

The Wolof Phonology: A contrastive Study of the Simple Consonants Between the Standard, the Saalum and the Gambian Dialects.

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Abstract: As the most widely spoken language in Senegal and an important lingua franca across both Senegal and The Gambia, Wolof facilitates daily interaction among diverse ethnic communities. Its widespread use has naturally given rise to significant linguistic variation, making Wolof a rich subject for dialectological investigation. Studying these varieties provides insight into historical contact in the Senegambian space, social integration, and the processes of standardization that have shaped the language over time. This research paper presents a contrastive analysis of the consonant sound system of the two Wolof dialects, based on standard characteristics. Indeed, the phonological variations among the Standard, Saalum, and the Gambian dialects are systematic and reflect distinct pathways of sound change. Differences in the realization of consonants will illustrate how each dialect applies its own phonological constraints and patterns. These contrasts highlight the role of consonantal shifts as key indicators of dialectal identity and linguistic evolution.

Keywords: Wolof dialects; phonological variation; consonant system; dialectology; sound change; Standard Wolof; Saalum Wolof; Gambian Wolof.

INTRODUCTION

The study of Wolof dialectology sheds light on the basic context of the Senegambia for its varieties. Wolof is the main language in Senegal, spoken by 90.2 % of the population, estimated at 18.508.175 (ANS/D/NASD, 2013)¹. This mass communication has brought some variation issues in different speaking areas. Wolof, a vehicular language, serves as an integration or togetherness of people from different ethnicities. This arouses my desire to set language issues with dialectology in the Senegambia space. In these geographical areas, communication is based on Wolof as a common language, due to the cohabitation of people from different ethnic groups. All those who speak Wolof are connected in a single lingua franca, leading to the interconnection of cultures, traditions, and beliefs. This raises the interesting issue of Wolof dialectology. Indeed, there are two major geographical varieties of Wolof, one spoken in Senegal and the other in The Gambia. (Lewis, M. Paul (ed.), 2009)

The two varieties are mutually intelligible, whereas significant differences are set between them. However, Senegal distinguishes other sub-dialects as Baol, Cayor, Dylof, Lebou, Saalum, and Jander.

In this respect, standardization has taken much interest in the study of Wolof in relation to the

other dialects. There are differences between Wolof spoken in urban areas and that spoken in rural regions. For instance, the Wolof spoken in Dakar, the capital city of Senegal, has more French loanwords than the other dialects, according to facts. Indeed, the variety spoken in Dakar, the capital of Senegal, is most commonly used in radio and media broadcasts and adopted by textbooks as a reference. In fact, the standard form has particular characteristics in referring to others.

Problem Statement

The study of Wolof dialectology reveals a complex linguistic landscape within the Senegambian region, where Wolof functions as the main vehicular language despite its considerable internal variation. Although the Senegalese and Gambian varieties of Wolof are mutually intelligible, they present phonological, lexical, and sociolinguistic differences that raise questions about their relationship and evolution. Within Senegal itself, additional sub-dialects such as Baol, Cayor, Dylof, Lebou, Saalum, and Jander contribute to a diversified linguistic ecology shaped by geographical, historical, and social factors. The rapid urbanization of Dakar and its dominant role in media and education have further contributed to the emergence of a de facto standard variety, characterized by significant French influence.

These facts lead to phonological contrast of the sounds system, which we tackle in this research paper. Both dialects of Wolof spoken in Saalum and the Gambia have a phonological system,

¹ Recensement Général de la Population, de l'Habitat, de l'Agriculture et de l'Elevage RGPHAE /National Agency, 2023.

whereas, each dialect has particular characteristics. The central problem, therefore, lies in understanding how these phonological variations affect the process of teaching and learning Wolof as a vehicular and standard language in Senegal.

Research Methodology

This study employs a qualitative descriptive research design to analyze phonological variations of Wolof dialects across the Senegambian region. The study focuses on describing, comparing, and contrasting linguistic features based on the sound system. A qualitative approach is adopted to capture the sociolinguistic realities and communicative practices of Wolof speakers in the different areas. Primary data are collected from speakers of Wolof dialects, especially through Participant Observation of natural speech in daily interactions in both Saalum and the Gambian regions, as well as in urban contexts, particularly Dakar. Speech samples are recorded with participants' consent to document pronunciation and vocabulary, and to mark phonological characteristics and contrasts. These data, combined with secondary sources drawn from published works, dictionaries, grammar books, prior dialectological studies, and language standardization documents, allow us to create a teaching and learning environment that enables us to apprehend the Wolof sound system better.

Accordingly, the research will first present the standard simple phonemes characteristics, and then, the results will handle contrastive features of consonant sounds of the twofold dialects, based on the standard. Similarly, works by scholars in Wolof field and English (Dramé, 2012), Njie, Codu Mbassy (1982), Lewis (2009), Sapir (1971), and Merrill (2021) are taken into consideration.

THE PHONOLOGY SYSTEM OF WOLOF

The phonological system of Wolof provides a foundational understanding of the consonants and vowels that comprise its sounds. Identifying phonemes is essential for exploring sound description and classification, as it enhances our comprehension of writing and spelling in the language. In Wolof, phonemes are categorized into two main groups: consonants and vowels. Each category of consonant phonemes plays an

important role both phonetically and phonologically, affecting the pronunciation and spelling of words, whether they are simple or characterized by a higher pitch. This section will delve into the simple consonants found in the standard dialect, highlighting their significance and role within the language.

THE SIMPLE CONSONANTS SOUND

The standard count of simple consonants is twenty (20), which allows for a comparison of sound characteristics based on their descriptive levels.

To begin, analyzing the system of sounds both consonants and vowels follows the structure of syllables, determining their position as either the coda or the onset, depending on the characteristics of the phoneme. In this specific descriptive analysis of consonant phonemes, a set of words is examined within various syllables based on the phoneme being analyzed. This approach emphasizes the variability of syllable structure in the language; in which, the position of the analyzed phoneme is strongly related to it.

The organization of the sound patterns in language is largely dependent on the syllabic structure, where units are combined to convey meaning. Various elements within this system or its sub-systems work together in specific ways to reveal multiple levels of structure. At the most basic level, we have what is known as a syllable. As noted by Claire A. Forel (1986), a syllable is comprised of a phoneme or a sequence of phonemes. When a syllable carries word stress, it can be associated with meaning and contribute to the formation of a word.

Phonemes are incorporated into syllable structures with varying quantities. The description of Wolof phonemes shows differences in their occurrence across word positions, which outlines the characteristics of the standard form of speech related to the production of each phoneme under examination. We analyze simple consonants according to descriptive categories to focus on their phonological traits, providing a phonetic degree for comparative purposes. In this study, the sounds are described based on their place and manner of articulation as follow:

THE PLOSIVES

/b/: bilabial plosive, voiced.

01. bunt [bunt] "door"

02. abal [abal] “to lend”

/c/: palatal plosive, voiceless.

02. [ca:bi] “key”
[socu] ‘toothbrush’

/d/ alveolar plosive, voiced.

03. Dem [dem] “to go”
Daado [daa-do] “a name”

/g/ velar plosive, voiced.

04. gas [gas] “to dig”
sagal [sagal] ‘to honor’

/j/: palatal plosive, voiced.

05. jaan [ja: n] “a snake”
àjaat [àja:t] ‘to hang up again’

/k/: velar plosive, voiceless.

06. kër [kər] “house”

This simple velar plosive voiced phoneme does not occur in intervallitic position in Wolof.

/p/: bilabial voiceless plosive.

07. paaka [pa: ka] “a knife”

FRICATIVES

/f/: labiodental fricative, voiceless.

10. fal [fal] “to elect”
tofo [tofo] ‘a little brother/sister’
dof [dof] ‘mad’

/s/: Voiceless dorso velar.

11. saabu [sa: bu] “soap”
maslaa [masla:] ‘to negotiate’
sos [sos] ‘to invent’

/x/: glottal fricative voiceless.

12. xool [xo: l] “to look”
taxaw [taxaw] ‘to stand up’
sax [sax] ‘worm’

NASALS

/m/ bilabial nasal.

13. mer [mer] “to get angry”
yemale [yemale] ‘to balance’
gëm [gəm] “to believe”

/n/ alveolar plosive.

14. naan [na: n] “to drink”
maana [ma:na] ‘personality’
man [man] ‘me’

/ɲ/ palatal nasal.

15. ñaar [ñaar] “two”
weñ [weñ] “flyer”

/ŋ/: velar nasal

16. ŋaam [ŋaam] “a jaw”
kaañ [kaañ] ‘scull’

SEMI-VOWELS

/y/ palatal semi-vowel

17. yar [yar] ‘education’

wayal [wayal] ‘to make yahourt’
 yaay [yaay] ‘‘mother’’
 /w/ labio-velar semi-vowel
 18. [wat] ‘‘to shave’’
 [rawale] ‘to save’
 [taw] ‘‘rain’’

LATERAL

/l/ alveolar lateral
 19. lal [lal] ‘‘bed’’
 taalaali [ta:-la:-li] ‘a sauce variety’’
 fal [fal] ‘‘to elect’’

TRIL

/r/ alveolar trill
 20. reer [re:r] ‘‘diner’’
 mar [mar] ‘‘thirsty’’
 /q/: uvular voiced plosive.
 21. sàqat [sàqat] ‘‘to cough’’
 suqali [suqali] ‘‘to renew’’
 sàq [sàq] ‘‘barn’’
 /t/: alveolar plosive.
 22. taaw [taw] ‘‘to rain’’
 seetu [se:tu] ‘to gaze at’
 seet [se:] ‘to seek’

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Table1: The Contrastive Chart of the Three Dialects

Consonant	Standard	Saalum	Gambia
Phonemes			
The bilabial voiced plosive [b]	+	+	+
The alveolar voiced plosive [d]	+	+	+
The glottal plosive [h]	-	+	+
The palatal voiced plosive [j]	+	+	+
The velar voiced plosive [g]	+	+	+
The uvular voiced plosive [q]	+	+	-
The bilabial voiceless plosive [p]	+	+	+
The palatal voiceless plosive [c]	+	+	+
The velar voiceless plosive [k]	+	+	+
The bilabial nasal plosive [m]	+	+	+
The alveolar plosive [n]	+	+	+
The palatal nasal [ɲ]	+	+	+
The pharyngeal nasal [ŋ]	+	+	-
The labiodental voiceless fricative [f]	+	+	+
The fricative voiceless alveolar [s]	+	+	+
The alveolar voiceless plosive [t]	+	+	+
The dorso-velar fricative [x]	+	+	-
The alveolar lateral [l]	+	+	+
The alveolar trill [r]	+	+	+
The labio-velar semi vowel [w]	+	+	+
The palatal semi vowel [y]	+	+	+

This chart highlights the distinctive characteristics of the twenty (20) standard simple consonant phonemes, establishing their classification through

specific production dimensions. By examining phoneme variations, we create a solid standard for

comparison, unveiling the fascinating differences among dialects.

Our analysis rigorously compares both simple and complex consonant phonemes across various dialects, revealing intriguing distinctions and similarities that deepen our understanding of phonetics and language diversity. The analysis of phonological variation emphasizes the significance of phoneme position, specifically whether they appear in initial, medial, or final positions. In phonology, descriptions are not only phonetic but also convey meaning in spoken utterances.

Standard consonant phonemes often exhibit neutralized cases involving voiced plosives, which relates directly to their positional context. Consequently, standard consonants are defined by a system of sound alternation based on their placement, which can lead to changes in spelling and rules. This system of sounds varies according to the phonological processes we identify.

These observations indicate that many phonemes in given system bear similarities to those found in various dialects. Conversely, different occurrences in our analysis may lead to distinctions in pitch and other dimensions. To illustrate the characteristics of standard phonemes across dialects, we have created a contrastive chart to highlight these variations.

Some voiced consonant sounds in Wolof, whether plosives or fricatives, vary in their occurrences depending on their position in a word. While some consonants change depending on their location, others maintain the same pronunciation across all positions. The final position of a phoneme can lead to distinct sound realizations. For example, the bilabial plosive voiced phoneme /b/ is pronounced as /p/ when it occurs at the end of a word, indicating a neutralization of sound. Other

examples include the phonemes /g/, /j/, and /k/, which also demonstrate this pattern. Additionally, we have noted that some phonemes can occur in all three positions without changing their characteristics.

THE SAALUM DIALECTS CHARACTERISTICS

In the Saalum dialect, specific consonant phonemes serve as allophones. A significant example is the glottal phoneme /h/, which is pronounced aspirated in English words such as "how." This variation in pronunciation is also reflected in Saalum onomatopoeic expressions as 'hay' "misfortune.

Dramé (2012, p. 43) explains that the glottal /h/ primarily affects loanwords from Arabic, influencing both speech patterns and onomatopoeic examples. In these cases of borrowing, /h/ serves as a variant of the standard phoneme /y/, as demonstrated in:

- 23. a. faatiha [fa:tiya]
'the first sourate'
- b. raabiha [ra:biya]
'a name'

The glottal /h/ in Saalum plays an important role in the application of phonological rules, particularly regarding the positions of sounds within words. This glottal /h/ primarily appears at the beginning of words that start with vowels. Regardless of the number of syllables in these vowel-initial words, the glottal /h/ is consistently used. In other words, /h/ functions as a prosthetic phoneme that follows specific rules. To illustrate this phenomenon, we will provide a case study of this prosthesis. Additionally, the glottal /h/ varies in its application at the beginning of words with vowels in the initial position. The following examples will clarify this concept further:

Initial vowel+ [h] → vowel + [h] → syllable

24.	am	→ h+a → [ha]	ham [ham]	'to take'
	em	→ h+e → [he]	hem [hem]	'calm'
	indi	→ h+i → [hi]	hindi [hindi]	'to bring'
	omb	→ h+o → [ho]	homb [homb]	'to enroll'
	uude	→ h+u → [hu]	huude [huude]	'shoemaker'

In addition to the cases of /h/ prosthesis, we highlight the application of specific epenthesis rules. In this context, /h/ appears at the beginning of words, creating distinctive sounds within the phonological system. We provide specific examples where the mid /h/ functions as a variant of the standard /g/, illustrating these as distinct units.

Where the STD /g/ varies into the SAD /h/ as:

25.	/g/	dëgër [dægər]	'hard'
	/h/	dëhër [dəhər]	'hard'

In some cases, the epenthetic variation of the phoneme occurs between /y/ and /w/ as variants of

/h/ in the mid position. We distinguish between /h/ and /y/ in the following instances:

- /y/ varies to /h/
26. a. STD foyi [foji] [y] ‘to go to play’
 SAD fohi [fohi] [h]
- STA foye [foye] [y] ‘to play with’
 SAD fohe [fohe] [h]
- STA báyi [báyi] [y] ‘to let down’
 SAD báhi [báhi] [h]

Between the bilabial voiced /w/ distinctive between /h/ in mid position as:

- b. [w] varies to [h]
- STA fowukaay [fowuka:y] [w] ‘a toy’
 SAD fohukaay [fohukaay] [h]
- STA yóbbuwaale [yób:uwa:le] [w] ‘to bring for’
 SAD yóbbuhaale [yób:uha:le] [h]

In this set of rules, we note that the standard post-alveolar /r/ varies to the alveolar /t/ in final positions. The distinction between the phonemes /t/ and /r/ occurs as free variants. The following examples illustrate these occurrences:

- [r] varies into [t]
27. STD biir [bi:r]
 SAD biit [bi:t] ‘inside/belly’

Some standard words show phonetic changes at the beginning, making their initial consonants particularly important. This phenomenon indicates that the spelling of these words closely relates to their initial sounds, emphasizing the complex relationship between phonetics and orthography.

THE GAMBIAN DIALECT CHARACTERISTICS

The analysis presented in the standard underscores significant differences in syllabic structures when compared to other related dialects. Notably, the spelling of words in these dialects often suffers distortion, resulting in elongated syllables. This phenomenon can be attributed to the fact that standard words commonly feature consonant prosthetic phonemes, whereas the Gambian dialect typically omits certain phonemes altogether. Such

differences highlight the unique phonetic characteristics and complexities of each dialect, emphasizing the necessity for a deeper understanding of their linguistic variations.

In the Gambian dialect (GAD), simple consonants intricately blend with distinct phonological characteristics, producing a fascinating feature known as consonant elision at the start of words. This phenomenon primarily affects the initial phonemes /y/ and /w/, which precede vowels and function as unique linguistic units.

The following examples vividly demonstrate how standard English words are transformed through elision in the Gambian dialect, highlighting the richness and dynamism of this linguistic variation:

28. [y] is omitted before a V(vowel)
- STD yem [jem] ‘calm/quite’
 GAD em [em]

Certain variations in phonemes indicate that some consonant phonemes are substituted with others from the same dialect. Additionally, the GAD demonstrates some misspellings in its phonological system. For instance, the nasal-voiced velar phoneme /ŋ/ is primarily replaced by the voiced velar phoneme /g/.

Similarly, the voiceless fricative /x/ and the voiced uvular /q/ are substituted with the glottal phoneme /h/. The substitution of the glottal /q/ is an exception in this process, as vowels /u/ or /a/ are inserted (in an epenthetic manner) before the substituted phoneme /h/, as shown in the following examples:

		[q]	varies to	[h]	
29.	a.	STD	táqale	[táqale]	‘to divide’
		GAD	táhale	[táhale]	
	b.	STD	naqar	[nàqar]	‘misfortune’
		GAD	nahar	[náhar]	

We highlight that in certain standard consonant phonemes, Gambian speakers substitute others that function as distinctive phonemes. In other words, we observe two cases of substitution.

The first case involves the sounds /x/ and /q/, which are replaced by /g/ and /h/, respectively. This means that the phonetic sounds of /x/ and /q/ are articulated as /g/ and /h/.

In another instance of speech, the phoneme /h/ varies in The Gambia, particularly in relation to its

When [x] is distinct with [h] as:

- a. initial position: xamle [xamle] ‘to let someone know’
hamle [hamle]
- b. medium position: laxas [laxas] ‘to tie’
lahas [lahas]
- c. final position fënëx [fënəx] ‘old’
fonah [fonah]

When [g] initially varies also into [ŋ] as:

- ŋaam [ŋa:m] ‘jaws’
- gaam [ga:m]

The palatal nasal sound, represented by the voiced phoneme /ŋ/, is rarely spelled in medial and final positions. This phoneme primarily appears between the sounds /x/ and /h/, as illustrated by various examples in both medial and final contexts. Similar occurrences are found between the standard uvular sound /q/ and the glottal sound /h/, which can function as free variants in the cited cases.

The speech patterns of Gambian simple consonants vary significantly due to instances of sound substitution, as noted in various cases. Specific characteristics arise from language contact and the linguistic context of other dialects. Distinctive phonemes are predominantly highlighted in these characteristics. Consequently, consonant sounds often lower the pitch to facilitate easier pronunciation during their production. As illustrated in the descriptive chart and examples,

Such a noun "góor" varies the standard alveolar /r/ within the SAD in the final position as:

32.	STD	góor	[r]	“man”
	SAD	góot	[t]	
	GAD	goor	[r]	

substitution with the fricative dorso-velar /x/. This substitution between /x/ and /h/ occurs under specific distinctive phonetic characteristics.

We will outline the variations of simple consonant phonemes in the Gambian dialect, focusing on the phonemes /x/ and /q/ in word-initial positions. To illustrate these distinctions, we provide examples of words that showcase these contrasting phonemes. We will consider three different positions for these distinctive sounds.

variations in consonant sounds primarily involve substitution. In this context, distinctions between sounds occur in different positions, following phonological production rules.

THE VARIATIONS OF THE THREEFOLD DIALECTS

The contrastive analysis of the three dialects highlights the phonological variations related to simple consonants, as previously mentioned. The occurrences are as follows:

In the Standard dialect (STD), the noun /góor/ meaning "man" modifies the final consonant phoneme [r] to [t]. In contrast, the postalveolar /r/ in the final position of the STD varies to an alveolar /t/ in the Sad dialect (SAD). However, in the General Arab dialect (GAD), the final /r/ remains unchanged and is spelled the same as in the STD.

In this case, there is a variation in the initial position of the phoneme /r/ between the Standard Dialect (STD) and the Geographical Accent Dialect (GAD) in the word "SAD." Specifically, in "SAD," the standard phoneme /r/ is represented as

an allophone in the final position before the phoneme /t/. Another case in the GAD is the variation of the velar /x/ in medium position, as illustrated by the following examples:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|--------|-----|---------|---------|
| 33. | STD | saxaar | [r] | sa-xaar | “smoke” |
| | SAD | saxaat | [t] | səxaat | |
| | GAD | sahaar | [r] | sahaar | |

In the SAD, the mid-velar /x/ distinguishes variations between the glottal /h/, which serve as free variants in the same example. These variations occur in the mid-position as:

- | | | | |
|-----|--------|-----|--------|
| STD | saxaar | [x] | saxaar |
| SAD | səxat | [x] | səxat |
| GAD | sahaar | [h] | sahaar |

In a similar context, the Standard (STD) word ‘yënggël’ [jəŋ: əl], meaning ‘agitate,’ demonstrates consonant mutations within this speech pattern. The consonant phoneme /l/ in STD alternates with /t/ in the dialect. Specifically, in the Southern Dialect (SAD), /l/ changes to /t/. The following examples illustrate this change in the final position:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|---------|-----|--------|-----------|
| 34. | STD | yënggël | [l] | yëngël | “agitate” |
| | SAD | yënggët | [t] | yëngët | |
| | GAD | yengal | [l] | yengal | |

In some cases, the standard uvular sound /q/ alternates with the glottal sound /h/ in The Gambia. There is, in fact, a substitution between the phonemes /q/ and /h/ in the standard word ‘nàqar’, which varies as follows:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|--------|-----|--------|--------------|
| 35. | STD | nàqar | [q] | nàqar | “misfortune” |
| | SAD | nàqat | [q] | nàqar | |
| | GAD | nahaar | [h] | naahar | |

The substitution of the glottal consonant /h/ varies to /h/ in the Standard Arabic Dialect (SAD). Specifically, the glottal /h/ occurs at the beginning of words that start with vowels. For example, with the noun 'biir' meaning "inside," both the Standard Dialect (STD) and the Gulf Arabic Dialect (GAD) exhibit variations between the sounds /r/ and /t/ in the SAD, as outlined in this case.

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----|------|-----|----------|
| 36. | STD | biir | [r] | “inside” |
| | SAD | biit | [t] | |
| | GAD | biir | [r] | |

The allophones are positioned between the phonemes /r/ and /t/, where the standard (STD) and generalized African dialect (GAD) /r/ transforms into /t/ in the specific African dialect (SAD). In the medium position, the phoneme /r/ varies in disyllabic or polysyllabic words.

There are variations between the STD and GAD consonant sounds /r/ and /d/ in SAD. We distinguish between /r/ and /d/, noting that /r/ changes to /d/ in SAD.

The underlined word that follows emphasizes the standard word "mburu" in the medium position:

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-------|-----|---------|
| 37. | STD | mburu | [r] | “bread” |
| | SAD | mbudu | [d] | |
| | GAD | mburu | [r] | |

Likewise, the word ‘dëgër’ changes from the /g/ sound in the STD to the glottal sound /h/ in the SAD, as demonstrated below:

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-------|-----|--------|
| 38. | STD | dëgër | [g] | ‘hard’ |
| | SAD | dëhër | [h] | |
| | GAD | degar | [g] | |

The phonological variations of the glottal /h/ present striking differences as distinctive sounds and free variants between the Saalum and

Gambian dialects. In the Gambian dialect, this distinction is characterized by the use of the standard alveolar /x/, as illustrated in the provided

examples. In contrast, the Saalum dialect makes a notable substitution, replacing the consonant phoneme /h/ with the standard /g/ when it appears next to a prosthesis in words that begin with vowels. This illustrates the fascinating and intricate ways in which these dialects evolve and diverge from one another.

CONCLUSION

The phonological comparison of the three dialects reveals systematic and meaningful patterns of variation that reflect their distinct linguistic identities. The contrast in the realization of simple consonants highlights how each variety reshapes inherited forms according to its own phonological rules. These variations not only illustrate internal dialectal evolution but also demonstrate the dynamic processes of sound change influenced by geography, contact, and local speech norms. Overall, the analysis underscores the importance of consonantal alternations as markers of dialect distinction within the language.

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