

PROCEEDINGS OF  
THE 23RD ANNUAL  
Boston University  
Conference on  
Language Development  
VOLUME 2

Edited by Annabel Greenhill,  
Heather Littlefield, and Cheryl Tano

 Cascadilla Press  
Somerville, Mass. 1999

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## Incomplete L1 Acquisition: The Morphosyntax of Kaspar Hauser

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### 1. Introduction

One of the most well documented cases of severely isolated children (also referred to as "feral children", "wild children", or "wolf children"<sup>1</sup>) is that of Kaspar Hauser who mysteriously appeared in downtown Nuremberg, Germany, on May 26, 1828, and died of stab wounds five and a half years later in nearby Ansbach under equally mysterious circumstances. Though literally thousands of books, articles, as well as two major films, have been produced on the many questions surrounding Kaspar's origins and demise, with most making at least some reference to his apparent knowledge of language, virtually no linguists have critically examined the evidence in this area.<sup>2</sup> This evidence includes a number of fairly detailed descriptions made by Kaspar's observers during the years 1828 to 1833, as well as a number of his own writings. The most important of these is an early, approximately 3500-word fragment of his autobiography which he began work on just months after his appearance in Nuremberg and which was completed in November of 1828. Two other drafts were to follow within the next year, but this first text is of interest to us here for the fact that it was unedited for form by Kaspar's caregivers.<sup>3</sup> Because contemporary observers were primarily interested in the content of Kaspar's writings, not their structure, the later, lengthier manuscripts were apparently edited, at least for orthography and punctuation.

In this paper, I will describe the major structural patterns evident in Kaspar's autobiographical fragment and indicate how they shed some light on his life before his appearance in 1828, at least as is relevant to his acquisition of language. Before proceeding right to the data, though, I will briefly sketch the debate which has been raging since his lifetime over his identity and origins and indicate how linguistic evidence has been marshaled by the various opposing factions. In my data analysis I will focus on the major syntactic patterns of clausal structure and finite verb placement, as well as verbal and nominal morphology. What the data in this text indicate is that Kaspar Hauser's early knowledge of language (relative to his discovery in 1828) was equivalent to that of an average German-speaking four- or five-year old, that is, someone exposed to German well within the critical period for language acquisition.

## 2. Historical Background

For the five and a half years of Kaspar Hauser's life in the public eye, 1828-1833, there is extensive documentation of various kinds, including police and judicial reports, records of medical examinations and experiments, journals, newspaper articles, etc. However, as much as we know of this last period of his unfortunate life, we know nearly nothing for certain about the years prior. Beginning shortly after Kaspar's appearance, there was considerable, often heated, speculation as to his identity, speculation which has generated controversy right up to the present.

Most observers of the case of Kaspar Hauser are inclined to accept what one may term the "Prince of Baden" theory of his origins (cf. Mayer and Tradowsky 1984 and Leonhardt 1987; the best English-language account is Masson 1996, see also Struve 1995 on the reception of Kaspar Hauser). According to this theory, first formulated by the eminent Bavarian jurist Anselm von Feuerbach, Kaspar was born in 1812, the legitimate son of Karl, the Grand Duke of the southwestern German house of Baden, and his wife, Stéphanie de Beauharnais, the adopted daughter of Napoleon. So the theory goes, the infant Kaspar, officially recorded as nameless, was switched with the sickly newborn of a court employee at the behest of the Luise Geyer von Geyersberg, the proverbial evil stepmother of Karl. Luise's alleged motive in the whole affair was to ensure the succession of her sons to the throne of Baden; the disappearance of Karl's male heir would have been the first step to achieve this. In response to the question, why Luise would not just have had Kaspar killed, Leonhardt (1987:303) has suggested that a living heir, albeit a secret one, could have been used to blackmail the Grand Duke's younger brother from marrying and producing his own heirs. In any case, many believe that Kaspar was held captive in a hidden dungeon in Pilsach Castle, located about 22 miles southwest of Nuremberg, which was discovered in 1924 during renovations. Leonhardt and others date Kaspar's initial confinement to 1816; his total captivity, then, would have lasted from age four to age 16.

In support of this theory are the initial observations made by doctors and others that Kaspar, though an adolescent, had the apparent mental age of a three- or four-year old. They also noted that the soles of his feet and his leg musculature were consistent with a long period of being seated, that he initially would only take bread and water, and that his vision was better in the dark than in daylight, among other things. In terms of speech, the most thorough account (excerpted below) is that of Feuerbach who visited Kaspar just weeks after his discovery while he was being detained in the Nuremberg jail tower.

"The words he knew he uttered determinedly and clearly, without hesitating or stammering. He was clearly lacking, though, in connected speech, and his language was as limited as his stock of concepts. For this reason it was also

difficult to make oneself understood to him. One could utter sentences to him which he seemed to comprehend, but as soon as one said something foreign to him, he tried to understand, but soon lapsed back into his twitching. Overall, what was lacking the most were conjunctions, particles, and verbal auxiliaries; his conjugation was largely limited to the infinitive; worst was his word order, whereby elements were pathetically mixed up ... The 'I' pronoun occurred infrequently; he spoke almost always of himself in the third person ('Kaspar'); to others, instead of the second person, he similarly used the third ... One and the same word was often used for a range of meanings, which resulted in a number of charming substitutions. Many specific words he generalized to entire kinds. For example, the word 'mountain' referred to any bulge or rise; e.g. a heavy-set man whose name he had forgotten he referred to as the 'man with the big mountain' ... One would expect that I would have tried to get him to tell of his past. But all I could get out of him was such a confused nonsense that I, not being used to his way of speaking, could only guess at most of what he was saying; there was much I could not understand at all." (Feuerbach in Hörisch 1979:152-153, translation my own)

Kaspar had been taught to write his name, at least some letters of the alphabet, and the numbers from 1 to 10, but without any evident comprehension of what he was writing. Overall, he was essentially unable to communicate with others at first, though in a very short time, and with the supportive instruction of his first teacher, Georg Friedrich Daumer (with whose family Kaspar resided from July 18, 1828 to January 30, 1830), Kaspar made great strides in both speech and writing. When he began to recount his captivity and describe it on paper, he confirmed much of what others had speculated beforehand, namely that he been subjected to a long period of confinement with only fleeting memories of contact with other human beings except for the mysterious "man" who brought him bread and water daily in his dungeon.

There were, however, those who immediately doubted the veracity of Kaspar's account of captivity, in part because of the speed with which he acquired, or reacquired, speech. The most recent expression of the belief that Kaspar was a fraud, or at least fraudulently promoted by his supporters, is the theory of Günter Hesse (1989), who has proposed that Kaspar was the illegitimate son of a Bavarian soldier stationed in Tyrol and suffered from an epileptic-like disorder common in the area. Hesse goes on to suggest that Kaspar, because of his illness and his stigmatized lineage, was a sort of village idiot who was dumped in Nuremberg, the seat of a Bavarian garrison, on Pentecost Monday as a kind of practical joke. Where Kaspar's supporters viewed his stabbing death as a murder committed by those who feared him recollecting too much of his past, his critics, including now Hesse, saw a self-inflicted plea for attention gone too far.

Where both sympathetic and skeptical contemporary observers of Kaspar Hauser agreed, however, was over the matter of his rapid development of language ability. As mentioned above, Kaspar quickly learned to write and,

according to Daumer, his first teacher, became nearly obsessed with writing. Kaspar's passion for writing is documented in extant letters, school composition books, even a lengthy poem, as well as the autobiographical text discussed below.<sup>4</sup> (It is also worth noting that Kaspar was employed as a copyist in the courthouse in Ansbach during the last year of his life.) Though most first-hand descriptions of Kaspar's speech focus on its content, rather than form, it is almost certain that from a structural point of view, Kaspar developed linguistic proficiency comparable to that of other educated Bavarian speakers of German (including both knowledge of Bavarian regional dialect, as well as the standard written language). One of the few descriptions of Kaspar's command of German morphosyntax (in his written schoolwork) was made by his last teacher and, sadly, one of his most vociferous critics, the schoolmaster J. G. Meyer of Ansbach. They were published in a monograph which appeared in July of 1833, five months before Kaspar's death (reprinted in Pies 1985:239-257).

"[Kaspar's] steps forward in the [written] German language overall and spelling in particular are equally impressive ... He knows how to use the German cases properly when he has to; as a rule, he employs the mood and tenses of verbs correctly, and sentences and their combination he knows well, as is shown by his ability to correctly place the period, the comma, the colon, quotation and question marks, and exclamation points, even in several places the semicolon, which is so inconsistently used by literate people. What errors he makes occur out of indifference for the subject matter or distraction." (Meyer in Pies 1985:246, translation my own)

Importantly, when both supporters and attackers of Kaspar who met him after 1828 quoted him, there was effectively no mention of anything unusual about his speech from a formal point of view. The fact that Kaspar came to develop a number of social contacts and conversed normally strongly indicates his knowledge of language was not significantly impaired. Let us now turn to the autobiographical fragment completed in November, 1828, and consider what structural patterns are evident.

### 3. Analysis of Autobiographical Fragment

I have grouped the 664 major syntactic constituents of Kaspar's text into three main types: (a) main clauses, in which the finite verb has been moved to [C, CP], the second syntactic "slot" of the clause (a phenomenon known as "verb-second" in various Germanic languages); (b) subordinate clauses,<sup>5</sup> in which the finite verb remains unmoved from its underlying (clause-final) position in [I, IP]; and (c) extracausal constituents, which lack a finite verb and may be analyzed as post-clausal adjuncts, e.g. extraposed prepositional phrases. The main clauses are further subdivided according to what syntactic element (including  $\emptyset$ ) occurs in initial position [Spec, CP]. In (1) below I give the distribution and frequency of these three constituent types in the text.

(1) constituent types:

|  |            |        |
|--|------------|--------|
| (a) <i>main (finite verb-second) clauses</i>       |            |        |
| Mx (expletive subject + finV)                      | 110        |        |
| Ms (overt subject + finV)                          | 085        |        |
| Ma (adjective/adverb + finV)                       | 084        |        |
| M $\emptyset$ ( $\emptyset$ + finV)                | 080        |        |
| Mo (object + finV)                                 | 029        |        |
| Mp (prepositional phrase + finV)                   | 006        |        |
| Mv (nonfinV + finV)                                | 003        |        |
| Mpc (predicate complement + finV)                  | <u>003</u> |        |
|  | 400        | [60%]  |
| (b) <i>subordinate (finite verb-final) clauses</i> |            |        |
| S  | 190        | [29%]  |
| (c) <i>extracausal constituents</i>                |            |        |
| E  | <u>074</u> | [11%]  |
|  | 664        | [100%] |

Of the 664 constituents total, 60% are some type of main clause, roughly twice the number of subordinate (finite-verb final) clauses (29%). Most frequent of the main clauses are those introduced by a dummy or expletive subject marker, usually *da* (expl. 'there'/'it'); this pattern is discussed in more detail below. Other common patterns are Subject + Verb, Adverbial + Verb (to which we may add the PP + Verb pattern), and  $\emptyset$  + Verb, which includes a number of subjectless sentences. The pattern which is most strikingly infrequent is Object + Verb, likely due to a preference for the typologically unmarked Subject > Object order. What is important to point out is that Kaspar's verb placement is essentially error-free; that is, verb-second movement has been clearly acquired; there are none of the "verb-third" patterns one might expect of an adult learner of German. Adding to this the fact that the order of nominal constituents in the so-called German inner field between [C, CP] and [V, VP] is also largely correct, it is clear that Kaspar has mastered the basic native structures and rules underlying German word order.

As mentioned above, Kaspar shows a clear preference for main clauses introduced by the expletive *da*. It must be stressed that this expletive construction is entirely native and may be interpreted as a simplification of the grammar, whereby only the finite-verb is moved to the left. *Da* appears *in situ* in [Spec, CP], while the subject and sentential elements remain (unmoved) in the inner field. Below is a brief excerpt of the text which exemplifies the frequency of expletive-introduced clauses. Expletives are underlined; bolded elements represent the borders of the inner field, with [C, CP] to the left and [V, VP] (for main clauses) or [I, IP] (for subordinate clauses) to the right. Line numbers and constituent type codes are given at the far left for each.

- 326 und da **haben** mir mein FüÙe, so weh **gethan**,  
 Mx 'and expl. my(sg.) feet hurt so bad,'  
 327 **daÙ** ich es gar nicht **sagen**, (**kann**),  
 S 'that I cannot even say it,'  
 328 da **hat** er mir ein Wasser und ein Brod **geben**,  
 Mx 'expl. he gave me a water and a bread,'  
 329 da **habe** ich mich hin **gesetzt**  
 Mx 'expl. I sat down'  
 330 auf den Boden,  
 E 'on the ground.'

Let us now consider clauses of type MØ. Of the 80 main clauses lacking an overt element to the left of the finite verb, 62 are subjectless sentences, most of which (n=49) are consistent with ellipsis found in native German discourse. Of the remaining 18 Ø + (finite) Verb constructions, 1 is an imperative, while the other 17 contain postposed subjects. 9 of these 17 Verb + Subject sentences are nonnative in that one would expect some overt element to occur to the left of the verb clause-initially. What the data indicate is no particularly strong tendency for the nonadult-like subjectless sentences so typical of early syntactic acquisition (e.g. up to age three) is present; there does, however, appear to be a preference for subjects to remain unmoved from their underlying position in the inner field.

We may now turn to the 190 examples of subordinate (finite-verb final) clauses. Of these, only around 5% (n=9) may be identified as truly embedded syntactically, that is, CPs which occur in the Spec of a higher (matrix) CP or as an embedded relative clause. Below is an example of an embedded CP2 in the Spec of a higher CP1 (line 243), triggering the verb-second in 244.

- 243 [<sub>CP1</sub> [<sub>CP2</sub> wie Ø er fort **war**,]  
 S 'when he was gone,'  
 244 **habe** ich wieder mit meinen, Pferd **gespilt**.]  
 MØ 'I played with my horse again;'

Such embeddings are highly exceptional; more typically Kaspar will conjoin such clauses, as in ll. 344-345 and 346-347

- 344 und [<sub>CP2</sub> wie lange Ø ich **geschlafen**, **habe**,]  
 S 'and how long I slept,'  
 345 [<sub>CP1</sub> dieses **kan** ich nicht **sagen**,]  
 MØ 'this I cannot say,'  
 346 [<sub>CP2</sub> wie Ø ich wach **geworden bin**]  
 S 'when I woke up'  
 347 [<sub>CP1</sub> da **ist** es schon häll **gewesen**,]  
 Mx 'expl. it was already light,'

Overall, though, the data indicate a clear avoidance of syntactic embedding. Though both main and subordinate clausal types are productive in Kaspar's text they occur essentially conjoined to, rather than nested within one another.

This avoidance of embedding is further illustrated by the near absence of true relative clauses (i.e. those introduced by a true relative pronoun, as opposed to a complementizer or some other element in [Spec, CP]). Of the 8 relative constructions, only 1 (in lines 582-583) is actually embedded; the remaining 7 "resist" embedding through circumlocution or extraposition. Below is an example of a non-embedded relative clause; the relative pronoun is underlined.

- 652 dan **ist** dieser wieder her **gangen**  
 Ma 'then this one came again'  
 653 der bey mir ein **gespirt war**  
 S 'who was imprisoned with me'  
 654 und **sagt**  
 MØ 'and says'  
 655 ich **soll** zum weinen **aufhören**  
 Ms 'I should stop crying'

We turn now to examples of verbal and nominal inflection in Kaspar's text. Not surprisingly for those familiar with the acquisition of German morphosyntax by children, the correct finite-verb placement in second position and clause-finally is matched by largely correct inflection. There are only a very small number of examples where inflection is nonnative and that involves the overgeneralization of the 1sg form of the auxiliary verb *haben* ('have') in clauses where the 3sg would be required, namely *habe* for *hat*. In almost every case, though, this involves clauses of the type like l. 413 in which Kaspar is describing something "the man" (his captor), the agentive subject in the clause, did to him (Kaspar), the patient or experiencer.

- 413 und wie Ø er (3sg) mir die Kleider angezogen **habe** (1sg)  
 S 'and when he [have] put the clothes on me'

This might be interpretable as incipient non-nominative subjecthood, i.e. non-subject DP-Verb agreement, or simply Topic-Verb agreement. Also with regard to verbal inflection, despite its overall correctness with respect to adult norms, there is evidence of overgeneralization of the present tense for the preterite, something not inconsistent with acquirer (or learner) behavior.

Moving on to nominal constituents, NPs and DPs, a number of interesting patterns are evident in Kaspar's text. The first is that Kaspar shows almost no errors in nominal gender, as evidenced by nouns preceded by a definite article in the nominative case. What few errors occur involve the overgeneralization of *die*, which is highly productive in German as the marker for both feminine singular nominatives and all nominative and accusative plurals. Again, this is a

pattern typical of child learners of German who typically acquire correct gender by age four (Mills 1985:155). Gender, then, is clearly in place in Kaspar's text. Where he shows some difficulty is in the area of inflection.

Many southern varieties of spoken German, including the Bavarian dialects to which Kaspar would have been exposed, have a three-case system for pronouns (nominative, accusative, dative) and reflect a historical tendency toward a two-case system for nouns, merging the accusative either with the nominative or the dative. The complexity of this situation is illustrated in the (phonologically standardized) forms for north Bavarian listed in (2) (Rowley 1989:426-427).

(2) definite/indefinite articles in Bavarian German

|             |            |             |            |             |              |              |              |
|-------------|------------|-------------|------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| <i>Bav.</i> | m          | f           | n          | <i>Bav.</i> | m            | f            | n            |
| N           | <b>der</b> | <b>die</b>  | <b>das</b> | N           | <b>ein</b>   | <b>ein</b>   | <b>ein</b>   |
| A           | <b>den</b> | <b>die</b>  | <b>das</b> | A           | <b>einen</b> | <b>ein</b>   | <b>ein</b>   |
| D           | <b>den</b> | <b>dere</b> | <b>den</b> | D           | <b>einen</b> | <b>einre</b> | <b>einen</b> |

Based on the fragment, Kaspar shows acquisition of the full pronominal case system, that is, he regularly distinguishes nominative, accusative, and dative for pronouns; there are virtually no errors here. Full nouns (NPs, DPs), on the other hand, show a two-case system, one somewhat different from that of Bavarian dialects. Though there is a fair amount of inconsistency, certainly much more than for pronouns, there is an evident tendency toward a two-case system, an unmarked common case versus a prepositional case marked with *-en* suffixed or *den*-forms. This is shown in (3).

(3) definite/indefinite articles in Kaspar Hauser's German

|           |            |            |            |           |              |
|-----------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|--------------|
| <i>KH</i> | m          | f          | n          | <i>KH</i> | m/f/n        |
| C         | <b>der</b> | <b>die</b> | <b>das</b> | C         | <b>ein</b>   |
| P         | <b>den</b> | <b>den</b> | <b>den</b> | P         | <b>einen</b> |

Undoubtedly, a factor adding to the complexity of the situation for Kaspar was his target medium, namely the written standard variety of German. Adding to the mixed picture of nominal case is the question of the inflection of attributive (pre-nominal) adjectives. Here again, Kaspar shows considerable uncertainty. In future work, I hope to investigate these questions of nominal inflection more closely to perhaps quantify any further patterns. At this point, though, the multitude of *-en*-suffixed forms after prepositions versus uninflected base forms elsewhere is striking.

#### 4.0 Conclusions

Overall, we can say, based on the autobiographical fragment, that Kaspar Hauser has successfully acquired the major structural constituents of German clauses, CP, IP, and VP. Verbal inflection and placement are also virtually

error-free. While Kaspar shows the ability to correctly form verb-second and verb-final clauses, there is a clear preference for the former and a marked inability to embed syntactically. The lack of embedding is also reflected in the near total absence of subordinate clauses introduced by relative pronouns. As the excerpts from the text show, short clauses, main and subordinate, are conjoined with one another. Further, in the area of nominal inflection, we saw that although grammatical gender is largely correct, the inflectional system associated with NPs and DPs is incomplete.

The question we must pose now is, how does Kaspar's knowledge of language compare with what we know about the acquisition of German morphosyntax by children (or adults, for that matter). We are fortunate to have an empirically rich literature in this area, notably the work of Harald Clahsen and others (e.g. Clahsen 1986; see also Anne Mills' 1985 survey). Clahsen (1986) divides the early years of native acquisition of German morphosyntax into five phases: I -- (1;0-1;6), the one-word stage; II -- (1;6-2;0), the two-word stage; III -- (2;0-3;0), the verb-final stage; IV -- (3;0-3;6), the verbal inflection / verb-second stage; and V -- (3;6+), at which point children begin producing complex sentences. On balance, it seems fairly clear that Kaspar's speech would correspond to the latter (fifth) phase. Clahsen states that the MLU of utterances at this point is 4 or more; that is clearly true of Kaspar's clauses, as well. But although he produces what could be termed "complex sentences", the absence of structural embedding points out that at this point (roughly six months after his discovery) he is still short of the adult target norm. And there are intriguing features which are consistent with earlier acquisitional phases, including some (though not many) missing subjects, heavy use of verb-second clauses (after it has been successfully acquired with inflection in Phase IV), as well as the overgeneralization of the definite article *die*. On the other hand, Kaspar's morphosyntax also does not resemble that of adult learners of German whose linguistic development proceeds differently, as, for example, Clahsen (1988) has shown, marked by difficulties with verb-final placement and the verb-second rule. Overall, it seems reasonable to conclude that Kaspar Hauser's knowledge of language in late 1828 was consistent with that of a normal four-year old German-speaking child.

This conclusion would support, then, the speculations of Kaspar's earliest examiners, as well as modern historical researchers, namely that he was not imprisoned until about the age of four. Indeed, those close to him in the early days of his time in Nuremberg during 1828 commented that the speed with which he became linguistically proficient was more indicative of a "reawakening" of language, rather than learning it from scratch. Certainly, if we compare Kaspar's linguistic development with that of other severely isolated children, including Victor of Aveyron and Genie, both of whom never acquired language with native proficiency, his progress is clearly remarkable. The major question that remains is whether it is possible for language to remain dormant for such a long period, in Kaspar's case from age four to 16, and be rapidly reaccessed and further developed beyond the critical period.

It is instructive to consider a few external facts of what is known about Kaspar's early (post-discovery) linguistic development. As mentioned above, Feuerbach's observations, excerpted in section 2 above, are among the most detailed of Kaspar's initial state of language. These comments, along with the notes of his first teacher, G. F. Daumer, paint a picture consistent with what we know of the (non-pathological) early acquisition of German, e.g. Clahsen's Phases II (1;6-2;0) and III (2;0-3;0). These observations include the following:

- limited inventory of isolated words and phrases to express a wide range of meanings
- few syntactic elements, including complementizers, modal verbs, the verbal copula
- preference for utterance-final uninflected infinitives or verbal stems
- reference to self and others in 3<sup>rd</sup> person, also generalization of 3<sup>rd</sup> person masculine possessive to include feminine
- generalization of 3<sup>rd</sup> singular present tense to include 1<sup>st</sup> person
- unsure use of articles with plurals
- subjectless sentences

Interestingly, a number of these observations are confirmed by Kaspar himself in the first, as well as the later, more detailed versions of his autobiography, in which he actually quotes his own interlanguage. Given the structural parallels, then, between Kaspar's early speech and that of non-isolated German-speaking children, it is logical to conclude that he had received normal exposure to German during his earliest years. This is supported by the fact that, although he only recalled his captor speaking to him toward the end of his confinement, he was apparently able to comprehend what was said. He further recalled talking to his toy horses, something that would have been impossible had he not already learned to speak prior to his captivity.

Ultimately, the evidence at hand points to the following conclusion, namely that Kaspar Hauser, whoever he was, had been exposed to German sufficiently within the critical period for language acquisition such that he was able to develop apparently native knowledge of the basic morphosyntactic structures of the language. In this regard, his situation is unlike that of other severely isolated children. Further, on the basis of the linguistic and historical evidence, it seems highly likely that he was indeed isolated from human contact for a significant portion of his childhood.<sup>6</sup> In considering the question posed earlier, whether an incompletely acquired language may be "frozen in time" and then quickly "thawed out" after so long a period, it might be instructive to consider the cases of the L1 attrition of non-isolated children, such as the children of immigrants who stop speaking their first language when they enter school and reactivate their knowledge later in life. At this point, though, that question, like so many surrounding Kaspar Hauser, remains an open one.

## Notes

\* Special thanks to Ulrich Struve of Princeton University for valuable bibliographic assistance in the production of this paper.

1. The best overview of the phenomenon of feral children is Curtiss (1981), which includes some discussion of Kaspar Hauser. Other well-known severely isolated children include Genie (Curtiss et al. 1974, Curtiss 1977, Rymer 1993) and Victor of Aveyron (Malson and Itard 1972, Lane 1976, and Shattuck 1980).
2. The only article devoted solely to Kaspar Hauser's linguistic deprivation is Hermodsson (1986).
3. The original text, which was believed to have been lost, is preserved in the Nuremberg Municipal Library (see Mayer and Tradowsky 1984:343, plate 45). It was first published by Antonius van der Linde in 1888 (see reference).
4. In addition to the examples of Kaspar's writing which survive, there exist a number of strikingly sophisticated watercolors he painted (most of which are reproduced in Mayer and Tradowsky 1984). Indeed, Kaspar's rapid artistic development paralleled that of his language, further reinforcing the assumption that he had not been severely isolated in his earliest years.
5. I avoid the term "embedded clause" for this type for the fact, as discussed below, that not all finite-verb final clauses in German are syntactically embedded; unless they occur clause-initially in [Spec, CP] and trigger verb-second or are embedded relatives, they are extraposed.
6. Interestingly, Simon's (1978) analysis of the medical records of Kaspar's autopsy supports this conclusion. She points out that Kaspar's brain showed evidence of "normal prenatal development (normal subcortical growth), but selective retardation of growth of cortex" (1978:215-216) which could well have been the result of early malnutrition.

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