

Manner of motion and directional verbs in spoken adult and child Romanian

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This paper presents the patterns of use for manner of motion and directional verbs in a corpus of oral adult-to-adult Romanian, and a longitudinal corpus of child Romanian comprising both adult-to-child and child data. In adult-to-adult speech, as well as adult-to-child speech, manner of motion verbs were much less frequently used than directional verbs. This trend was also found in child speech. In the adult input and child speech, manner of motion verbs were mainly used intransitively, without reference to a Goal of Motion. By contrast, inherently directed motion verbs were used in bare verb constructions, or in association with Goal of Motion prepositional and adverbial phrases.

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1. Introduction

The linguistic expression of motion has been the focus of much productive typological research, which has uncovered cross-linguistic variation in the encoding of distinct motion components. In the seminal work of Talmy (1985; 2000), languages were classified relative to the way in which they lexicalize key motion elements such as Manner of Motion or Path. The pattern found in Slavic, Germanic and English is that verb roots may express Manner of Motion/Cause and Motion, while the Path information is provided by satellites such as Goal PPs (1a) or other elements such as particles (1b) and prefixes (1c). In Romance and Romanian, Path information is primarily expressed by the verb of motion, while Manner information can be optionally denoted by various adjuncts (gerundial phrases, adverbs, prepositional phrases) (Talmy 1985; Drăgan 2012) (1d). Romanian is thus known as a verb-framed language (since it tends to place Path on the verb), while English is a satellite-framed language (with Path embedded in a satellite constituent).

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- (1) a. The ball rolled to the wall.
 b. The shuttle sped off.
 c. *Ya vbeial (v dom)*. (Russian)
 I in-ran (into house.ACC)
 'I ran in(to the house).'
- d. *Omul a intrat (clătinându-se/ iute/in fugă) în casă.*
 man-the has entered staggering-refl./fast/in rush in house
 'The man entered the house running/fast/in a haste.'

In the literature, a further distinction is made within satellite-framed languages between strong satellite-framed languages such as Germanic - which exhibit a non-affixal Path, and in which the conflation of the Path with the verb is infrequent but possible -, and weak satellite-framed languages such as Slavic languages, Ancient Greek and Latin, in which the Path element can be affixed to the verb, and no adjectival resultatives are possible (Talmy 1985 and 2000; Acedo-Mattelán 2016; Kwapiszewski 2022).

A way in which the difference between the lexicalization patterns mentioned above is also manifested is through the number of Path and Manner of Motion verbs that a language uses. If a language is more likely to encode Manner of Motion on the verb than Path, the verbs expressing Manner are more numerous than Path verbs. Indeed, English, for instance, uses a rich corpus of manner of motion verbs, more comprehensive than that of directional verbs. By contrast, in her analysis of motion expression in Romanian, Drăgan (2012) showed that the number of Manner of Motion verbs is lower in Romanian than in satellite-framed languages such as English. Romanian uses more directional verbs than Manner of Motion verbs, being a verb-framed language.

Two types of verbs are the focus of this paper. The first type, verbs of inherently directed motion were defined as verbs that "always describe motion to/towards a particular Goal" (Drăgan 2012, 35). The second type, manner of motion verbs, "do not inherently specify any direction of motion, i.e. movement occurs at a particular location, but not necessarily to/towards a specific goal" (Drăgan 2012, 35). Romanian examples of directional verbs are *a ajunge* "reach", *a se apropia* "approach", *a cădea* "fall", and of manner verbs are *a alerga* "run", *a aluneca* "slide", *a cutreiera* "roam" (see the Appendices in Drăgan 2012 for a full list).

In the literature on the acquisition of Romanian, (some of) these verbs were investigated using both experimental methodology (Stoicescu 2024), and narrative elicitation corpora of child language (Drăgan 2022). The motivation behind this paper lies in a number of questions that were left unanswered by previous research.

Stoicescu (2024) investigated the acquisition of telicity in child Romanian, focusing on telic predicates in which a manner of motion verb was combined with a complex prepositional phrase denoting Goal of Motion (*a merge până la băncuță* “walk up to the little bench”). Her study showed that children are sensitive to the telicity of such predicates around the age of three, but only become adult-like at the age of four. Children’s non-adult performance at the age of three was justified by pointing to the lexicalization pattern typical of the target language – verb-framed Romanian does not express movement toward a Goal using manner of motion verbs; rather it uses inherently directed motion verbs selecting a simple or complex prepositional phrase (*a se duce (până) la băncuță* “go (up) to the little bench”). Given the typology of the language, Romanian-speaking children were assumed to be infrequently exposed to telic manner of motion predicates in the adult input and to have insufficient opportunities to assign such predicates a telic feature. However, Stoicescu (2024) only speculated that, given what theoretical studies had pointed out about Romanian, the adult input to children would not contain a sufficient number of manner of motion telic predicates. No qualitative or quantitative analyses of spoken child and adult Romanian were pursued in the above-mentioned study. This research paper addresses this gap by asking how frequent directional and manner of motion verbs are in spoken adult and child Romanian and how they are employed. We will investigate both a corpus of oral adult-to-adult Romanian, and two longitudinal corpora of child Romanian containing both adult-to-child and child data. Thus, I will be able to ascertain whether Romanian-speaking children are likely to have less exposure to manner of motion predicates than to inherently directed motion predicates and investigate whether these verbs are used in telic or atelic contexts.

The structure of the paper is as follows: section 2 presents data on the use of motion verbs in a corpus of spoken adult-to-adult Romanian, section 3 provides the results of the analysis of the adult input. Section 4 discusses child speech, and section 5 concludes the paper.

2. Motion verbs in spoken adult-to-adult Romanian

In the first stage of the analysis, I looked at a corpus of oral adult-to-adult Romanian, collected and transcribed by Liliana Ruxăndoiu and her collaborators within the research project *Interacțiunea verbală în limba română. Corpus și tipologie* (Verbal Interaction in Romanian. Corpus data and Typology) (Ruxăndoiu 2002). The aim of the analysis was to confirm that the typological pattern described by Drăgan (2012) resorting to a corpus of written Romanian is also present in

spoken adult Romanian. The question addressed was whether in oral adult-to-adult oral Romanian the number of inherently directed motion verbs is higher than that of manner of motion verbs and whether there are any examples of telic constructions in which manner of motion verbs are combined with simple or complex Goal PPs.

I looked at 13 files in the corpus with the following titles: *În stație* (At the minibus stop), *Conversație în accelerat* (Conversation on the fast train), *Pe stradă* (On the street), *În vizită la o colegă* (Visiting a colleague), *La Brăila, la vie* (At the vineyard in Brăila), *Amintiri de pe front* (Frontline Memories), *Confesiuni* (Confessions), *Aparatul de masaj* (The Massage Device), *Într-o cameră de hotel* (In a Hotel Room), *Bîrfă* (Gossip), *Povestirea unui vis* (Recounting a Dream), *Ghicitorul* (The fortune-teller), *La catedră* (In the Staff Room). Motion verbs were identified and classified as inherently directed motion or manner of motion. N = 103 tokens of motion verbs were found in the respective files out of which 89% were tokens of inherently directed motion verbs (N = 92) and 11% were tokens of manner of motion verbs (N = 11). Among the directional verbs figured most prominently *a ajunge* “arrive”, *a veni* “come”, *a se duce* “go”, *a se întoarce* “return”, *a pleca* “leave”, *a ieși* “exit”, *a intra* “enter”, *a merge* “go” (used directionally), *a (o) lua pe/până* “take/head”, *a trece* “pass”. Some examples of the manner of motion verbs were: *a se plimba* “walk”, *a orbecăi* “grope”, *a merge* “walk” (used to refer to the manner of motion).

The inherently directed motion verbs were mostly used in telic contexts, in which the Goal of Motion was either explicitly expressed as a simple prepositional phrase (2a) or could be inferred from the larger discourse (2b). The manner of motion verbs were mostly used in atelic contexts. In the sample under review, there were no examples in which the manner of motion verbs were combined with a simple or complex Goal of Motion prepositional phrase with a telic interpretation. This result confirms that telic structures comprising manner of motion verbs are infrequent in adult oral Romanian.

- (2) a. *Credeam că veniți la Ploiești la facultate.*
 thought.1sg that come.2pl to Ploiești to college
 ‘I thought you were coming to Ploiești to college.’
- b. *Nu trebuie să ajung atît de devreme [la București].*
 not must SUBJ arrive so of early [to Bucharest]
 ‘I needn’t arrive [in Bucharest] so early.’

- (3) *M-am plimbat.*
refl-have.1sg walked
'I walked to and fro.'

The next question is how manner of motion and inherently directed motion verbs are used in adult-to-child Romanian. This question will be addressed in the next section.

3. Motion verbs in spoken adult-to-child Romanian

In this section, I analyse the adult input to two Romanian-speaking children, child I., a boy, and child B., a girl. The aim is to determine whether child-directed speech follows the typological pattern that was established for written and spoken adult-to-adult Romanian. The underlying assumption is that adult-to-adult and adult-to-child speech need to be investigated separately, as child-directed speech might have characteristics that set it apart from adult-directed discourse.

I analysed the speech of the carers of child I. (mother, father, and grandmother) and child B. (mother, aunt, and father) by using the children's longitudinal corpora. Child I., a boy, was recorded by the author, when talking to his carers or the experimenter, at home or at his grandparents' house (Stoicescu 2013). The recording sessions occurred once a week starting at age 1;10.23 up to age 3;1.13. The recordings were not transcribed fully, and, with one exception (age 2;2, for which there are two transcriptions available), the transcriptions are monthly. I analysed only 9 files for child I., corresponding to the age interval 1;10-2;5. Child B. was recorded by Larisa Avram (Avram 2001) and her corpus is posted on the CHILDES website (MacWhinney 2000, <http://childes.psy.cmu.edu/>). Child B. was recorded weekly from 1;5-2;11. I also analysed only 9 monthly files for child B., corresponding to the age interval 1;5-2;1. The volume of child-directed speech considered is quite substantial, amounting to a total of $N = 8898$ utterances distributed as follows: (i) child I.: $N_{\text{total}} = 3771$ adult utterances, maternal speech: $N = 2806$, paternal speech: $N = 483$, grandmother's speech: $N = 422$; (ii) child B.: $N_{\text{total}} = 5127$ adult utterances, maternal speech: $N = 4688$, paternal speech: $N = 104$, aunt's speech: 335.

The methodology used for the analysis was the following: the motion verbs produced by the child's carers were identified in their contexts of occurrence and classified as inherently directed motion or manner of motion verbs depending on their lexical meaning and their context of occurrence. The results are presented in

Tables 1 and 2, which provide the percentages and numbers of tokens of directional and manner of motion verbs used by adult carers in each recording.

Child's age	No. of adult utterances	Directional verbs	Manner verbs
1;10.23	175	82 (N=9)	18 (N=2)
1;11.07	423	92 (N=11)	8 (N=1)
2;0.23	175	100 (N=2)	0
2;1.13	422	100 (N=37)	0
2;2.04	592	96 (N=26)	4 (N=1)
2;2.13	111	100 (N=3)	0
2;3.12	728	88 (N=35)	12 (N=5)
2;4.10	483	87 (N=13)	13 (N=2)
2;5.12	602	100 (N=38)	0
Total	3771	94% (N=174)	6% (N=11)

Table 1. Percentages of directional and manner of motion verbs in the adult input to child I.

Child I.'s adult carers produced a rather small number of tokens of motion verbs in the files analysed (total N = 185), tantamount to about 20 tokens per approximately one hour of recording. As can be seen in Table 1, the great majority of motion verbs used in the adult input to child I. are inherently directed motion verbs, amounting to 94% of the total number (N = 174). The tokens of manner of motion verbs were very infrequent, amounting to only 6% of the total number of motion verbs found in the data (N = 11).

Child's age	No. of adult utterances	Directional verbs	Manner verbs
1;5.12	782	100 (N=21)	0 (N=0)
1;6.02	518	95 (N=20)	5 (N=1)
1;7.02	592	90 (N=9)	10 (N=1)
1;8.01	525	79 (N=11)	21 (N=3)
1;9.03	413	100 (N=4)	0 (N=0)
1;10.01	539	89 (N=24)	11 (N=3)
1;11.26	650	83 (N=35)	17 (N=7)
2;0.11	505	94 (N=46)	6 (N=3)
2;1.18	603	95 (N=20)	5 (N=1)
Total	5127	91% (N=190)	9% (N=19)

Table 2. Percentages of directional and manner of motion verbs in the adult input to child B.

The data in Table 2 suggest that child B.'s adult carers also produced overwhelmingly directional verb tokens rather than manner of motion tokens,

amounting to 91% (N = 190) of the total number of motion verb tokens produced. They also produced only N = 19 instances of manner of motion verbs (9%).

These data suggest that Romanian-speaking children have little exposure to manner of motion verbs in the adult input at the beginning of language acquisition.

The repertoire of motion verbs that children are exposed to is rather limited initially, both for manner of motion and directed motion. The analysis identified the following motion verbs (types): child I.'s carers: (i) inherently directed motion: *a veni* "come", *a merge* "go", *a cădea* "fall", *a se da* "move", *a se duce* "go", *a se sălta* "rise", *a trece* "pass", *a pleca* "leave", *a fugi* "run away", *a ateriza* "land"; (ii) manner of motion: *a aluneca* "slide", *a alerga* "run", *a curge* "leak"; child B.'s carers: (i) inherently directed motion: *a veni* "come", *a pleca* "leave", *a se duce* "go", *a fugi* "run away", *a ieși* "exit", *a cădea* "fall", *a ajunge* "reach", *a (se) ridica* "lift/move up", *a se da* "move", *a merge* "go", *a trece* "pass"; (ii) manner of motion: *a alerga* "run", *a curge* "leak"; *a se împiedica* "trip", *a merge* "walk", *a urmări* "follow", *a se plimba* "walk", *a se mișca* "move", *a împinge* "push", *a aluneca* "slip".

The next question was what sort of syntactic constructions the verbs appeared in and what event components were encoded. The very few manner of motion verbs found were mostly used intransitively, in atelic contexts, in both corpora. In (4-5), the verbs encode the manner of motion, and the motion predicates are atelic.

(4) Adult: *Și ce face pompieru(l)?*

'What is the fireman doing?'

I.'s mother: *Aleargă.*

run.pres.3sg.

'He is running.'

(5) *Și cu șosete alunecă, sărăcuțu(l).* [I.'s corpus]

and with socks slips poor-little-the

'He even slips with his socks on, poor thing.'

However, less frequently, manner of motion verbs were also found in transitive (6) and reflexive frames (7-8).

(6) *O urmărești pe Dolly să îi iei mingea?* [B.'s corpus]

CL.3sg.fem follow.pres2sg on Dolly SUBJ CL.3sg take ball-the

'Are you following Dolly to take her ball?'

- (7) *I-ai povestit cum ai văzut tu cum se mișcau peștii?* [B.'s corpus]
 CL.3sg-have recounted how have seen you how REFL move.impf.3pl fish-the
 'Have you told her how you saw the fish moving?'
- (8) *Și ce faci acuma... te plimbi cu cutia?* [B.'s corpus]
 and what do.pres.2sg now REFL walk.2sg with box-the
 'And what are you doing now, walking with the box?'

However, in one instance, the manner of motion was encoded through a prepositional phrase modifying an inherently directed motion verb (9).

- (9) *Așa și tu ai venit_{PATH} [în fugă]_{PP-MANNER} sau cum ai venit?* [I.'s corpus]
 so and you have come in run or how have come
 'So, and you came running or how did you come?'

Very infrequently, adult carers used a manner of motion verb in combination with a prepositional phrase indicating the direction of movement (10). In this case, as pointed out by Drăgan (2012, 187), the interpretation of the predicate is directional. Aspectually, the predicate is ambiguous between a telic and an atelic reading. The prepositional phrase *pe jos* "on down" associates a preposition and an adverb which refers "nominally" (Ciobanu and Nedelcu 2005, 618) to a low position. There were no instances of manner of motion verbs combined with complex Goal PPs in the data I looked at.

- (10) *...îți curge pe jos lapte...* [I.'s corpus]
 you.DAT flows on down milk
 'Your milk will drip to the floor.'

The directional verbs produced by the adults were found in intransitive frames; this subclass was more productive, appearing in more varied contexts. The three main patterns were the following: (i) bare directional intransitive frames (11); (ii) directional verb + Goal of Motion prepositional phrase (12); (iii) directional verb + Goal of Motion adverbial phrase (13). Such constructions have telic interpretations.

- (11) *Cade băiatu(l).* [I.'s corpus]
 fall boy-the
 'The boy falls.'

- (12) *A venit Ioana la noi.* [I.'s corpus]
has come Ioana at us
'Ioana has come by.'
- (13) a. *Vino mami aicea și vorbiți!* [I.'s corpus]
come mummy here and talk
'Come here, mummy, and talk to her!'
b. *Vino încoace!* [B.'s corpus]
come here
'Come here!'

The adverbs used were usually deictic (*aicea/aici* "here", *acolo* "there", *încoace* "here"), or directional (Drăgan 2012: 187) (*înapoi* "back", *jos* "down").

Child B.'s mother often used directional verbs in interrogatives with interrogative adverbs:

- (14) *Unde te duci?* [B.'s corpus]
where CL.2sg go.pres.2sg
'Where are you going?'

Sometimes, the adult carer specified the Goal of Motion by stacking several phrases: a directional verb combined with both a prepositional phrase and a deictic adverbial phrase.

- (15) *Vino la mama aici!* [I.'s corpus]
come to mother here
'Come to mummy here!'

Tables 3 and 4 present the number of tokens of Goal PPs/AdvPs constructions in each file analysed for child I. and child B. respectively. Directional constructions with Goal PPs/AdvPs were most frequent at ages 2;1.13 (N=8), 2;3.12 (N=8) and 2;5.12 (N=18) in child I.'s corpus. Naturally, their increase correlated with a larger number of motion verbs in the respective file. Child B.'s carers also used such constructions in the age interval under study, most frequently at ages 1;6.02, and 2;0.11.

Child's age	1;10.23	1;11.07	2;0.23	2;1.13	2;2.04	2;2.13	2;3.12	2;4.10	2;5.12	Total
	0	0	0	8	1	0	8	4	18	39

Table 3. No. of instances of directional verb+Goal of Motion PPs/AdvPs constructions in the adult input to child I

The prepositions used in these adult constructions were mostly *la* "at/to", *în* "in", and (infrequently) *până* "up-to" in I.'s corpus and *la* "at/to", *pe* "on", *în* "in" in child B.'s corpus.

Child's age	1;5.12	1;6.02	1;7.02	1;8.01	1;9.03	1;10.01	1;11.26	2;0.11	2;1.18	Total
	-	9	0	3	3	7	7	16	7	52

Table 4. No. of instances of directional verb+Goal of Motion PPs/AdvPs constructions in the adult input to child B

As can be seen in Tables 3 and 4, the number of structures with a directional verb and a Goal of Motion PP/AdvP is not very high, showing that this was not the main strategy used by adults to express directed motion (see also Drăgan 2012).

Another salient pattern was the use of a directional verb followed by an adverbial clause of purpose in the subjunctive mood.

- (16) a. *Vino să-ți dau Vigantol.* [I.'s corpus]
 come SUBJ you.DAT give Vigantol
 'Come so that I give you Vigantol.'
- b. *Vino să ridice mama pantalonii!* [B.'s corpus]
 come SUBJ lift.3sg mommy trousers-the
 'Come so that mum can lift your trousers up!'

Another motion component - expressed through *de* prepositional phrases in the adult input - was Source. As can be seen in (17a), the prepositional phrase associates the preposition *de* and a deictic adverb. Adults also produced sentences which included both a Source PP and a Goal of Motion AdvP (17b).

- (17) a. *Da(r) cazi mă mamă de-acolo.* [I.'s corpus]
 but fall.pres.2sg mum from there
 'But you are going to fall from there.'
- b. *Dă-te jos de-acolo!* [B.'s corpus]
 get-REFL down from-there
 'Get down from there.'

Summing up, the adult input to both children in their early stages of language acquisition followed the pattern noted in adult-to-adult speech in this article and confirmed the typological considerations offered in the literature on Romanian as a verb-framed language (Drăgan 2012). Adults describing motion events to children mostly used directional verbs and only infrequently produced manner of motion verbs. This confirms the hypothesis in Stoicescu (2024) that Romanian-speaking children have little exposure to manner of motion verbs in general, and even less so to contexts in which the manner verb appears in telic Goal of Motion constructions. The lexicon of inherently directed motion verbs that adults produce is also quite limited, but this subclass of motion verbs appears in a larger variety of structures than manner of motion verbs (with Goal/Source PPs with simple prepositions, and Goal AdvPs with deictic and directional adverbs). The main strategies used by adults addressing children in order to describe events of directed motion are: (i) using bare directed verbs; (ii) using inherently directed motion verbs with Goal of Motion PPs/AdvPs; (iii) combining directional verbs with subjunctive adverbials of purpose. Manner was very rarely expressed in such structures, but Source was often encoded through prepositional phrases.

4. A preliminary analysis of motion verbs in naturalistic child speech

A sample of the speech of child I. and child B. was analysed following the same methodology described in section 3. The results are presented in Tables 5 and 6 below. The pattern of results in child speech closely reflects the trends in adult-to-child speech, and the typology of the target language.

Child's age	No. of child utterances	Directional verbs	Manner verbs
1;10.23	289	100 (N=2)	0
1;11.07	701	100 (N=2)	0
2;0.23	466	60 (N=3)	40 (N=2)
2;1.13	584	96 (N=24)	4 (N=1)
2;2.04	539	22 (N=2)	78 (N=7)
2;2.13	630	83 (N=10)	17 (N=2)
2;3.12	579	0	0
2;4.10	474	79 (N=15)	21 (N=4)
2;5.12	611	87 (N=20)	13 (N=3)
Total	4873	80% (N=77)	20% (N=19)

Table 5. Percentages of directional and manner of motion verbs in the speech of child I

As can be seen in Table 5, 80% of the motion verb tokens produced by child I. expressed inherently directed motion, and only 20% expressed manner of motion. Directional verb tokens were more frequent than manner ones in all files (with only one exception, at 2;2.04). Directional predicates appeared earlier in Child I.'s corpus than manner of motion predicates: inherently directed motion verbs were produced from the earliest recording at 1;10, while manner of motion verbs were produced from 2;0 onwards.

Table 6 presents the data for child B. analysed so far, which are rather scarce because the recording started earlier for her than for child I., and her verbal utterances were not numerous at this stage. This could be a limitation of the current study. For child B., directional verbs were also more frequent than manner of motion verbs both overall (83%) and also in each individual file. In B.'s case there was also a delay in the emergence of manner of motion verbs relative to directional ones. Directional verbs emerged from age 1;5.12, while manner verbs emerged from age 1;11.26. The delay apparent for both children conforms to the verb-framed typology of Romanian.

Child's age	No. of child utterances	Directional verbs	Manner verbs
1;5.12	337	100 (N=2)	0
1;6.02	379	100 (N=2)	0
1;7.02	553	100 (N=3)	0
1;8.01	472	100 (N=1)	0
1;9.03	411	100 (N=1)	0
1;10.01	341	100 (N=1)	0
1;11.26	563	77 (N=10)	23 (N=3)
2;0.11	347	100 (N=4)	0 (N=0)
2;1.18	561	69 (N=9)	31 (N=4)
Total	3964	83% (N=33)	17% (N=7)

Table 6. Percentages of directional and manner of motion verbs in the speech of child B

The verbs that the two children produced were almost the same as those produced by their adult carers, both for manner of motion and inherently directed motion: child I.: (i) inherently directed motion: *a se da* "move to the side", ***a ajunge*** "reach", *a veni* "come", ***a urca*** "go up", *a fugi* "run away", *a cădea* "fall", *a se duce* "go", *a merge* "go", ***a coborî*** "go down"; (ii) manner of motion: ***a zbura*** "fly", ***a sări*** "jump", ***a se împiedica*** "stumble", *a alerga* "run", ***a se legăna*** "swing". The verbs in bold were not among the ones produced by adults in the files analysed. Thus, unexpectedly, child I. produced a larger array of motion verbs than his carers.

The verbs produced by child B. in the short age interval analysed were the following: (i) inherently directed motion: *a veni* “come”, *a se duce* “go”, *a cădea* “fall”, *a fugi* “run away”, *a curge* “leak”, *a pleca* “leave”, *a merge* “go”, *a ieși* “exit”; (ii) manner of motion: *a împinge* “push”, *a aluneca* “slip”. In child B.’s case, there was a perfect match between the verbs used by her carers and her output – oftentimes at this early stage, the child recast adults’ previous utterances.

From a structural point of view, the children’s data did not diverge from the adult patterns. The children produced intransitive manner of motion verbs in isolation (18). No telic manner of motion construction with a Goal prepositional phrase was attested.

- (18) *Să alergăm!* Child I., 2;5.12
 SUBJ run.1pl
 ‘Let’s run’

Directional verbs were produced either (i) in isolation (19), at younger ages, or later (ii) with Goal of Motion prepositional phrases (20) or adverbial phrases (deictic adverbs) (21a). Child B. also used locative adverbs in the latter construction (21b). The interpretation of directional verb predicates was either atelic (19) or telic (20-21). There was also evidence that, in a transitional stage, child I. omitted the preposition, preserving the Goal nominal expression as we can see in (22). Goal of Motion constructions such as (20-21) were attested 14 times at older ages in child I.’s data - in only three files (2;2.13, 2;4.10, 2;5.12). They were attested only 5 times in child B.’s data (at ages 2;0.11 and 2;1.18). Child B.’s motion verb utterances were mostly one-word utterances.

- (19) Adult: *Ce faci?*
 ‘What are you up to?’
 Child: *Urc.* [climbing on the bed] Child I., 2;0.23
 climb.pres.1sg
 ‘I am climbing.’

- (20) *Tati noi nu știm cine vine la noi.* Child I., 2;4.10
 Daddy we not know who comes to us
 ‘Daddy, we don’t know who is coming to us.’

- (21) a. *Vino aicea!* Child I., 2;4.10
 come here
 ‘Come here!’
- b. *leșim afară.* Child B., 2;1.18
 exit.pres.1pl outside
 ‘Let’s go outside!’
- (22) *Ajungă balon* [să ajungă jucăria la balon] Child I., 2; 0.23
 reach. SUBJ.3sg. balloon
 ‘The toy should reach the balloon.’

Child I. produced telic directional light verb constructions based on the verb *a da* “give” and the directional adverb *jos* “down” as well (23).

- (23) *M-am dat jos.* Child I., 2;4.10
 refl. have given down
 ‘I have climbed down.’

Like his parents, child I. encoded the Source of motion as a *de* prepositional phrase, in which the preposition was followed by a deictic adverb (24).

- (24) *Mami mă dau jos de-aicea!* Child I., 2;5.12
 mummy refl. give down from here
 ‘Mummy, I am going to get down from here!’

To sum up, this preliminary analysis of the child data shows that the two children observed the verb-framed typology of Romanian from the earliest use of motion verbs: directional verbs were prevalent, and children expressed the Goal of Motion and Source through prepositional phrases or adverbial phrases (with deictic, directional, or locative adverbs).

5. Conclusions

The paper discussed the patterns of use for manner of motion and directional verbs in a corpus of oral adult-to-adult Romanian, and two longitudinal corpora of child Romanian comprising both adult-to-child and child data. In adult-to-adult speech, as well as in adult-to-child speech, manner of motion verbs were less frequently

used than directional verbs. This trend was also found in child speech. In the adult input and child speech, manner of motion verbs were mainly used intransitively, without reference to a Goal of Motion. By contrast, inherently directed motion verbs were used in bare verb constructions, or in association with Goal of Motion prepositional and adverbial phrases. The study found a limited repertoire of motion verbs in oral adult and child speech. Both adults and children observed the verb-framed typology of Romanian.

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