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SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH AND LINGUISTICS

A SYNTACTIC ANALYSIS OF EMPTY CATEGORIES IN EKEGUSII: A MINIMALIST APPROACH.

BY

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MAY: 2016
DECLARATION

This research dissertation is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

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This dissertation is dedicated to my late mother, Sabina Moraa.
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Lastly, I thank Lucy for tying this work.
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<thead>
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<td>ACC</td>
<td>Accusative case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARG</td>
<td>Agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGRSP</td>
<td>Agreement of Subject Phrase</td>
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<td>AGRIOP</td>
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<td>AGRO</td>
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<td>CAUS</td>
<td>Causative</td>
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<td>CP</td>
<td>complement phrase</td>
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<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Determiner</td>
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<td>D- Structure</td>
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<td>D- Feature</td>
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<td>DP</td>
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<tr>
<td>EC</td>
<td>Empty Category</td>
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<td>FI</td>
<td>Full Interpretation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FV</td>
<td>Final Vowel</td>
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<tr>
<td>GB</td>
<td>Government and Binding</td>
</tr>
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</table>
INFL - Inflection
INFM - Infinitive Marker
LF - Logical Form or the Semantic Form
LCA - Linear Correspondence Axiom
MP - Minimalist Program
NP - Noun Phrase
N - Noun
N' - Noun bar
Nom - Nominative case
NEG - Negation Marker
OM - Object marker
PERF - Perfective Marker
PF - Phonological Form
PFI - Principle of Full Interpretation
Pro - Null Subject in Tensed Clauses
PRO - Subject in Infinitival Clauses
PTM - Past Tense Marker
PASS - Passive Marker
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>REC</td>
<td>Reciprocal Marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SM</td>
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<td>Spec</td>
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<td>t</td>
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<td>UTAH</td>
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<tr>
<td>V-bar</td>
<td>Verb+ Complement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>Verb Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XP</td>
<td>Any Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>θ</td>
<td>Theta (Thematic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Null Category</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Φ</td>
<td>Phi Features- Person, Number, and Gender features</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

**Argument**

an expression denoting a participant in the relevant activity or event

**Chain**

a set of constituents comprising expressions and trace copies associated with it

**Empty/Null**

a constituent which is 'silent' and hence has no overt phonetic form

**Trace-**

a trace is an empty category left behind (as a result of movement) in each position out of which a constituent moves.
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ABSTRACT

This study analyzed empty categories in Ekegusii morphosyntactically. The study of empty categories is important as these categories reflect deeper principles of Universal Grammar and thus help linguists to understand the nature of human language. This motivated the present study. The research objectives were: to determine the properties of empty categories in Ekegusii; to identify the role of empty categories in Ekegusii and lastly, to explain the empty categories in Ekegusii within the Minimalist Program. To achieve the above objectives, the study adopted a qualitative research design. The researcher used purposive sampling in choosing sentential constructions from the Bible for the study. Content analysis and introspection were used to elicit the data in the form of sentences. Empty categories were identified from such sentences for analysis using the qualitative approach. The analysis was done within the domain of the Minimalist Program. The following empty categories were identified and their properties and roles analyzed: PRO, WH-trace, NP-trace, the empty determiner and empty complementizer. The first three are classified as nominals because they occupy the argument position while the last two are functional empty categories. The theta roles of the empty categories were also examined. The findings showed that only the nominal empty categories are assigned theta roles by the verb while the heads do not receive the theta roles. PRO bears an agentive role. The WH-and NP-copies are assigned the theme role. The research findings of the study would contribute to the existing data on the syntax of empty categories and the linguistic theory. This study is organized into five chapters. The first one deals with the general introduction to the study; the second gives a review of related literature and the theoretical framework; the third looks at the research methodology; the fourth deals with data analysis and presentation. The final chapter is a conclusion that gives a summary of this research’s findings. It also gives recommendations for further research.
CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the background to the study, statement of the problem, research objectives, and research assumptions, rationale of the study and scope and limitations of the study.

1.1 Background to the Study

This study is on the syntactic analysis of empty categories in Ekegusii. According to Guthire (1971), Ekegusii is classified as a Central Bantu language labelled zone E42. The language is also called Gusii (Akama and Maxon, 2006). They further note that the Abagusii do not share a boundary with any Bantu community; rather, they are sandwiched between Nilotic speaking communities. Ekegusii is spoken by approximately three million people spread over Nyamira and Kisii counties (The National Bureau of Statistics, 2010).

Ekegusii has two dialects, Rogoro and Maate (Bosire, 1993; Mecha, 2004). The Rogoro dialect is the standard form used in written works. Maate dialect is spoken by Ekegusii speakers in Gucha South District of Kisii County. This study focused on Rogoro dialect because it is the one used in written sources.

Linguistically, the study falls in the domain of morphosyntax and aims to analyze empty categories using the Minimalist Program. Syntax is the study of the way in which phrases and sentences are structured out of words (Radford, 2004). It is understood to be the theory of the structure of sentences in a language.
Within the frameworks of Government and Binding and Phrase Structure Grammar, syntactic categories are complex entities made up of smaller elements. Borsley (1991) notes that most linguistic expressions are associated with a basic category and various feature specifications that provide additional information about them. For example, the word "table" is a noun (N) in the singular form. Another example is the word "we" which is not just an N, but also a pronoun in the first person and it is plural. In addition, it is in the nominative case, in contrast to the word 'us,' for instance, which has objective case. This shows that syntactic categories are complex entities.

On phrasal categories, Chomsky (1970) introduced what became known as X-bar theory- a body of ideas about constituent structure developed in the 70s and absorbed in one way or another into the most current approaches. Noun phrase (NP) and Noun-bar (N') go together with N in that they typically occur in structures of the following form:

```
NP
     \           \          \                  N
      \       \       \                  N'       N
       \       \       \                  ---  ---
        \       \       \                  ---  ---
```

Borsely (1991, p.50)

In the diagram, N' is the immediate head of NP and N the ultimate head. This shows that NP and N' are not just convenient labels; rather, they are categories that are nominal, the full phrasal and intermediate phrasal counterparts of N. It can be argued in the same way that the VP and V' go together with V and hence are typically verbal.
It should be noted that all languages have syntactic categories and the syntactic category of a word determines the role it can play in a language. Different languages have different syntactic categories. For instance, some Asian languages have no adjectives; instead they have verbs meaning to be red, to be happy and so on. Chomsky (1976) says that the range of permitted hierarchical combinations of syntactic categories does not vary from language to language at the level of deep structures. The deep structures are related to partially ‘observable’ syntactic surface structures by a highly restricted set of transformational operations. Surface structures are ‘observable’ in that the sequence of words in a well formed surface structure corresponds to an acceptable string of pronounced words in language. However, structures can contain hierarchical structural categories which are empty without overt phonetic form but which reflect the basic semantic relations.

Linguistic theories postulate empty categories because they allow simpler descriptions. Sentences with certain empty elements have the same properties (interpretations, case marking, and agreement) as the corresponding sentences where the element is overtly realized. In other words, the typology of empty categories mirrors that of the overt categories. Kwon and Sturt (2012) point out that the overt and ECs are processed in intrinsically different ways in which case similarities across languages are expected in the sensitivity of null and overt categories to different contextual cues.
Four empty categories which lack the entire phonological matrix have been defined in the traditional approach of Government and Binding (Chomsky, 1981; 1982) on the basis of features [+/- anaphor] [+/- pronominal] in the following way. [+_anaphoric,-pronominal] (overt=anaphors, covert=Np-trace); [+_anaphoric,+pronominal]
(overt=pronoun, covert=pro); [-anaphoric,-pronominal] (overt=R-expression, covert=Wh-trace) and [+anaphoric,+pronominal] (overt=none, covert=PRO).

Bouchard (1984) claims that all ECs (except for pro in languages that have it) get their reference from some appropriate antecedent in order to establish what kind of category they belong to and what their meaning is.

+ Anaphoric empty categories are subject to Binding Principle A and pronominal ones to Binding Principle B. Non-pronominal empty categories (traces) need to be properly governed (Empty Category Principle) while the pronominal ones need not to be governed and this distinguishes the pronominal and non-pronominal empty categories.

Purely anaphoric empty categories differ from other traces and pros' alike in that the well-formedness of chains requires them to be caseless, a property which they share with ungoverned PRO. Within the Minimalist framework of Chomsky (1995), the classifications of empty categories on the basis of [+ anaphoric], (+ pronominal] features collapses. The theory also undermines the notion of government and the idea that there exists a binding theory module within the grammar. In particular, lexical anaphors can be derived via movement as argued by Reinhart and Reuland (1993). Traces of A-Movement are construed as copies of the moved materials rather than as anaphoric, - pronominal empty categories.
In the Minimalist Program, movement does not introduce an empty category but it is conceived in terms of an operation remerging material already merged and not pronouncing its original copy. The properties that determine the insertion of PRO and Pro and their distribution are associated with them in the lexicon. For example, pro must have phi-features (person, number and gender of an entity) that allow it to check on interpretable agreement features of the verb while PRO must have a null case matching that of infinitival inflections (Chomsky and Lasnik, 1993).

The role of empty categories in the Minimalist Program is central. Horstein (2001) notes that an element moves in order to get more semantic roles in the form of features. He assumes that theta roles are features assigned by verbs to determiner phrases (DPs). Theta features can drive movement which means that a DP can receive more than one theta role. This view of theta roles fits in the MP given that it has independent reasons for positing the existence of features and feature-driven movement. Consider the following example taken from Martin (1996, p.3)

John hopes PRO to leave.

Semantically, PRO is referentially identical to John. ‘John’ first merges with ‘leave’, thereby checking the theta feature on the verb. ‘John’ then moves to the subject position of the infinitive clause and checks the D feature on INF. ‘John’ then moves to the VP of the higher clause and checks the θ feature of ‘hopes’ and checks the D and case features

In the Minimalist Program, the Principle of Full Interpretation requires an LF representation to consist of all and only legitimate objects; that is, interpretable objects which can be theta marked. Empty traces permit lexical requirements to be
met throughout the derivation and this is according to the Projection Principle. The
sentences below drawn from Featherstone (2001, p.12) serve to illustrate.

(i)   Dan, who\textsubscript{i} Kim regularly beats at tennis died.

(ii)  * Kim regularly beats at tennis died

The Wh- element in sentence (i) above bears the patient role which beat has to assign
under sisterhood. The trace is the appropriate position to receive the theta role hence
the sentence is well formed. Sentence (ii) on the other hand is ungrammatical because
the verb beat requires an object and it must be immediately following and adjacent to
it.

The above examples show that empty categories permit bi-uniqueness in theta role
assignment to be fulfilled in accordance with theta criterion (Chomsky, 1981, p.34;

This study sought to find out how the properties and role of empty categories in
Ekegusii can be accounted for by the Minimalist Program. The language has
constructions which are either unreported or under-reported. Studying them would
give us important insights into the nature of these constructions, among them empty
categories, cross-linguistically. Researching Ekegusii is a means to this end and points
us to some interesting aspects of human language that are critical to address in
consideration of UG.
1.2 Statement of the Problem

Radford (2009, p.11) argues that the MP is a theory of universal grammar which can account for syntactic phenomena in all languages. This study intended to find out the extent to which this is true in relation to Ekegusii. The literature review reveals that the empty categories in different languages are analyzed differently and this is because in the MP what appears in the analysis is what is licensed by that language (Chomsky, 1995). This study therefore sought to find out how the empty categories in Ekegusii can be analyzed using the MP.

Further, there is an intrinsic fascination with the study of the properties of empty categories which reflect deeper principles of UG (Chomsky1981, p.55). He argues that the study of ECs helps linguists to understand the nature of human language. The study of these categories has proven to be an important probe for determining properties of syntactic and semantic representations. This has motivated linguists to study these elements. Empty categories have been studied in Ekegusii within Government and Binding such as (Oyioka 2014). However, there is little evidence to show that these categories have been tackled within the Minimalist Program. This study intended to fill this gap.

1.3 Research Objectives

This study was guided by the following objectives:

i) To determine the syntactic properties of empty categories in Ekegusii.

ii) To identify the role of empty categories in Ekegusii.

iii) To explain the extent to which empty categories in Ekegusii can be accounted for by the Minimalist Program.
1.4 Research Questions

This study sought to answer the following questions.

i) What are the syntactic properties of empty in categories in Ekegusii?
ii) What roles do empty categories in Ekegusii play?
iii) To what extent can empty categories in Ekegusii be accounted for by the Minimalist Program?

1.5 Research Assumptions

The study assumed the following:

(i) Empty categories in Ekegusii have distinct properties.
(ii) Empty categories in Ekegusii have specific roles.
(iii) The Minimalist Program can account for empty categories in Ekegusii.

1.6 Rationale for the Study

Several aspects of Ekegusii have been studied as evident in Mose (2012), Oyioka (2014), Mecha (2006), Basweti (2005), Bitutu (1991) and Mbori (1994). However, none of these studies is on empty categories within Minimalism. For example, Mose (2012) deals with the structure of the determine phrase in Ekegusii; Mecha (2006) explores the phonology and morphology of Ekegusii reduplication; Bitutu (1991) looks at the syntactic patterns of code switching in Ekegusii and Oyioki (2014) examines empty categories in Ekegusii within Government and Binding theory. This study therefore intended to fill this gap.
Chapter two of the Kenyan Constitution (2010) recognizes the importance of promoting and developing the use of indigenous languages. Moreover, Qoroo (2003) says that African languages are vehicles for creating, encoding, sustaining and transmitting indigenous knowledge. This study hoped to enhance the cultural preservation of African indigenous languages and add to the existing literature on these languages especially Ekegusii.

Furthermore, it was hoped that the research would contribute to the existing data on the syntax of empty categories and linguistic theory through the analysis of data collected from Ekegusii. In comparative linguistics, it might be helpful for linguists interested in this area as it could assist in revealing how similar or different Ekegusii is to other Bantu languages in terms of the manifestation of empty categories.

1.7 Scope and Limitations

This study describes the nature and roles of empty categories in Ekegusii and not any other language. The choice of Ekegusii as a language of study is due to the fact that it is an indigenous language which has not been studied in the area of empty categories within the Minimalist Program. The choice is also based on the fact that all languages are equal with respect to their suitability for study (Sampson, 1985). The study is further limited to written data.

Data was collected from Rogoro dialect written sources because it is the standard form used in written works. In addition, it is the dialect of the researcher and therefore she can use her first speaker intuition to infer meaning and generate additional data. The differences between the two dialects have no bearing on this study since they are not structural.
The MP was used in the analysis of ECs because it is the most recent of the generative theories. Zwart (1998) notes that the MP seeks to bring out and eradicate the descriptive and explanatory weaknesses in the earlier models of Generative Grammar. Its adequacy therefore needs to be tested across all languages. On data collection, the methods used were limited to content analysis and introspection. These methods yielded the required data.

1.8 Summary

To summarize, this chapter has focused on the background to the study, statement of the problem, research objectives, research questions, research assumptions, rationale for the study and the scope and limitations of the study. In the next chapter, we look at the review of related literature and the theoretical framework.
CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter covered the review of literature related to this research. It in addition concerned itself with the theoretical framework within which the study was based.

2.1 Review of Related Literature

The literature relevant to the needs of this study was discussed under the following sub-sections: the typology of empty categories, properties of empty categories and the Minimalist Program, traces, studies on empty categories in non-African languages and studies on empty categories in African languages.

2.1.1 The Typology of Empty Categories and their Properties

Chomsky (1981) notes that the properties of empty categories reflect inner resources of the mind and so they are 'windows' into the nature of human language faculty. For Chomsky, their properties cannot therefore be determined by observation of overt data.

Within the traditional approach of Government and Binding (Chomsky 1981; 1982), four empty categories have been defined on the basis of [+/- anaphoric] [+/- pronominal] features. The four ECs include PRO, pro, NP-trace and WH-trace. Pro and PRO are merge generated while Np-trace and wh-trace are movement generated.

(a) Chomsky's (1982) Analysis of Empty Categories

In the GB theory, (Chomsky, 1982) claims that the interpretational and grammatical properties of ECs are functionally determined by the following principles.
Principle A – An anaphor must be bound in its binding domain.

Principle B – A pronoun must be free in its binding domain.

Principle C – An R-Expression must be free (everywhere).

An \([\text{NPe}]\) therefore is: a variable (wh-trace) iff it is locally A – bar bound, an Np-trace iff it is locally A – bound from a non \(\emptyset\) position and pro iff it is governed by a strong enough INFL or by a clitic.

Based on the principles (A, B and C) ECs are assigned the relevant anaphoric and pronominal properties as shown below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[a] anaphoric feature</th>
<th>[p] pronominal feature</th>
<th>Name of the empty category</th>
<th>Corresponding overt category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Wh – trace</td>
<td>R – expression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Pro</td>
<td>Pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Np – trace</td>
<td>Anaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>PRO</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Chomsky, 1982, p. 78)

According to the algorithm, pro is an EC with the same binding properties as a lexical pronoun. This means it can be replaced with an overt pronoun. PRO, on the other hand, occurs in ungoverned positions i.e. the subject of a non-finite IP. Since it is ungoverned, it is neither purely pronominal nor anaphoric. It is anaphoric in the sense that it is dependent on another NP for its interpretation, thus observing principle A. Correspondingly, it is pronominal when it is taken to refer to a specific referent.
The Np-trace is an instance of EC left behind by NP-movement to an A-position. The Np-trace is A-bound and its overt counterpart is an anaphor. The wh-trace is left behind as a result of the movement of a wh-expression to a specifier, complement phrase [Spec, Cp] in an A-bar position. It is a null counterpart of an R-expression which is free everywhere.

(b) Huang's (1984; 1989) Proposal

Huang (1984; 1989) proposes collapsing the categories pro/PRO into a single EC. According to him, this has the advantage of eliminating the obvious asymmetry occasioned by Chomsky's (1981; 1982) definition in, which PRO has no lexical counter-part. Huang (1989) argues that PRO and pro have the same status as the null pronominal with the properties [-anaphor, + pronominal] and are subject to the same rule of control. He bases his argument on the claim that Chinese does make a finite / non-finite distinction through the use of aspectual markers despite the fact that it lacks tense and agreement marking on verbs completely. He further notes that the null subject has a possible overt counterpart where aspectual markers occur in embedded clauses. He therefore suggests that this is an instance of case-marked governed null pronominal (pro rather than PRO). He therefore proposes three types of ECs.

Like Chomsky (1981), Huang (1989) assumes that pronominals are potentially available in any language as part of universal grammar. Whereas ECs are subject to government in Chomsky's model, Huang argues that these elements are subject to control in order to achieve grammaticality.
Both proposals on the typology of empty categories provided useful input in the analysis of empty categories in Ekegusii because the current study endeavored to find out how the properties of empty categories are manifested in the language under study. However, their studies differ from the present study in terms of the theory; they use GB while this study adopted the MP.

2.1.2 Properties of Empty Categories and the Minimalist Program

As observed above, the notion of government plays a pervasive role in the GB. Minimalism undermines the notion of government and the idea that there exists a Binding Theory module within the grammar. The undermining of the role of government and the binding theory is true, for example, of case theory. PRO, for instance, bears its own idiosyncratic case called ‘Null case’ which needs to be checked by non-finite T and this explains PRO’s narrow distribution (Chomsky and Lasnik, 1993).

They further note that the null case is a special type to PRO in the sense that it is only PRO that bears it. Therefore, the distributive properties of PRO are made the province of case theory. The assumption that PROs are pronominal anaphors is no longer required. Chomsky (1995) suggests that PRO is referentially dependent due to its lack of features. PRO fills the subject of the infinitival clause in control constructions as an abstract pronominal in English. It can refer freely and have arbitrary reading when it is not subject to control to another NP. The examples below drawn from (Hageman and Tabea, 1999, p. 263) illustrate the obligatory and arbitrary PRO.

\( (1) \quad \text{John(i) decided \{CP, PRO(i) [IP to go]\}} \)

(Obligatory)
Example (1) is an instant of obligatory control construction in which the antecedent must be an overt DP. PRO takes reference from the overt element which in this case is John. We understand that [John] is the one who decides and the one who goes. However, all we have as a subject for [go] is PRO. In example (2), the antecedent needs not to be realized.

Landau (2004; 2006) holds a different opinion with regard to the properties of PRO. He opines that PRO does not have a special case (null case). He instead says PRO is case marked like a normal DP. His approach therefore dissociates the distribution of PRO from case.

Other scholars like (Martin, 2001; Horstein, 2000, 2001, 2003; and Rossou, 2000) have also questioned PRO carrying a special case not carried by any other DP. They instead argue in favour of the elimination of PRO. Particularly Horstein argues that since the MP claims to have done away with D-structure, the θ criterion must be removed from the system which would reduce obligatory control PRO to Np-traces and non-obligatory control PRO to pro.

The views of these scholars were very important to this study as they address the properties of empty categories using the module that we adopted in this study (MP). In addition, the fact that various scholars hold different views on the properties of empty categories so the views were useful in revealing how the empty categories, especially those that are base generated, behave in Ekegusii.
2.1.3 Traces

Radford (1997) notes that every time an element moves, a trace is left behind in the original position. The trace was most commonly viewed as an empty category which is co-indexed with the element that moves. The moved constituent is the antecedent of its trace and the antecedent of an empty trace serves to bind the trace; that is, to determine its properties. Identical subscript letters called indices are attached to the trace and its antecedent to mark the binding relation.

Continuing the same argument, Horstein and Nunes (1995) explain that the moved element and its trace together form a chain where the moved element is the head of the associated chain and the trace is the foot of the chain which marks the position at which they are assigned a thematic role by their categorizer. From the Minimalist perspective, properties of different traces should follow either from the content of the copies themselves or from the movement operation. For example, the locality restriction on the distribution of traces may follow from the Minimal Link Condition while the wh-trace may be interpreted as a variable due to its own features.

One of the fundamental properties of traces is that they cannot be phonetically realized as they are not subject to the Linear Correspondence Axiom. Movement is triggered by the need to eliminate uninterpretable features as pointed out by (Chomsky, 1995). The differences between the heads of chains and traces with respect to accessibility are dependent on properties intrinsically attributed to traces; otherwise, they exhibit no differences. The following example from [Chomsky, 1995, p.227) illustrates the argument posited above. [John [was arrested]]
If the initial numeration in the above sentence has a single instance of John, then the two occurrences of John count as non-distinct. This means that the computational system cannot linearize such structures as the one above in accordance with Kayne's (1994) Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA), according to which linear precedence in the phonological components is determined by asymmetric C-command. Given that the two copies of John are non-distinct, it means was should precede and be preceded by the same element in violation of the asymmetry condition on linear order hence the Np-chain above has to undergo the operation chain reduction. As noted previously, traces are types of empty categories that have their own properties and roles to play. Therefore, this review helped us in the analysis of empty categories in Ekegusii.

2.1.4 Studies on Empty Categories in Non-African languages

Alfandre (2004) evaluates adjunct island constraint (if a phrase is in an adjunct position, nothing may move out of it) from syntactic and semantic viewpoint. He bases the syntax on the Minimalist Program and the semantics on Kehler's (2001) Coherence Theory. He demonstrates the necessary conditions for extraction from an adjunct. This study borrowed valuable insights on the theory (MP) and the properties of wh-traces which turned out to be one of the types of empty categories in Ekegusii. However, this study did not deal with island structures as it is not within our scope.

Another related study to Alfandre's is Gad' (2011) study which investigates the syntax of wh-questions in Egyptian Arabic which she calls optional wh-movement language. She examines the wh-fronting and wh-in situ strategies which the grammar of Egyptian Arabic employs to form wh-questions. Her findings show that
in EA wh-phrases carry weak [wh] feature hence they cannot be attracted to the C-domain. The covert movement of an operator which carries the [wh] feature is involved in the derivation of wh-questions in situ. She argues therefore that the wh-phrases in situ are licensed and assigned scope via LF movement of formal features to the Spec CP position. She further argues that the fronting of wh-phrases in EA is as a result of focus movement triggered on a par with wh-movement which involves movement of wh-phrases to the Spec of focus projections [FOCUSps]. This study was useful to ours as it gave an insight on the movement theory and helped us analyze empty categories that arise out of movement. This study however differs from the current study as it is experimental in nature while this one is descriptive.

Barbosa (1995) investigates the properties that uniquely characterize the languages that show a correlation between the possibility of dropping the subject and rich subject agreement morphology. He identifies systems of licensing a phonetically null definite subject argument. First, there are noun incorporation languages that show agreement morphology for each argument invariably which he calls non-configurational languages as pointed out by (Jelinek, 1984; Baker, 1991). The two note that lexical determiner phrases are adjuncts linked to incorporated agreement morphemes; second, there are languages that drop both the subject and the object even though they do not show any agreement morphology. This has been looked at by Huang (1985) who ascribes the property of discourse orientation as their common denominator. This study served as a useful reference for our research since it tackles the drop of subjects. It informed the current study in the description of Ekegusii in terms of the systems of licensing a null subject. It was useful in finding out if the language under study fits in any of the claims advanced by Barbosa.
Salgueiro (2011), in his paper ‘Null subjects at the sensory motor interface’, attempts to provide a Minimalist interface based analysis of null subjects in Romance. He observes that even though these languages allow null subjects in finite clause contexts, the null pronominal category (pro) need not be lexically stipulated. The pro can be deduced from the property of further raising that is found in these languages that allow null subjects. This study informed our study in the application of the theory (MP).

A closely related study to Salgueiros’ is the one by Santos (2012) which is on the referring preferences of null and overt subject pronouns in Brazilian Portuguese. According to the findings of his research, the choice between the subject and object antecedent for a null pronoun in a finite embedded clause depends on the syntactic knowledge; the position of the grammatical subject regulates pronoun–antecedent interpretations because null referential third person subjects occur only in embedded clauses. Moreover, they behave like anaphors which require a sentential subject. This is so even though Brazilian Portuguese is regarded as a null subject language. This study was of crucial importance to the current study in the sense that it tries to describe the properties of the null subject pronoun one of the empty categories in human languages; description of the properties of empty categories is one of the key objectives in the current study. However, this study employed the Minimalist Program whereas Santos employed GB.

Horsey (1998) examines the null arguments in the diary and instructional registers of English. She argues that the distribution of empty categories in these registers can be captured in the assumption that null arguments are allowed only in the left most position of the clause. Topic phrase is the highest in clauses with such null arguments.
She adds that the head of the projection has a D-feature and the empty category must raise to check the [D-] feature of the topic head enabling the EC to be identified with the discourse topic. This study is similar to ours in the choice of theory. Though this study used written data as ours did, the registers used can yield data without full sentences while our data was in full sentences.

Phimsawat (2011) looks at the different syntactic contexts in Thai where null pronouns occur and where they do not. His findings show that although a null pronoun can occur in any argument position, it cannot take the position of a prepositional complement or occur in conjoined NPs construction. The default referential reading, according to Phimsawat, is the first person singular. Correspondingly, a pronoun without an antecedent is overt. He observes that null pronouns in Thai and discourse pro-drop languages generally have no Ø features and a general feature. This research was relevant to this study in that it sought to highlight properties of null pronouns which are possible empty categories.

A research carried out by Kapetanganian (2010) was also very informative to the current study especially in understanding the aspect of control and non-control clauses. He notes that in Greek, control in complement and adjunct domains all lack semantic tense and that the empty subject of these domains that are defective with respect to semantic tense display the properties of obligatory control. This makes him conclude that empty subject would not be the null element pro. He further says that control in Greek is best analyzed as an instance of A-movement of the DP subject from an embedded clause to a higher one for case valuation.
Another researcher who investigates control is Yasavul (2009) who examines control in Turkish. He says that no special mechanism is needed to account for the interpretation of control since it is an entailment associated with the verb itself and that variable split and partial control are instances of obligatory control. This study also informed us on the aspect of control which is a very important aspect in the analysis of some types of empty categories especially the base generated ones.

Rosenstein (2001), in his paper ‘Topics in Israel Sign Language,” argues that within the clause, empty categories are not bound by the topics in Israel Sign Language and that they are not variables. He claims that this can be accounted for by the fact that topics in ISL are not moved from within the clause rather, they are left adjoined to the comment clause but is not dominated by the top node of the clause nor does it dominate it. She moreover claims that empty categories in ISL are pronouns and like overt pronouns are base generated meaning they are neither derived by movement nor bound by the NP they refer to. This study gives an insight into to the understanding of empty categories that are based generated and those that are as a result of movement.

Otsuka’s (2011) study informed ours on the theory (MP). He examines null arguments occurring in adverbial $\theta$- clauses in Tongan where the opines that the empty category should be treated as a phonetically null SE anaphor and that the local and medium distance binding of SE anaphors must be licensed by agree with the functional category that assigns the primary case. He further notes that 0-clauses are similar to clitic to clauses in English as well as control subjunctives in Balkan languages in that they contain anaphoric tense.
2.1.5 Studies on Empty Categories in African Languages

On African languages, a study in ChiShona by Mugari (2013) focuses on the pro-drop parameter and makes comparisons to the well documented and prototypical pro-drop Italian language. In his findings, he observes that ChiShona is clearly a pro-drop language and its characteristics tally with most properties that identify with this phenomenon in Italian. He, however, notes that ChiShona has its idiosyncratic properties that differ from Italian. For instance, in weather verbs, subject omission in Italian makes the sentence ungrammatical whereas in ChiShona it remains a grammatical option. Besides the wh-word in ChiShona can freely occupy the final position in a sentence. This study guided us in the analysis of ECs in Ekegusii. The difference is that our study is descriptive in nature, his study is comparative.

Mwangi (1992) investigates the typology of empty categories in Kikuyu. She observes that there are base and movement generated empty categories in Kikuyu. Three empty categories are described which include; the NP-trace, PRO and pro within the framework of Government and Binding. The three empty categories are noun phrases since they occupy argument positions. She notes that the principles of Binding Theory can be used to express relationships between the overt and covert categories. This study is similar to the current study in terms of language family: both are Bantu languages. It is different from our study in terms of the theory for she employs Government and Binding whereas we use the Minimalist Program. In addition, she describes only the nominal empty categories while this study includes the functional empty heads.
Zeller (2008) explores the morphosyntactic representation of the subject agreement marker in Kinyarwanda. In the study he compares three analyses. The first one treats SM in null subject constructions as a pronoun which gets the subject theta role in the morphology; the second treats the SM as a DP which receives its theta role in the [Spec, V] and moves to [Spec, T]; the third is based on the theory of pro, which assumes the subject theta role is assigned to a phonetically unrealized pronouns. He says that the first analysis must be rejected for Kinyarwanda based on empirical grounds while the remaining alternatives represent feasible accounts. This study is of crucial importance to the current study in the sense that it lent useful insights especially by articulating the subject agreement marker in terms of theta roles. The agreement phenomenon is a feature used to describe not only overt elements but also covert ones.

A study by Visser (1984) is closely related to Zellers'. In her paper, she explores various agreement phenomena in Xhosa using Government and Binding theory. She argues that the null subject parameter, which is used to account for the presence of correct subjects in phonetic representation, can apply to the analysis of agreement phenomena in Xhosa. She adds that pro can appear as the head of an NP, complement of preposition, possessive morpheme ‘a’ and as a subject and object. Vissers' study is similar to this one as it deals with the distribution of pro which is one of the empty categories in the human language. This study aided the current study in the description of empty categories in general. However, her study differs from the present one in the theoretical orientation; she uses GB while this study adopted the MP.
Yet another African study that we found very useful in our study is the one by Halpert (2012) who looks at Zulu case licensing systems. This study shed light on the case systems in Zulu which was very important in analyzing properties of empty categories using the case feature. Halpert observes that Zulu has a case – licensing system which is realized both in terms of case morphology and structural licensing on nominals. This view is contrary to the one held by (Perez, 1985; Baker, 2008). He points out that heads like $T^o V^o$ that function as structural licenses in a Language like English are not in Zulu. Instead, Zulu has higher case associated with licensing head that licenses the highest element in VP and a ‘lower’ case that is assigned by APPL or CAUS in conjunction with VP.

Echechukwa (2010) explores the movement of wh- elements in question formation in Koring, language spoken in Nigeria. He found out that in Koring syntactic wh-movement and LF wh-movement exist in question formation. He adds that in Koring, the application of syntactic wh-movement has its own parameter of insertion and movement of constituents. We found this study valuable especially in wh- movement which results in one of the empty category. Wh-trace is one of the empty categories in Ekegusii.

Yombe (2004) studies the null heads and the internal structure of DP in Bari (an Eastern Nilotic language in Southern Sudan). He says plural nominals appear without an overt determiner, called null heads. He claims in his findings that the head of DP is empty and that all null maximal projections in the DP have null heads. This study was useful in describing the properties of the null determiner, one of the empty categories in Ekegusii. However, this study is different from the present one in terms of language family; Bari is Nilotic while Ekegusii is a Bantu language.
Finally, the nature of empty categories in Ekegusii has not been adequately studied as pointed out previously. Oyioka (2014) examines empty categories in Ekegusii using Government and Binding. She argues that Ekegusii sentences exhibit four empty categories namely; PRO, pro, WH-trace and NP-traces. PRO and pro corefer to their antecedents by virtue of agreement while NP and WH-traces corefer to their antecedents by virtue of indexation. Oyioka's study analyses empty categories like the present study. The two studies differ in terms of theory; it employs GB while ours uses the MP. She invokes the Empty Category and binding principles and the PRO Theorem to analyse the empty categories which do not have a role in Minimalism. In addition, she tackles only nominal empty categories while the present study looks into functional empty categories.

Study by Mose (2012) describes the structure and roles of the DP in Ekegusii. She observes that in Ekegusii there is overt NP raising to check agreement, possessive and number features. This study is similar to the current study in terms of the language investigated, the theory and the methodology; she uses content analysis as a method of data collection as this study did. It was informative to this study especially in the NP movement. However, the two are different in that this study described covert categories while hers describes one overt category which is the DP.

Another Ekegusii study that we found useful in our study is the one by Basweti (2005). In his study, he looks at the agreement features in the DP using the MP as the guiding module which this study also employed in the analysis of empty categories in Ekegusii. This study was informative on the agreement phenomenon which is used to describe syntactic elements regardless of whether they are overt or covert.
2.2.0 Introduction

This section reviews the theory used in the study, namely the Minimalist Program as formulated by Chomsky (1993, 1995).

2.2.1 The Minimalist Program

The Minimalist Program attempts to formulate broad guidelines for the Generative Theory of universal grammar and is based on the Principle of Economy (Chomsky, 1995). To ensure that syntactic specification and derivation procedures contain only the essential elements, it strives for economy of representation in linguistic analysis and description. According to Mwihaki (2007), economy is the basic principle of universal grammar which postulates that the smallest possible set of theoretical and descriptive apparatus be used for the interpretation and representation of linguistic phenomena. It does not allow superfluous elements and captures the essential properties of language by making general statements.

In the MP, concepts of the specifier, predicate and complement have replaced the traditional ones: subject, verb and object that were used in generative syntax. Traditional concepts of subject and object are now referred to as nominative or objective / accusative case. There are now also semantic roles such as agent or theme in semantic terms (Chomsky, 1993).

The MP reduces the complexity of GB by collapsing the government, case, thematic / theta, x-bar, binding and bounding theories into one while upholding the principles and parameters that govern them. The program keeps the specifier-head and head-head relationships of x-bar theory (Chomsky, 1993p.6). Head government is no longer
a viable well formedness condition. The MP abandons government as a fundamental notion in the theory on which GB is based and replaced by specifier-head relation. The lexical items from the lexicon are transformed into a specifier-head or head-complement relationship, leading to a structure known before as maximal projection.

A recasting case theory in terms of a spec-head agreement relation is proposed by Chomsky (1993). The MP treats all case assignments as an instance of spec-head relation. Case checking assumes that upon lexical insertion both the DP and the case assigner have a case feature each; the DP obtains licensing by matching its case feature with that of the case assigner, where the latter checks the former, resulting in licensing case. $T^0$ raises to $\text{Agr}s^0$ and $V^0$ to $\text{Agro}^0$ the resulting complexes $[\text{Agr} \ T + \text{Agrs}]$ and $[\text{Agr} \ v + \text{Agro}]$, check agreement and license case, Nom and Acc, respectively (Chomsky, 1993, p. 7). He states that agreement is determined by the $0$ feature of the Agr head of the Agr complex and case by an element that adjoins to Agr (T or v). However, the functional head that licenses structural case is the same one that checks verbal agreement (Chomsky, 1995, p. 335).

The MP's morphosyntactic nature assumes that the verbs and nouns are assigned their inflectional properties in the lexicon. The already inflected verbs are placed in the VP. The relevant inflectional and derivational morphology of the categories in verbs is contained in the lexicon.

The MP further postulates that a linguistic expression is well represented only at the interface which contains phonological and logical form. Several processes and guiding principles are involved in the transportation of lexical information from the lexicon to interface. The first component is the computational process which begins
with input yielding output (sound meaning) through merge, move and deletion. Computation begins with numeration, which is the starting point of the structure building process. In numeration, words that belong to different categories that form syntactic structures through merge are selected. The result of computations is that there must be two fully formed structural representations, one at LF and other at PF meaning two computations must split at spell out point (Chomsky, 1995, p.394)

In the MP, elements move to satisfy morphological requirements (Horstein, 1995). The computational systems of the transformational MP build trees and moves elements into structural positions created by the process Move. According to Cook and Newson (1996), the movement process moves elements about and plays a role in structure building where a position is created into which to move an element. There are general principles that govern syntactic movement. They include Greed which allows the constituent to satisfy its morphological needs Procrastination, which dictates that derivations delay movement until after spell out so that the effects of such movement do not affect the phonological form. The Minimal Link Conditions states that movement is only possible into the nearest relevant position.

Merge is a basic constituent building operation in the MP in which two adjacent syntactic elements make up a new syntactic unit. It is a recursive system, which joins two syntactic objects and forms a new one and the tree diagram depicts the maximal projecting as an inflectional phrase and the tree diagram represent constituent structures that depict structural relationships of constituents. Merge transports the information from the lexicon to the interface level which consists of PF and LF.
The computations process from lexicon to interface as proposed by Chomsky is represented below.

```
Numeration
   | Spell out
      LF representation    PF Representation
```

Chomsky (1995, p. 200)

Spell out is the second component of the MP and it should take place after the numeration and structure building process and entails separation of LF and PF according to the Full Interpretation Principle (FI). If lexical items are inserted after spell out, the process cannot split into relevant information into the correct levels of interpretation. The Spell out process checks grammaticality which is manifested in PF and LF. Logical information cannot appear at PF, nor can any phonological information appear at LF, otherwise the derivation crashes and this leads to ungrammaticality of the final structure.

There is feature checking in the course of the derivation and it is done by moving to the appropriate functional projections where the features are then checked. Horstein (1995) highlights the fact that movement in the grammar is driven by the requirement of checking morphological features. LF is formed after the numeration has been exhausted all possible features have been checked and a single tree has been assembled.
The basic Minimalist Program sentence structure is as follows:

(Chomsky, 1993, p.7)
The study used the MP because it integrates morphology and syntax. In the MP, morphology plays a vital role because morphological necessity drives the computational systems. The amount of movement of the lexical items in structure building that takes place depends on how rich or weak the morphology of a language is: languages with rich morphology will license more movement and those with weak morphology will allow less movement (Chomsky, 1993, p.8). This makes the theory appropriate to analyze a language like Ekegusii which has rich morphology.

In the MP, what appears in the analysis is what is licensed by that particular language and this means the language under analysis instructs the theory. The earlier theories, especially GB, had predetermined projections for the language under analysis to fit in (Chomsky, 1995).

2.2.2 Summary

This chapter covered the literature review related to this study as well as the theoretical framework. We now turn our attention to research methodology.
CHAPTER THREE
METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter seeks to give an overview of the methodology that was used in the study. The discussion revolves around the research design, sample and sampling technique, data collection, data presentation and analysis and ethical considerations.

3.1 Research Design

The main focus of this study is to describe the empty categories in Ekegusii; therefore the research approach was qualitative. In this approach, the researcher tries to penetrate the layers of meaning and to unveil and identify the range and depth of situations and perspectives that apply in the area under study (Jwan and Ong’ondo, 2011). They suggest that the process involved in the research must therefore be captured in detail to allow for fair interpretation of findings. According to them this key feature of qualitative research is referred to as thick description. Mugenda and Mugenda (2012) concur with them by arguing that qualitative researchers aim to gather in-depth understanding of events and occurrences. The researcher finds this design appropriate as the study gives an in-depth description of the properties and roles of empty categories in Ekegusii.

3.2 Sample and Sampling Technique.

Morse and Niehaus (2009) note that sampling techniques are intended to maximize efficiency and validity. This study employed purposive sampling in the elicitation of Bible stories. Such a sampling technique was appropriate for this study because the researcher required specific texts.
According to Creswell (2009), the idea behind qualitative research is to purposely select the participants or sites or documents that will help the researcher understand the problem and the research questions. Manion, Morrison and Cohen (2011) also point out that in qualitative research, purposive, non-probability samples are taken and often emphasis is placed on the uniqueness, idiographic and exclusive distinctiveness of the phenomenon or individuals in question. These arguments make purposive sampling suitable for this research.

Using purposive sampling, the researcher sampled stories from Ekegusii Bible as it was not possible to use all the Bible stories. The books of Jonah and Mathew were used in the selection of sentences. The books were used because they contain the sentence types the researcher required in the analysis. These included Wh-questions, passive, finite and infinitive constructions.

### 3.3 Data Collection

The data for the study was in the form of sentences. Content analysis and introspection was used as methods of data collection. Mugenda and Mugenda (2012) say that content analysis of key documents and materials is one of the research data collection techniques in qualitative research. Curry, Bradley and Nembard (2009) also argue that content analysis (document review) is a method of data collection in qualitative research. They note that in qualitative studies, data collection and analysis occur in an iterate fashion. This means that the researcher moves forth and back between data collection and analysis process. The study collected sentential data from the selected books. The sentences were in the form of Wh-questions, passive, finite and infinitive constructions. These kinds of sentences were used because different
empty categories manifest differently in each sentence type as revealed in the literature review. Content analysis can be conducted with any written material and can be used to examine large amounts of text (Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2007). The argument of these three scholars forms the basis of choosing content analysis as a data collection method.

Introspection was also be used to supplement written sources. Atkinson et. al (1982) suggest that a linguist who is a native speaker of a language under investigation is entitled to generate sentences to formulate and test his or her hypotheses. They add that the native speaker can distinguish between well formed and ill-formed strings of words. Given these arguments, the researcher used her status as a native speaker of Ekegusii to generate sentences not contained in the data from other sources. The data was counter checked by two other competent Ekegusii speakers.

As Silverman (2010) says, there are no right or wrong methods, but only methods that are appropriate to one’s topic and the model he or she is working with. The researcher considers the above methods appropriate for the study.

3.4 Data Presentation and Analysis

Data analysis involves making sense out of text and image data (Creswell, 2009). He further notes that it involves moving deeper and deeper into understanding data and he calls this peeling back the layer of an onion.

Our study drew on the qualitative approaches in the analysis of data on the empty categories in Ekegusii. Open coding was used for detailed analysis where coding is defined as a process of organizing material into chunks or texts before bringing meaning to information (Rossman and Rallis, 1998, p.171). It involves taking data
gathered and segmenting sentences or paragraphs into categories and labelling them with a term.

All the data was read through to obtain a general sense of the information. Then the empty categories were identified and categorized according to their properties. For example, *PRO* was classified as a base generated empty category which occurs in infinitival clauses while *wh-* trace is movement generated and is described as a variable.

The researcher then examined the roles the empty categories play. For instance, *PRO* can have an agentive role. The analysis was presented in tree diagrams using the MP where arrows were used to trace the movement.

### 3.5 Ethical Considerations

The researcher sought consent from the participants who helped in counter-checking the data generated by the researcher. They were fully informed of the nature and purpose of the project. After the study, the findings were availed to them. They were referred to as participants and not subjects. Oates (2005) argues that this recognizes the participants as playing an active role in the research process. According to him, people providing data are giving up their time and allowing intrusion into their private lives, hence they have a stake in the process.

Finally, the researcher acknowledged the sources within the work and included them in the list of references.
3.6 Summary

This chapter has looked at the research design, sample and sampling technique, data collection and data analysis and presentation. The next chapter looks at the data analysis and presentation.
4.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the data analysis of the empty categories in Ekegusii. We present the properties of empty categories and their roles using the Minimalist perspective. Each of the empty categories is introduced briefly before the Ekegusii data for each category is presented.

4.1 PRO

Following Chomsky and Lansik (1993), we define PRO as an empty category that has null case. Accordingly, PRO only appears in the subject position of an infinitival clause.

Before we discuss the properties of PRO, we present Ekegusii data as evidence for the existence of PRO following the arguments advanced by Landau (2013, pp.69-79). One of the syntactic evidence for the existence of PRO is that infinitivals where PRO manifests itself are clauses which require subjects. It is therefore necessary to assume the existence of null pronoun (PRO) to fill the subject position of the infinitivals in accordance with EPP. The argument that infinitivals are clausal can be deduced from the fact that they can be introduced by complementizers and a wh-element. Below is an Ekegusii sentence to serve as an illustration.

(1) Ekero omonyuomi atebana gocha, bagasundoka.

Ekero omonyuomi a-a-teban-a go-cha ba-ga-sundok-a

When bridegroom SM-TNS-delay-FV INF- come SM-TNS -doze -FV

When the bridegroom delayed to come, they dozed off.
The infinitival clause *gocha* (to come) is introduced by the wh-element *ekero* (when). From the data presented above, we can conclude that infinitivals are clausal and therefore require a subject which is PRO. PRO satisfies the EPP which dictates that clauses should have subjects (Chomsky, 1995, p.345-347).

Having exemplified that PRO exists in Ekegusii, we turn our attention to the properties it exhibits.

It is found in the subject position of non-finite IP and the infinitival marker is either *ko* or *go*. We can simply say PRO occurs in *ko* or *go* clauses. Oyioka (2014, p.107) also holds the same argument. Consider,

(2) Yeso agachaka korandia.

    Yeso  a-ga-chak-a  ko-randi-a
    Jesus  SM - TNS - start - FV INF - preach - FV
    Jesus started to preach

There are two verbs in the above sentence *chaka* (start) and *randia* (preach) but only one overt subject, namely *Yeso*. It is the subject of the matrix clause. However, *Yeso* can be interpreted as being the subject of the lower clause as well. Minimalism proposes an analysis in which there is an empty category in the infinitival subject position which is coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause from which it gets its meaning (Carnie, 2012, p. 429). The relevant structure is as follows.

3(a)Yeso; agachaka [PRO; Korandia].

PRO is the subject of *Korandia* (to preach) clause which is coreferential to *Yeso*.
Lasnik (1997) observes that PRO and overt subjects are in complementary distribution. This means that an overt subject cannot replace PRO since, he argues, the nominative case feature cannot be checked. This can also be observed in Ekegusii as exemplified below.

3 (b) *Yeso agachaka [Yeso Korandia]

Sentence 3(b), is ill-formed because the overt subject Yeso in the infinitive clause (Yeso korandia) replaces PRO.

Still on the occurrence of PRO, from the data it can be observed that PRO occurs as the subject of both transitive and intransitive verbs. Sentences 4 and 5 are cases in point.

(4) Bagachaka kobutora ebigara.
   Ba–ga–chak–a ko–butor–a ebigara
   SM–TNS–start–FV INF–cut–FV ears of corn
   They started to cut ears of the corn

In construction (4), the infinitive verb *Kobutora* (to cut) is transitive because it takes the object *ebigara* (ears of corn). It is represented as (5) for purposes of showing the relevant structure.

(5) Bagachaka [PRO₁ Kobutora ebigara]

(6) Agachaka korimera amache ime.
   A–ga–chak–a ko–rimer–a amache ime
   SM – TNS – start – FV INF – sink – FV water inside
   He started to sink inside the water
Example 6 above can be represented as 7 for our analysis.

(7) Agachaka [PRO; korimeria amache ime]

In the infinitive clause where PRO occurs, the verb korimeria (sink) is intransitive for it does not take an object; instead it takes a PP which acts as an adjunct.

In terms of Ø features, PRO takes them from an obligatory controller. However, it does not take case and theta roles from its controller. When it is not controlled, the interpretation is said to be arbitrary. Obligatory control cases will be analyzed first before we turn our attention to arbitrary uses of PRO.

Sentence 2 is repeated as 8 for our analysis.

(8) Yeso; agachaka [PRO; Korandia]

PRO in (8) is obligatorily controlled by the overt noun Yeso. Yeso is the controller and PRO is the controllee. Landau (1999, p. 12) notes that obligatory control occurs when the controller and the infinitive are clausalmates. Both the controller and PRO share Ø features; that is, number and person: [singular third person].

In obligatory control PRO must have a C-commanding antecedent. In this case, Yeso which is the antecedent, C-commands PRO. The diagram below illustrates the C-commanding relationship between Yeso (antecedent) and PRO.
Yeso C-commands PRO because the first branching node dominating it (IP) also dominates PRO and both PRO and Yeso do not dominate each other.

Another property of obligatory control is that it can be construed with a sloppy (bound variable) reading in VP ellipsis as in;
Nyaboke hoped to pass and Moraa did too.
Sentence 10 above can be interpreted that it is Nyaboke who hoped to pass and not Moraa (the reading where Moraa hoped to pass is excluded- Moraa hoped that Nyaboke would pass but she herself did not hope to pass).

Now, let us look at the arbitrary uses of PRO in Ekegusii. Arbitrary PRO is not linked to any grammatical antecedent. Consider structure 11 below.

(11) Nakongu gosoa oboruoti bwa igoro

It difficult INF-enter the kingdom of heaven

Structure 11 above does not have any possible Controller (antecedent) instead; it has generic reference. It is represented as 12 below.

(12) Nakongu [PRO gosoa oboruoti bwa igoro].

Since 11 is a clause, it must have a subject in compliance with the extended projection principle [EPP] which requires that a clause should have a subject. We therefore posit that the subject is PRO.
Apart from obligatory and arbitrary control uses of PRO, Ekegusii can also exhibit split control (two matrix arguments jointly control PRO). Consider the sentence below.

(13) Kemunto na Omwenga mbakonyanete kobogoria ebitabu

Kemunto na Omwenga mb-a- kony-an-et-e ko – bogori-a ebitabu

Kemunto na Omwenga SM- TNS- help-REC-PERF- FV INF-carry-FV books

Kemunto and Omwenga helped each other to carry books.

In 13 *carrying* is done by both Kemunto and Omwenga. In other words PRO is controlled by both *Kemunto* and *Omwenga* as shown below.

(14) Kemunto, na Omwenga, Mbakonyanete [PROi+j Kobogoria ebitabu]

PRO bears a null case in Ekegusii. This case is special to PRO because it is only PRO that carries this case. We invoke the case theoretical account of Chomsky and Lasnik (1993, p. 561). They argue that PRO is the minimal case marked DP which checks null case against a minimal INF (an INF that lacks tense and agreement features). \(I_{null}\) has a weak interpretable tense feature which can only check null case because it corresponds to [-I] specification, thus PRO will merge whenever \(I_{null}\) is selected otherwise the derivation will crash.

Tensed I cannot check the null case feature. This explains why PRO cannot appear in a tensed clause. This means NOM marked arguments are excluded from that same position as the feature [NOM] cannot be checked there.
Non-overt PRO becoming overt if the non-finite clauses are paraphrased into finite clauses is another notable property of PRO in Ekegusii. Consider the Ekegusii constructions below:

15 (a) Akarengereria komotiga bobisi

A-ka- rengereri-a ko-mo-tig-a bobisi

SM- TNS- think- FV-INFOM-OM-leave-FV-secretly

He thought to leave her secretly

Sentence 15 above can be paraphrased as:

15 (b) Akarengereria amotige bobisi

A-ka-rengerei-a a-mo-tig-e bobisi (underlying morphemic structure)

SM- TNS-think-FV-SM-OM-leave-FV secretly

He thought of leaving her secretly

The fact that the sentences (a) and (b) are near synonymous paraphrases suggest that there is indeed an empty category (PRO) in sentence (15a).

To conclude this section, we shall represent the structures above diagrammatically to show how the features are checked.
Sentence 5 above is represented as 16 below:

(16) Ba\text{gachaka} [\text{PRO}\text{kobutora}\text{ebigara}]

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
  \node (Agrsp) {Agrsp}
  \node (Spec) [below of=Agrsp] {Spec\quad Ba}
  \node (Agrs) [below of=Spec] {Agrs\quad gachaka}
  \node (TNS) [below of=Agrs] {TNS'}
  \node (VP) [below of=TNS] {VP}
  \node (IP) [below of=VP] {IP}
  \node (PRO) [below of=IP] {PRO}
  \node (I) [below of=PRO] {I'}
  \node (ko) [below of=I] {I\quad ko}
  \node (V) [below of=ko] {V\quad butora}
  \node (Agrop) [below of=V] {Agrop}
  \node (Spec) [below of=Agrop] {Spec\quad ebigera}
  \node (Agro) [below of=Spec] {Agro'}
  \node (Vp) [below of=Agro] {Vp}
  \node (V) [below of=Vp] {V\quad Dp}

  \draw[->] (Agrsp) -- (Spec);
  \draw[->] (Spec) -- (Agrs);
  \draw[->] (Agrs) -- (TNS);
  \draw[->] (TNS) -- (VP);
  \draw[->] (VP) -- (IP);
  \draw[->] (IP) -- (PRO);
  \draw[->] (PRO) -- (I');
  \draw[->] (I') -- (ko);
  \draw[->] (ko) -- (V);
  \draw[->] (V) -- (Agrop);
  \draw[->] (Agrop) -- (Spec);
  \draw[->] (Spec) -- (Agro);
  \draw[->] (Agro) -- (Vp);
  \draw[->] (Vp) -- (V);
  \draw[->] (V) -- (Dp);
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}
PRO is base generated at the spec of IP. It does not move to the higher [spec, Agrsp]. This is because both PRO and I bear a special case feature [NULL] and so [NULL] of PRO and [NULL] of I can be matched off and checked in spec-head configuration in IP. This means PRO can successfully check its case feature even if the Agreement Subject Phrase is not available. The verb of the matrix clause moves to PERF, REC and TNS to check perfective, reciprocal and tense features respectively. It then moves to check agreement with the subject. The subject of the matrix clause moves to the specifier of agreement subject phrase to check specifier features. The verb of the lower clause does not move because it is tenseless.

Structure 14, which exhibits split control, is represented as 17.
(17) Kemunto na Omwenga mbakonyanete [PROi+j Kobogoria ebitabu

```
Agrsp
  Spec Kemunto na Omwenga
  Agrs'
    Agrs mbakonyanete
      TNS'
        TNS
          REC'
            REC
              PERF'
                PERF
                  VP
                    Spec
                      V' 
                        V
                          IP
                            Spec
                              I'
                                I ko
                                  VP
                                    V
                                      Bogoria
                                        Agrop
                                          Spec
                                            Agro'
                                              Agro Vp
                                                V
                                                  Dp
```
PRO remains in [spec IP] and checks its null case there. The verb of the matrix clause moves to check perfect, reciprocal, tense features. Finally, it moves to check agreement with the subject. The subject of the matrix clause moves from the specifier of the VP to the specifier of agreement of subject to check specifier features.

We now move to discuss wh-traces which are another empty category.

4.2 Wh – Traces
Wh-traces are copies of A-bar movement (Wh – movement). A – Bar movement targets a non-argument position (Rizzi, 2013, p.8) such as the left periphery of the sentence or complementizer phrase. We take wh – movement as a copying operation following Chomsky (1993) Copy Theory of movement, where a trace is taken to be a full copy of a moved constituent. The moved constituent and the copy are taken to be non-distinct. The copy is deleted at PF but remains at LF (Chomsky, 1995, p.227).

The wh-words in English are: who, what, where, which, whom, when and how. They are called so because they contain a [WH] feature (Chomsky, 1995). Likewise words in other languages, Ekegusii included, are referred to as wh-words even though they are not preceded by a wh- in the phonetic realization.

In Ekegusii, the equivalents of wh- words are ningo (who), inki (what/which) naki (how) and indi (when). Ekegusii allows for placing of a displaced wh-item into the clause initial position. The preverbal position is the unmarked position of wh-material in Ekegusii. However, this is inconsistent with unmarked declarative word order. This implies that the unmarked interrogative order is evidently as a result of obligatory movement, suggesting that the wh- trace does exist in Ekegusii. Consider sentence 18 which validates the above argument.
18 (a) Agora ebitabu

A-a-gor-a ebitabu

SM-TNS-buy-FV books

He bought books.

18 (b) Inki agora?

Inki a-a-gor-a

What SM-TNS-buy-FV

What did he buy?

18(a) is a declarative sentence in which the doer (the subject pronoun a of class two) of the action occupies the preverbal position and ebitabu (books) is the complement of the verb. This is the unmarked declarative word order in Ekegusii and in SVO languages. In 18(b) the question word inki (what) also occupies the preverbal position although it is not the doer of the action. This is the unmarked interrogative word order in Ekegusii. The wh-element seeks information about the complement (ebitabu). This makes us conclude that the wh-word moves to the front position, leaving behind wh-copies. Oyioka (2014, p.76) also opines that the question words in Ekegusii land at Spec,CP. (Mwangi1992), notes that also in Kikuyu the wh-words moves to the initial position leaving behind wh-traces.

Let us now analyse sentence 18(b) which exhibits wh-movement.
This is an interrogative structure which displays two notable features: firstly there is a
wh-element placed at the clause initial position and secondly the verb *buy* apparently
appears without a complement.

Let us turn our attention to the verb *gora* (*buy*). This is a simple transitive verb whose
subcategorization frame specifies that a complement must be present in a sentence in
which it occurs. However, in 18(b) *gora* (*buy*) is not followed by a complement but
the sentence is well formed. We expect an ill-formed structure to occur if a verb’s
sub-categorization requirements are not met.

The well-formedness of 18 (b) above can be explained by the fact that despite
appearances, there is a complement but it is not in its canonical (usual) place. The
element that would qualify for complement status is *inki*. The assumption is that the
wh-element is moved from the thematic position to the initial position of the sentence,
leaving a copy of itself in this position. It then follows that the wh-trace occurs in the
thematic position. The wh-trace and the wh-word or phrases form a chain. Consider
sentence 18 (b) represented as 19.

\[
\text{(19) Inki, agora t,-------,}\]

\[t\] marks the position in which the wh-phrase is expected to appear in declarative
constructions. The moved constituent and its copy together form a movement chain,
with the moved element being the head and the copy the foot of the chain.

The entire wh-chain (wh-word ............ \(t_i\)) is marked for the property \([Q]\). In the
example above a single word (wh-determiner) is preposed. Wh-phrases can also move
as shown in structure 20.
20(a) Agokora emeremo yoborandi (declarative form)

He does the work of preaching.

20(b) Meromo ki ogokora?

Meromo ki o-go-kor-a

Work what SM-TNS-do-FV

What work do you do?

20(b) is represented as 21(a) to show the movement.

21 (a) Meremo ki, ogokora

In structure 21(a), it is the wh-phrase meremo ki that is preposed and not just the wh-word. If only the wh-word is fronted, the sentence will crash as illustrated below.

21 (b) *Ki ogokora Meromo?

What you do work?

It should be noted that the wh-traces of DP always contain the lexical content of the NP part of the moved DP. It is not just the noun but the NP part that matters in the identity of copies.

Structures 19 and 21(a) presented above involve arguments that move from a complement position of a simple sentence. We note that in Ekegusii the wh-element can leave a copy in the post position of an embedded clause as shown below.
22(a) Akagerete Moraa Nyabuto akorangeria

A-a-kager-et-e Moraa Nyabuto a-ko-rangeri-a

SM-TNS-think- FV-PERF Moraa Nyabuto SM-TNS-call

He thinks Moraa is calling Nyabuto

22(b) Ningo okagerete Moraa akorangeria?

Ningo o-o-kager-et-e Moraa a-ko-rangeri-a

Who SM- TNS-think-FV-PERF Moraa SM-TNS-call-FV

Whom do you think Moraa is calling?

In the declarative sentence the person who is thought to have been being called by Moraa is Nyabuto. The interrogative word ningo (who) replaces the complement of the verb Nyabuto. This shows that the wh-word (ningo) has been extracted from the post verbal position of the embedded clause, leaving a trace in this position. It shows there is long distance wh- movement in Ekegusii.

Structure 22 (b) can be represented as below to show the movement.

22 (c) Ningo, okagerete Moraa akorangeria ti.

All the sentences discussed under section 4.3 are cases of wh-arguments. Adjunct phrases are also subject to wh-movement. They undergo movement from an adverbial position, thereby leaving a copy of the moved element in this position. Just as is the case with wh-arguments, their landing site is the specifier of the complementizer...
phrase. They occupy this position in order to be interpreted as wh-questions (Rizzi, 1996, p. 64). Consider

23(a) Ebatiso ya Johana eyarwete ase Nyasae.

Baptism of John SM-TNS-came-FV from God

John’s baptism came from God

23(b) Ngai ebatiso ya Johana yarwete?

Where baptism of John SM-TNS come-FV

Where did the baptism of John come from?

Structure 23(b) can be represented as 24 to show the movement.

(24) Ngai, ebatiso ya Johana yarwete t	

The adjunct phrase originates from the adverbial position, leaving a trace in this position which is adverbial in nature (gives circumstantial information). We can say that the moved element is adverbial in nature because the phrase that occupies the post verbal position in the declarative sentence 23(b) above is also an adverbial ase Nyasae (from God). The moved element and the trace together form a chain.
The two sentences below can also be used to illustrate the wh-movement of adjunct phrases.

25(a) Atebia Nyabo ke mambia nga mogoroba akogenda.

\[a-a-tebi-a Nyabo ke mambia nga marogoba a-ko-gend-a\]

\[SM-TNS-tell-FV Nyabo ke that evening SM-TNS-go-FV\]

He told him in the morning that Nyabo ke goes in the evening.

25(b) Indi amotebia Nyabo ke akogenda?

\[Indi a-a-mo- tebi-a Nyoboko a-ko-gend-a\]

\[When SM-TNS- OM - tell - FV- Nyabo ke SM - TNS- go - FV\]

When did he tell him Nyabo ke he goes

The temporal adjunct *indi* (when) leaves a copy either in the first clause *indi amotebia* (when did he tell him) or in the second clause *indi Nyabo ke akogenda* (when is Nyabo ke going). This means that *indi* can be related to the activity expressed in the matrix clause *tebia* (telling) or that in the subordinate clause *kogenda* (going).

The trace/copy of the moved phrase will indicate which clause the time adjunct modifies. 26 and 27 suggests the type of answer for each.

(26) \[Indi, amotebia t_i [Nyabo ke akogenda]\]

In structure 26 the wh-word leaves a copy after the verb *teba* (tell). The trace modifies the *tebia* (telling) clause. This shows that the copy originates from the verb *teba* and it
is an adverbial. The declarative sentence in 25(a) proves this because after the verb we have an adverbial *mambia* (in the morning).

(27) Indi; amotebia Nyaboke akogenda,

In (27), the copy of the moved trace modifies the subordinate clause *Kogenda* (going). Its declarative counterpart (25a) has an adverbial *marogoba* (in the evening) which modifies the verb *kogenda* going.

In Ekegusii, the wh- argument traces are morphologically case marked. The moved element has the same case as its trace. This means that wh-movement is not case driven. The wh-copy is case marked by the verb accusatively and is assigned a theta role. It is case marked because it occupies a position normally taken by a NP. It should be noted that the adjunt wh-traces do not receive any case hence they are not theta marked.

Another notable property of wh-copy is that it is dominated by the node [Spec CP] by virtue of being a higher node in the structure. This means that the wh-expression C-commands its copy. The wh-copy is also bound by the C -commanding-wh – expression hence the wh-copies are interpreted as bound variables. The wh – words or expressions are operators, meaning that they determine the reference of the wh-trace.

For purposes of exposition, sentence 21(a) is repeated as 28

(28) Meromo ki, ogokora ti

This can be interpreted as: There is some work that the agent (marked by initial o in ogokora) does; tell me the work you do. The wh-word here is treated as a combination of the existential quantifier and an imperative.

There is work (existential); tell me the work you do (imperative).
The sentence above shows that the trace is bound by the wh-expression

$$\exists x: \text{Meremo (x) gokora (o,x)}$$

Consider sentence 29 below for further illustration on the wh-traces treated as bound variables.

(29) Ningo oranyare gotoreka?

Ningo-o-ra-nyar-e go-tor-ek-a

Who-SM-TNS able-FV-INF-save-STAT-FV

Who will be able to be saved?

The structure in (29) above has the following semantic representation.

Ningo x (x omonto), oranyare gotoreka (x)

Who x (x a person) is able to be saved paraphrasable as

ase aba x (erio x ase omonto) ere ekeene nga natoreke?

Of which x (such that x is a person) is it true that he can be saved.

The wh-operator binds the variable x.

To end this section on wh-traces/copies, we present tree diagrams to show how the movements and features are checked.

Structure 19 above is represented as 30 below
The tree structure above is headed by the complementizer phrase. The wh-word moves from its base position after the verb to the specifier of the agreement object phrase to check its accusative case before moving to the specifier of the complementizer phrase. It moves to the specifier of the complementizer phrase to check its strong [WH] feature so as to type the sentence as an interrogative.
The verb *agora* moves to Agrop to check agreement of object features. It then moves to TNS to check tense. The specifier of VP moves to Agrsp to check agreement with the subject.

Structure 21(a), which moves the wh-word and the NP, is represented as 31 below.

(31)  Meromo ki; ogokora t;

![Diagram of the structure](image-url)
The whole question phrase (wh – phrase) moves from its base position after the verb to the specifer of agreement object phrase to check its accusative case. It then moves to the specifer of complementizer phrase to check its strong [WH] feature where it is interpreted as a question.

The verb moves to Agrop to check agreement of object features. It then moves to TNS to check tense and finally to Agrsp to check agreement with the subject. The subject marker, which serves as pronominal, moves from the specifer of the verb phrase to the specifer of the agreement of subject phrase to check nominative case.

The next empty category that we will discuss is the NP- traces.

4.3 NP-Traces

NP-traces or copies are ECs generated by A- Movement. That is movement of subjects to the specifer position which is case marked within IP. This position is an argument position and most often the target position is the subject position (Rizizi, 2013, p.8)

According to the VP internal subject Hypothesis (= VPISH), A-movement displaces the subject of transitive or unergative verb from its in situ (usual) position in [Spec, VP], leaving behind a copy of itself in this position. The copy is referred to as NP-trace or copy. A canonical example of A-Movement is passivazation.

In Ekegusii, we postulate that NP- traces exist and we will use the passive constructions to discuss the properties of NP-trace. Ekegusii has constructions with many hallmark features of the passive – an argument that would normally be an object precedes and agrees with the verb while the agent follows; also a special – w suffix is
used. For the sake of exposition, let us consider sentence 32 (a) and (b) below where (a) is active and (b) is its passive counterpart.

32(a) Omoika okaira Yeso ase eroro.
     Omoika o-ka-ir-a Yeso ase eroro
     The Holy Spirit took Jesus to the wilderness.

32 (b) Yeso akairwa n’omoika ase eroro.
     Yeso a-ka-ir-w-a n’o-moika- ase eroro
     Jesus-SM-TNS-take-PASS-FV by Holy Spirit to wilderness
     Jesus was taken by the Holy Spirit to the wilderness.

A close inspection of the above sentences shows that the two sentences are quite similar. They appear to mean the same thing. They have the same word order (SVO). However, there are differences between the two sentences. The first difference is that in 32(b) the verb contains an additional morpheme, the suffix – w which does not occur in 32 (a). The second difference has to do with the shift in the assignment of grammatical relations. The same participant appears to fill the same theta roles in both sentences but there is a shift in assignment of grammatical relations. That is, Yeso is the complement of the verb in (a) but a subject in (b). In a similar way, the agent omoika becomes an oblique argument in (b). This can clearly be observed in 33.

(33)  okaira – <agent, patient> active
       |       |
       SUBj  OBj

akairwa –< agent, patient > Passive
       |       |
       OBL  SUBj
Having presented empirical facts of passive formation in Ekegusii we now try to look at how grammar produces these changes.

Following Uniform Theta Assignment hypothesis (UTAH) argued for by Baker (1988), passive subjects must originate in the same position as active complements. In structure 32(b) Yeso (Jesus) originates as the complement of the verb akairwa and then moves from being complement of the passive participle akairwa (taken) to becoming its subject, leaving behind a copy of itself in the thematic complement position. This kind of movement has been argued for in Ekegusii by (Oyika2014). The sentence below is used for illustration.

34 (a) Yeso$_i$ akairwa $t_i$

The landing site is the structural subject position and this can be verified by the fact that agreement with the verb necessarily follows. Yeso$_i$(Jesus) agrees with the verb through the subject marker ‘a’. Without the subject marker the derivation crashes as shown below.

34 (b) * Yeso$_i$ Kairwa $t_i$

Our findings parallel those of Mwangi (1992). She notes that in Kikuyu, there is A-movement whereby the subject of the transitive verb in a passive construction moves from the [Spec-VP] and lands in the argument position leaving behind NP-traces. The NP-trace in Ekegusii does not occur in a real case marked position. We adopt Burzio’s (1986) arguments on the caseless NP-trace. He argues that the passive verb absorbs case, forcing the object to move to receive case. Subject position loses agent projection which creates a landing site for the object. We equally argue that in
Ekegusii, the \(-w\) suffix absorbs case, forcing the object *Yeso* (Jesus) to move to the subject position to satisfy case filter. Case filter therefore becomes one of the reasons why movement occurs as case filter requires all overt NPs to have case. By moving into subject position, the moved constituent receives nominative case. This parallels to Mwangi’s (2007) who argues that in Kikuyu, the passive morpheme absorbs case.

Another notable property of the NP-Trace in Ekegusii as evidenced in the data is that it cannot be replaced by any lexical material be it a pronoun or a reflexive as exemplified in sentences 35 and 36 below.

(35)* Omotwe oye; okarentwata; ere ase esani.

Omotwe oye o-ka-ret-w-a-ere ase-esani

Head his OM-TNS-bring-PM-FV-him in plate

His head was brought him to the plate

(36)* Abana abake; bakaretwati barabwo abanyene

Abana-abake-ba-ka-rent-w-a barabwo-abanyene

Children little-SM-TNS- bring PASS-FV-them-selves

Little children were brought themselves

When the NP-trace in sentence 35 is replaced by a pronoun *ere* (him) it becomes ill formed. The same can be observed in 36 where the NP-trace is replaced by the reflexive *barabwo abanyene* (themselves).

The ungrammaticality of the structures above can be explained based on what Radford (1997, p. 348) calls detransitivization of the verb. Using this concept, we can say the past participle inflection on *retw-* absorbs the ability of a transitive verb like
ret- (bring) to check accusative case. Since the case features carried by \textit{ere} (him) and \textit{barabwo abanye} (themselves) in 35 and 36 cannot be checked, the resulting derivation crashes.

Finally on the properties of NP-trace, we say that the higher NP (moved NP), which is the antecedent which binds the NP-trace, asymmetrically C-commands the trace. This means that the trace does not C-command the higher NP; rather, it is only the higher NP that C-commands the NP copy.

To conclude this section on NP-copies we present tree diagrams of some of the structures above to show the movements and feature checking.
Structure 34(a) is diagrammatically represented as (37).

(37) Yeso, akairwa, Agrsp

Determiner phrase Yeso (Jesus) moves from its complement position in the VP to spec - Agrop to check agreement with the passive participate. The participle akairwa (taken) adjoins to Agro. We borrow this insight from Kayne (1989) in Chomsky (1997) who argues that passivised complements move through spec-Agrop on their way to spec-Agrsp.
Since the DP and the passive participle will be in a specifier head agreement relation, we can account for the fact that the two agree in number.

The diagram can also be used to illustrate the C-commanding relationship between the higher NP and the moved NP. We argue that Yeso (Jesus) asymmetrically C-commands the trace because it is higher than its trace. Yeso is the overt antecedent of the trace.

The null categories discussed so far, are nominals. We now move to discuss empty functional heads and we will start with the empty determiner.

4.4 The Empty Determiners

Null determiner, according to Radford (1997, p. 152), are bare nominals. These bare nominals are headed by a null determiner.

In the DP analysis of Abney (1987), Longobordi (1994) argues for the uniform application of the DP hypothesis assumptions within nominal Syntax thus, seeing the generation of null determiners. Abney (1987) opines that the determiner is a functional head that has its own projection; the DP. This implies that it is not part of the projection of the noun.

Noun phrases without determiners have the same distribution as noun phrases with determiners. The DP analysis cannot capture this generalization unless an empty determiner in the D position is postulated. The empty determiner is neither syntactically nor semantically empty (Longobordi, 1994, pp. 612-621). He says that it is a syntactic object for which syntactic and semantic restrictions can be formulated.
In Ekegusii, we postulate that there is an empty determiner which projects a DP. Mose (2012, p.44) has noted that in Ekegusii the DP can realize a null D which takes an NP complement and adjoined elements. The null determiner has the following properties.

The null determiner in Ekegusii has specific complement selection properties. It selects plural count nouns, singular count nouns and mass nouns as illustrated as below.

38 (a) Bakarora omwana.
    Ba-ka-ror-a omwana
    SM-TNS-see-FV omwana
    They saw the child

38 (b) Ritang’ani sangereria amabanchore
    Ritang’ani sangereri-a amabanchore
    First collect- FV amabanchore
    First collect weeds

38 (c) Omobaso obarire
    Omabaso o-bar-ir-e
    Sun SM- shine- PERF-FV
    The sun has shone

The underlined noun phrases are bare (without) a determiner. Omwana (child) is a singular bare count noun, amabanchore (weeds) is a plural bare noun and omobaso (sun) is a bare mass noun. All these nouns are headed by a null determiner. The following structure shows the relationship between the null determiner and the noun phrase.
The NP *omwana* (child) is base generated in the complement position and then raises to the specifier position to check the agreement features.

According to Longorbitardi (2000, p. 285) bare plurals and mass nouns have a tendency of occurring determinerless universally.

The empty determiner can also select a proper name as its complement. Sentence (40) is a case in point

(40) Ibrahim akaibora Isaka

Ibrahim a-ka-ibor-a Isaka

Ibrahim SM-TNS-bore-FV- Isaka

Ibrahim gave birth to Isaac

Ibrahim and Isaac are proper names headed by a null determiner. This means that the proper name is an NP which complements the null determiner.

The Null D in proper names is specified with features [+singular] and [+proper]. In addition, it is similar to demonstratives in Ekegusii which provide definiteness to the nominal phrases. Mose (2012, p. 45) argues that the demonstratives in Ekegusii mark definiteness. The definite demonstratives parallel the definite article ‘the’ in English which is similar to the null determiner in proper names. The argument that ‘the’ is
similar to the null D in proper nouns is put forward by Massam and Ghomeshi (2009). The definite feature is the most inherent one of any determiner (Korzen, 2008). This feature marks specificity and is a semantic property of noun phrases. The null D provides definiteness to nominal phrases.

The proper nouns have [+person] feature which is interpretable. They share this feature with the personal pronoun, accounting for distributional similarities between them and confirming the presence of the D-layer with proper names. The bare proper name *Ibrahim* is represented diagrammatically as shown.

(41) Ibrahim

![Diagram showing the structure of the word Ibrahim](image)

Ibrahim moves to the specifier position which should be overtly occupied. This position is argumental in nature.

Another feature of the empty determiner is that it can occur in both the preverbal and post verbal positions as in:

(42) Omonto takoba moyo ase omogati bweka

Omonta ta-kob-a moyo ase omogati bweka

Person NEG-TNS-BE-FV alive on bread alone

Person cannot be alive on bread alone
The singular bare noun *omonto* (person) occurs in preverbal position while *omogati* occurs in post verbal position. The verb is *takoba* (cannot be). Consider also sentence 43.

(43) Abasomba bakamoboria

Abasomba ba-ka-mo-bori-a

Servants SM-TNS-OBJM-ask-FV

The servants asked him

The bare plural nominal *abasomba* (servants) occurs in the preverbal position while *amabanchore* (weeds) in 38(b) repeated as (44) occurs in post verbal position.

(44) Ritangani sangereria amabanchore

Ritangani sangereri-a amabanchore

First, collect-FV amabanchore

First, collect weeds

The complement selection properties of the null determiner seem to parallel those of the overt determiner (Radford, 1997, p.153). This property can be observed in Ekegusii as illustrated in sentences (43) repeated as (45) and (44) as (46).

(45) Abasomba baria bakaboria

Abasomba baria ba-ka-bori-a

Servants those SM-TNS-ask-FV

Those servants asked

The overt determiner *baria* (those) selects *abasomba* (servants) as its complement just like the covert one.
The overt determiner onsi (all) selects the NP *amabanchore* (weeds) as its complement just like the empty one.

The fact that the null determiner has the same complement selection properties as a typical overt determiner such as *onsi* (all) strengthens the case for posting the existence of a null determiner and for analysing bare nominals as DPs headed by a null determiner.

Another notable property of the null determiner in Ekegusii is that it exhibits both generic and existential interpretation. This can be observed when it takes a plural noun phrase.

47(a) Naarora ebimoni kerama igoro

Na-a-ror-a ebimoni kerama igoro

SM- TNS- see- FV cats roof up

He saw cats on the roof.

47(b) Nanchete ebimoni.

Na-a-nchet-e ebimoni

SM-TNS- like- FV-cats

He likes cats

The bare plural *ebimoni* (cats) in 47 (a) is interpreted as existential (there exists some cats) and they are on the roof top. The bare plural *ebimoni* in 47(b) is interpreted as generic (for any typical cat I like it).
We now move to discuss another empty functional head called the complementizer.

4.5 The Empty Complementizer

According to Jalabneh and Abdellafti (2014, p. 114), a clause typically has the structure

[C' Spec [C'C [I' Spec [I' IV'']]]]. Crosslinguistically, the C is optionally elided in finite complement clauses that are selected by a certain set of verbs. It has been a common assumption that the elided complementizer is an empty category lacking phonetic realization (Pesetsky, 1995). In the light of data from Ekegusii, we argue that that a null complementizer exists as a syntactic entity in the CP projection.

Following Boskovic and Lasnik (2003), we define a null complementizer as an affix which must be hosted by the matrix verb adjacent to it at PF. We argue that in Ekegusii, a null complementizer which heads a complement clause cannot appear unless it is adjacent to the matrix verb which licenses it at PF. Consider:

48(a) Abakuani abanene na Abafarisai bakamanya ng'a nabwo agotebia

Abakuani abanene na Abafarisai ba-ka-many-a ng'a nabwo a-go-tebi-a

Priests great and Pharisees SM-TNS-know-FV that them SM-TNS-tell-FV

The great priests and the pharisees knew that he was telling them

48(b) Abakuani abanene na Abafarisai bakamya [CP Ø C nabwo ogotebia]
The subordinate (complement) clause headed by the overt complementizer ng’a (that) can be complementizerless because ng’a (that) is adjacent to the matrix verb. When any other material intervenes between the verb and the subject of the complement clause the null complementizer does not appear as in:

49 (a) Agachika abarokigwa baye tibatebia onde ng’a nere Kristo

A-ga-chik-a abarokigwa baye ti-ba-tebi-a onde ng’a nere Kristo

SM- TNS- command-FV disciples his NEG-SM-tell-FV anybody that Kristo

He is Christ

He commanded his disciples not to tell anyone that He is Christ

In the morphemic breakdown above, the negation marker metathesises (moves) leftwards. Typically, the negation marker occurs after the verb.

49(b)* Agachika abarokigwa baye tibatebia onde [CP CØ nere Kristo]]

He commanded his disciples not to tell anyone he is Christ.

49(b) is ill-formed because the null complementizer is not adjacent to the verb tebia (tell). The intervening material is the indefinite pronoun onde (anybody). The null C attaches to the closest overt element that C-commands it in order to be properly interpreted.

In Ekegusii a null complementizer can occur if it is selected by non-factive verbs. According to Vikner (1997, p.70) non-factive verbs include verbs like believe, think and hope.
Consider sentence 50 and 51 for illustration.

50(a) Timokaga ng’a nigo nachire gosari amachiko

Ti-mo-kag-a ng’a nigo na-ch-ir-e go-sari-a amachiko

NEGM-SM-think-FV that SM-come-PERF-FV INF-destroy-FV laws

Do not think that I have come to destroy the laws

50(b) Timokaga [CP CØ nigo nachire gosaria amachiko]

51(a) Mwegenire ng’a inche ninyare gokora ringana eri?

Mw-e-egen-ir-e ng’a inche ni-nyar-e go-kor-a ringana eri?

SM- TNS- believe-PERF-FV that me SM-able-FV INF-do-FV word this

Have you believed that I will be able to do this?

51(b) Mwegenire [CP CØ inche ninyare gokora ringana eri]]

The complement clauses in 50(b) and 51(b) are headed by null complemtizers because the verbs in the matrix clauses are non factive which allow complementizer deletion.

Our findings parallel those of Saito (1986) in Kansai language. He argues that complementizer deletion does take place in finite complement clauses selected by verbs like say and think in Kansai.

Complement clauses selected by manner of speaking verbs do not allow a null complementizer (Pesetsky, 1995). This property can be observed in Ekegusii. Sentence 52 illustrates this:
52(a) Gesare are gotwora ng'a chiombe chiabirwe

Gesare a-re go-twora ng'a chiombe chi-a-bir-w-e

Gesare SM- Be-PRO-shout that cows SM-TNS-steal-PASS-FV

Gesare was shouting that the cows had been stolen.

The progressive marker moves to the left position (metathesis takes place). It typically occurs in postverbal position.

The manner of the speaking verb twora (shout) selects a complement clause headed by an overt complementizer. If it selects a covert complementizer, the sentence becomes ill-formed as shown below.

53 (b) *Gesare are gotwora [CP CØ chiombe chiabirwe].

Another instance where a null complementizer cannot occur is when the matrix clause is in the passive voice as in:

54 (a) Nigo bakonyiria amaiso abo erinde banyare kororwa na abanto ng'a mbeng'atete

Nigo ba-ko-nyiri-a amaiso abo erinde ba-nyar-e ko-ror-w-a na abanto ng'a mb e-e-ngatet-et-e

So SM-INF-contort-FV faces their so as SM-able FV INF-see—PASS-FV with people that SM-TNS-fast-PERF-FV

They contort their faces so as to be able to be seen that they are fasting.
They contort their faces so as to be seen that they are fasting.

54(b)*Nigo bakonyiria amaiso abo erinde banyare kororwa na abanto[CP CØ mbengatete]

Structure (54b) is ill-formed because the main clause is in passive voice and this does not allow complementizer deletion in Ekegusii.

We now move to discuss our second objective which is on the roles of empty categories.

4.6 **Theta Roles of Empty Categories**

Thematic relationship is a set of semantic terms used to describe the argument role in relation to the predicate (Carnie, 2006, p.221). The number of arguments a predicate takes depends on its meaning. Each participant in the event denoted by the verb is assigned a theta role. The verbs and verb phrases assign the theta roles.

We assume that theta roles are not morphological in the light of Chomsky (1995, p.313). This means that theta relatedness of a predicate and argument is a base property. This basic connection between merge and thematic discharge bars movement to a theta position. This means a moved element cannot receive a theta role. Theta marking makes objects legitimate hence interpretable.

4.6.1 **Theta roles of PRO**

According to Carnie (2006, p.401) control predicate assigns a theta-role to its subject. Consider sentence 59 below.
Yeso agachaka gotogonyera emechie

Yeso a-ga-chak-a go-togonyer-a emechie

Jesus-SM-TNS-start-FV INFM rebuke-FV cities

Jesus started to rebuke cities

The control verb *chaka* (start) assigns the agent theta role to the subject *Yeso* (Jesus)

From surface observation, we can say *Yeso* (Jesus) is the one who starts and rebukes. However, Hageman and Gueron (1999, p. 138) note that each argument must be associated with only one theta role and each theta role must be associated with one and only one argument. This is in accordance with Theta Criterion first proposed by Chomsky (1981). The theta roles must consist of a syntactic category that the verb selects even if there is no overt subject. PRO comes in to help satisfy the Theta Criterion by appearing as the null subject attaining the appropriate theta role. This means PRO enters the derivation to satisfy the theta role of the embedded verb.

Consider 55 repeated as 57.

(57) Yeso₁ agachaka [PRO gotogonyera emechie]

*Chaka* (start) and its complement [PRO gotogonyera emechie] assigns the agent theta role to Yeso. The embedded verb *gotogonyera* (rebuke) and its complement *eméchie* assign the agent role to PRO and this prevents the violation of Theta Criterion.

Consider also sentence 58 below.
(58) Banchtete [PROi gosaba]

They like to pray.

The control verb *ancha* (like) and its complement [PRO gosaba] (PRO to pray) assigns a theme role to its subject; *they* denoted by the subject marker (Ba-). When used as a pronoun as in the case above, the subject Θ – role is assigned to SM itself. Once the theta role of the subject has been assigned, the SM receives pronominal interpretation. *Gosaba* (pray) assigns an agentive role to PRO.

PRO can also receive a theme role as in example (63) below

(59) Inwe mwaeirwe komanya obobisi bw’o boruoti.

Inwe mwa-a- eir-w-e ko- many-a obobisi bwo oboruoti

You SM-TNS-give-PASS- FV INF know- FV secrets of the kingdom

You have been given to know the secrets of the kingdom.

It is analysed as 60

(60) Inwe, mwaeirwe [PROi komanya obobisi bw’o boruoti]

The control verb (mwaeirwa) does not assign any theta role to its subject because it is passivized and the passive suffix-w dethematizes the agent role. The embedded verb *komanya* (to know) assigns a theme role to its subject (PRO).

Consider structure 64 below which does not have a control predicate.
(61) Ere buya ase nde gokwa kobua koba moyo

E-re-buya-ase-nde go-kw-a kobua koba moyo

SM-TNS-BE good for me to INF-die-FV than be alive

It is good for me to die than to be alive

It has the structure below;

Ere buya ase nde [PRO gokwa kobua koba moyo]

Gokwa (to die) assigns theme role to PRO.

4.6.2 Theta roles of the WH- trace

As earlier observed, the wh-trace fills the grammatical complement position of the verb. This means the canonical position of a complement wh-element is postverbal where it is able to receive a theta role from the verb before it moves to [Spec CP] position.

The complement wh-element is generated as a sister of V which is a theta position. This shows that DPs and NPs can legitimately enter a derivation only through a thematic door. The verb assigns a theme/patient role to the wh-element under sisterhood. Consider sentence 62 which is derived from 63.

(62) Gento ki tokogokorera?

Gento ki to-ko-go-kor-er-a

Thing which SM-TNS-OM-do-APPL-FV

Which thing do we do for you?
Before the wh-phrase *Gento ki* is fronted, it is assigned the theme/patient role by the verb *gokora* (do). The moved wh-element retains this thematic role.

In this study we have taken traces to be copies of the moved element as proposed by (Chomsky, 1993, p .35). This means copies can share a theta role since they are identical without violating the Theta Criterion.

The declarative counterpart of the interrogative is presented in 64 below to show that wh-elements indeed originate from the object position.

(64) Tokogokorere emeremo.

To-ko-go-kor-er-a emeremo

SM-TNS-OM-do-APPL-FV

We will do for you some work.

*Emeremo* (work) occupies the position which the wh-element should occupy and it is the direct object of the verb.

Construction 65 is an additional example to illustrate how theta roles are assigned to wh-traces in Ekegusii.

(65) Inki morange?

Inki mo-ra-n-ng-e

What SM-TNS-OM-give-FV
What will you give me?

The above sentence is derived from 69 below.

\[(66) \quad \text{Inki· morange t_i}\]

The wh-word originates from the post verbal position where it is assigned a patient role by the verb \textit{ingga} (give). The moved wh-word \textit{inki} inherits the patient role. Chomsky (1995, p. 219) notes that the base position is theta one. It is able to receive or assign a theta role. He further argues that movement takes place from a position that is theta marked.

4.6.3 Theta roles of NP-traces

Neeleman and van de koot (2002) argue that the NP-trace is a very simple lexical item containing a theta function plus the minimal specification required to function as an argument. Following these arguments we can say that the NP-trace, being an argument, must be assigned a theta rule. This is in line with Chomsky’s (1995, p.347) observation that an argument without a theta role violates the Full Interpretation Principle at LF.

In this study we assume that theta roles are assigned to arguments via merger with a predicative expression (an expression headed by an item which functions like a verb) in the active sentences. When the arguments move as a result of A – movement, they will move with their theta roles to their new slots. This will block the assigning of a second theta role to the arguments at their new positions. In the light of this observation, consider sentence 70 below represented as 71.
Your sins have been forgiven.

The DP *ebibe biao* originates as the complement of the verb as its active sentence counterpart where it is assigned the theta role of theme by the verb *abera* (forgive) which is transitive.

It then moves with the theme role to its landing site. We can argue that that the NP—trace bears a theme role as its antecedent. Following William (1994) we can say that the NP-trace is a predicate because it transmits the thematic role it receives to the NP that is its antecedent. In structure 68 above we can say the NP-trace transmits its thematic patient role to its antecedent *ebibe biao*.

We can argue that constituents which fulfill the same thematic role with respect to a given predicate occupy the same initial position in the syntax. This in line with UTAH of Baker (1997). Radford (2009) points out that it is plausible to posit that passive subjects originate from the same V-comp complement position as active objects.

We adopt Jaeggli’s (1986) claim that in short passives (passives without the agent by phrase) like the one in (68) the verb’s external θ-role is carried by the suffix itself, resulting in an implicit argument. Johnson and Roberts (1989) also note that the
passive morpheme is a distinct element in the syntax that receives the agent \( \theta \) -role from the verb. In full phrases (passive with the agent by phrase) the agent role is transmitted to the by phrase by the passive suffix \(-w\). Consider structure 69 below.

(69) Inche ndigetie kobatiswa naye.

Inche ndigetie ko-batis-w - a na-aye

I Want INF – baptize-PM- by -you.

I want to be baptized by you.

In (69), the passive suffix \(-w\) carries features usually assigned to NPs. It receives a theta role which it transmits to the by phrase \( naye \) (by you).

4.6.4 Summary

In this chapter we have presented the data and analysed it. In the next chapter, summary of findings, conclusion and recommendations are presented.
CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS:

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter, we present a summary of the findings then recommendations and finally suggestions for further research. The findings of the study are summarized in line with the research objectives listed below.

(i) To determine the syntactic properties of empty categories in Ekegusii.

(ii) To identify the role of empty categories in Ekegusii

(iii) To explain the empty categories in Ekegusii within the Minimalist Program.

5.1 Summary of the Findings.

In our first objective, we set out to determine the syntactic properties of empty categories in Ekegusii. We collected infinitive, passive and interrogative constructions from the Ekegusii Bible. We used these sentences because different empty categories manifest themselves in different sentences. Sentences that were not contained in the data from the bible were generated and cross-checked by two other competent native speakers of Ekegusii.

We discussed properties of five empty categories, namely PRO, NP – trace and WH–trace, empty determiner and empty complementizer. We found out that each empty category exhibits its own distinct properties. PRO, for example, occurs as a subject of an infinitive clause and it is controlled by the subject of the matrix clause. This matrix clause is tensed. We found out that Ekegusii has obligatory and arbitrary control. In
the former, PRO is obligatorily controlled by the matrix subject while in the latter; there is no antecedent to control PRO.

It was also observed that PRO cannot be replaced by overt subjects because this would lead to ill formedness of the sentence. Another notable feature we found out is that PRO bears a null case that is idiosyncratic to it. It checks it with the Null infinitival head, making it not to move to the subject agreement phrase to check case.

The second empty category we described is the wh – trace. Unlike PRO which is base generated, the wh-trace is a product of movement. We found out that wh-words and phrases in Ekegusii can be fronted via movement, leaving behind copies of themselves in the original position. It was concluded that wh-traces occupy thematic positions. It was also established that these wh-traces are theta and case marked. The wh – movement is not case driven but is motivated by the need to check the strong \((w^+)\) feature manifested in Ekegusii. The moved wh- element lands at the Spec of the complementizer phrase and it is only then that the sentence can be interpreted as a question. Another notable property that wh – traces exhibits in Ekegusii is that; it is a variable that is bound by the operator (wh – word or phrase). This variable is co-indexed with this operator which is its antecedent.

We looked at the properties of NP – traces just like WH-traces; they are movement generated. Passive sentences were used. We found out that NP – traces occupy the spec vp position. They are theta marked but caseless. They are caseless because the suffix-\(w\) in Ekegusii absorbs the case features and hence the DP in the spec vp has to move to the higher subject position in order receive nominative case.
Our second objective was to identify the role of empty categories in Ekegusii. We discussed the roles in terms of thematic roles. The PRO, NP-trace, WH-trace are assigned theta roles by the verbs. The empty determiner and the empty complementizers do not receive theta roles since they are functional heads. Only arguments receive theta roles. We first looked at theta roles of PRO. PRO is assigned a theta role by the embedded verb while the subject in the matrix clause is assigned a theta role by the matrix verb. It was found out that PRO can bear an agentive and the theme role. It is only assigned subject theta roles.

Wh-traces and NP-traces are both assigned theme role. This is because they originate from spec vp which is associated with internal arguments and internal arguments are assigned theme roles. The wh-element inherits a thematic role from the wh-trace.

We also discussed two empty functional heads: the null determiner and the null complementizer. We argued that the null determiner selects the bare singulars and plurals as its complement. It also selects bare mass nouns and proper names. We observed that when it selects a proper name, it is specified for (singular) and (plural) features. In addition, it is similar to the demonstratives in Ekegusii which mark definiteness. Ekegusii data also revealed that null determiner can occur in preverbal and post verbal positions.

The null complementizer in Ekegusii also exhibited its own unique properties. For example, it should be adjacent to the matrix verb that licenses it. Besides, the null complementizer occurs when the finite main clause selects non-factive verbs. Instances where the empty complementizer does not occur were also looked at. For
instance, it does not occur if the manners of speaking verbs are used in the main finite clause as well as when the main clause is in passive.

The third objective of our study was motivated by the need to examine the explanatory adequacy of the Principles and Parameters subtheory as articulated under the Minimalists Program in relation to empty categories in Ekegusii. We concluded that the MP explained the empty categories. It can explain both the base generated and the movement generated ones.

5.2 Conclusions

In conclusions, we confirm that our objectives of the research were realized and the research questions answered. We were also able to validate our research assumptions to the effect that different empty categories exhibit different properties; that they play several semantic roles and they can be explained within the MP.

5.3 Suggestions for Further Research

Finally, the following are suggestions for further research.

i. We suggest that a study on the empty categories can be done on other language families, apart from Bantu.

ii. A comparative study can be carried out to reveal how similar to or different from Ekegusii other Bantu languages are.

iii. Lastly, empty categories could be looked at using another theory for such as Functional Grammar.
References


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APPENDIX

RAW DATA

1) Inche ndigetie kobatiswa naye (Mathew 3:14).
2) Erio yeso akairwa n’omoika ase eroro (Mathew 4:1).
3) Yeso agachaka korandia (Mathew 4:17).
4) Bakagenda koumerana na yeso (Mathew 9:5).
5) Ebibe biao biaberwe (Mathew 9:2).
6) Agachaka gotogonyera emechie (Mathew 11:20).
7) Bagachaka kobutora ebigara (Mathew 12:1).
8) Omotwe oye okarentwa ase esani (Mathew 14:11).
9) Agachaka korimera amache ime (Mathew).
10) Erio abana abake bakarentwa (Mathew 19:13).
13) Ninki morigetie mbakorere? (Mathew 20:32).
14) Inki morange? (Mathew 26:14).
15) Meromo ki ogokora? (Jonah 1:8).
16) Ngento ki tokogokorera (Jonah 1:11).
17) Ere buya ase nde gokua kobwa koba moyo (Jonah 4:3).
19) Inki agora?
20) Toiroka komoira abe mokao (Matthew 1:20).
21) Ekeru omonyuomi ateba gocha bagasunda bakarara.
22) Ndigetie kobatiswa naye (Matthew 3:14).
23) Nyaboke nakagerete goeta na Moraa boigo.
24) Kemunto na omwenga mbakonyanete kobogoria ebitabu
25) Ningo okagete Moraa akorangeria
26) Indi amotebia Nyaboke akogenda
27) Banchete gosaba (Matthew 6:4)
28) Inwe mwaeirwe komanya obobisi bw' boruoti
29) Agachaka korimeria amache ime (Matthew 8:24)
30) Ibrahim akaibora Isaac (Mathew 1:2)
31) Bakarora omwana (Mathew 2:11)
32) Timokaga ng'a nigo nachire gosaria amachiko (Mathew 5:17)
33) Tobaisa kororwa na abanto ng'a bweng'atete (Mathew 6:9)
34) Ritangani sangereria amabanchore (Mathew 13:30)
35) Bakamosorora ng'a abae ribaga bakune eyanga (Mathew 13:32)
36) Erio agachika aborokiwa baye tibatebia onde ng'a nere Kristo
37) Omobaso Obarire
38) Narora ebimoni kerama igoro
39) Gesare are gotwora ng'a chiombe chiabirwe