up to show possible meanings of a small number of lexical units chosen randomly.

2. Word Classes Having a Variety of Meanings

It is well-known that word classes in natural languages can be multimeaningful. This section provides examples which demonstrate polysemy of some English and Serbian nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs and prepositions.

2.1. Nouns expressing different meanings

We discuss here the following nouns: *honey*, *conductor*, *transfer*, *car*, *lead*, and *glava*, *kljun*, *krilo*, *grad*, *pop*.

Honey may mean "the sweet sticky soft material produced by bees, which is eaten on bread"/"med" (see *Longman Dictionary* 1978:540) or "darling"/"draga", "medenjak", whereas the compound noun *honeycombing* is, for instance, translated into Serbian as "prazan skladišnji prostor", if used in the field of logistics, and has the terminological meaning of "empty storage space" (cf. Dimković-Telebaković 2009a:226, 224). *Conductor* may have the meaning of "a person who directs the playing of a group of musicians"/"dirigent", or "a person employed to collect payments from passengers on a public vehicle"/"kondukter", or "a substance that readily acts as a path for electricity, heat, etc."/ "provodnik", or "the guard on a train" (AmE)/"sprovodnik" (see *Longman Dictionary* 1978:227), depending on a context and a variety of English in which it is employed, while *transfer* has the meaning of "interchange"/"throughput"/"pretovar" or "carriage"/"prenos", as shown in examples (1a), (1a"), (1b) and (1b").

(1) a. *Transfer* points are marked by passive electronic components set into the floor, which are read by special antenna transponders.

(adapted from Dimković-Telebaković 2009a:124)

a" Mesta za *pretovar* označena su pasivnim elektronskim uređajima ugrađenim u pod, koja se očitavaju pomoću posebnih primo-predajnika s antenama i s automatskim prijemom signala.

b. Intermodal is presently defined as the *transfer* of freight from one mode or type of carrier to another.

(adapted from Dimković-Telebaković 2009a:145)

b" Intermodalni transport se sada određuje kao *prenos* tereta od mesta s do mesta s drugim načinom prevoza ili tipom prevoznika.

The lexeme *car* is usually translated into Serbian as "kola", "automobile", but if it is used in railways engineering it may mean "vagon". The following examples illustrate this:

(2) a. 70 per cent of households in England, Scotland and Wales now have the regular use of at least one *car*.

(adapted from Dimković-Telebaković 2009a:327)

a" 70 procenata domaćinstava u Engleskoj, Škotskoj i Velsu sada redovno koristi bar jedna *kola*.

b. In the 1960s and 1970s, we commonly described intermodal as referring to the movement of highway trailers on railroad flatbed *cars*.

(from Dimković-Telebaković 2009a:145)

b" Šezdesetih i sedamdesetih godina dvadesetog veka obično smo opisivali intermodalni transport kao kretanje drumskih prikolica postavljenih na železničke plato-*vagone*.

Natural languages contain lexemes which are written the same way but are pronounced differently and bear different meanings. Such words are called homographs. The English homograph *lead*, for instance, has the meaning of "dog's lead"/"povodac za pse", if pronounced /li:d/ (see Ristić et al. 1963:317), or "a kind of metal"/"olovo", if pronounced /led/ (cf. Ristić et al. 1963:730).

To show that Serbian also has nouns which may express different meanings, when used in various contexts, we provide you with some multimeaningful words – metaphors, homographs, homonyms and metonyms. The following examples are taken from *Rečnik SANU: Rečnik srpskohrvatskog književnog i narodnog jezika* (1959-2014).

Glava has the primary meaning of "part of the body"/"deo tela", and its metaphorical meanings are in Serbian "glava porodice"/"head of a family", "glava eksera"/"head of a nail", "glava kupusa"/"head of cabbage", "glava šećera"/"a loaf of sugar", "glava knjige"/ "chapter" (of a book), etc. As for the lexeme *kljun*, it can mean "bird's part of the body"/"deo tela ptice", "mouth" (with men)/"usta", "tip of a shoe"/"vrh cipele", "the bow of a ship"/"pramac broda", "to have a bite"/"baciti nešto u kljun", "pojesti". *Krilo* also shows that words are multimeaningful: "krilo ptice"/"wing of a bird", "krilo aviona"/"wing of a plane", "krilo zgrade"/"wing of a house", "plućno krilo"/"lobe of a lung", "krilo propelera"/"blade of a propeller", "krilo"/"lap". The equivalents in English for the given words in Serbian show that the two languages overlap only to some extent. This means that learners and translators need to be careful when studying these languages or doing translations from Serbian into English, or vice versa.

Homographs, such as *grâd* and *grầd* have the meanings of "city", "town" and "hail", as in (3) and (3"), and *Jèla Jéla ispod jêla* (*Helen ate under the firs*), show that nouns and verbs may be homographs in Serbian. These examples demonstrate that the type of accent differentiates word meaning.

(3) Cele noći gràd je padao na grâd.
(3") Hail was falling on the *town* all night.

In (4) and (4"), *pop* has the homonymic meaning, since the only criterion which differentiates the first and the second *pop* in the sentence is meaning. If we say, however, *Ceo* grâd spava (The whole city is asleep), as in (5) and (5"), we express a metonymic meaning, because grâd designates people who live in the city. Metonymy also occurs in (6) and (6"): Odnosi između Beograda i Vašingtona su dobri (The relations between Belgrade and Washington are good), where Beograd and Vašington (Belgrade and Washington) refer to the governments of the two countries, not to the capital cities. If we use Günter Radden's and Zoltán Kövecses' (1999) terminology, we can say that the capital cities are one conceptual entity, the 'vehicle', whereas the governments of the two countries represent another conceptual entity, the 'target'. In other words, we have here the transfer from one meaning to another meaning, i.e. metonymy.

(4) *Pop* sluša *pop*.

(4") *The priest* listens to *pop music*.

(5) Ceo *grâd* spava.

(5") The whole *city* is asleep.

(6) Odnosi između *Beograda* i *Vašingtona* su dobri.(6") The relations between *Belgrade* and *Washington* are good.

2.2. Some adjectives that may convey various meanings

The following adjectives are considered in this section: *heavy*, *light*, *bright* and *gust*, *svetao*.

In English, *heavy* can have the meaning of "difficult to carry"/"težak", "a great number of"/"veliki", and "of great intensity"/"gust", as in (7a), (7a"), (7b), (7b"), (7c) and (7c").

(7) a. The truck was carrying a *heavy* load.

(from *Merriam-Webster's Learner's Dictionary Online*) a" Kamion je prevozio *težak* teret.

b. *Heavy* volumes of automobiles and buses move westbound (towards San Francisco) on five lanes on the upper deck of the bridge in the morning andreverse their directions on five lanes on the lower deck in the afternoon.

(from Dimković-Telebaković 2009b:127)

b" *Veliki* broj automobila i autobusa kreće se ujutru ka zapadu (prema San Francisku) na pet traka gornjom platformom mosta i vraća se popodne na pet traka donjom platformom.

c. We got caught in *heavy* traffic.

(from Merriam-Webster's Learner's Dictionary Online)

c" Zaglavili smo se u gustom saobraćaju.

In Serbian, *gust (heavy)* collocates with "magla"/"fog", "saobraćaj"/"traffic", "čorba"/"broth" and "dim"/"chimney", as shown in examples (8a), (8b), (8c) and (8d).

(8) a. Magla je sinoć bila toliko gusta da smo jedva videli kuda idemo.

- b. Saobraćaj je na ovom mestu u gradu uvek vrlo gust.
- c. On voli da čorba bude gusta.
- d. Gust dim je kuljao iz fabričkog dimnjaka.

English equivalents of sentences (8a), (8b), (8c) and (8d) are as follows:

(8) a" The fog was so *heavy* last night that we could hardly see where we were going.

- b" Traffic is always very *heavy* at this place in the city.
- c" He likes eating *thick* broth.
- d" A *thick* smoke was coming out of the factory chimney.

These examples illustrate that the lexemes *heavy* and *thick* are used in different contexts in English to express the meaning of *gust* in Serbian. This leads us to the conclusion that the use of English and Serbian lexemes is context-dependent, and that English lexeme usage is more context-oriented than Serbian lexeme usage.

The following examples demonstrate that the same conclusion is valid with the adjective *svetao* (*bright*, *light*), collocating with "budućnost"/"future", "soba"/"room" and "pivo"/"beer" in Serbian.

(9) a. Pred njim je *svetla* budućnost.

- b. Ona uvek bira *svetle* sobe.
- c. U Pragu se pije *svetlo* pivo vrhunskog kvaliteta.

The translation of these sentences shows the corresponding collocations in English.

(9)	a" He has a <i>bright</i> future ahead.	(bright means
		"promising" here)
	b" She always chooses <i>bright</i> rooms.	(<i>bright</i> may have the opposite meaning of
		"dark", or "south-facing"
		which is the opposite
		meaning of "north-
		facing", or "windowless
		(after Oxford Collocations
		<i>Dictionary</i> 2002:667)
	c" One can have <i>light</i> beer of great quality in	

c" One can have *light* beer of great quality in Prague.

Ambiguity is also connected with polysemy. If a word is polysemic, it can cause an ambiguous sentence. The sentence *It's rough* can be interpreted in the following way: both the pronoun *it* and the adjective *rough* are multimeaningful; if *it* refers to *road*, then *rough* has the meaning of "not smooth"; if *it* is *water*, *rough* means "troubled", "heavy"; if *it* is substituted by *task*, *rough* is "difficult" or "heavy", and if *it* refers to *terrain*, then *rough* has the meaning of "hilly".

2.3. Verbs bearing more than one meaning

The verbs *carry*, *convey*, *take off* and *držati*, *videti*, *buncati* illustrate that verbs may also be polysemic, when used in different contexts in English and Serbian. Examples (10a) and (10a") show that *carry* may mean "to bear a heavy bag while moving"/"nositi" whereas its meaning in (10b) and (10b") is "to move"/"prevoziti". The meaning of *convey* may be "to express a meaning"/"izražavati značenje", as in (11a) and (11a"), or "to carry"/ "prevoziti", as in (11b) and (11b").

- (10) a. Give her a hand. She is *carrying* a heavy bag.
 b. Car-floats are designed to *carry* 10, 20 or more rail-road cars from one railhead to another or to shipside for transferring loads. (from Dimković-Telebaković 2009a:161)
 a" Pomozi joj. *Nosi* tešku torbu.
 b" Trajekti su projektovani da *prevoze* 10, 20 ili više železničkih vagona od kraja jedne železničke trase do početka druge ili do pristaništa za pretovar
- a. Words *convey* various meanings in different contexts.
 a" Reči *izražavaju* raznovrsna značenja u različitim kontekstima.
 b. We *conveyed* our goods to market in an old van.
 h" Paku area da nijega nurvalin storem kombini.
 - b" Robu smo do pijace *prevezli* u starom kombiju.

tereta.

The phrasal verb *take off* can also bear various meanings. If used in general English, as in example (12a), it may mean "to remove a garment", or "to imitate, to copy someone, esp. his speech or manners", as shown in (12b), whereas if it is used in air traffic, it means "to leave the ground and start rising into the air (for a plane) at the beginning of a flight", as in (12c). (These meanings can be found in *Longman Dictionary* 1978:1131).

(12) a. Anne *took off* her coat quickly and entered the room. a" Ana je brzo *skinula* kaput i ušla u sobu. b" U mladosti je umeo da *imitira* poznate glumce.c. The A340 is *taking off* now.c" A340 sada *poleće*.

The following sentences contain the verbs *držati*, *videti* and *buncati*. They convey different meanings, as illustrated in the translated sentences below. Examples (13a"), (13b") and (13c"), (14a"), (14b") and (14c"), and (15a") and (15b") reveal that one lexeme in Serbian may have different lexemes as English equivalents, depending on the contexts in which they occur, which is also shown by (8a), (8b), (8c), (8d), and (8a"), (8b"), (8c"), (8d"), as well as (9a), (9b), (9c) and (9a"), (9b"), (9c").

- (13) a. Ona *drži* predavanja (predaje) na fakultetu ponedeljkom i četvrtkom.
 - b. On *drži* reč.
 - c. Drži čašu čvrsto!
- (13) a" She gives lectures at the Faculty on Mondays and Thursdays.
 - b" He keeps his word/promise.
 - c" *Hold* the glass tight!
- (14) a. Videću ih sutra.
 - b. Vide oni da si u pravu.
 - c. Vidi se da je stranac.
- (14) a" I'll *meet* them tomorrow.
 - b" They *understand* that you are right.
 - c" One can *tell/see* that he is a foreigner.
- (15) a. Preznojavao se ležeći na krevetu te noći, a pred zoru je počeo da *bunca*.b. *Buncaš*.
- (15) a" He was sweating lying down on the bed that night, and before dawn he began to *talk vaguely*.
 - b" You talk nonsense.

We have already demonstrated that polysemic bits of language cause ambiguity. Verbs may also be ambiguous, as illustrated by the following example: *I heard Kate crying*. This sentence has two interpretations, due to the verb *cry* which may either mean "weep" or "shout".

2.4. Some adverbs that express different meanings

Adverbs may be multimeaningful too. Here are some examples as employed in specialised use. The examples demonstrate that *heavily* may mean *mnogo* and *sporo*, as in (16a") and (16b"), whereas the adverb *closely* expresses the meanings of *detaljno/pažljivo* (17a"), *precizno/strogo* (17b") or *čvrsto* (17c"), i.e., "in a way that involves careful attention to every detail", "in a very careful and strict way", and "in a way that is very similar to something or has an obvious or strong connection with it", as shown in (17a, b, c), respectively. Sentences (17a, b, c) are taken from *Macmillan Dictionary Online* (2015).

(16) a. Satellite systems depend *heavily* on technology, including rocketry, space mechanics, solid-state electronics, high frequency electronics and radiation, and modern communications networks.

(from Dimković-Telebaković 2009a:20) a" Satelitski sistemi *mnogo* zavise od tehnologije, uključujući raketnu tehniku, kosmičku mehaniku, poluprovodničku elektroniku, elektroniku visokih učestalosti i prenos talasa, i moderne komunikacione mreže.

- b. The traffic moved *heavily* through the city centre.
- b" Saobraćaj se odvijao sporo kroz centar grada.
- (17) a. Inspectors will examine the accounts very *closely*.
 - a" Inspektori će veoma detaljno/pažljivo pregledati račune.
 - b. The movement of information across the border is *closely* regulated.
 - b" Prenos informacija preko granice je precizno/strogo određen.
 - c. The Northern Ireland economy is *closely* linked to that of the rest of the United Kingdom.
 - c" Privreda Severne Irske je *čvrsto* povezana s ostalim delovima ekonomije Ujedinjenog Kraljevstva.

2.5. Prepositions as polysemic words

Apart from nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs, prepositions may also be multimeaningful. The examples below illustrate that this is valid for both specific and general usage.

(18)	a. The picture is <i>over</i> the sofa. a" Slika je <i>iznad</i> sofe.	(over means "above" here)	
	b. The picture is <i>over</i> the hole.	(<i>over</i> has the meaning of ,,covering")	
	b" Slika je (postavljena) preko rupe.		
	c. The ball is <i>over</i> the wall.	(<i>over</i> means "on-the-other- side-of" here)	
	c" Lopta je <i>s druge strane</i> zida.		
	d. The helicopter flew <i>over</i> the city.	(<i>over</i> has the meaning of "path") (after Taylor 1989:127)	
	d" Helikopter je leteo nad gradom.		
	e. She has a strange power <i>over</i> me.	(<i>over</i> has the metaphorical ,,control" meaning here) (from Evans and Green 2006:36)	
	e" Ona ima čudnu moć nadamnom.		
	f. Once passed, the new regulations will be rolled out gradually <i>over</i> the coming years.	(<i>over</i> means ,,during") (from Dimković- Telebaković 2012:64)	
	f' Jednom doneti, novi propisi biće uvedeni postepeno <i>u toku</i> narednih godina.		
(19)	a. The pencil is <i>under</i> the chair.	(<i>under</i> is spatial preposition here)	
i	a" Olovka je <i>ispod</i> stolice.		
	b. She is <i>under</i> twenty years old.	(<i>under</i> has the meaning of "less than" here)	
1	b" Ona ima <i>manje od</i> dvadeset godina.		
	c. I wanted to leave quickly but <i>under the</i> <i>circumstances</i> (my uncle had just died) I decided to stay another night. (from <i>Longman Dictionary</i> 1978:187)		
	 Želeo sam brzo da odem, ali <i>zbog okolnosti</i> (ujak mi je upravo umro) odlučio sam da ostanem još jednu noć. 		
	d. The event was presented under the auspic	es of	

the Electric Vehicle Association of the Americas (EVAA).

- (adapted from Dimković-Telebaković 2009b:39)
- d" Događaj je predstavljen *pod pokroviteljstvom* Udruženja za električna vozila Amerika.

3. Conclusions

We discussed here 25 English and Serbian lexical units as used in contemporary general and specialised language, mostly in transport and traffic engineering. Examples show that different word classes – nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs and prepositions – may be multimeaningful, and that bits of language are context-dependent. This analysis points to the fact that the use of English lexemes is even more context-dependent than Serbian lexeme usage. The collocations considered in the paper also confirm this conclusion. The results demonstrate that the same concept meanings in English and Serbian can be expressed by the same lexical units, by slightly different lexemes, or by means of entirely different lexical items.

The analysed paradigmatic and syntagmatic semantic relations are looked at within the framework of a cognitive theory. A synchronic and contrastive approach has been developed to illustrate that linguistic forms reflect the world around us. As it constantly evolves, metaphor and metonymy seem to be two productive ways of semantic extension. Homographs and homonyms discussed here demonstrate the dynamic aspects of conceptual structures. As multimeaningful words may cause ambiguity, a few ambiguous sentences are analysed too.

Language learners, teachers and translators normally find ambiguous and polysemic bits of language difficult to cope with. We believe that lexical and syntactic blends can be better understood and learned more easily if the appropriate translations of the items are provided.

Investigations of this kind may have teaching implications, may help translators in the process of translating specialised texts in particular, and may illustrate to what degree languages differ. Further examinations are expected to show word meanings which may be expressed in various contexts, how lexical units collocate in languages, and how the cognitive system is sensitive to the number of meanings and possible meanings. To achieve these aims, one may employ vectors.

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