

## **THE XYLOPHONES (GYILE) REPERTOIRE IN THE SOCIAL LIFE OF THE BIRIFOR/LOBI IN THE UPPER WEST REGION OF GHANA**

**Razak Jaha IMORO (PhD.)**

Department of Sociology and Anthropology  
College of Humanities and Legal Studies  
Faculty of Social Sciences  
University of Cape Coast

---

### **Abstract**

This research aims to document the role of the xylophone in the social life of the Birifor/Lobi in Ghana particularly in the north western parts of Ghana. Literature in this field is not only patchy and uncoordinated, but also dominated by francophone writers. However, the Birifor/Lobi people mostly located in the western parts of the Upper West and Savannah Regions have interesting cultural traditions worthy of research. Through narratives from six xylophonists in the Birifor/Lobi culture used as key informants the paper accounts for the crucial role of the xylophone (gyil) in the social, cultural and spiritual life of the people.

The study indicated that the xylophone is the major instrument for the transmission of cultural meanings to the people during funerals and festivals. The study also found that the gyil is also used to announce the death of community members. Furthermore, it has become a tool for organizing the people as the gyil repertoire gives meaning to the people for a particular purpose. The findings from this study contribute to understanding the sociology of the Lobis and Birifors from a Ghanaian perspective and also adds to the literature on ethnicities in north western Ghana.

### **Introduction**

Northern Ghana is broadly used to refer to the geographical landmass stretching upwards from the Lower Black Volta River, which together with its tributaries the White and Red Voltas and the Oti and Daka rivers separates the south of Ghana from the north (Benneh, 1972; Plange, 1979). The area shares international

boundaries with Burkina Faso to the North, Togo to the east, and Cote d'Ivoire to the lower south-west. To the south, northern Ghana shares regional boundaries with the Brong Ahafo region (Awedoba, 2006). Now the creation of the new regions in 2018 has merged some of the areas particularly the Bono and parts of Bono East regions (then Brong Ahafo region) into now the savannah region (Gyampo, 2018).

The Upper East, the Upper West, the North East, Savannah, and the Northern Regions occupy this large geographical space. These regions together constitute 54% of the landmass of Ghana (Benneh, 1972; Plange, 1979). Much of Northern Ghana falls within the savannah vegetation belt. Rainfall is modest in many parts of the area with average rainfalls of between 1,000mm to 1,400mm per annum and allows for the cultivation of cereal crops and legumes (Logah et al., 2013). The majority of the people are into farming and rearing with others into trading activities. The people are also engaged in spinning, weaving, and smock designing. They produce musical instruments such as the xylophone, flute, drums, and also involved in pottery, blacksmithing, and carving (Imoro, 2011). The political structure of Northern Ghana consists of chiefly groups such as Dagomba, Nanumba, Gonja, and Mamprusi and "acephalous" groups including Konkomba, Vagala, Tampulima, Nawuri, Basare, Kusasi, Gurene, Dagaaba and Nchumuru (Assefa, 2000; Kendie et al., 2014).

The Upper West Region, the focus of this paper is located to the western part of the northern sector and is the smallest in terms of landmass. The Upper West Region of Ghana covers a geographical area of approximately 18,478 square kilometres. This constitutes about 12.7 per cent of the total land area of Ghana. The region is bordered on the North by the Republic of Burkina Faso, on the East by Upper East Region, on the South by Northern Region and on the West by Cote d'Ivoire (Imoro, 2011). The region play host to a number of ethnic groups. The Dagarba, Lobi, Sisala, Vagla and the Wala, all of who speak distinct languages, inhabit this region (figure 1: Map of the

Upper Region). While the Dagarbas, Wallas and Sissala are variously covered in the migration literature that of the Lobi are scarcely discussed. Literature in this field is not only patchy and uncoordinated, but also dominated by francophone write up. However, the Lobi/Birifor people mostly located in the western parts of the upper west and savannah regions has interesting migration histories. This paper contributes to the migration history of the Lobis and Birifors from a Ghanaian perspective and also adds to the literature on migration in north western Ghana.

### **The People of the Upper West Region**

The landmass area now known as the Upper West Region, was territorial known to be under the control of the Wala. The territorial area covered the Kulpa River to the east, the Black Volta to the west and from Dasima in the northeast to Tantama in the southwest (Wilks, 1989). This geographical space is home to several related languages or dialects and ethnic groups including: Dagaari, Wali, Sissala, Biriforli, Lobi (Awedoba, 2006). The Dagaba who speak Dagari are found mainly, in a number of small scale autonomous chiefdoms. Though a large number of them can also be found in Burkina Faso and in northeastern Cote D'Ivoire including the Birifo and Lobi. Their settlement patterns are in the form of villages and the people are related by lineage and clans. In the precolonial and early colonial periods, they dominated most of the censuses conducted at the time in the Wa area (Wilks, 1989). For instance, in the 1921 census the Wala numbered, 16,905, the Dagarti 19,619 and Sissala, 5,346 (Wilks, 1989). This dominance continued in later censuses as further indicated in the 1948 census where the Dagarti increased to 106,349; Wala 22,299; Sissala 37,246 and the Lobi numbered 30,673 (Barker 1986; Wilks, 1989). The 2000 Housing and Population Census indicates that the total number of the Dagaaba in Ghana is 641,926 persons (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012). The Dagaaba is the largest ethnic group in the Upper West

Region and the second largest in Northern Ghana (Alfred & Bonye,

Another major ethnic group in the Upper West Region is the Wala. The Wala center on the commercial town of Wa and its immediate environs (Awedoba, 2006). They are basically rural and live in family compounds. Earlier censuses in the area (1921, 1931, 1948, 1960, 1970 and 1984) counted the Wala, Dargarti, Sisala, Fulani, Hausa and the Lobi as people who inhabited the area (Wilks, 1989). In the 1600s, the Wala lived in Mamprusi and established control over the Dagaaba and Lobi peoples. The Wala extended their territorial area to cover the Kulpawn River to the east, the Black Volta in the west and from Dasima in the northeast to Tantama in the southwest (Wilks, 1989).

A description of the people in this study area can not leave out the Sissala who also speak sissali. Generically, described by Wilks as Grunshi they were in the 1960 census known to the Sissala and constituted about 5 percent of the population of the entire area at the time. Located largely to the east of the Kulpawn river. They are sparsely located in villages such as Funsu, Kundungu, Tumu, Jefisi, Gbele (Goody, 1962).

The ethnic group of interest in this paper is the Lobi/Birifor. In the 1960 census for the area they constituted 13 percent of the total population of the entire Wa area. In 1962 Jack Goody uses the term LoDagaa to describe the inhabitants of this area, assuming a geographical homogeneity, and then breaks into the subgroups, LoWilisi (Lobi), Birifor, LoSaala, LoWiili, DagaaWiili and LoPiel based on ethnographic similarities. Larry Godsey (1980) uses the term Birifor, in agreement with Goody, as the cultural group found in the geographical area surrounding the town of Kaliba in the Northern Region. In the case of Pennie (1996) the Lobi is used generically to describe the Birifor, kulango, Dorossie, Gan, Dian, Teguessie

According to Jack Goody (1962) they migrated from Ivory Coast and Southern Burkina Faso to their present location. These migrants were identified as Birifor, DagaaWilli and Lowillisi.

They occupied the western half of the Black Volta. These migrations were largely to escape high taxation and the repressive conditions in French administered territory (Hien, 2019; Wilks, 1989). In the late 1700s, the Lobi migrated from within Ghana to their present location due to pressure from larger groups in the area such as the Gonja. Other accounts such as.... explained that the Birifor migrated from Chad through the Niger belt to Ghana and then further to Ivory and the Bourikina Faso (Ratray, 1932; Goody, 1962; Wilks, 1989; Vercelli, 2006). With Pennie (1996) recounting that the Birifor though originally from Ghana migrated to Coted'ivoire and Burikina Faso and due to French conlonisation and repressive conditions they re-migrated to Ghana from Bouna in Cote d'ivoire occupying the area between Bole in the south and Lawra in the north of Ghana. The Lobi/Birifor occupy the Black Volta region where the countries of Ghana, Ivory Coast, and Burkina Faso meet.

In the now Wa West District which is home to the Dagaba, Wala, Lowiili and Birifor as well as the non-Dagare-speaking Lobi. The Birifor occupy a slightly wider area compared to the rest and therefore could constitute the majority. These groups are very similar, ethnically and culturally, as well as linguistically (they all speak the closely related dialects of Dagare, except the Lobi, who speak Lobiri, an unrelated language) (Vercelli, 2006). These groups are similar enough to be regarded as one ethnic group. The majority of the people in the area are farmers and they cultivate crops such as millet, groundnuts, beans, soybeans and maize. The staple diet for the people is TZ meaning tuozaafi, a Hausa word (Locally called saa). A growing tourist attraction for the district is the hippopotamus sanctuary in Wechiau, which is currently receiving national attention (Awedoba, 2006).



Source: Ghana Statistical Service Wa, Upper West Region 2003

## The Social Structure of the Lobi/Birifor

### *The Political Structure of the Birifor/Lobi People:*

The political organization of the people Birifor/Lobi is acephalous (Goody, 1962). They are organized on lineage basis, with the lineage forming the largest political unit (Nukunya, 1992). The people did not have territorial chiefs before the arrival of the Europeans. The office of political power was that of the spiritual custodian of the earth. However, social and political coherence was mostly based on spiritual and mystical references to the earth shrine (*Tinga'an*) and the ancestor shrines by the custodian of the earth.

The institution of Chief (*naa*) was established by the colonial rulers, and today most settlements have Chiefs, who are usually junior brothers of the owners of the land (*tingaansuo*) depending on the area the group settles. The chief (*naa*) does not have any definite power, his role mainly consists of a link to the outside world, and settlement of local disagreements, but he has no authority to enforce any form of sanctions or punishments. The main source of his authority is transcendental. That is, it is embedded in the power of dead forebears, or, to a lesser degree

in some other non-human spiritual agencies such as, deities and shrines. As an agricultural people, living in a society based primarily on descent and residence, the importance of land and lineage for them is crucial and paramount. The connection to the earth as a sustainer of life and as place of belonging is reflected in the adherence to the Earth (tingaan), which has both strong religious and political significance. The earth priest however, mediates in land rights and land distribution.

#### *Religion among the Birifor/Lobi:*

The traditional religion of the Birifor/Lobi is highly pragmatic and action-oriented, flavoured with various daily rituals, sacrifice, and divination. It addresses problems of everyday life, illness and death, conflicts and disputes, crop failures, and other misfortunes. It is pragmatic in the sense that it seeks to distil concrete, practical results from sacred rites and ceremonies. It is not hierarchically organized and practiced according to the need in hand. The spiritual universe of the people is made up of heaven and earth in the form of the rain shrine and the earth shrine together with the ancestors and other shrines and spirits. The people believe in a supreme being, which they call “naangmin” (Vercelli, 2006).

#### *Nature of Housing among the Birifor/Lobi*

The people have a similar style of architecture typical of Northern Ghana. Houses are constructed mainly with mud, with mostly rectangular rooms. This type of architecture is been influenced by the Larabanga Mosque in the Northern region which was built by the Moslem immigrant traders from Northern Africa, mainly Mali, who later settled in Wa now the Regional Capital (Wilks, 1989). The houses are built in the form of compounds with gates and with walls plastered with mud. Cow dung are sometimes used to cement the floors and give them an artistic design. However, modern materials are gradually being used as the main material of the floor. The rooms are mostly decked with mud, and in certain instances, houses are

built up to one story and roofed with mud. The latter is usually mixed with some special grass (thatch) which gives it a starchy form and makes it last longer than usual. Such houses are prevalent in the district.

Another artistic feature of these houses is that whilst the roofs are decked there are openings from the inside of the rooms to the top of the roofs locally called “garr” which serves as a resting place and a place for winnowing millet and other cereals. Most of these locally constructed story buildings are prevalent within the area (Ratray, 1932; Goody, 1962). However, the use of modern materials such as roofing sheets and cement is fast catching on in the area. Large households are most common due to the nature of the extended family system which is still entrenched among the Birifor/Lobi people. Houses are constructed according to families where each family unit is not supposed to build too far away from the parent family house (usually called *yirkpaa*). A reasonable cluster of houses meant for just one lineage emerges as a result.

### **The Birifor/Lobi xylophone: A Brief description**

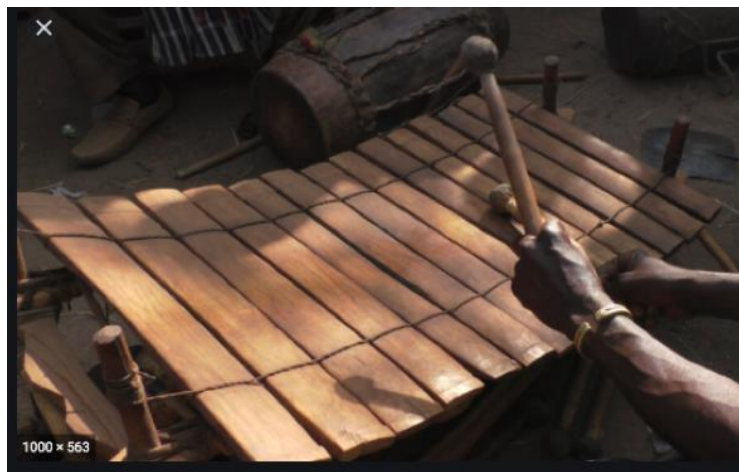
The Birifor and Lobi people located in the Upper West Region are culturally rooted in traditions of xylophone performance, including the Sisaala and Dagara. Xylophones are a primary cultural icon and instrumental resource for the Birifor and Lobi people. This is featured in public ritual contexts such as funerals and festivals. Funerals in particular are an opportunity for xylophonists to fulfill their role of re-enforcing their culture as they expressed the total cultural heritage of the people through the xylophone repertoire. Music in Birifor and Lobi communities plays a central role in all major life-cycle events such as funerals, festivals, and religious rites (Pennie, 1996).

Birifor xylophone music generally features one xylophonist in the case of funeral music, and two in the case of festival music, both with the percussive accompaniment of the *ganɔɔ* double-headed cylindrical drum, the *kuur* hoe-blade idiophone, and



varying additional percussion instruments. Birifor funeral xylophones are called (*kogyile*) made up of fourteen-key instruments, while festival xylophones are called (*bogyile*) also made up of fourteen-key instruments (Pennie, 1996).

In funeral ceremonies xylophonists mirror the social, cultural, and spiritual life of the people through various rhythms of the xylophone which is interspersed with the accompanying drumming with the drum called *gangaa*. They do so through a song cycle that interweaves new and old compositions, and is performed by consecutive musicians at a funeral, creating a constant backdrop of music that lasts for several days at full-scale funerals



Source : googlephotos

### Description of Data Collection

Data for this research was obtained from two sources; primary and secondary. The primary data mainly constituted in-depth interviews with six xylophonists among the Birifor/Lobi people in the Upper West Region. The secondary data include literature reviews and documented information and histories of the people of the Upper West region. Empirical research on the xylophones and the Birifor and Lobi culture were also reviewed. A key informant was used to contact the xylophonists. The key

informant who is a radio presenter in the Birifor/Lobi language is familiar with these xylophonists and has hosted some of them on his radio programme. He is also the public Relations officer for Birifor Youth Association and they regularly organized programmes where these xylophonists are invited to perform. Through the key informants these xylophonists were contacted on phone and interviews scheduled. Permission was also sought from xylophonists to record the interviews. Interviews were however conducted on telephone. The researcher was guided by an interview schedule and on the average each interview lasted from 25minutes to about 2 hours. Even though telephone interviews have their own weaknesses such as inability to observe behaviour, interruptions in the interview process, network challenges and also inability to have face to face interaction, the researcher created a congenial, friendly telephone interviews environment with participants who willingly expressed profound knowledge on the subject been discussed. All six xylophonists participated in the study. Interviews were recorded with the mobile phone and these were played back later for transcription and analysis. This method was chosen because it reduced the time the researcher would have spent going to the field and was also cost effective. The response rate was equally high because consent was sought before interviews were conducted.

### **Xylophone (gyil) in the social life of the birifor/lobi**

The social life of the Birifor/Lobi is flavoured by various activities including funerals, festivals, naming ceremonies and play and entertainments during moonlight. These activities witness the crucial role of the use of the xylophone (gyil). The preceding section of this paper is devoted to two of these major social activities where the gyil is mostly used thus the funerals and festivals.

## **Xylophone (Gyile) and the funeral performances of the Birifor/Lobi**

Funerals are a universal cultural practice and among the Birifor/Lobi funerals are a crucial part of their social activities. The xylophone or gyil carries enormous significance during funeral rites. From the start of the death whether man or woman the gyil serves as the medium of communication for most aspects of the funeral. In all stages of the performance of funeral rites the gyil plays a critical role. It has both physical and spiritual significance and therefore is revered by the people. For instance, in an interviews with one xylophonist he narrated:

*The gyil is something we respect a lot. It does not easily come out from the room where it is kept unless there a death in the community or it being sent to a funeral. If the gyil is brought out from the room ordinarily then some ritual must be performed. But you can learn to play with the gyil whiles it is in the room. But it doesn't come out like (45year old xylophonist from Kaliba).*

This shows the significance attached to the use of the gyil by the people. The Birifor use the *gyile* in funeral ceremonies not only to induce a physical response, such as dancing or mourning, but also speak to the participants in order to relay important information about the deceased, and the traditional stories and beliefs of their culture (Vercelli, 2006). In the typical funeral situation, the gyil is played throughout the funeral and the pattern of play is organized into parts and each part gives meaning to life and culture of the people as well as communicate to the people the nature of the funeral (Vercelli, 2006). In the case of the death of a man the gyil is used to announced the funeral in the community. This is often referred to as the *Daarfo* or *piiraa*. This is where the gyil player announces the death of the man through a solo play which is mostly done at the house of the deceased and as the people from far and near gather to mourn the dead the gyil is played, mostly by different players from different people who come either to support the funeral or are relatives or friends of the deceased. Another gyil player narrates:

*In the gyil language we have Daarfo, when you hear the gyil for the first time in the community like that it means a man is dead. If the dead is also a woman there is also a different rhythm of the gyil which signifies the death of a woman. If you are sleeping in the night and you hear of the Daarfo rhythm it means the village has lost a man (45-year old xylophonist from Kaliba).*

The rhythm also gives meaning to the culture and life of the Birifor/Lobi. For instance, in the Daarfo rhythm which is announcing the death of a man the meaning of the rhythm relates to the activities of Birifor men in general. For instance, it relates to the bravery of the men and the struggle of the men in Birifor culture and also accepting that life presents challenges which everyman must be ready to confront. It also tells the readiness of the Birifor men to defend themselves and their community (Pennie, 1996). Also the Daarfo is enacted to mirror the image of the Birifor/Lobi man as a hunter, a brave and courageous individual. A narration by a 55-year-old xylophonist from Taforo village summarizes the point.

*You see the gyil in its starting point (Piraa) which we usually called the Daarfo done when a man dies. There is a historical meaning to it. For instance, in the olden days when someone is shot with the bow and arrow and the person dies. The announcement of the death of the man sends fear into the people and so fellow men must rush to see how the person was shot. Once they get to the dead the fear and anxiousness of the men makes them push each other all in an attempt to see the dead. But they also must show bravery and courage in doing so and the anger in seeing their fellow shot dead generate a feeling of retaliation of the dead. So the Daarfo in the gyil rhythm is to re-enact the way Birifor/Lobi men react towards the death of a man.*

In the case of the death of a woman the *Daarfo* is not played. However, the woman is eulogized through the gyil rhythm also the *Piiraa* and this is then followed by *Pookobo*. This rhythm means that a woman is dead. In the in-depth interviews this was further explained by one xylophonist:

*When a woman dies in the community there is no Daarfo, but there is piiraa and pookobo. This is played from the middle of the gyil. When people in the community hear that kind of rhythm they know it is*

*announcing the dead of a woman (56-year-old xylophonist from Kaliba Kaliba).*

Beyond the *Daarfo* or *Piiraa* there is now the *Daarkpen* for the men and *pookobo* for the women. The *Daarkpen* carry a different mood in the funeral. This is usually characterized by vigorous dancing and this is meant to tell the mourners that life is flavoured with joy and sorrow and this should be characteristic of the life of Birifor /Lobi men and women. In the *Daarkpen*, the *gyil* rhythms are basically songs that are carried in the form of proverbs and wise saying that illicit meaning characteristic of the deceased or the Birifor/Lobi life and culture in general. This is further elaborated in this narration:

*In the gyil language for instance it is said that elders in every community advise others and so when you refuse to take advice from elders and you die what do you want other to say. Now what has caused your death? You refused to take advice from elders (55-year-old xylophonist from Kaliba)*

There is equally another aspect of the *gyil* rhythm which depicts farming as an economic activity for the people. This is referred to as *kyikobene* (farming dance). In the course of the funeral performance for particularly men the *kyikobene* rhythm when it is played gets the people to enact acts of farming. This is where mourners and sympathizers will use hoes, cutlasses to demonstrate their acts of farming or even to show that they are farmers. When it is played it gets the men from the deceased side or close relatives from the deceased side to throw farm produce at the xylophonist particularly millet. This is narrated by another interviewee:

*The kyikobene is the key dance in the gyil repertoire. This is done when a man dies and the xylophonists will say that we have called a farmer in this house without response. Where is the farmer gone to? Is he the one laying down motionless. This elicits sorrowful and emotional responses from mourners and family members of the deceased. When this rhythm is played it gets the men from the deceased side to come and throw millet at the xylophonist signifying that other men from the deceased household are here (55-year-old xylophonist from Taforo).*

### **Boorgyil in the social life of Birifor/Lobi**

The concept of *boor* among the Birifor/Lobi people has been a long tradition. This is synonymous to a festival. However, it is not every one who can perform or initiate a *boor* as a festival. Even though there is a period and season that the *boor* is usually performed it does not apply to every one in the Birifor or Lobi community. Usually the *boor* is performed by someone who has spiritual relations with the *Kontomble* (Dwarfs). It is upon their instruction that a person performs the *boor* as a mark of spiritual connection with the *Kontomble* and also to appease them in case the individual violates norms and practices of the *Kontomble* (Vercelli, 2006).

This occasion is usually marked by spiritual and social activities. The spiritual activities are carried out by the initiator of the *boor* who is usually instructed by the *kontonbile* (Dwarfs). While this goes on, there are also social activities usually marked by drumming and dancing and other forms of merry making. During the “*boor*” celebration which typically lasts for three days the *gyil* is the major instrument of entertainment and medium of communication among the people. In the case of the *boor* the *gyil* are two (*gyile*) instead of one in the case of the funeral *gyil* (*kogyil*). Also the *boorgyil* (festival xylophone) can be used at anytime for such merry making unlike the *kogyil* (funeral xylophone) which is not sent out of the room where it is kept at will. A xylophonist further explained:

*The kogyil is not sent out like that as compared to the boorgyil. In case you even sent out the kogyil there are certain rituals that must be performed involving the slaughtering of a fowl and other rituals. This is because the kogyil is unique and has spiritual connotations so we are careful carrying it around. But technically it can go out but you must follow the ritual (55-year old xylophonist from Lassie).*

The rhythm of the *boorgyil* and the songs and their meanings are different from the funeral songs and rhythms of the *kogyil*. In the case of the *boor* (festival) the rhythms are characterized by praises to the initiator of the *boor* and other songs that depict the

social life of the people. One such song is interpreted by a 50-year-old xylophonist as follows:

*You have called us to come and so we are here but how do you feed all of us who have gathered here. Show us your capacity and ability to feed us. When the initiator of the boor hears this he will bring a quantity of millet to the xylophonist and drummer. The initiator can add other food items at his disposal including throwing of cowries to the xylophonist and drummer (50-year-old xylophonist from Taforo).*

This shows that to be able to initiate the *boor* the person must have the capacity and financial ability to do so. Spiritually, it is also believed that the *kontomble* (Dwarfs) do not demand the *boor* from an individual if they know that the individual doesn't have the capacity. However, the *boorgyile* can also be used during a funeral and in this situation the songs and rhythms are same as the rhythm of the *kogyil*. In which case you can initiate the *Daarkpen* and *pookobo* which are synonymous with the rhythm of the *kogyil*.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, the *gyil* is an embodiment of the culture and lifestyle of the Birifor/Lobi people. To understand the social life of the people one must understand the *gyil* repertoire. Funerals and festivals are two major occasions where the *gyile* are highly used and the rhythms and songs elicited by xylophonists mirror the economic, social and spiritual life of the Birifor/Lobi people. The Birifor/Lobi uses the *gyil* as their primary method of passing along the cultural myth and history of their people. Much it is used as a medium of communication it is through the *gyil* that xylophonists educate community members among happenings within their environment.

## References

Assefa, Hizkias (2000), 'Coexistence and Reconciliation in the Northern Region of Ghana', Reconciliation, Justice, and Coexistence: Theory & Practice, Lexington Books,

- Maryland, Chapter 9, pp.165-186, Brandeis University website
- Awedoba, A. K. (2006). The peoples of northern Ghana. Accra, Ghana: National Commission on Culture.
- Benneh, G. (1972). The response of farmers in Northern Ghana to the introduction of mixed farming: a case study. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 54(2), 95-103.
- Hien, N. P. N. (2019). *Musical Ethnography of Dagara People in Burkina Faso* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Ghana).
- Plange, N. K. (1979). Underdevelopment in northern Ghana: natural causes or colonial capitalism? *Review of African Political Economy*, 6(15-16), 4-14.
- Ghana Statistical Service. (2012). 2010 Population and Housing Census, Summary of final result. Sakora Press limited, Accra. Accessed on 20-10-2013 from: [www.statsghana.gov.gh/](http://www.statsghana.gov.gh/)
- Godsey, L. D. (1980). *The use of the Xylophone in the Funeral ceremony of the Birifor of Northwest Ghana*. University of California, Los Angeles.
- Goody, J. (1962). *Death, Property and the Ancestors*. Stanford University Press: Stanford.
- Gyampo, F., (2018) Creating New Regions in Ghana: Populist or Rational Pathway to Development. *Ghana Journal of Development Studies*, 15(2), 1-16
- Imoro, R. J. (2011). The migration of Teachers from the Upper West Region. *Legon Journal of Sociology*, 4(2), 27- 57.
- Kendie, S. B., Osei-Kufuor, P., & Boakye, K. A. (Eds.). (2014). *Spatial Analysis of Violent Conflicts in Ghana, 2007-2013*. University of Cape Coast.
- Logah, F. Y., Obuobie, E., Ofori, D., & Kankam-Yeboah, K. (2013). Analysis of rainfall variability in Ghana. *International Journal of Latest Research in Engineering and Computing*, 1(1), 1-8.
- Rattray, R.S. (1932). *The Tribes of The Ashanti Hinterland*. Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Pennie, M. (1996). The Marriage Poles of the Lobi. *Journal of Museum Ethnography*, (8), 103-108.
- Vercelli, Michael B. (2006) *Performance Practice of the Dagara-Birifor Gyl Tradition through the Analysis of the Bewaa and Daarkpen Repertoire*. University of Arizona: Tucson