Title
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1. Introduction

Address/reference terms and social honorifics are linguistic phenomena presumably found in most or all languages. Address terms are words and phrases used for addressing a person. They refer to the interlocutor and thus contain a strong element of deixis.[1] Reference terms, on the other hand, are terms that may be used to refer to a person or group of people who may or may not be co-present.[2] Address terms may also be used as reference terms, though the term of reference sometimes differs from the term of address, especially among some kinship terms. An example is the Midob reference term éé "mother" and the term of address màá or màákà.

The present paper is concerned with some of the address/reference terms in the Midob language, spoken in Al-Maalha in northern Darfur. These are personal names, endearment names, and kinship terms. Some of these terms are originally native (e.g. kinship terms and a few personal names), while others are borrowed from Arabic (e.g. most of the personal names and endearment names). The Islamization and Arabization process in many communities and languages of Sudan has also had an impact on the Midob language. Personal names, in particular, suggest good evidence for this impact since a number of phonological changes have occurred and hence have resulted in names which are said to be Midobized names. This is also true for endearment names whose formation is based on the Midobized names. Kinship terms, on contrary, are purely native names. They can be classified into two groups according to their function. There is a class of kinship terms, which are used both for address and reference, and another class of kinship terms with dis-

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1   BRAUN, *Terms of Address,* p. 70
2   CARL, "The Use of Relational Terms to Accomplish Interactional Business," p. 13.

tinct items for address and for reference. Each class has its unique linguistic form. The present paper describes these terms and their formation. Nicknames and titles are also used in Midob as address/reference terms; however, they are not addressed in this paper since they do not exhibit significant phonological changes.

The issue of address/reference terms involves a number of sociological and anthropological notions like power, solidarity, and social meaning. These notions are not considered in this paper.

In previous studies of Midob[3] no attempts have been made to cover the issue of address or reference terms in the language, either from a linguistic or from a sociolinguistic point of view. The present work is the first study to investigate this topic.[4]

The present paper is based on data collected by the author in Khartoum in several sessions and times during 2013 from two adult male speakers of the Kargedi dialect of Midob.[5] One of them works and lives in Khartoum and the other lives in Al-Maalha, but works in northern Kordofan, outside Al-Maalha, and often comes to Khartoum for short visits.

The paper is organized as follows: Section 1 is an introduction followed by section 2 providing a historical background on the Islamization and Arabization of Darfur. Section 3 deals with personal names, their types and the phonological changes that they encounter. The formation of endearment names and the phonological changes they show is the concern of Section 4. Section 5 accounts for the kinship terms. The paper concludes with a few remarks in section 6.

2. Historical background

Historically speaking, Islam has been introduced to the west of Sudan, namely, to the Darfur sultanate by its rulers. The founder of the Darfur sultanate was Suleiman Solong, a Fur of the Keira clan, who ruled c. 1650–80. Suleiman initiated the expansion of the Darfur state beyond Jebel Marra and created the multi-ethnic sultanate by subjugating other tribes to his rule. He is considered to be the introducer of Islam to the Fur Sultanate. He built mosques for his subjects, encouraged Islamic practices and employed immigrant holy men to provide religious services at the court.[6]

The expansion of the Darfur Sultanate and the new religion took place in association with a commercial and cultural movement, which was established with the Western Bilad al-Sudan (stretching

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3   Thelwall, "Meidob Nubian"; id., "Midob"; Werner, *Tìdn-áal*.
4   Taha's paper, "Etymological Sources of Address Terms in Dongolawi Nubian" is a comparable study on a language which is genetically related to Midob.
5   I would like to express my sincere thanks to the Midob language informants Sulayman and Ishaag Hassan for their great help during data collection.
6   Holy, *Religion and Custom in a Muslim Society*, pp. 17–18.

from the Wadai Sultanate to the Atlantic Ocean) during the eigh-
teenth century.[7] The Islamization of the Darfur Sultanate, according
to O'Fahey and Abu Salim,[8] has played an important role in estab-
lishing a more literate administrative system. This is because the
bearers of literacy were the holy men (fugaraa) and consequently,
the Arabic language admitted as the language of writing official let-
ters.

Linguistically speaking, the processes of Islamization and Arabi-
zation have left their impact on many languages in Sudan, including
Midob. The linguistic influence and effect vary, depending on the
duration and shape of contact between these languages and Arabic.
In the case of Darfur, Arabic was the official language to all Sultan-
ate speakers, Fur and non-Fur. In Midob particularly, the contact
with Arabic is said to have been intensified in recent years due to
ever more effective contact of the average Midob person with Ara-
bic through migration, education, travel, and modern media.[9] Of
interest here is the impact of Islamization and Arabization on the
Midob cultural system that has its effect on the naming of persons.
According to the Midob informants, they change many of their na-
tive names into Arabic ones. In the nineteen century during the
Anglo-Egyptian era they were obliged to change or translate their
native names into Arabic names when they were asked to register
their names in the civil record office for the reason of issuing birth
certificates. The employees (who were mostly Arabic speakers) at
the civil record offices found difficulties in pronouncing and writ-
ing down the Midob native names in Arabic script, so they asked
the Midob person either to translate his/her name into Arabic or to
adopt an Arabic name. The effect of this contact between Arabic and
Midob is attested in the present paper, in the field of addressing be-
havior, where varieties of Arabic terms, are used as personal names
and endearment names.

3. Personal names

The study of personal names is referred to as anthroponomy. Ac-
cording to Algeo,[10] cited by Agyekum,[11] anthroponomy is related to
genealogy, sociology and anthropology and it deals with the study
of proper names, including their forms and use. Some philosophers
and linguists have characterized names in the absence of social con-
texts. They consider names as arbitrary labels that refer to certain

7   O'Fahey & Abu Salim, *Land in Dār Fūr*, p. 3.
8   Ibid., p. 22.
9   Werner, *Tìdn-áal*, p. 20.
10 Algeo, "Onomastics," pp. 727–29.
11 Agyekum, "The Sociolinguistics of Akan Personal Names," p. 207.

signified entries; therefore the signifier and the signified may not share certain intrinsic qualities. This characterization, however, asserts names as referential linguistic elements with no functional correlation with culture, which is not true for any languages.[12] The use of personal names in particular is dependent on culture and they are sometimes restricted or tabooed as forms of address.[13] In Midob, personal names are not arbitrary, but associated with their socio-cultural and ethno-pragmatic contexts, i.e. most of the Midob native names are occasional names given due to certain circumstances, or descriptive names given to describe a person's social status or physical shape. We discuss these names and their linguistic structure in the following section.

3.1. Midob personal names

Personal names in Midob are of two types: Midob native names and Midobized/Arabic names.[14] Almost all Midob native names are descriptive names. A name may designate various meanings, such as describing the social status of the person, like being rich, generous or able to defeat difficulties. Other names may describe a person's physical appearance, like skin color. A person may also be given a circumstantial name, i.e. a name relevant to an occasion or event that occurs at or around the time of his/her birth.[15] Examples of these names and their morphological structures are illustrated in the following tables.[16]

Table 1. Names describing a person's social status

	name	analysis	gloss
1	óndìtè	óndì–tè camel-OWN	rich, lit. owner of a large herd of camels
2	kórmìtè	kórmì–tè watering.basin-OWN	rich, lit. owner of a big watering basin
3	kòráàrè	kòráàr–è young.cow-OWN	rich, lit. owner of young cows

We notice from table 1 that the term describing a person's social status takes the suffix –te/-de when the suffix is preceded by a vowel and –e when preceded by a consonant. The suffix renders the meaning of ownership of something good or something of a big amount.

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12 RYMES, "Naming as Social Practice."
13 BRAUN, *Terms of Address,* p. 9.
14 WERNER, *Tìdn-áal,* p. 31.
15 *AGYEKUM,* "The Sociolinguistics of Akan Personal Names."
16 The abbreviations used in this paper are as follows: 1SG – first person singular; 1PL – first person plural; alv. – alveolar; bilab. – bilabial; C – consonant; dent. – dental; fric. – fricative; GEN – genitive; glott. – glottal; IMP – imperative; lab. – labial; lat. – lateral; liq. – liquid; LOC – locative, N – underspecified nasal; nas. – nasal, OWN – owner of; pal. – palatal; PRG – progressive; uvul. – uvular; V – vowel; vel. – velar; vd. – voiced; vl. – voiceless.

Names describing skin color are remarkably often used as personal names in Midob, as shown in table 2. In terms of word class, as Werner states,[17] they are derived adjectives where the suffix –(i)cc/–(i)ʃʃ is used to express less intensity. It seems to modify the primary adjective of color to mean "lighter." Werner contrasts this suffix (which he erroneously terms "infix") with the suffix of intensity –ucc: "Whereas the infix –úcc– denotes big, heavy, intense things, it seems that the infix –ícc– modifies the primary adjective to mean lighter, playful (yet intense) qualities."[18]

	name	analysis	gloss
1	kéʃʃí	kéélè + –(i)ʃʃ– > kéʃʃí red	person of lighter red skin
2	úccí	údí + –(i)cc– > úccí black	person of lighter black skin
3	áríccí	àddé + –(i)cc–> áríccí white	person of lighter white skin
4	ùùríccí	úúrí + –(i)cc–> ùùríccí brown	person of lighter brown skin

Table 2. Names describing a person's physical appearance

In table 2 above, the examples 1 to 3 encounter some changes after suffixing –(i)cc/–(i)ʃʃ. In ex. 1, the vowel length in the first syllable is reduced and the onset of the second syllable is deleted; in addition, the final vowel e changes to i. In ex. 2 the onset of the second syllable is deleted. In ex. 3 the geminated stop is weakened and reduced to r. Also, the final vowel e changes to i.

The circumstantial names, as shown in table 3, consist of a kinship name plus gàlò, which is a borrowed variant of the Arabic word ɣaali "dearest" where ɣ > g and i > o. Thus, when a close relative has died before the birth of a child, this child is given such a name.

	name	analysis	gloss
1	bágàlò	bá + gálò father	lost the dearest father
2	ábágàlò	ábá + gálò grandmother	lost the dearest grandmother
3	tízzígàlò	tízzí + gálò maternal uncle	lost the dearest maternal uncle

Table 3. Circumstantial names

3.2 *Midobized Arabic personal names*
After the Islamization and Arabization of many parts of Sudan, including Dar Fur, the Midob adopted Arabic/Islamic names, as

17 WERNER, *Tìdn-áal,* p. 30.
18 Ibid., p. 31.

did many (non-Arab) Muslims in Sudan. Therefore, Midob males are given Sudanese Arabic names such as maħammad, ʔaħmad, ʔibrahiim, ʕusmaan, ʔishaag, and common compound names like ʕabdalla (ʕabd + ʕalla) and ʕabdalgaadir (ʕabd + ʕalgaadir). Equally, Arabic female names, such as faṭma/faṭna, mariam, and xadiiʄa have become common names among the Midob. The adoption of the Arabic or Islamic personal names to the Midob language system has caused these names to encounter, through time, some phonological changes. This historical process resulted in names which Werner regards as being "Midobized": "Of special interest are the Midobized Arabic names, as they open the window to phonological processes in the linguistic past."[19] A list of these names is provided in table 4.

Table 4. Midobized Arabic names

	Arabic/Islamic name	Midobized name
1	maħammad	mééd[20]
2	ħaamid	háámìd
3	faaṭna/faaṭma	pátné
4	zahara	saárá
5	xadiiʄa	kàʄʄá
6	madiina	pèdné
7	zeenab	sénábà
8	seleemaan	sèlèmán
9	ʔismaaiil	sìmaîin
10	ʔishaag	isáákà[21]
11	ʔibraahiim	pràhímì
12	ʕaʃʃa/ʕeeʃa	áʃʃà
13	ʕabdalla	àddállà
14	ʕabdalgaadir	àddàŋgáadìr
15	ʕabdalraħmaan	àddèràhmán

Structurally, as it can be seen in table 4, most Arabic names are polysyllabic, including compound names such as ʕabdalla (composed of ʕabd "slave" and ʕalla "God," lit., "the slave of God"). The phonological changes in the Midobized Arabic names apparently occur due to differences between the phoneme systems (consonants and vowels) of the two languages, and differences in the phonotactic characteristics of their consonants and vowels.[22]

19 Ibid.
20 The initial m in mééd is devoiced in the speech of most Midob speakers. However, with some others the devoiced m is pre-pharyngealized to be ʰmééd. The pronunciation of the name "Mohamed" with a pre-pharyngealized nasal ħm or a pre-nasalized pharyngeal ᵐħ is a common pronunciation for most Arabic speakers, especially nomads, who pronounce it as ʰmmad or ᵐħummad, respectively.
21 The vowel i is devoiced.
22 Midob is a tone language while Arabic is a stress language. There may be differences in the borrowed names regarding tone and accent patterns; these differences will not be discussed here.

3.2.1 *Differences between the phoneme systems*

The consonant phoneme systems of Midob and Arabic are not similar. The number of consonants in Midob is 21, whereas in Arabic there are 30. There are 17 consonants shared between the two languages; these are b, t, d, ɟ, k, g, h, f, s, z, ʃ, m, n, l, r, w, y. There are 4 consonants in Midob which do not exist in Arabic, p, c, ɲ, ŋ, whereas Arabic has consonants not existing in Midob, ṭ, ḍ, q, ʔ, θ, ð, ọ, ṣ, ẓ, x, ɣ, ħ, ʕ. The consonant phoneme systems of Midob and Sudanese Arabic can be seen in table 5 and 6, respectively.

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	bilab.	lab.-dent.	alv.	pal.	vel.	glott.
vl. stop	p		t	c	k	
vd. stop	b		d	ɟ	g	
vl. fric.		f	s	ʃ		h[24]
vd. fric.			z			
nas.	m		n	ɲ	ŋ	
lat.			l			
liq.			r			
glide	w			y		

Table 5. Midob consonant morphemes[23]

	bilab.	lab.-dent.	dent.	alv.	pal.	vel.	uvul.	phar.	glott.
vl. stop			t, ṭ			k	[q][26]		ʔ
vd. stop	b		d, ḍ		ɟ	g			
vl. fric.		f	[θ]	s, ṣ	ʃ	x		ħ	h
vd. fric.			[ð], [ọ]	z, [ẓ]		ɣ		ʕ	
nas.	m			n					
lat.				l, [ɫ]					
liq.				r					
glide	w				y				

Table 6. Sudanese Arabic phonemes[25]

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23 Bashir, "Some Observations on the Phonology of Meidob."
24 In the two dialects of Meidob, Kargedi and Orti, [h] is very restricted in its distribution since it appears only word-medially following another consonant. This sound seems to disappear after the liquids [l, r], but it leaves a phonetic effect on the liquids and causes them to become voiceless. So [l̥] and [r̥] are interpreted phonemically as /lh/, and /rh/; see Werner, *Tìdn-áal*, p. 19, and Bashir, "Some Observations on the Phonology of Meidob," p. 38. However it has been observed that [h] is audible intervocalically in borrowed names like pràhímì < ʔibrahiim while it is deleted in other names, e.g. zàhàrá < saara.
25 Bergman, *Spoken Sudanese Arabic*, p. 2.
26 Consonants in brackets are limited in their occurrence.

At first glance, the above tables show that Arabic has more conso-
nants than Midob. The additional sounds, which are missing in Mi-
dob, are the velarized ("emphatic") consonants ṭ, ḍ, ð, ð̣, ṣ, ẓ, the
pharyngeal ħ and ʕ, and the velar x and ɣ. Arabic lacks the voiceless
bilabial and palatal stops, p and c, and the palatal and velar nasals, ɲ
and ŋ, which exist in Midob.

Considering the differences between the phoneme systems of
Arabic and Midob, a number of phonological processes occur in
Arabic names when they are adopted in the Midob language. Some
sounds are deleted or replaced by other sounds because they are not
members of the Midob consonant system, and some other sounds
are changed to adapt to the new system. We discuss each process
separately.

3.2.1.1 Deletion

The pharyngeal sound ʕ and the glottal stop ʔ are deleted (represent-
ed by zero Ø in the table below) in the Midobized Arabic names, as
seen in the following table.

	Arabic/Islamic name	Midobized name	change
1	ʔismaaiil	sìmaîn	ʔ > Ø
2	ʔishaag	ìsáákà[27]	ʔ > Ø
3	ʔibrahiim	pràhímì	ʔ > Ø
4	ʕaʃʃa/ʕeeʃa	áʃʃà	ʕ > Ø
5	ʕaddalla/ʕabdulaai	àddállà	ʕ > Ø
6	ʕabdalgaadir	àddàŋgáádìr	ʕ > Ø
7	ʕabdalraħmaan	àddéràhmáàn	ʕ > Ø

There are some names in which the pharyngeal and the glottal frica-
tives ħ and h are deleted, as shown in table 8. The deletion in ex.
1 results in compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel; the
loss of a consonant is compensated for by lengthening the preced-
ing vowel. In exx. 2 and 3 it causes vowel lengthening since there are
two identical vowels separated by an intervocalic consonant. When
this consonant is deleted, the first and second vowels are realized as
long vowels.

	Arabic/Islamic name	Midobized name	change
1	maħmuud	màamúudì	Vħ > VV
2	maħammad/maħammed	maammed > mééd	VħV > VV
3	zahara	saárá	VhV > VV

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27 The vowel i is devoiced.

3.2.1.2 Replacement

The velar fricative x and the voiceless pharyngeal fricative ħ are replaced by the phonetically most similar consonants from the Midob phoneme system, i.e. x > k and ħ > h.

	Arabic/Islamic name	Midobized name	change
1	ħaamid	háámìd	ħ > h
2	ʔaħmad	áhmàd	ħ > h
3	xadiiɟa	kàɟɟá	x > k

The velarized Arabic sounds are replaced by their corresponding non-velarized ones. This is exemplified in faaṭna / faaṭma, where ṭ > t.

3.2.1.3 Consonant assimilation and gemination

In addition to the deletion of ʕ in the compound Arabic/Islamic name, like ʕabdallah, this name also exhibits the assimilation of b and d in the first part of the compound. This results in the emergence of a geminated dd.

	Arabic/Islamic name	Midobized name	change
1	ʕabdalla	àddállà	bd > dd
2	ʕabdalraħmaan	àddèràhmán	bd > dd, l > Ø
3	ʕabdalgaadir	àddàŋgáadìr	bd > dd, l > Ø

Table 10. Consonant assimilation and gemination

Unlike àddállà and àddèràhmán, the name àddàŋgáadìr in ex. 3 in table 10 encounters a nasal insertion in the second part of this compound. Recalling the genitive linker -N- which is productively used in compound nouns in Midob, one might suggest that the speakers tend to Midobize some Arabic compound names by linking their compound parts with –N–, i.e. ʕabd + ʕalgaadir > ʕabd –N– ʕalgaadir > addaŋgaadir. The complexity of this modification is illustrated by the following phonological representation where the underlying form, rules, and surface form are represented.

Underlying form	/ʕabd + ʕalgaadir/
Glottal stop deletion	/àbd + àlgáadir/
Consonant assimilation	/àdd + àlgáadir/
/l/ deletion	/àddà + gáadìr/
Genitive rule	/àddà + N + gáadìr/
Homorganic nasal assimilation	/àddà + ŋgáadìr/
Surface form	[àddàŋgáadìr]

Table 11. Phonological derivation of àddàŋgáadìr

3.2.2 Phonotactic differences

3.2.2.1 Consonantal change

In some Midobized names the initial consonants are exchanged for the corresponding voiceless ones. These changes are systematically triggered by the Midob phonotactic restrictions, which allow only voiceless obstruents in word-initial position. Compare the examples in table 12.

Table 12. Initial consonant devoicing

	Arabic/Islamic name	Midobized name	changes
1	faaṭna/faaṭma	pátné	f > p
2	madiina	pèdné	m > p
3	ʔibrahiim	pràhímì	b > p
4	zeenab	sénábà	z > s
5	zahara	sáárá	z > s

3.2.2.2 Vowel reduction

The Midobized Arabic/Islamic names also undergo changes involving vowels. These changes are revealed by contrasting the vowel systems of the two languages. Both Midob and Sudanese Arabic have nearly the same vowel qualities (short and long) except for the central vowel /ə/ which is missing in Arabic. The Midob vowel system in table 13 is adopted from Bashir.[28] Table 14 of Sudanese Arabic vowels is based on the description of Sudanese Arabic vowels in Bergman.[29]

Table 13. Midob vowels

	front	central	back
high	i, iː		u, uː
mid	e, eː	ə, əː	o, oː
low		a, aː	

Table 14. Sudanese Arabic vowels

	front	central	back
high	i, iː		u, uː
mid	e, eː		o, oː
low		a, aː	

Long vowels in the Arabic/Islamic names are reduced to short vowels in the Midobized names, as seen in table 15.

Table 15. Vowel reduction

	Arabic/Islamic name	Midobized name	changes
1	faaṭna/faaṭma	pátné	aa > a
2	ʔibraahiim	pràhímì	aa > a, ii > i

28 BASHIR, "Some Observations on the Phonology of Meidob," p. 43.
29 BERGMAN, Spoken Sudanese Arabic, pp. 6–7.

	Arabic/Islamic name	Midobized name	changes
3	zeenab	sénábà	ee > e
4	haliima	hàlímì	ii > i
5	madiina	pèdné	ii > Ø

The vowel reduction may also affect a whole syllable. This is so far attested in one example: xadiiɟa > kàɟɟá.

3.2.2.3 Vowel quality change

The vowel quality of these names may also change, as seen in table 16.

	Arabic/Islamic name	Midobized name	changes
1	faaṭna/faaṭma	pátné	aa > a
2	madiina	pèdné	a > e
3	haliima	hàlímì	a > i

3.2.2.4 Addition of a Final Vowel

A few Midobized names with final consonants take an additional vowel. There is no reason justifying the addition of the final vowel in these names, though names like sìmáîn and háámìd also exist.

	Arabic/Islamic name	Midobized name	changes
1	ʔibrahiim	pràhímì	+ i
2	kaltuum	kàltúmì	+ i
3	maħmuud	mààmúùdì	+ i
4	zeenab	sénábà	+ a

Of special interest here is the name maħammad "Mohamed" which is Midobized as ʰm̥ééd with an initial pre-pharyngealized voiceless bilabial nasal.[30] Unlike other names, the name ʰm̥ééd encounters a number of phonological processes that are manifested in a number of underlying representations and rules, as shown in table 18. First, the intervocalic voiceless pharyngeal fricative ħ is replaced by a glottal fricative, then elided, but it spreads its voiceless feature on the preceding nasal which becomes a pre-pharyngealized devoiced nasal. Second, the long vowel of the first syllable is shortened and the long consonant sequence of the nasal /mm/ is reduced to one member. This yields the form /ʰm̥ámàd/ with the identical sequence of CVCV; accordingly, a syllable deletion occurs. A compensatory lengthening applies due to this deletion and a vowel change also occurs. This can be illustrated in the following derivation in table 18.

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30 See fn. 20.

Table 18.
Phonological
represent-
ation of
ᵸm̥ééd/
m̥ééd

Underlying form	/maħammad/
Replacement	/màhámmàd/
Elision	/màámmàd/
Pharyngealization	/ᵸmàámmàd/
Nasal devoicing	/ᵸm̥àámmàd
Vowel shorting	/ᵸm̥ámmàd/
Consonant deletion	/ᵸm̥ámàd/
Syllable deletion (haplology)	/ᵸm̥ád/
Compensatory lengthening and vowel change	/ᵸm̥ééd/
Surface form	[ᵸm̥ééd] or [m̥ééd]

4. Endearment Names

Endearments are names that imply intimacy. Friends and sweethearts use them in addressing each other, as do parents to their children.[31] Terms of endearment names are often defined by their context and function rather than by formal or semantic characteristics and function.[32] In Midob however they, in addition to the context and function, have formal characteristics. They are used especially among family members, peers and close friends. A person is commonly given an endearment name during his childhood and when (s)he grows up this name is no longer used. Generally, it is difficult to draw a line between endearment names and nicknames, but in Midob endearment names are derived from Midobized personal names and have a special and distinctive structure and use. Examples are listed in table 19.

Table 19.
Endearment
names

	Arabic/Islamic name	Midobized name	endearment name
1	seleemaan	sə̀lə̀máàn	sə̀lmàànó/sə̀lmí
2	ʕusmaan	ìsmáàn	ìsmáánó
3	ʔaadam	áàdàm	áádàmó
4	faatna/faatma	pèdné	pèdnó
5	ʕeeʃa/ʕaʃʃa	áʃʃa	àʃʃó
6	ʔishaag	ìsáákà	ìsààkó
7	ʔibraahiim	pràhímì	pèrhó
8	ħaliima	hàlímì	hàlló/hàllóókà
9	kaltuum	kàltúmà	kàttó
10	zeenab	sénábà	sénábó
11	ʕabdalla	àddállà	ábùdó/àbdó/àddíllì
12	ʕabdalgaadir	àddàŋgádir	àbùdó/àbdó
13	ʕabdalraħmaan	àddèràhmáàn	àbùdó/àbdó
14	xadiiɟa	kàɟɟá	kúɟɟá

31 Mashiri, "Terms of Address in Shona," p. 102.
32 Braun, Terms of Address, p. 10.

	Arabic/Islamic name	Midobized name	endearment name
15	ʔismaaʕiil	sìmaíìn	sìmáásí
16	ʔaħmad	áhmàd	àhmóokà
17	ʔabbakar	àbbákàr	àbbàkóorà
18	maħammad	méèd	mékkà
19	ħaamid	hámìd	hámíkkà
20	zahara	sáárá/sááráh	sáárákkì
21	ħawwa	háwwa/háwwàh	háwwákkì

It is observable from the examples in table 19 that Midob speakers follow a certain strategy to form the endearment names. This strategy is based on suffixing –ó, –à, –í, –kà or –kì to the Midobized personal name. These suffixes are heard with specific tonal accents, as can be seen from the tone marked on them. However, their role and effect on the preceding tones is ignored here. For some names suffixing –ó and –à is made by replacement, i.e. they replace the final vowel of the Midobized personal name. Attaching an endearment suffix for some other names, however, results in a number of phonological changes in the names they are attached to. This can be illustrated as follows.

4.1 Replacement

In some names the suffixes –ó and –à replace the final vowel of the Midobized personal name.

	Midobized name	endearment name
1	pèdné	pèdnó
2	áʃʃà	àʃʃó
3	ìsáákà	ìsààkó
4	sénábà	sénábó
5	mààmúúdì	mààmúúdà

Table 20. Addition of a final vowel

4.2 Shortening

Some names are shortened, i.e. their syllable number is reduced after the addition of the endearment suffix.

	Midobized name	endearment name
1	pràhímì	pèrhó
2	hàlímì	hàlló
3	kàltúmà	kàttó
4	sèlèmaán	sèlmí

Table 21. Shortening of endearment names

The shortening may also affect part of a compound name. The names in table 22 are reduced to retain only the first part of the compound name which receives the endearment suffix.

Table 22. Shortening of endearment compound names

	Midobized name	endearment name
1	àddállà	àbdó[34]
2	àddàŋgádir	àbdó
3	àddèràhmáàn	àbdó

4.3 Gemination

Some names take the suffix –kà/-kì. After the addition of these suffixes a complete assimilation occurs. These are often names which end with a non-sonorant consonant following a short vowel. This latter assimilates completely to the initial consonant of the suffix –kà/–kì and together they form a geminated consonant.

Table 23. Gemination in endearment names

	Midobized name	endearment name
1	méèd	mékkà
2	hámìd	hàmíkkà
3	saáráh	sáarákkì
4	háwwàh	háwwákkì

4.4 Internal Sound Change

There are some Midobized personal names attesting a change to their internal sounds, i.e. an internal vowel or consonant changes into another sound.

Table 24. Internal sound change of endearment names

	Midobized name	endearment name	changes
1	kàɟɟá	kúɟɟá	a > u
2	sìmaîin	sìmáásí	n > s

A few Midobized names are attested with two endearment markers.

Table 25. Double marking on endearment names

	Midobized name	endearment name
1	áhmàd	àhmóókà
2	àbbákàr	àbbàkóórà
3	hàlímì	hàllóókà

In addition to the suffixes –ka and –a, the names in table 25 take the vowel –oo which replaces the final vowel of the Midobized name. Replacing the final vowel of a personal name by –oo or –uu is also a

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33 ábùdó is a variant of àbdó. Sudanese Arabic speakers use ʕabdu/ʕabdo as a productive endearment name for all compound nouns whose first part is ʕabd, such as ʕabdalla. In Midob the endearment àddíllì is also used for àddállà, where the suffix –i replaces the final vowel. Also the medial vowel a changes to i.

productive strategy in Sudanese Arabic to form endearment names. For instance, ʕabiir > ʕabboora and faaṭma > faṭṭuuma.[34]

In addition to endearment personal names, the Midob also use endearment forms for kinship terms like únúʃí "my son." When parents want to express their endearment to or intimacy with their son or daughter, they tend to use the corresponding endearment terms úmbèèdì "my (male) slave," úndòòd "my (female) slave." These terms do not have negative connotations when addressed to children, on the contrary, it is most popular for parents to use them rather than other terms, as they express the parents' intimacy to their children, most importantly when giving advice.

5. Kinship terms

Kinship terms, according to their part of speech, are nouns that reflect blood relations among family members (e.g. mother, father, brother and sister) as well as relations to in-laws. Kinship terms, as Mashiri[35] notes, reflect cultural concepts and practices.

Unlike personal names and endearment names, kinship terms in Midob are native nouns, i.e. they are not borrowed from Arabic. They are used widely since they constitute an integral part of the address and reference system in the language. Some terms can function both as terms of reference and as terms of address, e.g., únúʃí "my son." Some other terms, however have distinct address and reference forms. For example, the noun for "elder brother/sister" is used in two forms, édí, as reference and édá as address.

In terms of function, kinship terms in Midob, thus, can be classified into two types: Type (A) Kinship address/reference terms, which include terms that are used for both reference and address, type (B) Kinship address and kinship reference terms. This class comprises terms of reference as distinguished from the terms of address. We discuss the two types in the following sections.

5.1 Kinship address/reference terms
In Midob some kinship nouns are used both for addressing and/or referring to the people whom they denote. Examples of these nouns are in table 26.

	Kinship address/reference term	gloss
1	ábà	grandmother
2	éénúʃí/ééníʃí	brother

Table 26. Kinship address and reference terms

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34 In the derivation of ʕabiir > ʕabboora and faaṭma > faṭṭuuma a gemination of the second consonant occurs. Also in faaṭma > faṭṭuuma the long vowel of the first syllable is reduced in the endearment name.
35 Mashiri, "Terms of Address in Shona."

	Kinship address/reference term	gloss
3	ééʃí	sister

Most of the terms are complex nouns. Some are possessive noun phrases: they begin in u-N- which is a possessive prefix composed of the person marker u[36] referring to the first-person singular and the genitive marker -N-,[37] as illustrated by the following examples.

Table 27. Possessive kinship address/reference terms

	Kinship address/ reference term	morphological analysis	gloss
1	úmbèskà[39]	ú-N-pèskà	my younger brother/sister
2	únúʃí	ú-N-úʃí	my son

Some possessive noun phrases are composed of noun-N-noun, i.e. two nouns connected with the genitive marker -N-. These possessive noun phrases are shown in table 28.

Table 28. Possessive kinship address/reference terms

	Kinship address/ reference term	morphological analysis	gloss
1	éénúʃí	éé-N-úʃí	brother, lit., mother's son
2	páánúʃí	páá-N-úʃí	brother, lit., father's son
3	éŋéʃí/éŋŋéʃí	éé-N-ééʃí[40]	maternal aunt, lit., mother's sister
4	ásnúʃí	ássí-N-úʃí	grandson/daughter from daughter, lit., daughter's son
5	kánnúʃí	kád-N-úʃí	grandson/daughter from son, lit., son's son
6	éénùʃínúʃí	éé-N-úʃí-N-úʃí	nephew, lit., mother's son's/ daughter's son
7	éénùʃnássí	éé-N-úʃí-N-ássí	niece, lit., mother's son's/ daughter's daughter
8	ánɟínúʃí	ánɟí-N-úʃí	cousin, lit., paternal uncle's son
9	ánɟínássí	ánɟí-N-ássí	cousin, lit., paternal uncle's daughter
10	áɲɲínúʃí	áɲɲí-N-úʃí	cousin, lit., paternal aunt's son
11	áɲɲínássí	áɲɲí-N-ássí	cousin lit., paternal aunt's daughter

36 The marker for first-person in Midob is əy. The vowels ə and u usually alternate as free variants in the Kargedi dialect of Midob.

37 The genitive marker -N- variously appears as n, m, ŋ, and ɲ as a result of a place of assimilation process.

38 The term ɔ́nné is also used as address terms for "younger brother."

39 Because there is no velar sound in this compound, it is not clear, yet, why -N- changes to ŋ.

	Kinship address/ reference term	morphological analysis	gloss
12	tízzínúʃí	tízzí–N–úʃí	cousin, lit., maternal uncle's son
13	tízzínássí	tízzí–N–ássí	cousin, lit., maternal uncle's daughter
14	éŋéʃínúʃí	éŋéʃí–N–úʃí	cousin, lit., maternal aunt's son
15	éŋéʃínássí	éŋéʃí–N–ássí	cousin, lit., maternal aunt's daughter

5.2 Kinship reference terms and kinship address terms

In this type of kinship term often there is a kinship address term corresponding to a kinship reference one. For instance, édádí is used as an address form corresponding to the reference terms éénùʃínúʃí and éénùʃnássí "nephew" and "niece," respectively. Similarly, únúʃí "my son" is the address term for úʃí "son," ássí "daughter," ásnúʃí "grandson from daughter," and kánnúʃí "grandson from son."

Most of the kinship address terms are not derived possessive forms of their corresponding reference terms, as explained above. They are rather formed by replacing the final vowel –í of the reference name by the suffix –á. This is illustrated in table 29.

	Kinship reference term	Kinship address term	gloss
1	édí	édá	elder brother/sister or male/female cousin
2	úbbí	úbbá	grandfather
3	tízzí/tíɟɟí	tízzá/tíiɟá	maternal uncle
4	éŋéʃí	éŋéʃá	maternal aunt
5	ánɟí	ánɟá	paternal uncle
6	áɲɲí	áɲɲá	paternal aunt
7	ánɟínuʃí	édá	cousin, paternal uncle's son
8	ánɟínassí	édá	cousin, paternal uncle's daughter
9	áɲɲiínuʃí	édá	cousin, paternal aunt's son
10	áɲɲínássí	édá	cousin, paternal aunt's daughter
11	tízzínúʃí	édá	cousin, maternal uncle's son
12	tízzínássí	édá	cousin, maternal uncle's daughter
13	éŋéʃínúʃí	édá	cousin, maternal aunt's son
14	éŋéʃnássí	édá	cousin, maternal aunt's daughter

Table 29. Kinship reference and kinship address terms

The suffix –á also shows up with names whose final vowel is not –i. For example, the terms "father" and "mother" become páá > àbbá and éé > màá respectively. It is clear then that the suffix –á is a marker for most kinship terms in Midob. This marker has been also attested by Jakobi in a comparative study on Nubian kinship terms.[40] She refers to this suffix as relational suffix marking kinship terms and a few other terms expressing close social relationship, e.g. "friend" and "master." In Midob, however, the suffix –á marks the kinship address term and distinguishes it from the corresponding reference term. According to this, and unlike some other Nubian languages, the distinction between kinship terms of reference and kinship terms of address cannot be ignored in Midob. Compare the following examples.

- ▸ Address term
  úbbá   áá-dè   íír-gì   ə́ntém
  grandfather 1PL-LOC   story-ACC make.us.IMP
  "My grandfather, tell us a story."

- ▸ Reference term
  ə́y ə́ə́n   úbbí-n   əd-dè   sə́ə́ríbà
  1SG 1SG.GEN grandfather-GEN house-LOC   go.PRG.1SG
  "I am going to my grandfather's house."

The terms pèssì "younger brother/sister" and màá "mother" are also attested in other kinship terms, úmbèskà and mǎkká, respectively.[41] These variants appear with the suffix –ka.[42] This is an endearment suffix, as it is illustrated in section 4, but it can also be used here in address forms since the notion of close relationship and intimacy is involved in both kinship and endearment.

6. Conclusion

This paper focuses on the structure and the formation of personal names, endearment names and kinship terms, used as address and reference terms in Midob. Most personal names and endearment names are borrowed from Arabic. Therefore, their formation reflects a number of phonological processes. In personal names the difference between the phoneme systems (consonants and vowels) of Midob and Arabic, and the differences in phoneme distribution

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40 Jakobi, "Nubian kinship terms."
41 See fn. 39.
42 The term úm–bèskà is also compound with the possessive prefix un- "my." The nasal of this prefix assimilates to the point of articulation of the following bilabial stop and is therefore realized as m.

in the two languages triggers these phonological changes. The consonantal changes include deletion, replacement, gemination, and word-initial consonant devoicing. The processes resulting from differences between the two vowel systems involve vowel quantity reduction, vowel quality change, and the addition of a final vowel. Endearment names exhibit similar changes.

Unlike personal names and endearment names, kinship terms are purely native names. They are classified into two classes according to their function. Lexical items in one class are used both as reference and address terms. In the other class the lexical items differ when used as address terms or reference terms. Most of the kinship terms of the latter class are marked by the suffix –á/–à which replaces the final vowel –i of the reference term. This suffix marks close social relationship in some other Nubian languages, as Jakobi notes. In Midob, however, it marks the kinship address terms.

This paper has not been concerned with anthropological notions related to the Midob address/reference terms such as power, solidarity, and social meaning.

Bibliography

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