



Digital Literary Analysis of Ahmadou Kourouma's *Quand on refuse on dit non* through Corpus Stylistics: The Use of AntConc

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Abstract

Corpus stylistics as part of corpus linguistics is interested in the analysis of literary texts. It has been reinforced through the recent development of analytical software in digital humanities, though its application to francophone African texts has not been fully exploited. This study, which combines qualitative and quantitative methodologies, deploys postcolonial theory and AntConc for the analysis of Ahmadou Kourouma's dematerialized text, *Quand on refuse on dit non* (QOR), a work that belongs to the author's trilogy on African intra/interethnic wars. The corpus analysis investigates how outputs of AntConc analytical tools of concordance, clusters, Keywords among other programs help in the postcolonial interpretation of the writer's artistic ideology on the Ivorian interethnic conflict. By Word Hit of QOR, Houphouët Boigny is ranked 52 with the Freq of 90, followed by Gbagbo who ranks 60 with 75 Freq with Concordance Hits of 34 for "mort" (death), Ahmadou Kourouma implicates the two political Ivorian figures in the Ivorian crisis whose only language is death, the death of the perceived enemy tribesmen and women. In this civil war, the necropolitical power (Achille Mbembe) to determine who lives or dies is based on the political concept of ivoirité (Ivorian-ness) which has about 35 hits in the text, underlying how language instrumentalized the atrocities of the Ivorian civil war through the postcolonial dynamics of otherness, subalternity and identity. These findings demonstrate the value of using computational tools like AntConc to interrogate African francophone literary texts and lay a strong foundation for further studies.

Keywords: Computer-assisted literary analysis, dematerialized text, Ivorian-ness, Postcolonial theory, digital text analysis

Résumé

La stylistique de corpus, en tant que branche de la linguistique de corpus, s'intéresse à l'analyse des textes littéraires. Elle a été renforcée par le développement récent de logiciels d'analyse dans le domaine des humanités numériques, bien que son application aux textes africains francophones reste sous-exploitée. Cette étude, qui combine des méthodologies qualitatives et quantitatives, mobilise la théorie postcoloniale et AntConc pour analyser le texte dématérialisé d'Ahmadou Kourouma, *Quand on refuse on dit non (désormais QOR)*, une œuvre faisant partie de la trilogie de l'auteur sur les guerres intra/interethniques africaines. L'analyse de corpus explore comment les outils analytiques d'AntConc, tels que la concordance, les clusters, et les mots-clés, entre autres, contribuent à l'interprétation postcoloniale de l'idéologie artistique de l'écrivain concernant le conflit interethnique ivoirien. Selon les occurrences dans QOR, Houphouët-Boigny est classé 52e avec une fréquence de 90, suivi de Gbagbo, classé 60e avec 75 occurrences. Par ailleurs, les occurrences concordantes du mot « mort » s'élèvent à 34. Ahmadou Kourouma implique ainsi ces deux figures politiques ivoiriennes dans la crise ivoirienne, où la seule « langue » semble être celle de la mort – la mort des membres des tribus ennemies perçues. Dans cette guerre civile, le pouvoir



nécropolitique (Achille Mbembe), qui détermine qui vit ou meurt, repose sur le concept politique d'**ivoirité**, qui compte environ 35 occurrences dans le texte. Cela souligne comment la langue a été instrumentalisée pour justifier les atrocités de la guerre civile ivoirienne à travers les dynamiques postcoloniales d'altérité, de subalternité et d'identité. Ces résultats démontrent la valeur de l'utilisation d'outils computationnels comme AntConc pour interroger les textes littéraires africains francophones et posent une base solide pour des recherches futures.

Mots-clés : Analyse littéraire assistée par ordinateur, texte dématérialisé, ivoirité, théorie postcoloniale, analyse de texte numérique.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

We are in the advent of internet and its applications. All aspects of scholarship are experiencing scholarly revolutions. Literary studies, a discipline of the humanities, is embracing modern technologies and their virtual spaces for learning, writing and criticism. It is ripe and right to say that the new technologies have enhanced the literary scholarship, giving birth to what Siemens (259) calls Computer-Assisted Literary Criticism (CALC). John Smith's "Computer Criticism" inspired CALC and inspires what I call Computer-Assisted Literary Analysis (CALA). As an integral part of humanities computing, the methodology of CALA has been accepted and explored in departments of English in many Western universities. This is apparently because its exponents (John Smith, Raymond Siemens, Michael Best among others) are based in the Global North, and the subdiscipline has been generally promoted by digital humanities associations and initiatives in Europe and America.

Africa does not appear to have been a fertile ground for humanities computing or digital humanities except its skeletal presences in few parts of Africa. The establishment of Digital Humanities Association of Southern Africa (DHASA), Lagos Summer School on Digital Humanities (LSSDH) in Nigeria, Institut des Humanités Numériques d'Afrique Francophone (INHUNUMAF) among few others has given a ray of hope to Africa's indigenous universities and scholars. However, DH presence appeared to be stronger in English-speaking Africa until the formation of INHUNUMAF by Emmanuel Ngué um and his team in Cameroon, catering for Francophone African DH enthusiasts and scholars. A quick web

search shows that different DH projects, though few, centering on francophone Africa have evolved. ALORA (Archives Numériques des Langues et des Ressources Orales d'Afrique), BNFB (Bibliothèque Numérique Franco-Berbère), HumanitésdigitMaghreb among others are dedicated to African languages and culture. However, studies on digital computing and Francophone African literary criticism are minimal, though « la LACTAO » (lecture et analyse conceptuelle de texte assistée par ordinateur) has been discussed by scholars of French studies as I will mention later in this study. However, my emphasis is to attempt the use of CALA in my interpretation of one of Ahmadou Kourouma's war trilogy titled *Quand on refuse on dit non* (2004). In this article, my corpus is not compared with his other novels in the same category such as *Allah n'est pas obligé* (2000) and *En attendant les votes des bêtes sauvages* (1998) as often suggests the methodology of corpus stylistics.

This article is divided into different segments. The first section is a possible review of few existing related literatures on the subject matter. It will show the relationship between corpus stylistics, humanities computing and computer-assisted literary analysis (CALA). The second segment introduces and justifies the use of AntConc as a digital methodology for the analysis of our chosen corpus and further problematizes its applicability. I intend to highlight the limitations of CALA. With this discursive mindset, my article makes a case for an eclectic theoretical framework of CALA projects that combines a computational approach with cultural theory. In this respect, AntConc as a digital text analysis tool is used with postcolonial theory through the methodology of distant reading.

Consequently, AntConc's collocations and concordances are aligned to the poetics of postcolonial theory. The third segment shows my AntConc analysis of *Quand on refuse on dit non*. It will illustrate keywords, concordances and collocations that unveil the aesthetic and ideological preoccupation of the author as a postcolonial writer. The analysis will prioritize the authorial discourse that centers on *ivoirité*, a portrayal of postcolonial otherness and subalternity over other overriding motifs of the work. My distant-reading approach is different from the traditional close reading. In this case, AntConc as a machine application is invited to champion the art of reading; it offers a new digital literary culture and enlarges critical practices in francophone African literature. This analysis does not only differ from previous analyses of Kourouma's works by the use of digital critical approach, it improves on them through aesthetic visualizations and quantitative representations that reduce the abstract nature of literary interpretations.

2.0. CORPUS STYLISTICS AND DIGITAL HUMANITIES

Literary works are products of language use and application. There is no need asking why writers are always preoccupied with style which illustrates the aesthetics of their creativity. The question of style is a domain of stylistics which is a "motivated choice of linguistic strategies applied to induce specific effects" (Studer 7). Traditional stylistics demonstrates the manual study of style and its significance but with the advent of technology and internet, the modern study is harnessed through computer application; it is an area that is best described as corpus stylistics and promoted by the new humanities computing, also called Digital Humanities where computational tools are used "to enhance literary and historical scholarship" (Burdick et al. 40). Mayer (2) admits that Roberto Busa was one of the first to use computer techniques for the linguistic and literary analysis. Digital Humanities promotes the use of quantitative approach to literary analysis of creative works or rather "the interplay of qualitative and quantitative methods in corpus stylistic analysis." (Mahlberg &

McIntyre 205). The DH, as it is popularly called, being a "generative enterprise or practice" (Burdick et al 10) relies on Franco Moretti's distant reading not close reading for the analysis of literary texts. However, Burdick *et al* state that "distant reading is therefore not just a 'digitization' or 'quickener' of classic humanities methodologies. It is, rather, a new way of doing research wherein computational methods allow for novel sets of questions to be posed about the history of ideas, language use, cultural values and their dissemination, and the process by which culture is made" (39)

Hannah Spencer's definition of corpus stylistics appears to be explanatory. She admits that it combines the study of deviations that define artistic expression and inform us of the text's aboutness or context, with the study of recurrent patterning of language that can give rise to unique stylistic findings. And frequencies of deviated words and patterning are identified using computer software. Vera G. Sibirtseva agrees that many software applications that enable text analysis are being created for different purposes (semantic reference tools, concordancers, sentiment analysis, etc.), but are not being used by literary researchers. Few examples of text analysis tools are TXM, LF Aligner, LEKTA which is a content-analyzer used in studies dealing with the analysis of literary texts with the application of computer means, Voyant, "Nvivo, Sato, HyperResearch, Max QDA et QDA Miner...." (Fallery and Rodhain 10), identified as tools for thematic analysis with interpretative theoretical framework (13). In *Hermeneutica*, Rockwell and Sinclair used Voyant in the analysis of Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (Mayer 2) These "text analysis tools and the practices of literary computer analysis have not had the anticipated impact on the research community due to the absence of easy-to-use tools" (Rockwell 209). Aside Rockwell's problem of simplicity of tools, literary scholars in the third world countries struggle with sufficient requisite expertise necessary for the effective use of these software applications because there is poor awareness of Digital Humanities programs among humanistic scholars in many African universities. It is more pathetic for scholars of French studies since most of

these tools are from American or western universities.

It does not mean that the French have not shown sufficient interest in Digital Humanities or what they call “Humanités numériques” as Corinne Welger Barboza was one of the first in France to identify with this digital mode of structuration after her journey in 2007 (Dacos & Mounier 24). Besides, SATOR-L has been developed for literary studies as it can be used for the analysis of narrative texts and FRANTEXT or ARTFL has been created to provide big database of corpora for projects in French studies. Many scholars have divergent views about the use of computer in literary analysis. Some complain of its simplistic conception of what a text is; while others who rely on its electronic processing, calculation of frequencies of words end up proving nothing about the text (Betrand-Gastaldy & Marchand 56). To overcome the monotony of results, there is need for plurality of approaches to computer-assisted literary analysis (CALA), which can make use of born-digital texts or dematerialized texts like Kourouma’s *Quand on refuse on dit non* and its likes. CALA has opened new methodological and analytical possibilities in the reading of yesterday’s traditional texts as opposed to today’s hypertextual texts.

Quand on refuse on dit non may not be considered as a born-digital text because of its method of production, its mode of presentation and its means of dissemination (Ajah 58) and its lack of performativity (Fletcher 29). However, its remediation as a PDF file has given me the opportunity to subject this electronic text to the praxis of distant reading through the deployment of digital textual tools and that is why I have chosen the use of qualitative and quantitative methodologies, enabling my deployment of AntConc as text analysis tool and postcolonial theory to interrogate Ahmadou Kourouma’s ‘reborn’ text.

AntConc and Postcolonial studies

Laurence Anthony’s AntConc is one of the computer applications used in processing electronic data. The software can be freely downloaded from the internet. AntConc is classified as “third generation tools” of the 1990s which equally includes Wordsmith tools (Scott 1996-2012),

MonoConc Pro (Barlow 2000), according to Anthony (152). Thomas admits that AntConc “has powerful tools such as word frequency lists, a KWIC Concordancer and collocation generators ranked according to raw frequency, mutual information or T-score” (91). Aside its “powerful tools”, it is simple to use, though it selects the type of text format it processes. This is one of its few challenges. It is “designed by the author for specific use in the classroom, that includes a power concordancer, word and keyword frequency generator, tools for cluster and lexical bundle analysis, and a word distribution plot” (Anthony 729). This method is what McIntyre and Walker call “corpus-informed stylistics” where I look “at occurrences of a phrase in a corpus and observe any patterns in its usage” (27). AntConc is here used to generate what Rockwell (209) calls “monster text” or “hybrid text”, subjected to postcolonial interpretation. It means that the tools are used as allied for the collection of data for analysis as suggested by Bertrand-Gastaldy and Marchand (57) since “simply generating keywords does not constitute an analysis” (Mahlberg & McIntyre 206). The distant reading, through the use of AntConc, opens up new discursive and analytical possibilities, demonstrating how a computer assists in the reading and analysis of African dematerialized literary texts such as Kourouma’s *QOR*. If this approach is applied to his text, it is because the novel has been remediated, now existing in digital form. It is a unique contribution to the literary scholarship on the Ivorian postcolonial writer, Ahmadou Kourouma whose works have often been subjected to the conventional method of close reading. My deployment of digital text analyzer is not self-sufficient in this work; hence, it is complemented with postcolonial theory that catalyzes the interpretations of Kourouma’s styles and the ideologies they portray.

In *New Digital Worlds: Postcolonial Digital Humanities in Theory, Praxis, and Pedagogy*, Roopika Risam has offered arguments on intersections between postcolonialism and Digital Humanities where “postcolonial digital humanities underscores the significance of local practices for digital humanities, resisting the totalizing influences of practices from the Global North” (25).

Though my study does not concern itself with the power dynamics inherent in the westernization of digital textual tools, it produces a postcolonial distant reading of Kourouma's text, demonstrating how the use of digital methods is not an end to literary theorizations in digital humanities. It goes further to illustrate how computational analysis could be supported by cultural theories such as postcolonialism. My technological reading evaporates the "worry that the use of computers will take us further away from the joy of reading [...]" since "digital methods can bring us closer to literary texts; to give us a new viewpoint through which to observe their narrative" (Eve 4). These interpretative "viewpoints" will be better understood through the lenses of postcolonial theory.

The use of postcolonial theory to interpret my chosen corpus, Ahmadou Kourouma's QOR agrees with the plurality of approaches in computer-assisted textual analysis (CALA). This method had been advocated by Betrand-Gastaldy and Marchand (62) whereby SATO software was used to analyze Saint-Denis Garneau's *Regards et jeux dans l'espace* subjected to socio-critical, psychoanalytical and intertextual interpretations. In this work, AntConc is deployed as a digital textual catalyst that facilitates postcolonial analysis of my selected text, QOR. The choice of this corpus was not based on any known criterion, except its availability online; it was one of the author's works that has been successfully remediated. The novel, posthumously published in 2004, chronicles the Ivorian civil war of 2002. It tells a story of Ivorian intertribal conflicts, a continuation of Birahima's testimony of the Liberian and Sierra Leonean wars. As a child soldier who is an eye-witness of the intertribal wars, he narrates his bitter experiences of witnessing killings, rapes, looting and maiming which are common in wars. Kourouma's artistic ideology as a postcolonial writer is engraved in the characterization, setting, themes and linguistic strategies adopted in the novel which can easily be unveiled through corpus linguistics. The discourse of his trilogy is centered on the concepts of the Other, Otherness and stereotypes that have defined the African postcoloniality and instituted the culture of interethnic violence. The colonial system

established what Pawlikova-Vilhanova (165) calls the "philosophies of otherness and discourses" which are now inherent in African postcolonial societies such as Côte d'Ivoire represented by Kourouma in QOR.

3.0. ANTCONC ANALYSIS OF QUAND ON REFUSE ON DIT NON: HISTORICAL FIGURES AND WAR

Traditional Linguistic study of Kourouma's writing (Kukukama 101; Kodah 74; Gehrmman 31) has demonstrated the writer's creativity in his literary language which is blend of French, Malinké and neologisms. The author's linguistic particularism is a vehicle of his historical realism that is tied from the factographies of the Ivorian nation. This explains the possible establishment of anthroponymous and toponymous concordance that unveils names of known persons and places in Côte d'Ivoire, showing the "hardiesse langagière" [linguistic boldness] of Ahmadou Kourouma (Kukukama 104). A Word List search of AntConc reveals these possibilities as illustrated below:

Rank	Freq	Word
47	107	ont
48	106	ai
49	100	tous
50	99	jur
51	96	plus
52	90	houghoult
53	90	sa
54	87	lui
55	84	aux
56	84	avient
57	82	après
58	79	mais
59	75	boigny
60	75	ghagbo
61	75	pays
62	72	ses
63	71	mon
64	70	fait
65	70	moi
66	60	houghoult

Figure 1: Word List of Quand on refuse on dit non

The table above (Figure 1) is the word list of the corpus which cannot be easily accessed in close reading. Unlike humans, "computer programs are able to break up a text into all of its components (words) and then re-organize these elements according to various criteria in a matter of seconds (Postolea 51). The Word Token of the corpus shows the total number of 31983 with 5149 word-types, and a table of anthroponyms can be drawn from the word

list, illustrating the Freq and Rank of each historical names. In Laurence Anthony's words, "Word frequency is a linguistic phenomenon that many corpus researchers are interested in, whether it is to determine the complexity of a particular text in an English for Specific Purposes (ESP) study, the bias of a particular writer in a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) study or any number of other linguistic interests" (Anthony 149). In my literary critical context, the frequencies of historical figures unveil Kourouma's interest with postcolonial history and it shows how this historical identity is the basis of the Ivorian civil war. I have separated historical names (Boigny, Gbagbo, etc.) from fictional names (Birahima, Fanta, etc.) in a quick search of Word List in order to have the table below (Figure 2):

S/N	NAMES OF HISTORICAL FIGURES	FREQ	RANK
1	Houphouët	90	52 (1)
2	Boigny	75	59 (2)
3	Gbagbo	75	60 (3)
4	Gueï	56	76 (4)
5	Ouattara	24	161 (5)
6	Bédié	22	173 (6)

Figure 2: Culpability Ranking of Political Figures

The five major historical names are political figures that Kourouma implicates in the Ivorian civil war. I said five instead of six because Houphouët-Boigny is entered as different family names instead of being captured as a compound word apparently because of the hyphen that links both names. This is one of the challenges of AntConc analysis and other digital text analyzers. Apart from offering an explanation

as I have done, to overcome this limitation, the user is advised to clean the processed data from the corpus. Houphouët has a Freq of 90 and ranks 52 while Boigny has a Freq of 75 and ranks 59 (See Figure 1). Houphouët-Boigny occupies the first position in word frequency for historical names in the Word List. The table appears to be the author's appropriation of culpability. He blames these politicians for the Ivorian conflict and war. In essence, the frequencies of these names indicate the culpability ranking of historical figures implicated in the Ivorian crisis. The hegemony between the Dioulas and the Bétés, like that of the Tutsis and the Hutus in Rwanda, fueled the escalation of the civil disturbances and war as narrated in the text. The foundation of the crisis appears to have been laid during the "miracle era".

President Félix Houphouët-Boigny's policies brought the Ivorian "miracle era" where the nation experienced economic stability. His government encouraged influx of foreigners of African origin, "welcoming migrants and promising them ownership of land that they cultivated but it never followed through with the provision of actual land titles" (Sany 4). He occupies a prominent position in Kourouma's culpability ranking because as Kirwin (46) puts it "tensions between "étrangers" and "ivoirens" served as a backdrop to the way Houphouët-Boigny monopolized politics and economics at the exclusion of the vast majority of the Ivorian people". With a Freq of 90 and Rank of 52, Kourouma confirms the discursive monopoly of the anthroponym of Houphouët-Boigny in his narrative because the virus that destroyed the relative peace of Côte d'Ivoire originated from his government. He was the President "du pays pendant la guerre froide" (Kourouma 9) and that of his appointee, Henri Konan Bédié who became the President after his death in December 1993. Incidentally, it was Bédié who "introduced into the public discourse the concept of *Ivoirité*" (Sany 4), an identity policy that disqualified Alassane Ouattara from presidential elections and brought national division between the South and the North, Christians and Muslims and the perceived 'étrangers' and 'Ivoiriens'" during the General Robert Gueï's military government.

construction of African unity (Boa 75). Introduced

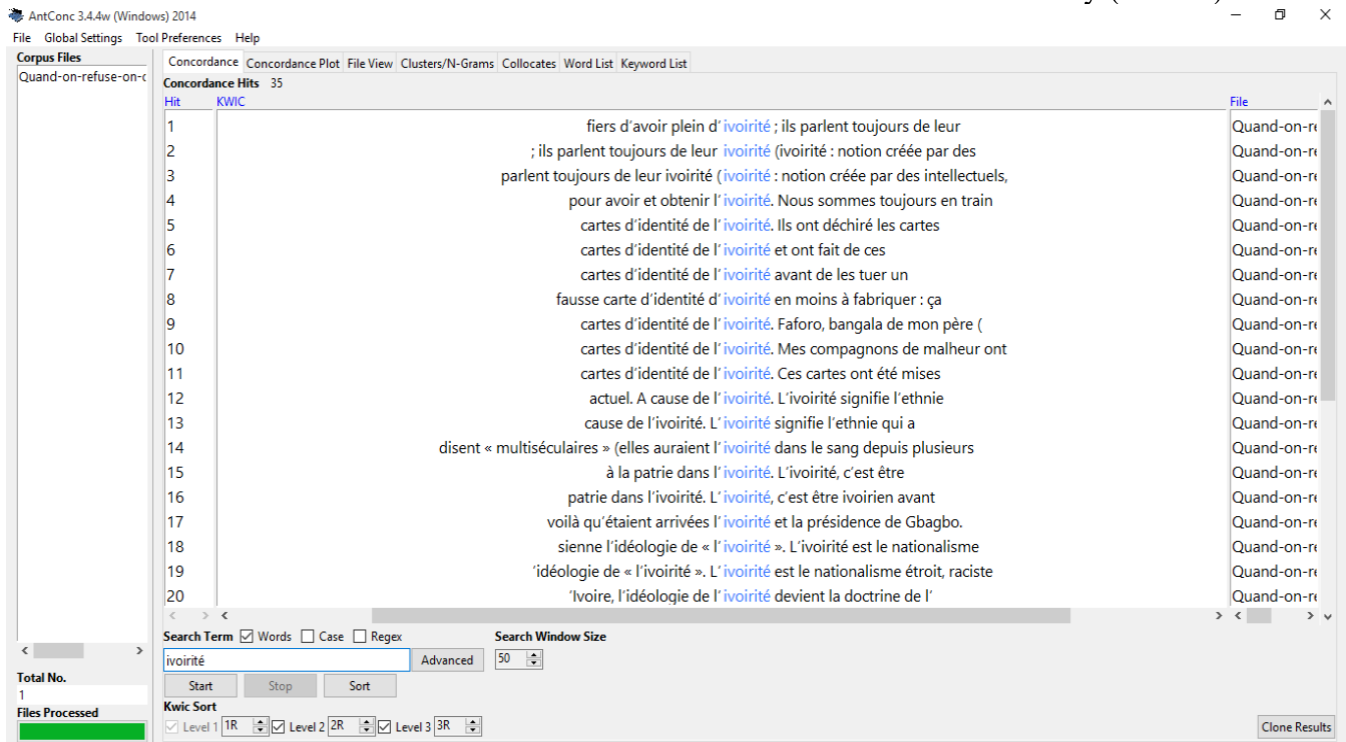


Figure 3: Concordance and Collocates of *Ivoirité*

Laurent Gbagbo's government came after the military coup and his second-position ranking in the Word List justifies the fact that he ratified the concept of *ivoirité* and used it as a political gain. In Kourouma's views, the civil war came to be because of the politicization of identity based on national origin thereby creating a security dilemma, a "situation in which each party's efforts to increase its own security reduce the security of the others" (Kirwin 43). Gbagbo as a Bété ensured the hegemony of his tribe over the Dioula. In *QOR*, Birahima as a Dioula narrates his experiences that illustrate the vengeance of the Bété on the Dioula, though it was not the beginning of ethnocentrism that culminated into the politics of *ivoirité* in Côte d'Ivoire.

4.0. DYNAMICS OF *IVOIRITÉ* AS POLITICS OF OTHERNESS

The term *ivoirité* was coined in 1974 by Pierre Niava while he was speaking of Niangoran Porquet's work and project as a young scholar and it described the Ivorian's specific values for the

into politics by Bédié, *ivoirité* [ivorianness] is now a political and xenophobic concept that "vise à identifier les ivoiriens purs des étrangers ayant acquis la nationalité ivoirienne, la confiscation des avantages et privilèges acquis par ceux-ci au profit des ivoiriens purs en un mot leur persécution" (Sanoussi 320). As a political category, ivorianness deepened the social, political and religious differences between the Christian Bété who "sont fiers d'avoir plein d'ivoirité" (Kourouma 16) and the Moslem Dioula described as foreigners. A quick concordance search gives an output as seen below:

Kourouma's text is majorly concerned with the problem of identity as the root cause of the Ivorian civil war and this discourse of identity is premised on the concept of *ivoirité* which gives 35 as Concordance Hits in AntConc. It ranks 108 with Freq of 35 as stated. The "collocation study" of the term shows its total number of collocate types as 147 and its collocate tokens as 350. In Sorina Postolea's words, *type* refers to a particular word taken into account only once, while *token* refers to all of its occurrences or instantiations in that corpus (Postolea 53); "Cartes" [card] and "identité"

[identity] are recognized collocates in context of ivoirité. While “Cartes” ranks 25 with Freq of 10, Freq (L) of 6 and Freq (R) of 4, “Identité” ranks 35, with Freq of 7 and Freq (L) of 7. It is important to point out that AntConc analysis sees the words as separate because it is a compound noun “Carte d’identité” [Identity card] as seen from its Key Words In Context (KWIC). This is a major limitation of the software when applied to a foreign language like French. Collocations are those lexical items that naturally and commonly keep company (Awa 13) and “three criteria for identifying collocations have been proposed. These are: distance, frequencies and exclusivity” (Brezina, McEnery & Wattam 140). In essence, “Carte d’identité” naturally and commonly keeps company with “ivoirité” if measured with the criterion of frequencies and this occurrence is not linguistically accidental; it is ideologically charged in language use.

Structures of language stand for ideological orientation (Awa 15) and it is evident that “Carte d’identité” as frequent collocate of ivoirité in Kourouma’s text is symbolic. It illustrates the postcolonial use of identity cards to materialize and dematerialize nationalism and nationhood. Identity card becomes a symbology of nationalistic/ethnic identity and consciousness, and it explains why the Dioula people are “toujours en train d’acheter des fausses cartes d’identité pour avoir et obtenir l’ivoirité” (Kourouma 16). Right from the governments of Houphouët-Boigny, Bédié, Gueï and Gbagbo, political machinery has been on the shoulders of the Bété and it implies that the Dioula have some difficulty in obtaining real identity cards; if not, there is no need for their recourse to fake identity cards as a means of affirming their Ivorian-ness. It further means that the existential presence of the Dioula is *othered* in the Ivorian space that has become what Achille Mbembe (42) refers to as “the society of enmity” where hostility becomes the order of the day because the Ivorian identity has been made a subject of dispute.

From Kourouma’s discourse on identity, the Ivorian *ivoirité* demonstrates the dynamics of otherness and the hegemony of ethnic dominance. Othering, in

Brons’s words, “sets up a superior self/in-group in contrast to an inferior other/out-group” (70). In colonial and postcolonial discourse, othering appears as an analytical poetics that explains the cultural dynamics and *différend* in contact zones. Edward Said’s explication of its workings is instrumental to the understanding of Kourouma’s use of ivoirité as an othering element and my position is acceptable because the Ivorian war is an offshoot of colonialism that unified different African tribes into nationhood without considering their sociohistorical and cultural inclinations. Said argues that the colonized countries were described in ways which denigrated them, which represented them negatively, as an *Other*, in order to produce a positive, civilized image of British society (Mills 96). Kourouma does not intend to challenge but to describe othering as a stereotypical raw material for the construction of the Other in where tribes and cultures seek domination. His discourse positions the Dioula as the subaltern subject, who is defined in Gayatri Spivak’s term as “the non-elite colonized subject.” (Mills 107) and the dominant tribe is the Bété and the young narrator, Birahima, himself a Dioula admits that “les bétés n’aiment pas les Dioulas” And to justify this accusation, a concordance search is administered. “Dioulas” has a Concordance Hits of 66 and the writer uses qualificative adjectival words such as “tremblants”, “terrorisées”, “arrêtées”, “fusillées” to demonstrate the unfortunate result of othering before and during the Ivorian civil war. In that case, the Dioula can be compared to the Tutsi, referred to as “inyenzi ou les cafards” [cockroaches] by the Hutu in Scholastique Mukasonga’s post-Rwandan genocide literature. Kourouma rather compares the slaughtered Dioula as “des lapins”, “des cancrelats” and “des sauterelles” (13).

“Rabbits”, “roaches” and “grasshoppers” refer to the Dioula who are considered as “étrangers” [foreigners]. Two interpretations are possible for this metaphorical *othered* comparison. Roaches and grasshoppers are non-human creatures with high fertility rate because “les Dioulas sont toujours nombreux en Côte d’Ivoire” (Kourouma 13). Besides, grasshoppers have destructive tendencies against green vegetations. In essence, the existence

of the Dioula is considered inimical to the sustenance and survival of the Bété. Secondly, rabbits and roaches are delights of hunters and fishermen while grasshoppers are children's favorite in African context. If all these animals are used as referents to the Dioula, it means that they are not considered to be human. It explains why the Ivorian gendarmerie killed them and cast them into Yopougon's open pits. It is apparent that the genocidal dimension of interethnic wars or conflicts is premised on the stereotypes that are elements of othering enemy tribes.

5.0. DEATH OF THE ENEMY TRIBE IN KOUROUMA'S IVORIAN CIVIL WAR

this can be revealed through what I call the "concordance of death". By concordance of death, I intend to say a list of occurrences of the word "mort" (death) in the corpus under study. In the word list presented in Figure 1, the word "mort" (death) occurs 34 times and maintains 111th position in rank while a wild card search gives 50 Concordance Hits. It means that a mention of "mort" is done after three (3) pages as the pagination of the *Quand on refuse on dit non* is less than 151, thereby showing the omnipresence of deaths of the enemy tribe in the war narrative.

An AntConc processing of the corpus demonstrates patterns of death and the instrumentations that

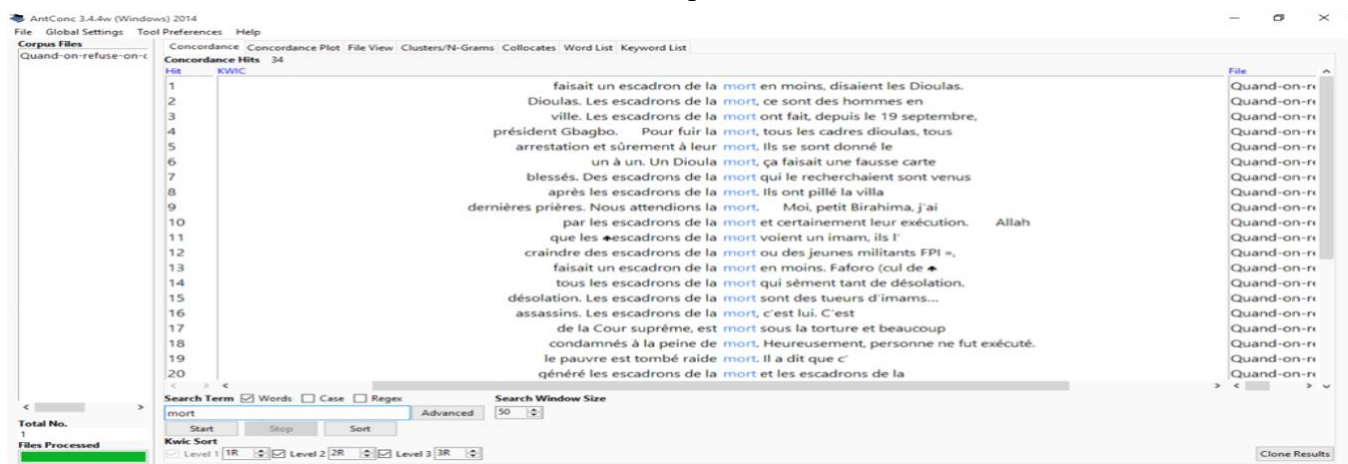


Figure 4: KWIC of "Mort"

facilitate them. A study of Key Words In Context (KWIC) Concordance illustrates this point below.

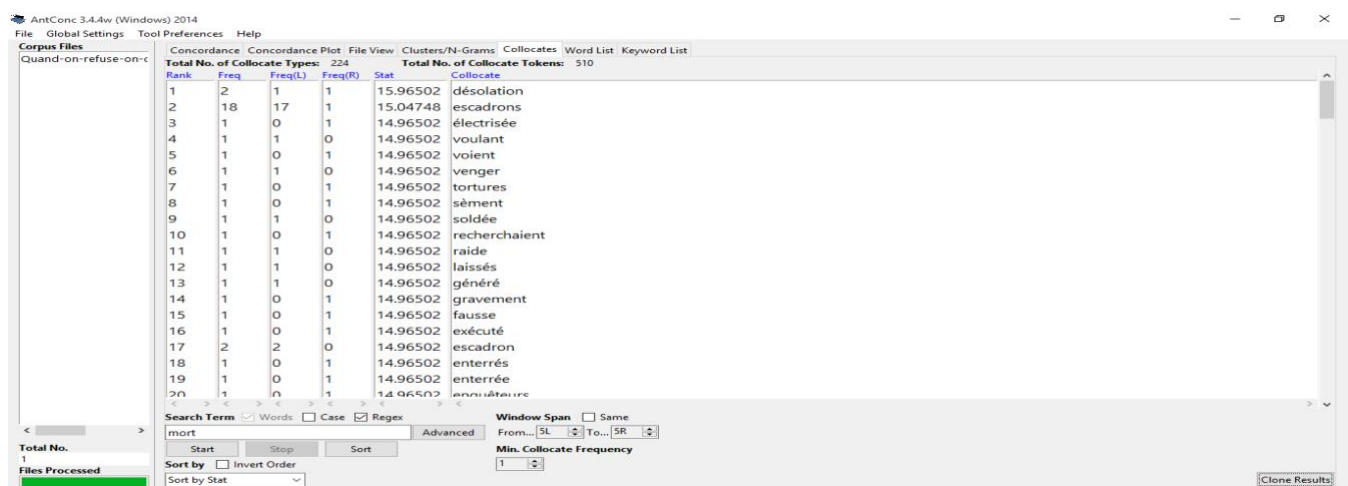


Figure 5: "Escadrons de la mort" (Squadrons of death)

Kourouma is preoccupied with the massacre of the Dioula who are perceived as the enemy tribe and

The Key Words In Context list shows the ubiquity of a phrase “escadrons de la mort” (squadrons of death) throughout the corpus. When a collocation analysis of AntConc is done, “escadrons” occupies the second position in the ranking of the total number of 218 collocate types and 500 collocate tokens of the word “mort” as Kourouma intends to demonstrate by these frequencies the “how” of the deaths of the Dioula tribe during the Ivorian civil war. Its Freq is 18 and Freq (L) is 17. The first collocate in Rank is “désolation” (desolation) which is the direct consequence of the activities of the “escadrons de la mort” or young militants of FPI as shown below:

Aside “désolation”, other collocates of “mort” (death) that are worthy of mention are “venger” (avenge), “tortures” (tortures), “exécuté” (executed), “enterrées” (buried) among others; they describe the misery and monstrosity of death, experienced by the Dioula ou Malinké who are stereotypically animalized in the psyche of the squadrons of death. Deaths are equally experienced by the camp of Gbagbo and the Bété. The Dioula rebels or “les Kamajors” show as well mastery of dramatized massacre of government gendarmes who are “mitraillés comme des bêtes sauvages” (Kourouma 17). Like Sierra-Leonean and Liberian civil wars described in Kourouma’s *Allah n’est pas obligé*, the Ivorian war chronicles destructions and deaths of both parties: the Dioula and the Bété, thereby undermining the social co-existence of different ethnic groups in Côte d’Ivoire.

Conclusion

With the electronic corpus of Kourouma’s *Quand on refuse on dit non*, using AntConc as corpus tools, I was able to create word-lists and keywords that are analyzed through postcolonial theory. My postcolonial analysis is premised on the insufficiency of corpus tools to interpret literary works and the need for corpus linguistics and its tools to become methodological catalyst for multiple theoretical interpretations. With AntConc tools applied to my corpus, I understood that the corpus’ Word-List is influenced by the artistic

ideology of Kourouma and the position of culpability occupied or appropriated to all political figures implicated in the Ivorian crisis. The occurrences of a highly-contested term “ivoirité” are indicative of the root cause of the war and its collocates demonstrate consciously or unconsciously how enemy tribes are *othered* and stereotypically represented in African war narratives. Othering becomes facility and instrumentation for animalization of opposing ethnic groups in the dynamics of hegemony that characterizes postcolonial African societies. Therefore, the subalterns can only speak through weapons of war because it is the only language opposing ethnic groups understand. These findings demonstrate the value of deploying computational tools like AntConc to interrogate African francophone literary texts and lay a strong foundation for further studies in African digital humanities and francophone studies. It, however, problematizes the use of digital textual tools without proper theoretical foregrounding in cultural studies.

Without the deployment of cultural theories in literary discourses of digital humanities and its digital methodologies, the exploration of the full potentials of African (remediated and born-digital) literary texts will be greatly undermined. This is because different computational features of digital text tools are insufficient to interpret the linguistic and ideological nuances inherent in African creative works. If digital humanities scholarship is to discover and enrich the epistemic resources of African literature, literary scholars should be open to theoretical frameworks that shape literary understanding and interpretations of textual meanings. Secondly, if digital humanities and corpus stylistics are to flourish with African literary texts in the future, there is need to build a repository for African literary works through remediation and dematerialization. The reason is based on the fact that works of first-and-second generation writers exist mainly as hard copies in different libraries and bookshops in Africa.

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