

# **The translation of the Arab Spring: The case of Libya**

**By**

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## Declaration

I, Nessrin Khalil, hereby declare that this dissertation submitted by me for the Master of Arts degree in Language Practice at the University of the Free State is my own independent work and has not previously been submitted by me at another university or faculty. Furthermore, I cede copyright of this dissertation in favour of the University of the Free State.

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## Abstract

Early 2011 saw the rise of protests across the Arab world, including Tunisia, Egypt, Syria, Yemen and Libya. As the events escalated, leaders reacted to the protests by addressing the citizens of their respective countries. These speeches became historical milestones in the Arab Spring events (Almutairi, 2018: 95). Shortly after their speeches, certain segments thereof gained national and international popularity and were translated into iconic depictions within popular culture. One such an example is the translation of the first speech of Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi in the wake of the uprisings, on 22 February 2011. Countless translations of Gaddafi's phrase, *zenga zenga* [alley by alley], said towards the end of his hour-and-a-half-long speech, spread online and became part of an international lexicon (Bhatt, 2012: 18). Moreover, Gaddafi's speech, in its totality, became known as "the Zenga Zenga Speech" (Peel, 2012; Hilsum, 2012: 43 of 263; Bowen, 2013: 95; El Gomati, 2014: 131; Weissman, 2016: 672). The phrase travelled through a variety of mediums, such as simultaneous interpreting on news channels, translations of excerpts published in national and international news reports, satirical songs and cartoons. As a result, the meaning crossed not only geographic, linguistic and cultural borders, but also the borders between politics and comedy, language and music, defiance and witticism. As this study conducts a comprehensive investigation of how Gaddafi's first speech in the Libyan revolution of 2011 was intersemiotically translated into different *zenga zenga* signs, translation is conceptualised according to Marais's (2019) (bio)semiotic theory of translation. Furthermore, because the (bio)semiotic theory is based on Peircean semiotics, the study examines the intersemiotic translations of the *zenga zenga* signs using Peirce's triad and sign categorisations. Therefore, the study provides a rigorous description of each sign in order to trace how the translations unfolded and became so popular.

Keywords: Arab Spring, intersemiotic translation, (bio)semiotic theory

## **Dedication**

This dissertation is dedicated to my support system, my husband and parents, without whom this dissertation would have never existed.

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While I feel like words are not enough to express my gratitude, as I have never been good at articulating my feelings through linguistic signs (pun intended), starting this study with a humble acknowledgement is the least I can do.

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# Chapter 1: Introduction

## 1.1 Background

Early 2011 saw the rise of protests across the Arab world, including Tunisia, Egypt, Syria, Yemen and Libya. As the events escalated, leaders reacted to the protests by addressing the citizens of their respective countries. These speeches became historical milestones in the Arab Spring events (Almutairi, 2018: 95). While some speeches were described as “discourses of desperation” (Lahlali, 2011: 1) and others were interpreted as defiant and angry threats (Black, 2011), the different appearances of the ousted dictators represented definitive stages of each uprising. The significance of these speeches stems from the recognition that the appearances were indirect confessions of the mounting pressure from the streets, and desperate efforts to regain or manipulate the public opinion. As millions of viewers, whether Arab citizens, journalists or the international community, tuned in to watch the speeches, countless interpretations of their linguistic choices, body language, tones of voice and even their choice of attire and background were discussed (Aljazeera, 2011; Fahim and Kirkpatrick, 2011; Pilkington and Black, 2011).

As the events and the speeches of the Arab Spring became the centre of attention, these happenings were gradually translated into the daily lives of people in the region. Phrases and different parts of the speeches caught the attention of the Arab public and developed into famous catch phrases, becoming part of popular culture (Bhatt, 2011: 18). An example of this is Bin Ali’s ironic words “I understand you” (2011) when addressing his Tunisian citizens after 23 years of ruling a dictatorship. This phrase entered the Arabic lexicon with different satirical connotations and jokes, and referred to taking a prolonged amount of time to understand simple and obvious concepts (Moalla, 2013: 3).

Another distinctive illustration, which will be the phenomenon under investigation in the present study, is the translation of the first speech of Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi in the wake of the uprisings, on 22 February 2011. Shortly after his speech, certain segments thereof gained national and international popularity. The most renowned example is the phrase *zenga zenga* [alley by alley]. Gaddafi used this phrase when he called for a march to purify the country “inch by inch, house by house, room by room, alley by alley, person by person...” (Gaddafi, 2011). The *zenga zenga* phrase was said towards the end of the hour-and-a-half-long speech,

which was an assembly of perplexing accusations of colonial agendas, Al-Qaida re-emergence, allegations of youth being given hallucinogenic drugs, and even tribal poetry to spur on his supporters. Although the long speech was saturated with a diversity of enigmatic themes and phrases, the speech in its totality became known as “The Zenga Zenga Speech” (Peel, 2012; Hilsum, 2012: 43 of 263; Bowen, 2013: 95; El Gomati, 2014: 131; Weissman, 2016: 672).

Hilsum, a British correspondent who witnessed the Libyan revolution first hand, shed light on the significance of the *zenga zenga* phrase when she explained:

But it was a statement at the end of the speech that would go down in history, when he said that he and “millions from the Sahara ... will cleanse Libya inch by inch, house by house, home by home, alleyway by alleyway, person by person, until the country is cleansed of dirt and scum”. The phrase “alleyway by alleyway”—in Arabic, “zenga zenga”—became a rallying cry for the revolution. As a foreigner in the east, all you had to say was zenga zenga and everyone would laugh, shake your hand and clap you on the back. It was a threat, but Libyans turned it into a joke. Then it went worldwide. (Hilsum, 2012: 36 of 263)

As the phrase travelled internationally it also travelled through a variety of mediums, from simultaneous interpreting on news channels and translations of excerpts published in national and international news reports to comic songs and satirical cartoons. As a result, the meaning crossed not only geographic, linguistic and cultural borders, but also the borders between politics and comedy, language and music, defiance and witticism, historical appearances and satirical catch phrases.

This transmission, (re)shaping and rapid dissemination of meaning across physical and abstract borders could be the result of the advent of technology. Online and digital spaces, such as social media platforms, gave rise to both the number of meaning-makers and the ease of access to and transmission of meaning, resulting in the propagation of a meaning or its variant. These innovative meaning-making platforms and their implications were especially evident in the Arab Spring context as traditional media platforms were controlled by the authoritative regimes the protestors were striving to topple. Thus, it was only through citizen-based media and social media platforms that the protesters could voice their dissent (Khondker, 2011: 678; Maghrabi and Salam, 2013: 5). In fact, the Egyptian revolution became known as the Facebook revolution (Barón, 2012; El-Nawawy et al., 2012; Harlow, 2013), and a plethora of literature on the Arab

Spring in general discusses the role of alternative media in organising, stimulating and publicising the revolutions of 2011 (Robertson, 2013: 326).

Furthermore, another repercussion of the digitalisation of communication is that meaning is seldom made through a single medium, but is portrayed through an interplay of images, audio, graphics and textual resources (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006: 17; Marais, 2019: 147). These different mediums, which channel meaning, are conceptualised as semiotic resources within the field of semiotics.

## **1.2 Rationale**

Clear illustrations of the inevitable interplay of semiotic resources when creating meaning are tangible in Gaddafi's Zenga Zenga Speech. Gaddafi's use of different signs to create meaning, and thus shape the viewers' reception and interpretation of his speech, was highlighted by many news agencies when reporting on the event. An example is the reference in an article in *The Guardian* when describing Gaddafi's choice of background: "Speaking in front of the Tripoli compound bombed by US planes in 1986, he invoked the spirit of resistance to foreign powers" (Pilkington and Black, 2011). The reporters shed light on another meaning of Gaddafi's efforts to depict the overwhelming support of the Libyan people. This was done by projecting pre-recorded images of hundreds of supporters carrying his pictures and green flags (which symbolised his rule as his regime replaced the initial Libyan flag of independence with the green flag) at the beginning of the speech. However, news agencies seemed to pick up on this manipulation of meaning as the visuals were inconsistent:

At times the camera panned out to show a towering gold-coloured monument in front of the building, showing a fist crushing a fighter jet with an American flag on it – a view that also gave the strange image of Gaddafi speaking alone from behind a podium in the building's dilapidated lobby, with no audience in front of him. (Aljazeera, 2011)

Gaddafi's regime using the alleged supporters' images and the press addressing the authenticity of these images highlight the significance of the meanings these images portrayed. Gaddafi's efforts to convey an image (i.e. meaning) of fervent support by the Libyan people was intended to crush any claims of a revolution. However, media reports, which detected the inconsistent images, stripped away all meanings of support and loyalty. Revealing the forged content replaced the intended supportive meanings with meanings of questioning and doubt.

Moreover, as well as describing Gaddafi's background and surroundings, written reports of the speech also painted the picture for their readers by giving a detailed account of his appearance and the manner in which he delivered the speech. Adjectives such as "angry", "rambling", "incoherent" and "defiant" were commonly used to describe his speech in most articles (Aljazeera, 2011; BBC News, 2011; The Guardian, 2011a; Fahim and Kirkpatrick, 2011). Several narrations of the event also referred to his eccentric clothing, body language and use of offensive terminology, highlighted by an article in *The New York Times*: "Wearing a beige robe and turban and reading at times from his manifesto, the Green Book, Colonel Qaddafi called the protesters 'cockroaches'" (Fahim and Kirkpatrick, 2011).

It is also important to note that all the news reports on the speech, whether written articles or television broadcasts, always included still images from the speech and/or video excerpts from the initial broadcast. Accordingly, Gaddafi's use of a multiplicity of semiotic resources to code certain meanings, and news agencies' use of a variety of resources to decode elements of the speech, emphasise the significance of all semiotic resources, irrespective of their nature. The rich semiotic nature of this historical speech adds further curiosity to how all these meanings became known (i.e. signified) by the phrase *zenga zenga*.

There is barely any literature on the intersemiotic translation activities that transferred these speeches into iconic depictions within popular culture. This is despite a number of researchers focusing on the linguistic aspects of the Arab Spring speeches in general, such as Maalej (2012), Hasan (2013), Al-Majali (2015), Al Jabri (2017) and Almutairi (2018), in both the fields of critical discourse analysis and translation studies.

As early as 1959 the renowned linguist Jakobson was the first to introduce studying intersemiotic meanings to the field of translation. In his seminal article, which was ironically titled "On the linguistic aspects of translation", Jakobson introduces the interpretation of linguistic signs using "nonverbal sign systems" (1959: 233) as part of a typology of translation. Although this conceptualisation paves the way for intersemiotic conceptualisations of translation phenomena, an evident verbal (i.e. linguistic) bias still seems to confine the discipline. Besides, and as demonstrated above, detaching the linguistic sign *zenga zenga* from other semiotic signs, which contributed just as much (if not more) to the meanings rendered, would be similar to ripping out a page from the midst of a novel and attempting to understand why the writers and readers enjoyed the climax of the plot.

Accordingly, as this study aimed to conduct a comprehensive investigation of the diverse *zenga zenga* meanings, translation is conceptualised according to Marais's (2019) (bio)semiotic theory of translation, which includes the movement and (re)shaping of meaning. Marais challenges the linguistic bias in the field of translation by using Peircean semiotics as a foundation. He explains that translation is "the very process which drives meaning, the process through which meaning emerges" (Marais, 2019: 122), rather than the mere rendering of stable meaning from one linguistic sign system to another (Marais, 2019: 122). Hence, he illustrates that translation is a semiotic rather than a static process whereby meaning is constantly rendered by relating one meaning to another. Marais (2019: 103) bases the conceptualisation of this process on the Peircean triadic model, explaining that only through the relation of a representamen to an object can an interpretant emerge. Furthermore, this relationship is initiated according to semiotic constraints, such as time and space (Marais, 2019: 138). Thus, the variation of either one of these constraints implies the construction of new meaning, and therefore meaning is always relative (Marais, 2019: 129).

This conceptualisation can be explicated with the example of the musical remix "the Zenga Zenga Song", which was posted on YouTube only hours after Gaddafi's Zenga Zenga Speech on 22 March 2011 (Alooshe, 2011). When watching the video, it is possible to identify a translation process in which the artist relates comedy to extracts of the initial speech. As a result of this process, new meaning emerges. The meaning was made by relating the phrase (representamen) to satire and comedy (object), and its movement through time (a few hours after the speech) and space (the internet) created a viral remix (interpretant).

Ultimately, whether it was Gaddafi's eccentric delivery of the speech, the revolutionary context in which the speech emerged or the technological age in which it spread, the significance of the spread and popularity of the phrase *zenga zenga* is striking. Furthermore, the gap in the conceptualisation and examination of intersemiotic processes is evident. Hence an intersemiotic investigation of the translations of the *zenga zenga* phrase is imperative.

### **1.3 Research problem and objectives**

The aim of the study is to investigate the *zenga zenga* signs which emerged after Gaddafi had delivered his speech in order to get a clearer understanding of how the translation processes unfolded. In addition to the aim, the objectives guiding this study are:

- to identify *zenga zenga* translations/signs
- to analyse *zenga zenga* signs using the Peircean triad
- to describe the iconic relationships found between different *zenga zenga* signs in order to identify possible incipient and subsequent signs.

From the above, the research question guiding this study, is: How was Gaddafi's first speech in the Libyan revolution of 2011 translated into different *zenga zenga* signs?

### **1.4 Research design and methodology**

This study examines a phenomenon immersed within contextual forces, such as culture, politics and social change, which shape the translation process. According to Saldanha and O'Brien (2014: 205), this would be defined as context-oriented research. Moreover, Yin describes "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context" as a case study (2009:18). Therefore, this study takes the form of a qualitative case study of which the translation of *zenga zenga* is the phenomenon under investigation.

In order to gain an in-depth understanding of the translation process, it is essential to "establish the boundaries of the unit of analysis" (Saldanha and O'Brien, 2014: 207). The boundaries in this study are set by framing the time and space in and through which the translations emerged. The agency of time and space is informed by the digital context because "the effects of digital technology and the internet on translation are continuous, widespread and profound" (Cronin, 2013: 1). Therefore, the boundary of time is delimited between the date on which the speech was delivered (22 February 2011) until the end of the following month (31 March 2011). This is due to the surge of translations which emerged within this period, as there is an abundance of data for a feasible semiotic analysis.

The boundary of space is defined in terms of the internet, through which the semiotic signs had spread. Videos and pictures, which combine visual, linguistic and/or audial signs, were

collected from the Google search engine and the YouTube website. The keywords “zenga zenga”, in both English and Arabic (زنگه زنگه), were used to search for representamens that carry traces of the *zenga zenga* phrase. These representamens could be in the form of news reports, songs, signs, promotional material, restaurant menus and cartoons.

The data collected were then coded according to Saldaña’s cyclical method of coding qualitative data (2015). This method involves the application of two cycles of coding when approaching the data. Because this study examines a mix of YouTube videos, Google images and written text, the first round of coding was executed using descriptive and in vivo coding, which are identified by Saldaña as an elemental method (2015: 97). Descriptive coding involves the use of adjectives and phrases to describe, summarise or label parts of the data and, in this case, elements of the semiotic signs. In vivo coding, meanwhile, “refers to a word or short phrase from the actual language found in the qualitative data record” (Saldaña, 2015: 105). The second round of coding was pattern coding, whereby data were grouped according to patterns or themes which emerged from the first cycle of coding, ultimately filtering the initial codes into larger categories. The data were coded to gain an exhaustive understanding and acquaintance of the sample and to identify the most relevant signs for analysis.

After signs were chosen from the different categories which emerged in the coding process, a detailed semiotic analysis of each sign was carried out. In an attempt to understand how the *zenga zenga* sign emerged and spread, a semiotic analysis was implemented using the (bio)semiotic conceptualisation of translation and the Peircean triad as an analytical tool.

The aim was thus to collect the online *zenga zenga* translations and identify the different semiotic signs used that contributed to the creation of meaning. Therefore, the study provides a rigorous description of each sign in order to trace how the translation (i.e. the meaning-making process) unfolded.

### **1.5 Ethical considerations**

This is a desktop study and did not involve any human or animal subjects. Therefore, ethical clearance was granted on 26 July 2019 by the University of the Free State for a desktop study under the ethical clearance number UFS-HSD2019/1202/2507.

## **1.6 Research structure**

To study the intersemiotic translation of the *zenga zenga* phrase, this research consists of five chapters:

Chapter One gives a contextualisation of the emergence of *zenga zenga* within the Arab Spring events of 2011. This chapter includes a general background of Gaddafi's speech from which the phrase emerged, the socio-political environment through which it spread and the influence of the digital age in which it propagated. The chapter also introduces the research question, theoretical framework, methodology and significance of the research.

The second chapter is divided into two main sections the literature review and the theoretical framework of the study. The literature review explores previously conducted studies on the Arab Spring events, paying close attention to translation studies and specifically to intersemiotic translation. It sheds light on the evident gap in intersemiotic translation research, explaining why a semiotic conceptualisation of the discipline is necessary. The next section consists of a comprehensive explanation of the intersemiotic theory of translation and Peircean semiotics, which are the theoretical frameworks the study is built on.

Chapter Three gives a detailed account of the research methodology, including the methodological approach, research design and the manner in which the data (i.e. the *zenga zenga* signs) were collected, coded and analysed.

Chapter Four starts with the data presentation in section 4.2 and concludes with the data analysis in section 4.3. The data presentation describes the different obstacles and unforeseen difficulties encountered throughout the data collection process and then goes on to present the sample of the data selected for analysis. Accordingly, the following section delves into the intersemiotic analysis of the *zenga zenga* signs and provides an in-depth description of the signs according to the Peircean triad.

Chapter Five is the conclusion of the research whereby findings and final comments on the *zenga zenga* translation processes are discussed and summarised. Furthermore, this chapter also sheds light on how this study could supplement, or even initiate, a sway towards intersemiotic inquiry within the field of translation. It will also discuss the limitations encountered throughout the study and address how these limitations could pave the way for future interdisciplinary research.

## Chapter 2: Literature review and theoretical framework

### 2.1 Introduction

Following on from the contextualisation of the Arab leaders' speeches and their resonance within the settings of the historical uprisings of 2011, this chapter consists of two parts. The first section (2.2) sheds light on the proliferation of literature discussing the Arab Spring events, giving particular attention to the literature framed within the field of translation studies. The second section (2.3) then goes on to present the theoretical framework on which the study is built.

The literature review presents a brief overview of some of the interdisciplinary studies that explored the uprisings, highlighting the diversity of disciplinary angles from which the phenomenon was investigated. It then focuses on research from the perspective of translation studies in an effort to situate the present study amongst the reviewed literature. Due to the fact that this study aims to investigate the spread of the *zenga zenga* phrase as an intersemiotic translation of (after) a presidential speech, the chapter sheds light on the dominance of interlingual translation investigations in comparison to intersemiotic translation. Thus, this gap is discussed in respect of Jakobson's (1959) conceptualisation of translation, as it is considered the first interaction between translation studies and semiotics (Kourdis and Kukkonen, 2015). The literature review also highlights the few studies which ventured into the intersemiotic conceptual space, commending these ground-breaking efforts while shedding light on the apparent uncertainty when approaching this conceptual space.

The few studies that do approach the Arab Spring phenomena from an intersemiotic angle reveal a neglected conceptual space where translation studies could thrive. These elucidate how the context of revolt is an imperative stimulus for signification of meaning, whether dissent, support, rebellion or authority. This breeding ground for making and interpreting meaning emphasises the absence of translation studies and the evident gap within the discipline. This gap ultimately justifies the necessity of a broader notion of translation to study the spread of *zenga zenga*. Therefore, the theoretical framework, the second part of the chapter, introduces the (bio)semiotic theory of translation (Marais, 2019). The framework delves into Marais's definition of translation and goes on to explain the Peircean conceptualisations and taxonomies on which the (bio)semiotic theory is based.

## **2.2 Literature review**

### **2.2.1 The Arab Spring and interdisciplinary inquiry**

As the Arab Spring caught the world's attention in late 2010, its prevalence in academic studies was imminent, because this *spring* had thrust a surge of phenomena across the intellectual landscape. Referred to as the "tsunami of democratisation" (Dalmasso, 2012), the wave of protests that hit the Arab world became a centre of academic inquiry. A multiplicity of disciplines studied the chants, speeches, posters, signs, flags, graffiti, poetry, music, social media posts, demonstration sites, accents and languages used in the protests.

According to Almaghlouth et al. (2015: 423), who carried out an extensive study on how the Arab Spring was explored through different disciplinary angles internationally, most of the literature on the Arab Spring stems from the field of political sciences. However, many of these studies share an interdisciplinary background with other fields such as sociology, new media and communication studies. Examples of this are Howard et al.'s (2011) and Stepanova's (2011) studies on the role of information communication technology in the Arab Spring, as both these articles look into the use of new media as a tool of socio-political mobility. Another field that shares common ground with the political sciences is gender studies. The articles by Al-Ali (2012), Johansson-Nogués (2013) and Khamis (2013) are but a few examples of studies that explore the significance of the role that women played in the uprisings. Interestingly their three titles start with the same phrase: "Gendering the Arab Spring". Moreover, some studies branched from a multiplicity of disciplinary roots, such as Newsom and Lengel's article (2012) which investigates women's online activism in the Arab Spring. The work of Newsom and Lengel encompassed all of the fields mentioned above: sociology, gender studies and new media studies.

Maalej (2012), Hasan (2013) and Al-Majali (2015) also delved into the socio-political field from a linguistic perspective. Using critical discourse analysis, the researchers aimed to decipher the power relations that manifested in linguistic choices used in presidential speeches during the Arab Spring. While Maalej (2012) analysed the use of person deixis in three speeches by Bin Ali, the Tunisian leader, Hasan (2013) focused on the use of in-group and out-group pronouns in one of the Egyptian leader's speeches. In turn, Al-Majali (2015) implemented a general analysis of the lexical features of seven different speeches from the

leaders of Tunisia, Egypt and Libya. Similarly, these speeches also caught the attention of researchers from the field of translations studies, albeit far less.

### **2.2.2 The Arab Spring and translation studies**

Although the presidential speeches represented historical milestones in the uprisings for both the Arab world and the international community watching, literature from a translation studies angle, within the general context of the Arab Spring, is scarce. In addition to Almaglouth et al.'s (2015) study, which proves the unrivalled dominance of political studies when investigating the revolutionary events, Baker also points out:

Despite the large volume of articles and books written on the revolution one aspect that has received no attention in public or academic circles is the language based practices that allow Egyptian protesters to contest dominant narratives... Even the collection by Golson et al. (2014) which focuses on language and rhetoric and their impact on Egyptian's evolving sense of identity does not engage with issues of translation, understood in the narrow or broad sense. The only notable exception is Mehrez 2012. (2016b: 2)

Baker's statement sheds light on two of the main motives of the present study. First, she touches upon one of the main arguments that will be discussed later in this chapter (see 2.2.6), namely the conception of translation as a "language based practice" but also insinuating the existence of a "broad sense" of translation (2016b: 2). Second, she addresses the remarkable absence of translation studies amongst the academic urgency to explore the protestors' revolutionary stance.

Baker's comment (2016b: 2) also seems to apply to the investigation of the translational activities of the Arab leaders, particularly the speeches they delivered throughout the Arab Spring. Not only is there an evident dearth of literature but there also seems to be a temporal gap as most of the studies were published from 2016 onwards – five years after the speeches had been broadcast. It should be kept in mind that interpreting what these appearances meant linguistically, politically, socially and historically was of international interest at the time, whether by the Arab general public on social media platforms, by international media or in the academic sphere (Bossio and Bebawi, 2012; Hawkins, 2014; Almaglouth et al., 2015).

Al-Jabri (2017) is one of a few scholars who explores the translational aspects of speeches by leaders in the time of the uprisings. She studied the simultaneous television interpretations of four speeches: two by the Egyptian leader, Mubarak; one by the Libyan leader, Gaddafi; and one by the Syrian leader, Alasad. Al-Jabri (2017) focused on the difficulties that television interpreters had to overcome when interpreting simultaneously and to determine whether the emotive overtone of the Arabic source text was rendered when interpreting it into English. Two other examples come from Omar (2016) and Farhan (2017) who analysed the English translations of speeches given by Alasad and Mubarak in order to trace ideological implications for the translation processes. In addition, Almutairi (2018) explored the translation of four presidential speeches: two of Mubarak's speeches and two of Gaddafi's. He investigated the objectivity of two models used in translation quality assessment, specifically error analysis and holistic assessment, by comparing Arabic-English translations of these speeches (Almutairi, 2018).

While Al-Majali, Al-Jabri and Almutairi all examine Gaddafi's *Zenga Zenga* Speech in their studies, none of them investigated the translation of the *zenga zenga* phrase specifically. Furthermore, although initially Al-Majali, Al-Jabri and Almutairi seem to share the same conceptual space as the present study, they do not investigate the mediation of meaning rendered in a speech. Their space seems to be limited to the mediation of meaning from one language to another, namely from Arabic to English. These studies do not discuss the mediation of *zenga zenga* through the same language or through different semiotic resources. In 1959, Jakobson identified different notions of meaning mediation as interlingual, intralingual and intersemiotic translation. Thus, in order to discuss the paucity of studies on the latter two types of translation, the literature discussing the Arab Spring will be examined in light of Jakobson's conceptualisation.

There are three reasons behind basing the discussion on Jakobson's paper of 1959:

- First, Jakobson's definition is considered one of the foundational conceptualisations of translation, which introduced semiotics to the field (Kourdis, 2015:307).
- Second, it will help identify the gaps within the current translation studies literature, which may have surfaced as a result of Jakobson's definition, justifying the need for a broader conceptualisation of translation, in this case, Marais's (2019) (bio)semiotic theory of translation.
- Third, both Jakobson and Marais base their conceptualisations on Peircean semiotics.

### **2.2.3 Jakobson's conceptualisation of translation**

When introducing his three renowned categorisations of translation (intralingual, interlingual and intersemiotic translation), Jakobson intended that these three types of translations would be done by “linguists and [by] ordinary word-users” (1959: 222). He also explained that the process of translation is that of making meaning of a “linguistic sign” (1959: 232). Hence, he conceptualised intralingual translation as the use of words to render meanings within the same language, interlingual translation as the use of words to render meaning from one language to another, and intersemiotic translation as the use of semiotic signs to render a meaning of a word (Jakobson, 1959: 234).

There are a few elements that are noteworthy when examining Jakobson's taxonomy from a semiotic perspective. The first is that the three different “translation categories” were introduced as early as 1959, bearing in mind that the founding conceptualisation of translation as an independent field is attributed to Holmes' paper of 1972 (Munday, 2016: 16). Thus the idea that the practice of translation involves much more than the mere interlingual rendering of meaning is clearly a notion that may have been established before the acknowledgement of the field itself. This paradox opens the door to queries about why the interlingual dominance within the discipline has gone unchallenged.

Scholars have addressed this paucity of literature. For example, as early as 1998, Baker stated, “I know of no research that looks specifically at the phenomena of intralingual or intersemiotic translation” (xvii). Yet this still seems to be the case for the Arab Spring context more than twenty years on. Kroning Zethsen (2009: 796) also grapples with the paradox of an evident dearth of research on intralingual translation even though there is a profound demand for and practice of this type of translation. Kroning Zethsen (2009: 796) argues that the scarcity of literature discussing intralingual translation stems from the conceptualisations of translation, over the years, becoming less inclusive since Jakobson's founding conceptualisation.

Marais also stresses the need for a broader conceptualisation of translation in order to account for the array of practices within the discipline. However, he goes a step further than Kroning Zethsen, proposing that Jakobson's linguistic bias was restrictive to start with (Marais, 2019: 15). Though Jakobson bases his thinking on Peirce, Marais argues that Jakobson's confining of translation to a *linguistic* sign is a “partly fallacious interpretation, or ‘creative

adaptation” (2019: 15) of Peirce’s conceptualisation. The evident and recurring linguicentric theme, the linguistically inclined terminology and even the linguistically biased definition of intersemiotic translation, throughout Jakobson’s conceptualisation, are anything but implicit. After all, the article was titled “On linguistic aspects of translation” (1959). Thus, Marais (2019: 15) introduces an overdue comprehensive conceptualisation of Peircean semiotics to translation studies by explaining that Peirce was implying that the process of semiosis includes all semiotic signs, linguistic signs being just one of them.

Before delving into Marais’s (bio)semiotic conceptualisation of translation, it is necessary to better understand the limitations of Jakobson’s “linguistic” conceptualisation in regard to the literature on the Arab Spring. Consequently, an explanation is needed of how the field of translation as a whole and the investigation of the *zenga zenga* phrase specifically dictate a liberation from linguistic confinement.

#### **2.2.4 Jakobson, intralingual translation and Arab Spring literature**

Interestingly, although it has been proved that the majority of the Arab Spring literature is examined through a socio-political lens (Almaglouth et al., 2012: 423), many of these studies seem to be inadvertently practising what Jakobson conceptualised as intralingual translation. For instance, if one were to compare the aims of one of the critical discourse analysis studies mentioned above with Jakobson’s definition of intralingual translation, a convincing conformity is noticeable. One example could be Maleej’s study, in which he aimed to interpret power meanings encoded within person deixis (verbal signs) by means of other signs of the same language. Maleej’s study complies with Jakobson’s explanation that an intralingual translation is “the interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs of the same language” (Jakobson, 1959: 233). The question therefore arises whether critical discourse analysis could be considered a type of intralingual translation. Many translation scholars, such as Hatim and Mason (2005), have studied translation from a critical discourse analysis perspective, but the act of critical analysis itself is not conceptualised as a translation, that is, it is not critical discourse translation but rather a tool to identify how power relations are rendered in interlingual translations. In other words, the field still revolves around the notion of interlingual supremacy.

This raises another question: if one were to consider that intralingual translation was the process of interpreting meaning using the same language, would that not include any effort of making meaning of a “linguistic sign” in the same language? In other words, would that not encompass any investigation that aims to get a better understanding of linguistic signs (speeches, poems or phrases), whether from the perspective of political, sociological or communicational studies, creating a space for interdisciplinary inquiry?

An example that brings to light the potential space for translation investigation is Hawkins’ examination of the role of the “imagery” and the “aesthetics” of the Tunisian protests in shaping the narrative of the 2011 revolution. In his analysis, Hawkins gives many examples of images which circulated at the time of the protests and which highlight the significance of these images in (re)shaping ideological connotations. As he explains:

While the early images cast protesters as the objects of a journalistic gaze, the new images featured protesters as creative subjects speaking to other Tunisians and the world directly. Not surprisingly, the change in aesthetics was linked to a change in the nature of the actual protests. (Hawkins, 2014: 49)

Although Hawkins’ study is based within a socio-political theoretical background and is far from an interdisciplinary investigation with translation studies, his discussion touches upon familiar notions of interpretation which overlap with all three of Jakobson’s translation categories. Throughout the chapter Hawkins is (to use Jakobson’s terms) interpreting the meaning of “verbal signs” and “nonverbal signs”, evidently through the use of English “verbal signs”. An example of this is his analysis of the “Game Over” sign held by protesters in the Tunisian revolution (see figure 2.1 below), which looks into the decoding of the linguistic sign whilst remaining within the boundaries of the same language. Hawkins (2014: 44) elucidates, in English, the meaning of the phrase “Game Over”, within the specific context of Tunisia at the time of the nationwide protests. He interprets the use of this English phrase by Tunisian protesters who had Arabic and French as mother tongues, ultimately rendering the meaning of protestors seeking international attention in their striving towards social change (Hawkins, 2014: 44). Thus, Hawkins’ use of the English language to discuss the analysis of the English verbal sign “Game Over” fulfils Jakobson’s definition of an intralingual translation.



Figure 2.1: The “Game Over” sign (Hawkins, 2014: 44)

Another example Hawkins uses to describe the role of images in the growing revolt against the Tunisian regime is the picture of schoolchildren who used their bodies to spell out different slogans from the protests. Not only did Hawkins render the linguistic meaning of these slogans in English (i.e. interlinguistic translation), but he also elucidated the significance of the manipulation of meaning from the “verbal” to the “nonverbal” using more than one meaning-making sign system in an effort to grab the attention of the viewers. As he explains when he describes the image with the slogan تونس حرة [Tunisia is free] (see Figure 2.2 below), “[t]here was a presumption of a waiting audience who would examine these photos and extract meaning from them” (Hawkins, 2014: 41). Consequently, in Jakobson’s terms, this “transmutation” (1959: 233) of meaning, from the verbal phrase to the nonverbal image of students symbolically demonstrating opposition, could also be conceptualised as intersemiotic translation.



Figure 2.2: “Tunisia is free” (Hawkins, 2014: 41)

These examples are but a few of many detailed translations Hawkins has made in just one chapter of a book that explores and discusses “*The political aesthetics of global protest*” (Werbner et al., 2014).

Hawkins’ study, among many others, could suggest that rather than a dearth of literature, there should be a sense that all the existing literature that delves into interpreting the meaning of linguistic signs in the same language or even through a “nonverbal system”, regardless of the discipline, is a form of translation. Ultimately, this intersection should be considered as interdisciplinary terrain. This does not imply that all research should be conceptualised as belonging to the field of translation studies. Rather, this insight should highlight the untapped potential of interdisciplinary space in which translation studies seems to be absent.

Accordingly, it is evident that an intersemiotic study is feasible even within Jakobson’s linguistically constrained conceptualisation. However, what if a study examines a meaning-making process that did not start with interpreting a linguistic sign? Would a process of interpreting a nonverbal sign with the use of verbal signs contradict Jakobson’s definition of intersemiotic translation? It seems as though the translation process, in Jakobson’s view, is constrained to starting with a linguistic source text when defining intersemiotic translation as “the interpretation of verbal sign systems by means of signs of nonverbal sign systems” (1959: 233).

The linguistic “source text” seems to be a predicament within the context of the Libyan revolution. Considered the longest-reigning leader at the time, Gaddafi ruled Libya with an iron fist for forty-two years (Totman and Hardy, 2015). Freedom of speech, peaceful protests and any sign of political activism were regarded as treason (Kawczynski, 2011). Hence, simple linguistic sources of expression were a luxury at the time, and the Libyan protesters had to interpret their dissent using all the semiotic resources publicly accessible to stimulate and assemble networks of resistance.

Images circulated via mass media of people toppling monuments of Gaddafi’s green book and burning his portraits and his renowned green flag, which became a symbol of his rule as his regime came with the replacement of the former tricoloured flag of independence (*The Guardian*, 2011b). Consequently, replacing Gaddafi’s flag with that of the red, black and green

flag of independence became a sign of the end of his rule or even a representation of the efforts of erasing the green era from the collective memory.

Three symbols were used to mobilise popular support against the regime: 1) the image of anti-colonial resistance Omar al-Mukhtar 2) the old Libyan flag of the monarchy that was adopted and viewed as the flag of independence 3) the old national anthem that was adopted after the name of the king was replaced by the name of the Libyan anti-colonial resistance hero, Omar al-Mukhtar. (Ahmida, 2011: 5)

In cities such as Tripoli where Gaddafi still had a strong hold, these symbols were of great significance as the revolutionists would anonymously hang the tricoloured flag, or spray its colours across landmarks and central parts of the city at night. This was, in fact, an act of rebellion and signification of resistance against the unrivalled armed security forces that were deployed across the city. Playing the old national anthem through loudspeakers, which were planted in crowded areas, was another example of the many manifestations of opposition through any semiotic sign possible. These processes of interpretation do not include the verbal but rather the interpretation of complex abstract feelings of injustice and oppression by means of past experiences of these feelings under colonial forces, resulting in the use of the symbols that abolished these experiences. It was as though the Libyan people collectively translated Gaddafi's rule by relating it to the past colonial realities they had overcome and thus decided to use the symbols that signified the end of these tyrannies to reignite the spirit of resistance.

Looking back at Jakobson's definitions, the question now arises of where these clearly intersemiotic processes fit within Jakobson's three categories. It seems hard to grasp the semiotic nature of these meanings as so many contextual forces ebb and flow throughout the creation and retrieval of these complex meanings. It is hard to situate this complex resurgence of meanings amongst conceptualisations which explain that "[t]ranslation involves two equivalent messages in two different codes" (Jakobson, 1959: 233).

Furthermore, when considering the phenomenon under investigation in this study, the translation of the *zenga zenga* phrase, more questions arise: What if the verbal sign did not transmutate to a nonverbal sign or even to a different verbal sign? From an initial look at the different manifestations of the *zenga zenga* phrase, it is apparent they are all still in linguistic form, whether in songs, cartoons or adverts. At times, such as Alooshe's Zenga Zenga remix mentioned in 1.2, the linguistic sign remains relatively the same as an excerpt from the original

utterance used in the meaning-making process of the new sign. Rather than the transformation or transportation of meaning into another code, it is as though layers of meaning are added and interacting to create a new meaning.

Though a study on the rich intersemiotic processes which surfaced in the Libyan revolution of 2011 has yet to come from the field of translation, many researchers (Ahmida, 2011; Abushagur, 2011; Gheblawi, 2011; Hilsum, 2012; Abdulaziz, 2015) have discussed the significance of the use of these symbolic signs throughout the revolution. Their examples seem to illustrate how the lingual can remain unchanged while different semiotic signs result in its translation. The images below from Abushagur's (2011) and Abdulaziz's (2015) presentations of street art as public expression are great demonstrations (see figure 2.3 and 2.4). In a discussion the image in figure 2.3, Abdulaziz refers to the use of colours and prominent Islamic architectural features in the painting of the word ليبيا, [Libya] in Arabic to express different dimensions of meaning. The letters are painted with the tricolours of the independence flag and the crescent moon and star placed onto a dome-like structure in between the two minarets made with the first and last Arabic letters of the word Libya. By doing this, "[t]he word Libya here is visualized as a mosque in a clear message that this is a Muslim country" (Abdulaziz, 2015: 13). Thus, the linguistic sign was translated through its immersion with signs of colour and shape signifying the transformation – or one could say translation – of Libya from Gaddafi's Green ideology, which was known for its unconventional religious appropriations, back to its familiar Islamic roots.



Figure 2.3: The word “Libya” as a tricoloured mosque (Abdulaziz, 2015: 13)

The second image from Abushagur’s compilation of street art photography also presents an example of the translation of the lingual through other semiotic resources. In the image a line from the monarchy’s national anthem, “we will not return to the shackles of oppression”, is written above the painting of two fists, one green and the other red, breaking the shackles of black chains. Again, the theme of the colours of the independence flag is evident, and it is clear that this is a process of relating the connotations of shackles to the colonial rule and reclaiming this meaning to refer to liberation from Gaddafi’s rule. Once more, this seems like an evident interpretation of meaning, but it is hard to categorise it using Jakobson’s categories. Is the verbal sign being translated to a nonverbal sign or is the nonverbal sign translating what the verbal means? Is the primacy or dominance of either identifiable?



Mansura district, Tripoli, Libya

This depiction of breaking the shackles of tyranny is a common graffiti seen all across Libya during the revolution. The text reads, “We will not be shackled by oppression.”

Figure 2.4: “We will not return to the chains of oppression” (Abushagur, 2011)

### **2.2.5 Towards an intersemiotic translation of the Arab Spring**

When turning to the literature discussing semiotics or intersemiotic processes within the frame of translation and the Arab Spring, a common theme surfaced. The studies addressing semiosis and translation rarely, if ever, conceptualise the process starting from a linguistic sign (Keraitim and Mehrez, 2012; Taha and Combs, 2012; Gribbon and Hawas, 2012; Sanders, 2012; Morayef, 2016; Shehab, 2016). These studies instead investigated the translation of emotions, sentiments and principles (such as dissent, authority, dignity, oppression and the right to

freedom) which were articulated through a multiplicity of semiotic resources. The attention to these abstract signs could be due to the context of revolution, as from the stance of the protestors and their authoritarian regimes, a victory became the ability to effectively communicate their narratives. Whether it was communicating dissent or legitimacy, the aim was for this communication ultimately to reach and persuade the world. Thus translation manifested in the surge of employing any resource possible (speeches, statements, chants, banners, flags, songs, poems, street art, etc.) to achieve effective communication.

Understanding and studying this use of a variety of semiotic resources to signify meaning within a specific social context has become an academic field of its own. The field of social semiotics, introduced by Halliday in 1978, has gained prominence as scholars such as Hodge, Hodge, Hodge and Kress (1988), and among many others Van Leeuwen (2005), Bezemer and Jewitt (2009), O'Halloran and Smith (2013) and Jones and Hafner (2015) highlight the significance of the evolving social dimension through which meaning emerges and travels. They explain that the digitalisation of communication denotes that meaning is seldom made through a single medium, but rather through an interplay of images, audio, graphics and language. Defining these different mediums as modes and the meanings made as multimodal ensembles, Kress (2011: 36) introduced the theory of multimodality.

Since this sway towards interpreting the multiplicity of semiotic signs and the role of the social was introduced decades after Jakobson's conceptualisation, and only gained momentum towards the beginning of the following century, his linguistic preference is plausible. Furthermore, Jakobson's linguistic bias, whether inferring the primacy of the lingual or not, could be explained by the fact that "he was a linguist and multimodal texts were few and far between in the 1950s" (Marais, 2019: 15).

Alduhaim (2018) seems to grapple with Jakobson's conceptualisation of translation and the contemporary sway of literature towards multimodality when investigating the translation of Mubarak's and Gaddafi's speeches in the Arab Spring. She conceptualises her semiotic inquiry as a multimodal analysis of the speeches in Arabic (source text) and English (target text). In her analysis, she identifies what she refers to as "extralinguistic" signs (2018: 92, 95). She then examines whether these signs were translated into the English linguistic translations of each speech. In other words, she examined whether the "extralinguistic" signs were rendered in the translations using linguistic signs (Alduhaim, 2018). This, once again, is in opposition to

Jakobson's primacy of the verbal. Moreover, although Alduhaim was interested in how meaning was rendered using different semiotic resources, she never explicitly identified this meaning-making process as intersemiotic translation. Consequently, it seems as though her study does not discuss intersemiotic translation, either from the viewpoint of the author or from that of Jakobson.

Even though, at first, Alduhaim's study seems to go against Jakobson's linguistic bias, it is still (maybe unconsciously) welded to the notion of linguistic superiority. In her work, Alduhaim draws on the necessity of an interdisciplinary model in order to analyse the translation of both Gaddafi's Zenga Zenga Speech and Mubarak's last speech before he was ousted. She reasoned this to be the interdisciplinary nature of the field of translation (Alduhaim, 2018:92). Thus she proposes a model which combines Fairclough's critical discourse analysis, Kress's multimodality and Baker's narrative theory in the analysis of the source and target texts. Although Alduhaim supports this choice by illustrating how the different theories "approach different aspects of the translation for an overall effective analysis" (2018: 94), the issue of how the "lingual" and the "semiotic" are conceptualised arises yet again. Alduhaim seems to follow Jakobson by conceptualising linguistic analysis separately and not as a subset of semiotic analysis:

One must differentiate between studying meaning from a linguistic perspective and from one of social semiotics. Linguistic models aim to study grammatical, lexical signs, and any other features such as rhythm, tone, and intonation, defined as "paralinguistic" features, whereas social semiotics dedicates its analysis to studying meaning-making by using these paralinguistic features. (Bezemer & Jewit, 2009 in Alduhaim, 2018: 79)

This explanation of social semiotic analysis seems not only like a linguistic bias in disguise, but like a contradiction of the essence of Kress's multimodal theory, upon which Alduhaim bases her analysis in general, and appears paradoxical to the source she uses to support this methodological approach specifically. The contradiction mainly lies within the fact that while Kress breaks away from the linguistic bias and stresses the notion that language is regarded as merely one of the many semiotic sign systems that constitute meaning, he also acknowledges that linguistic signs are an equally vital part of a multimodal discourse (Kress, 2011: 37). Looking back at Alduhaim's statement, she seems to justify the need for more than one theoretical framework, insinuating that the phenomena under analysis necessitate different analytical models and approaches and overlooking the fact that the aim of Kress's multimodal

discourse analysis was “to *elaborate tools* that can provide insight into the relation of the meanings of a community and its semiotic manifestations” (Kress, 2011: 37; emphasis added). Moreover, Bezemer and Jewit’s article (2009), which Alduhaim references, seems to defy what she is attempting to justify. In this same article, Bezemer and Jewit explicitly describe how “methodological privileging of particular linguistic resources is also reflected in notions like ‘non-verbal’, ‘paralinguistic’ or ‘context’” (2009: 3), which seems to be precisely what Alduhaim is doing. Bezemer and Jewit (2009: 2) also shed light upon the change in terminology which followed the founding of multimodal concepts. In their article, they explain how multimodal terms instigated a move away from the notion of the superiority of the “verbal” towards the fair recognition of the affordances and roles all signs play in the construction of meaning.

Furthermore, although Alduhaim (2018) stresses the importance of identifying the different “modes” and “genres” that convey meaning in order to grasp what meanings have been rendered, changed or lost in a translation process, her bias towards a linguistic approach is not only evident in her theoretical framework but also in her terminology and choice of data. First, her use of the term “semiotic(s)” is confined to a chapter that presents the theoretical framework (Kress’s theory of multimodality) as she then uses the term “extralinguistic” when referring to a “non-linguistic” sign.

Another hint of Alduhaim’s linguistic bias could be her choice of data, as her sample comprised only interlingual translations: translations of the speeches into voice-over interpretations, news articles and transcriptions (2018). Ultimately the multimodal analysis was used to explore whether the semiotic resources were rendered in the interlingual translations of the speeches. Thus, similar to critical discourse analysis, semiotics was utilised as a tool of analysis and not conceptualised as the underlying process (i.e. intersemiotic translation) through which *all* the meanings emerged (linguistic or not). Although Merrell depicts this inclination to “linguicise” all semiotic signs as a human tendency, going further to describe it as “endemic” within the “wordy” scientific fields (2001: 34), these evolving models, methodological approaches and fields support Marais’s statement that “a myriad of fields are springing up around translation studies... leaving translation studies with less and less to study” (2019: 27).

### **2.2.6 Granting the field of translation the intersemiotic space it needs**

Fortunately, within the Arab Spring context there are two edited volumes which include studies that break free from the obligatory presence of a linguistic sign and its dominance in the translation process. These pioneering compilations of studies, which venture into the semiotic dimensions of the Egyptian revolution, are Mehrez's *Translating Egypt's revolution: The language of Tahrir* (2012a) and Baker's *Translating dissent: Voices from and with the Egyptian revolution* (2016a). Crossing the linguistic border can be immediately sensed from both titles, which insinuate a process of mediating abstract meanings (semiotic signs), dissent and revolution, into a medium. Furthermore, an immense step towards the integration of interlingual translation with its semiotic peers is the mere fact that the studies describing the mediation of meaning from one non-linguistic sign to another are compiled alongside those investigating the conventional interlinguistic translations.

However, it is important to note that there is an evident effort to validate this broader conceptual space. In the introductions of both books, two concepts which seem to reverberate off each other are continually emphasised (Mehrez, 2012b: 1–20; Baker, 2016b: 1–15). First, both books are a result of an assortment of studies from a diversity of fields. Hence, many authors were “non-translators”. Second, there needs to be a rethinking of the conceptualisation of both the act of translation and the Egyptian revolution itself. For instance, in Mehrez's introduction she paves the way for the unconventional approaches and conceptualisations in the following chapters, by redefining the subject of investigation and the meaning of revolution itself. She describes the uprising as an open text, which “is not to be read as a string of meaning or a single, linear line of signification but rather as layers of narrative and fields of meaning that are at once open and dynamic” (Mehrez, 2012b: 1). Hence, she goes on to validate the necessity of an interdisciplinary investigation of Egypt's revolution, explaining how scholars from different disciplines working in the American University in Cairo came together, creating a common space in which each discipline would contribute by translating a field of meaning for the others (Mehrez, 2012b: 5).

In turn, Baker (2016b: 1) immediately announces from the very first sentence in her introduction the necessity of mapping out the conceptual space. She emphasises the importance of extending and redefining the act of translation, as she presents it as an act of activism since translations participate in creating and nurturing networks of solidarity (2016b: 9). Thus, makes

the success of these networks of solidarity a condition of the collaborative work of the translator with the non-translator in mediating their reality (Baker, 2016b: 9). Therefore, it is made clear by both editors that these two conceptions of revolt and translation had to be at once (re)framed to make space for the unravelling tapestry of phenomena erupting across the academic canvas.

In the process of explaining this expansion of conceptual space “beyond linguistic, cultural and disciplinary borders” (Mehrez, 2012b: 6), a few terms surfaced throughout Mehrez’s edited chapters. These include “revolutionary translation” (Mehrez, 2012b: 11), “discursive translation” (Gibbon and Hawas, 2012: 111) and even terminology borrowed from other fields with close conceptual parallels, such as “thick translation” (Mehrez, 2012b: 12). This term was frequently used by Mehrez to convey the similar ethnographic notion of “thick description” coined by Clifford Geertz (1973). She explains that the incentive behind the use of the adjective “thick” came from the work of Geertz, who proposed that the contextual dimensions of a particular phenomenon, community or behaviour should not be extracted or isolated from the analysis thereof, but enhanced as a layer of analysis, thus producing a thick comprehensive description (Mehrez, 2012b: 22).

These innovative terms were also evident amongst the essays of *Translating Dissent*, and the introduction paved the way for this new take on translation by describing these notions as “broad sense/diverse senses” of translation (Baker, 2016b: 2). Moreover, common terminology was also used in this book by researchers from different disciplinary backgrounds. Rizk, a filmmaker, and Selim, a professional translator, both used the term “deep translation” when referring to a need for translation beyond the lingual (Rizk and Baker, 2016: 237; Selim, 2016: 84). Additionally, Baker (2016b: 7–9) dedicates a part of the introduction to a description of the critical role translation played in both its “narrow” and “broad” senses. She explains that the narrow sense of translation entails interpreting “textual material” (2016b: 7) between different languages. A broad sense of translation, meanwhile, is “the mediation of diffuse symbols, experiences, narratives and linguistic signs of varying lengths across modalities (words into images, lived experiences into words” (2016b : 7). Baker (2016b: 8) sheds light on the use of both types of translation, and at times the alternating use of the conceptualisations, within and across different chapters of the book without making any effort to distinguish between the two. The constant shift between the different “senses” of translation is evident in both the layout of the chapters in her book and, at times, in the vocabulary and rhetoric within a single discussion. It is clear that Baker frames the chapters which take the innovative leap of

engaging in a broad semiotic conceptualisation of translation by dedicating a section of her book (part 4) to “Translation and the visual economy of protest”. However, it is hard to overlook the patent semiotic presence in the background of the rest of the chapters which investigate interlinguistic processes. There is, for example, an essay which deliberates on the renaming of public spaces (2016: 97–107) and how to translate “older histories and roots of the Egyptian culture” (Gaber, 2016: 97) into new urban cultures, and a piece which examines the role of the “context” and “place” of translation in defining and motivating translation processes (Selim, 2016: 86). What is clear is that in exploring these revolutionary phenomena it is impossible to disentangle the semiotic signs which are tightly welded together and result in the emergence of revolutionary meaning.

While Baker boldly tears open the conceptual space by highlighting elements that went hand in hand with the interlingual practices of the revolution, Mehrez’s edited chapters seem to push the interlingual processes to the periphery by delving into extensive descriptions of the semiotic elements which contributed to the manifestations of different meanings. This sense of the lingual no longer taking centre stage was visible through a number of factors. The first is the diverse phenomena under analysis:

- the translation of the meanings of sentimental religious holidays to signifiers and connotations of revolt (Keraitim and Mehrez, 2012)
- the translation of monumental speeches of the revolution into theatrical acts (Taha and Combs, 2012)
- the translation of dissent, rage, history, culture, anger and humour to banners and signs (Gibbon and Hawas, 2012) and poems and songs (Sanders IV and Visonà, 2012)
- the translation of street art and public space to political activism (Sanders IV, 2012).

These are just a few of many rich examples unearthed from the eight chapters loaded with intersemiotic descriptions of the Egyptian revolutionary reality.

Another factor which played into the idea of equality of semiotic signs was that the interpretations of the different manifestations of meaning were at the core of most analyses rather than supplementing the results and data of the interlingual. In fact, at times the interlingual translation would be a footnote underneath the banner, image or joke after a lengthy discussion of all the intersemiotic processes (see figures 2.5 and 2.6 below). Moreover, these

studies were saturated with images. Again it is important to stress that broadening the field of translation studies in order to make the study of *all* signs feasible does not mean neglecting the lingual. Instead, it means also acknowledging the significance of the visual. The images in these chapters were essential parts of the analyses and had a vital role in supporting each argument. Linguistically describing an image, banner or space would never create the same meaning as the visual snapshot thereof.



"I beg you, leave." Photograph by Omnia Ibrahim Magdy



"If I die, O mother, do not weep; I will die so my country may live." Photograph by Huda Lutfi

Figure 2.5 and 2.6: Concise interlingual translations (Gribbon and Hawas, 2012: 129–112)

However, alongside these new labels for translations, terminology insinuating traces of a linguistic bias was also detected. This can be exemplified by the need to present non-linguistic sign systems as a “language”. as in Baker’s expression, “forms of language both verbal and visual” (2016: 2) or Taha and Combs’ use of “semiotic sign language” (2012: 70). Furthermore, linguistic tendencies could also be traced when authors supported the use of an interdisciplinary theoretical framework to study aspects other than the lingual:

Recent developments in *performance studies* show that the linguistic system is only one optional component in a set of interrelated semiotic systems, *which creates challenges for the translation process ... Performance semiotics* concerns itself with how meaning is produced by means of visual and auditive signs ... In this sense, Mahfouz’s performance presents us as translators with rich semiotic material. (Taha and Combs, 2012: 75; emphasis added)

Here it seems as though studying the semiotics of performance is not feasible from the field of translation, as translation is confined to the lingual. It seems as though Mehrez's and Baker's volumes battle with the empirical evidence that translation happens outside the borders of the lingual, and with the need to theorise these phenomena within a "linguistic" discipline.

### **2.2.7 Translating the Arab Spring and the intersemiotic gap**

When taking a broader look at the body of literature on the Arab Spring, the contribution of translation studies seems insufficient. Research on translation practices in this revolutionary context not only seemed to lag behind in the immediate surge of academic curiosity, but was also scarce. Furthermore, most of the research projects exploring translation practices were limited to interlingual processes, although translation theory has long been based on Jakobson's conceptualisation, which identifies intralingual and intersemiotic processes alongside interlinguistic processes as translation (1959: 234). Moreover, within the Arab Spring context, the literature that examined intersemiotic or intralingual processes three significant setbacks can be identified: first, studies set out to explore intralinguistic aspects were not considered as studies belonging to the field of translation (Maalej, 2012; Hasan, 2013; Al-Majali, 2015; Hawkins, 2014); second, the study that did identify the presence and interplay of semiotic resources conceptualised them as tools implemented for the analysis of interlingual translations, not as intersemiotic translations themselves (Alduhaim, 2018); and third, the bulk of literature that seems to comply with Jakobson's (1959: 234) conditions for intralingual translation is disregarded by the field of translation studies. Most of the intersemiotic processes described within a translation studies frame did not comply with Jakobson's definition of intersemiotic translation. Hence, the editors (Mehrez, 2012a; Baker, 2016a) validated conducting an intersemiotic investigation by introducing theoretical frameworks from other disciplines. Consequently, when considering the present body of literature discussing translation within the Arab Spring context, one would assume that the field of translation is not capable of efficiently studying anything other than interlingual practices.

However, the mere existence of academic work that ventured past the interlingual borders (Mehrez, 2012a; Baker, 2016a) identifies a domain which demands the attention of the discipline of translation. Whether it was the revolutionary space or technological age in which these events played out or whether it was their unprecedented nature, there was an evident need to render much more than just the meanings that were made through language. One of the

reasons behind translation scholars' interest in semiotic processes that did not involve language could be that meaning was never purely made through language only, whether in a chant, a song or even a speech. Thus, the literature seems to confirm Marais's (2019: 21) prediction that translation studies will gradually be left with close to nothing to study, as even interlingual translation studies need to break away from the linguistic bias, because the nature of communication is seldom entirely linguistic.

Moreover, the context of revolution entailed that, at times, meaning was not made with language at all. In fact, one of the motives that drove the revolutions was that the authoritarian governments had the absolute power to constrain public meaning-making, especially that of linguistic nature (freedom of speech). Thus, the use of any medium feasible to communicate meaning – whether it was made with graffiti, blasting the music of a former regime's national anthem or bearing its flag – provided empirical evidence that meaning could be translated into so much more than language. At the heart of the present study, therefore, is Marais's claim that “[a] comprehensive theory of translation needs to be embedded in a comprehensive theory of meaning, i.e. semiotics” (Marais, 2019:84). In order to trace the spread of the *zenga zenga* phrase, within this “revolutionary” meaning-making context, there is a need for a theory of meaning. Consequently, in order to study more than the interlingual mediation of *zenga zenga* into English, the (bio)semiotic theory of translation, conceptualising all translation processes as semiotic, is used to gain an understanding of how this process can be conceptualised in the field of translation.

As a result of these arguments, Marais's (bio)semiotic theory is presented as theoretical framework for this study.

### **2.3 Theoretical framework**

Marais's theoretical framework is used in this study to investigate the *zenga zenga* phrase as an intersemiotic translation process. Starting with an introduction to the (bio)semiotic theory and going on to explain the Peircean foundations on which this theory was built, this section explains how translation will be conceptualised in this study, paving the way for an intersemiotic analysis of the *zenga zenga* phrase.

### **2.3.1 A (bio)semiotic theory of translation**

Introduced by Marais (2019), the (bio)semiotic theory of translation proposes a breakaway from a linguistic conceptualisation of translation and a move towards a semiotic one. Rather than the established notion that the field of translation is reserved for the study of rendering meaning linguistically, Marais (2019: 84) suggests a significant expansion of the field by posing any processes of meaning-making (i.e. semiosis) as the phenomena that should be studied in the discipline of translation. Thus, rather than expanding the notion of intersemiotic translation as a branch of translation studies, he proposes expanding the conceptualisation of translation itself by identifying all translation as semiotic (Marais, 2019: 71–72). Consequently, Marais demonstrates how “the Jakobsonian notions of intralingual, interlingual, and intersemiotic translation are rendered obsolete” (2019: 72, 144). He argues that although Jakobson based his conceptualisation of translation on Peircean semiotics, his linguistic influence on what was originally a theory encompassing meaning made with any sign system, the linguistic system being merely one of many, is what drove the discipline into a strictly linguistic territory (Maris 2019: 15–16). Thus defying this linguistic restriction and basing his conceptualisation on a broader interpretation of Peircean semiotics, Marais (2019: 122) defines translation as the manifestation of meaning through the relation of sign systems, without stipulating the semiotic nature of these systems. This illustrates that translation is the act through which meaning is assigned, and that “without translation there is no meaning” (Marais 2019: 123).

Marais (2019: 144–145) explains that if one were to classify translation following the “inter/intra” categorisations previously made in the field, a systemic classification could be used instead of Jakobson’s linguistic one. Marais proposes inter-systemic, intra-systemic and extra-systemic translation categories. However, he explains that although this categorisation is possible, the relativity thereof is inevitable. This is because the type of translation is defined by the level of analysis, as translation is the ongoing process of making-meaning between systems which are in turn embedded within other systems. Hence, what conditions the type of translation is identifying the system observed within the webs of systems in which it is entangled. For instance, if an Arabic journalist was to translate Gaddafi’s speech into an Arabic written news report and the level of analysis was restricted to the translation of Gaddafi’s Arabic *speech* into an Arabic *written text*, this translation could be regarded as inter-systemic, since meaning was made by relating two different sign systems: dialogue and text. If the level

of analysis was restricted to how meaning was made using Arabic, the translation would be regarded as intra-systemic, because meaning was created using the same sign system. Finally, if the level of observation was restricted to identifying how meanings from Gaddafi's tone, pitch, body language or appearance were made by relating them to written linguistic signs, the translation would be regarded as extra-systemic, since meaning was made by relating one sign system to a different sign system. Consequently, the same translation could be regarded as inter-, intra- or extra-systemic depending on the level of observation.

Additionally, the (bio)semiotic theory of translation goes beyond not only the restriction of translation to the linguistic sign system, but also the conception that translation is a strictly human practice (2019: 49, 125). Marais (2019: 89) explains that for any living organism to survive, it needs to make sense of (translate) its environment and work against the forces that combat its existence. Thus he links his theory of translation as the underlying process of semiosis to the second law of thermodynamics, which determines that "all states of affairs in reality show a general tendency toward entropy, i.e. lower levels of energy, less organization, more chaos" (Marais, 2019: 124). Through observing the semiotic aspects of survival, by regarding semiosis as a living organism's continuous effort to translate meaning into actions and artefacts in order to counter entropy, Marais presents translation as negentropic work (2019: 4, 124–125). Furthermore, he specifically describes human translations as the negentropic work "leading to the creation of society and culture" (Marais, 2019: 125). As a result, Marais (2019: 100) proposes a drastic leap from regarding language-based practices as the only laudable phenomena discussed within the field of translation, to broadening the scope of the discipline to encompass any meaning-making process irrespective of the sign system used or the living organism using it.

### **2.3.2 Translation as a meaning-making process**

Basing his work on Peircean semiotics, Marais contradicts the conception that a translation is a static text and instead presents translation as a meaning-making *process* (2019: 53, 66) in order to elucidate the bold claim that every meaning created entails a translational aspect (2019: 100). Hence, he introduces the notions of an incipient sign and a subsequent sign to replace the notions of a source text and a target text, anchoring his theory in Peirce's process ontology. Marais explains that meanings are forms that emerge as a result of processes. According to Marais, meaning is not an established entity which can be given (2019: 105) or

discovered (2019: 130), but is rather an ongoing process of continuously relating existent meanings to each other. Thus, he demonstrates that meaning is always relative – there is no definite meaning – as it can only emerge from these relationships. Accordingly the conceptualisation of translation manifests in the process of “relationship making” (Marais, 2019: 105).

Marais also turns attention to the environment in which the relationship is made, explaining that the time and space in which the process is made contributes to the making of the meaning. Using the example below, he demonstrates that no matter how trivial the change in space or the lapse of time is, its effect on meaning could be significant:

I observe something that looks like a frog. Because I am not sure, I give one careful step forward to get closer to see whether it is a frog. The only things that have changed is that I moved a yard forward in space and that two seconds have elapsed. I then see that it is not a frog, but a mouse. (Marais, 2019: 144)

Hence, the original translation of a mouse was translated into a frog as a result of a different time and space relation. Accordingly, his process theory of translation also renders obsolete the conceptions of the source text being the “original” or the starting point of a translation and the target text being the “equivalent” or the ending point of a translation. This is because the identification of incipience and subsequence is relative to a specific observation of meaning constrained by a specific space and time (Marais, 2019: 53). As a result, Marais overcomes the problematic notions of (un)translatability and equivalence, making the spatial and temporal constraints the criteria of a translation or clues as to why translations take shape in the first place (2019: 72, 84, 141).

In conclusion, the conception that translation is a meaning-making process implies that all perception of reality has a translational aspect to it (Marais, 2019: 83). However, it is important to note that according to Peircean thought, in which the (bio)semiotic theory is grounded, reality can only be perceived semiotically and no meaning (i.e. translation) is an absolute rendition of reality (Merrell, 2001: 28). Thus to get a “semiotic” grasp on the nature of meaning-making and the foundations on which Marais builds his conceptualisation of translation, it is necessary to unearth the Peircean foundations.

### **2.3.3 Peircean semiotics**

According to Peirce, all thought, and thus all meaning, is made through the translation of signs:

Thought, however, is in itself essentially of the nature of a sign. But a sign is not a sign unless it translates itself into another sign in which it is more fully developed. Thought requires achievement for its own development, and without this development it is nothing. Thought must live and grow in incessant new and higher translations, or it proves itself not to be genuine thought. (CP 1.594)

Therefore, it is evident that in order to understand how translation is the condition through which reality is experienced and through which thought is made and developed, understanding the nature of Peirce's *sign* is crucial.

To summarise Peirce's notion of a sign in a single definition, one could identify a sign as a thing that means something to someone in a certain time and space (Merrell, 2001: 28; Marais, 2019; De Waal, 2001: 79). According to Peirce, meaning can only be generated by the irreducible relationship between the three constituents of a sign: the representamen, the object and the interpretant (Aguilar and Queiroz, 2009: 284). Consequently, Peirce conceptualises meaning as a *process* of relating the triadic constituents, which takes *form* as a sign. Accordingly, when a process takes a habit or tendency towards being related to a certain form, it is considered the most developed sign (Merrell, 2001) However, in order to understand how this process unravels and how signs emerge, delving deeper into the components of the triadic sign relations is essential.

#### **2.3.3.1 Representamen, object and interpretant**

The first component of a sign, the representamen, could be described as the means through which meaning is channelled, or, in other words, the medium through which meaning appears in reality. Furthermore, the idea to which this medium refers is the object, and by relating the representamen to the object the interpretant is made. This interpretant in turn becomes a representamen ad infinitum. Consequently, a sign is a meaning that is made through the representamen-object-interpretant (R–O–I) relationship, which means that signs are embedded in webs of relationships that are continuously being made. Interestingly Peirce used the term “sign” to refer to both the representamen and the overall meaning which results from the

R–O–I relationship. This could be illustrated by considering that a representamen is “what usually goes for a sign in everyday talk” (Merrell, 2001: 28), without being aware of the underlying process. However, to avoid confusion the term representamen, also used by Peirce (De Waal, 2001: 78), is used in this study to refer to the component within the triadic relationship.

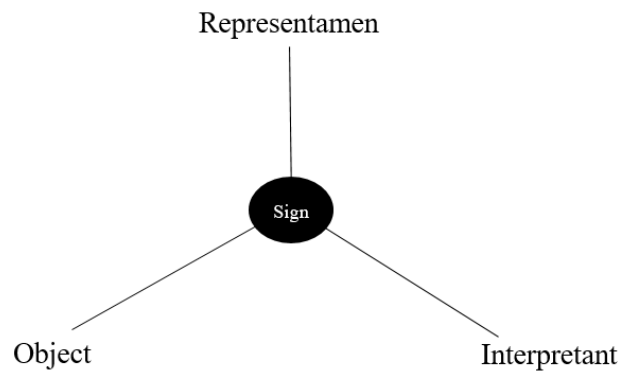


Figure 2.7: The Peircean triad

An example of the sign relationship from the Arab Spring context could be seeing a red, black and green cloth in 2011 (representamen) and relating it to the 1959 Libyan flag of independence (object) in order to symbolise regaining Libya’s independence (interpretant). In turn, this representamen, the regaining of Libya’s independence, could be related to the opposition of Gaddafi’s rule (object), creating protest as a new interpretant. Another example could be demonstrated by relating the same representamen, the tri-coloured cloth, to a different object, such as the struggle of establishing the Libyan state after independence from colonial rule, rendering the interpretant of bringing back the days of struggle, poverty and famine. Accordingly, the relativity of meaning is demonstrated, as “each of the three sign components can become any of the other two components, depending upon the circumstances” (Merrell 2001: 29).

Furthermore, the mutation of one of the sign components into another also insinuates a hierarchal change in meaning, which Peirce explains through his three universal phenomenological categories, namely Firstness, Secondness and Thirdness.

### **2.3.3.2 Firstness, Secondness and Thirdness**

The hierarchal categorisation of the triadic sign components portrays the three classifications of how phenomena are perceived by living organisms, or, using Peirce's words, the three "interests we take in a thing" (EP, 1998: 5). Peirce explains that a phenomenon is experienced, and thus knowledge and the understanding of reality is made, through three different "states of mind" (EP: 4). He labelled the first state of mind Firstness, which he describes as pure feeling, awareness, presence or possibility and as not related to any referent (EP: 5; Marais, 2019: 86; De Waal, 2001:104). Merrell explains this as "what there is such as it is" (2001: 32). This is the presence of a representamen without identifying its object, entailing consciousness of the presence of a thing without recognising what it is. The distinction of this awareness and acting upon it entails the second state of mind, Secondness (or, in Peirce's words, "reaction"), which "involves two things acting upon one another" and thus creating otherness (1998: 5). This otherness entails distinguishing an object, but it is yet to be related to the representamen. Thus, the final state of mind is the construction of the relationship between the object and the representamen. When mediating the second state of mind through the first state of mind, by means of relation, Thirdness prevails. Peirce describes this as thinking and learning (1998: 5). In summary, the category of Firstness entails a primary interest in a phenomenon as it is, while the category of Secondness entails taking a secondary interest in the phenomenon as distinct from other phenomena. Thirdness, meanwhile, entails taking a mediatory interest in a phenomenon in order to represent the meaning made from relating the phenomena, ultimately creating a sign. Moreover, Peirce also proposed classifying signs based on how the state of Thirdness arises.

### **2.3.3.3 Icons, indexes and symbols**

The three basic classifications of signs Peirce introduced are icons, indexes and symbols (Merrell, 2001: 31). These categorisations are grounded upon the manner through which Thirdness, the interpretant, is formed, by dictating the relationship between the representamen and object (Marais, 2019: 95).

Accordingly, an icon takes form through relating a representamen to an object that shares its features or resembles it in some capacity, hence Peirce's use of the term "Likenesses" (EP, 1998: 5). He explains that in this sign process the representamen portrays the object through

imitation (EP, 1998: 6–7). An example could be using the representamens of a shooting sound, making the shape of a gun with your hands or a picture of a gun to portray the object of a gun. The next type of sign, an index, is the formation of an interpretant by relating the representamen to an object through material causation. Consequently, the representamen indicates the object, which Peirce also labelled “indications” (EP, 1998: 7). This relationship could be exemplified in the smell of gunpowder as a representamen which indicates a preceding gunshot, the object. Another similar example could be the sound of a shot as a representamen indicating the object of a gun. The third type of sign, a symbol, is a sign process where the representamen mediates the object through a relationship of convention. Thus, for example, the representamen of the linguistic sign “gun” is only related to the object through the practice of society (EP, 1998: 8).

When considering Peirce’s sign taxonomies in relation to translation studies, it is evident that symbolic signs have been the main, if not only, phenomena under study in the field of translation. However, the (bio)semiotic theory of translation changes this by conceptualising translation as the very process that underlies semiosis (Marais, 2019: 1.)

### **2.3.4 The implications of Peircean semiotics for translation**

By illustrating the origins of the conceptions from which the (bio)semiotic theory of translation developed, some substantial implications for the conceptualisation of translation are apparent. Building a conceptualisation on Peircean semiotics means converting concepts such as static entities to processes, linguistic taxonomies to systemic taxonomies, strictly symbolic sign analysis to all types of sign analysis.

The notion of translation as meaning emerging through signs entails a process ontology of translation, which in turn entails the relativity of translation. The process ontology stems from the notion that a sign only comes into existence through a process of relating representamen, object and interpretant. However, meaning is not fixed, definite or static due to the fact that these three constituents of the process (representamen, object and interpretant) “are semiotic functions, not inherent characteristics of things in the world” (Marais, 2019: 95). Meaning is relative to time, space and the manner through which the three constituents are related.

The process ontology explains Marais’s conceptualisation of the process as translation and his coining of the emergent signs as incipient and subsequent signs. Moreover, the notion of the

relativity of meaning explains Marais's emphasis on the fact that an analysis of an incipient sign and a subsequent sign can only be implemented through abstraction, implying that one would have to slice through or freeze the ongoing processes of meaning from a particular angle according to space and time (2019: 53).

Peirce's categorisation of phenomena into the three hierarchical experiences of Firstness, Secondness and Thirdness also supports the notion of translation as a relative process. Keeping in mind that these categories are "conditions of becoming rather than static signs attached to things" (Merrell: 32), Marais confirm Peirce's notion of the becoming of Thirdness as translation. He thus presents Thirdness, the process of mediating Secondness through Firstness, as a synonym of translation, highlighting that all phenomena carry an aspect of thirdness. Therefore, all phenomena entail translational aspects.

In addition, one of the most important implications of conceptualising translation as a (bio)semiotic process is broadening the field of translation. By identifying that linguistic signs, also known as symbolic signs in Peircean semiotics, are merely one category of meaning-making (Marais, 2019: 133) and by establishing translation as the process underlying semiosis, studying beyond the borders of symbolic translations is made possible, since all phenomena carry a meaning-making aspect to study (Marais, 2019: 141). Another important implication of a (bio)semiotic approach is freeing the field from the notions of (un)translatability and equivalence. Through the identification of the relativity of the three constituents of signs, space and time are the agents that shape translation. Consequently, the quality of a translation is no longer measured by faithfulness to the source text, but rather through the conditions that constrained the process of meaning-making, whether the constraint is one of the triadic constituents or the place and time of the translation.

Therefore, the definition of translation guiding the present study is

negentropic semiotic work (performed by an agent) in which any one or more of the components of a sign system or any one or more of the relationships between them are changed, or in which the relationship between the sign and its environment (time and/or space) is changed. (Marais, 2019:141)

Based on this definition, it should thus be possible to comprehensively study the translational aspects of the Arab Spring events by approaching the phenomena as meaning-making

processes. Moreover, this conceptualisation will help combat what Merrell describes as “the tendency to linguicize and symbolize all signs” (2001:34), which was clearly demonstrated in the literature discussing the translation practices in the context of the Arab Spring (Taha and Combs, 2012; Baker, 2016; Alduhaim, 2016). This is because a semiotic conceptualisation of translation makes it possible to identify the translational aspects of any sign process. Furthermore, rather than the previous efforts of introducing theories from other disciplines to conduct translation studies (Mehrez, 2012; Baker, 2016), a semiotic theory of translation makes it possible to study the translational aspects within all disciplines. Ultimately, in order to supplement the existing literature on the translation practices within the context of the Arab Spring, it is necessary to turn translation scholars’ attention away from the restricted interlingual investigations and towards the investigation of why and how all meaning-making processes were constrained, resulting in relatively stable forms or signs. Hence, the (bio)semiotic theory of translation will be used to analyse how the *zenga zenga* phrase emerged as a relatively stable sign, from the ongoing international process of making meaning of the Arab Spring events.

## Chapter 3: Methodology

### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter will shed light on the methodology used to conduct this study. It first presents the methodological approach set out to answer the research question and fulfil the objectives of the study. The next section then goes on to present the research design utilised in this investigation. Thereafter follows a description of the data collection process, highlighting the obstacles faced when searching for *zenga zenga* translations online. The chapter then moves on to discuss how the process of analysis was implemented in accordance with the theoretical framework explained in Chapter 2. Furthermore, the importance of acknowledging variables (such as the time and the space), which play a significant role in the validity and reliability of the study, will also be addressed throughout the chapter.

### 3.2 Methodological approach

It was established in Chapter 2, in both sections 2.2 and 2.3, that in order to break free from the linguistic boundaries that restrained former translation research (especially within the context of the Arab Spring), it is essential to embed translation within a comprehensive theory of meaning-making, that is, semiotics. This semiotic approach would make studying all translation practices feasible, regardless of the sign system used. Hence, this study employs the (bio)semiotic theory of translation, which places the examination of meaning-making processes, semiosis, at the core of translation studies (Marais, 2019: 84). Furthermore, from a semiotic stance, the investigation of the spread of the *zenga zenga* phrase entails the identification, description and interpretation of the various translations of the *zenga zenga* signs. Thus, the nature of this semiotic inquiry necessitates an interpretivist epistemology using a qualitative descriptive approach. Accordingly, Saldanha and O'Brien elucidate the interpretivist approach and its link to qualitative research by identifying them as studies "where the researchers attempt to explore the social world from the point of view of the actors and reflect on their own subjective interpretations" (2014: 11–12). This explanation also reflects the objectives of the present study:

- to identify *zenga zenga* translations, i.e. *zenga zenga* signs
- to analyse *zenga zenga* signs using the Peircean triad
- to identify possible incipient and subsequent signs in order to trace back the translation processes (the spread).

The link between the objectives and the definition of the interpretivist approach could be made clear when considering that the first objective implies the researcher's exploration of the social world through identifying the different *zenga zenga* signs, which emerged after Gaddafi's speech. The second and third objectives, which involve the analysis of the *zenga zenga* signs using the Peircean triad and attempting to trace them back to each other, denote the investigation of these signs with both the actors' (meaning-makers') and the researcher's agency (own interpretation) in mind.

### **3.3 Research design**

As mentioned in the previous chapters (1 and 2), this research aims to investigate the spread of the *zenga zenga* phrase, immersed within the temporal and spatial forces that constrained its emergence. Accordingly, this dissertation takes the form of a case study, identified by Yin (2009: 18) and Saldanha and O'Brien (2014: 205) as research which examines a phenomenon immersed within its context as a case study.

Saldanha and O'Brien (2014: 207) emphasise context as a definitive feature of a case study and further explain that the framing of the phenomenon under investigation is a vital aspect when defining research as a case study. Thus, in terms of this dissertation, the unit of analysis is first limited to the translational aspects of the spread of the *zenga zenga* phrase. This is because Marais stresses that the (bio)semiotic theory of translation does not claim that phenomena are solely translations, but instead that all phenomena have translational aspects to them. Furthermore, the context of the analysis is framed by the time and space in which the *zenga zenga* translations spread online. A detailed account of these time and space constraints is given in the following section.

### **3.4 Initial data collection plan**

Due to the fact that the spread of the *zenga zenga* phrase was studied in its real-life setting (its propagation on online platforms), it was necessary to determine the various factors that played into the emergence of the different *zenga zenga* translations, to obtain reliable results at the stage of analysis. This goes hand in hand with Saldanha and O'Brien's emphasis on defining "the boundaries of the unit of analysis" (2014: 207) when conducting a case study. Moreover, as mentioned in 3.2 and 3.4, framing the unit of analysis is also necessary when conceptualising

translation as ongoing meaning-making processes. This is due to the relative, intertwined and continuous nature of meaning-making processes. Thus the analysis of these processes can only be made through the abstraction of freezing the processes to a static state (Marais, 2019: 53). Consequently, the boundaries that freeze the unit of analysis (i.e. the *zenga zenga* translation) in this study were set by framing the time and space in and through which the translations emerged.

The agency of time and space is informed by “the effects of digital technology and the internet on translation” (Cronin, 2013:1). The digital age in which Gaddafi’s speech was delivered bears immense implications for the translations that emerged after the speech had aired. This is because new technology insinuates not only an international mass audience but also the ability to replay the speech, tune into different broadcasters and simultaneous interpretations of the speech, share the speech on internet platforms, save the speech on devices and even edit the speech. It should also be kept in mind that all this could be achieved within reach of a few keys and in a matter of seconds.

Therefore, the boundary of time in this study is delimited to the translations which emerged from the date on which the speech was delivered (22 February 2011) until the end of the following month (31 March 2011). This 38-day time frame was chosen due to the evident profusion of data found within that period which would yield a sufficient sample for semiotic analysis. Moreover, the importance of the time boundary manifests in the effort to trace back the signs to the speech or to each other by distinguishing a pair of incipient and subsequent signs. Hence, the signs were searched depending on the chronological order in which they appeared online, starting from the date of the speech, 22 February 2011 at 5:53 in the evening.

The boundary of space is determined in terms of the internet, through which the phrase had spread. Signs with traces of the linguistic phrase *zenga zenga*, either written or audible Arabic or English, were collected from online websites and search engines such as YouTube and Google. The keywords “zenga zenga” and their Arabic equivalent **زنقه زنقه** were used to search for these signs, which could be in the form of news reports, songs, posters, promotional material, restaurant menus and cartoons.

By delimiting the time and space from which the translations were collected, the researcher was able to frame the “window” of the socio-political reality in which these translations arose.

Many sociologists such as Bourdieu, Luhman and Latour have stipulated the significance of the relationship between translation and the social in which it is projected, and their roles in shaping each other (Wolf, 2010: 338). Thus, following on from the general contextualisation of the Arab Spring events in the previous chapters (1.1, 1.2 and 2.2), a background on the time and space in which Gaddafi's *zenga zenga* was delivered and translated is included in section 4.2 before the presentation of the data.

However, although the socio-political context from which the *zenga zenga* phrase emerged and in which it spread is a significant factor in the translation processes, the purpose of this study is to shed light on the intersemiotic translation processes that occurred within this context, regardless of any political affiliations. As mentioned above, a background on the socio-political context is mentioned simply because of the role it plays in constraining the translation process. Likewise, the nature of the online platforms from which the translations were selected and the time and space the researcher made the analysis are also described in depth to identify the constraints they imposed on the translation processes.

### **3.5 The complexity of data collection online**

The difficulty of establishing the unit of analysis was anticipated since the conceptualisation of translation as any meaning-making process implies drastically broadening the scope of the investigation. Nonetheless, other obstacles were faced in the process of data collection. It was the unexpected complexity of collecting these translations from the World Wide Web and delving into a digital context that proved to be much more difficult. Consequently, further restrictions on the methodological approach were required.

As mention above (3.4), initially the aim was to trace back *zenga zenga* translations by searching for which translations appeared first and identifying where they appeared and who translated them. In other words, the time and place constraints through which the translations evolved were to be implemented. This meant that a precise identification of the space and time constraints of the results seemed vital, in order to relate and ultimately trace the translations back to each other. As Marais explains:

Translation thus works something like a spider web. The slightest reverberation to any of the "threads," i.e. representamen, object, interpretant or the relationships between them, sets in motion the translation process, leading to one or more changes in meaning. Even time or space could be such reverberations. (2019: 107)

However, the task of identifying these reverberations proved to be problematic due to the complexity of how the world-wide web of information functions.

### **3.5.1 Time constraints to online data collection**

The first hurdle faced when collecting data from the Google search engine was constraining the time the results appeared online in order to follow the spread chronologically. Although Google allows the user to set a custom time range to specify a time window, the results are not presented chronologically but according to a programmed relevance.

According to Google (2020), the order in which the searches appear depends on algorithms that are programmed in terms of the following factors: “the words of your query, relevance and usability of pages, expertise of sources, your location and settings” (Google, 2020). Although Google (2020) explains how these different factors play a vital role in producing the most relevant results to each search and their ranking, there is still ambiguity in the relativity of each search, because the weight each factor carries in a search is relative to each individual search.

Moreover, the researcher noticed that on a Google search the order and the number of results would vary even when the same keyword was used by the same computer from the same location. Furthermore, when using Google Images, the user is only granted the agency of filtering the results a year prior to the time of the search. Thus, it is only possible to render *zenga zenga* results from 2019 with the filter tool available. Additionally, the number of results for each keyword is not displayed on the Images search, thus the amount of the overall “image translations” for each keyword is ambiguous. This, in turn, plays into the vagueness of the semiotic landscape.

As a result of the complex, inconsistent and vague terrain of the internet, it is clear that it would not have been possible to capture and trace back *all* meanings of *zenga zenga* within the time frame set out in the methodology section 3.4 (from 22 February to 31 March).

### **3.5.2 Space constraints to online data collection**

Another difficulty, which stems from the fact that Google is a portal to other websites, is the inability to identify the source of the data (website) and thus the space from which the data is

accessed. For example, the top search results that appeared for the words *zenga zenga* in both Arabic and English were YouTube videos, Wikipedia articles, Facebook pages and news reports from several news agency websites. This reveals that there is an overlap between the YouTube and Google searches. Thus, it was not possible to identify the different platforms as separate spaces through which the phrase had spread. This was especially apparent in the Google videos and images searches, as they were mostly links to YouTube videos. Hence, this intertwined nature of the websites complicated monitoring the spread of the *zenga zenga* phrase to understand from where the information was originally disseminated and where it travelled. It became evident that one would require expert knowledge to understand the complex programming of these intricate webs of information, which goes beyond the scope of this research.

Furthermore, the process of capturing *zenga zenga* translations from YouTube initially seemed feasible, as it is possible to sort results for search each keyword chronologically and there is some indication to the publisher of each video. While most of the publishers remain anonymous, since they mostly identify themselves through online usernames on their YouTube channels, it still helps to be aware of the different interpreters involved in the translation processes. However, it was not possible to trace subsequent *zenga zenga* signs back to incipient *zenga zenga* signs on YouTube as it was impossible to capture *all* the translation results that were rendered from the *zenga zenga* phrase. This is because tracing signs back to each other implies identifying all the keywords that would have led to *zenga zenga* signs.

Ultimately, it was evident that in some instances the time and space problems reverberated off each other. In cases where the space in which the translation appeared first is not identified, the time it appeared is usually also unidentifiable. Even if one were to sift through the results, keeping in mind that there are hundreds of results for each keyword, being able to trace all the translations to their incipient forms implies the ability to encapsulate every single one of the materialisations of the phrase online. Thus, in order to fulfil the objectives of this research, the space and time constraints were adjusted in order to (re)frame the scope of the study and identify the data sample.

### **3.6 Reframing the sample**

As indicated in the previous sections, it was problematic to render the data gathered from Google and YouTube chronologically, and specific constraints were therefore identified for each online platform to collect sufficient data for this study.

The time constraint for searches on YouTube was adjusted to the period between the delivery of the speech on 22 February 2011 at 17:53 and 31 March 2011. This time frame was chosen due to the profusion of data found within that period which would yield a sufficient sample of data and make a comprehensive semiotic analysis possible. Thus, the choice to limit the sample to translations which emerged within the 38-day period was to delineate the vast amount of data to manageable dimensions.

As for the Google search engine, since it is not possible to set a time restriction of more than a year on the images search, the first 50 results displayed were collected. Moreover, as a result of the plethora of results found when searching for “zenga zenga”, the study was limited to examining the results of the keywords “zenga zenga” and their Arabic equivalent **زنگه زنگه** in all the searches.

Finally, to overcome the uncertainty of whether a sign was even part of a translation process related to Gaddafi’s sign (one of the signs that materialised from the “ad infinitum” meaning-making processes related to Gaddafi’s *zenga zenga*), only signs that shared an iconic relationship with Gaddafi’s speech were collected. As illustrated in section 2.3.3.3, iconic relationships occur when the object and representamen share features. In the case of this study these relationships included any representamen, from the collected sample, which shares features with Gaddafi’s utterance of the *zenga zenga* phrase. This also helped frame the level of observation to exclusively iconic relationships, as explained by Marais (see 2.3.1). The examination of translations as ongoing processes is always relative to the level of analysis:

Deciding to observe a particular aspect of the larger semiotic web does not mean that semiotic cause and effect are limited to that web. The web at the level of observation is relationally linked to an immediately lower and an immediately higher web, which are both again linked to higher and lower webs, ad infinitum. (Marais, 2019: 145)

Hence, while it has been established that representamens emerge as a result of a relationship process to another meaning, identifying that “web of meaning” (or, in other words, the specific object to each representamen that leads to an interpretant to someone at a particular time) is not always possible. The choice to centre the analysis around the relationships between representamens stemmed not only from the complexities of the internet platform mentioned in sections 3.5.1 and 3.5.2, but also from the inability to distinguish the object and interpretant of most signs, as trying to reach the hundreds of meaning-makers of each sign would be cumbersome if not impossible, especially in the context of meanings that spread online. Consequently, the representamens will be described in terms of Queiroz and El-Hani’s conceptualisations of effective and potential semiosis:

[Effective information = effective semiosis] The process by which a sign effectively exerts an effect (interpretant) on some system (an interpreter) by making the interpretant stand in a similar relation to something else (the object of the sign) as that to which the sign stands, thus mediating the relation between object and interpretant. The sign effectively communicates, thus, a form from the object to the interpretant, changing the state of the interpreter.

[Potential information  $\approx$  potential semiosis] A process of communicating a form from an Object to an Interpretant through the mediation of a Sign that could take place in a given moment. (Queiroz and El-Hani, 2007: 293)

On the one hand, in the case of signs which seem to portray effective meanings, thus where the mediation of the object and interpretant are relatively clear, a description will be implemented of the process in which all three termini (representamen – subject – object) play a role in communicating the meaning. On the other hand, when the sign does not portray a clear object, a description of the potential objects, and thus interpretants, will be included.

### **3.7 Data collection and coding**

After identifying the variables that would render a practical data sample and delineating the level of analysis, the process of data collection commenced.

As mentioned in section 3.3, the guiding principle for collecting the translations was that they must include the linguistic sign *zenga zenga*. Yet, it is important to point out here that even after framing the time and the space from which the translations were to be chosen, the

translations that could have happened in that window are infinite. Moreover, due to the spatial and temporal constraints of this research, only the most relevant signs were chosen for analysis.


Thus, in order to reach a thorough understanding of the data collected within the specific temporal and spatial constraints, the data were then coded according to Saldaña's cyclical coding method of qualitative data (2015).<sup>1</sup> This method involved the application of two cycles of coding when approaching the data. Because this study examined a mix of YouTube videos, Google Images and written text, the first round of coding involved both descriptive and in vivo coding, which are identified by Saldaña as elemental methods (2015: 97). Descriptive coding involves the use of adjectives and phrases to describe, summarise or label parts of the data, and, in this case, elements of the semiotic signs (Saldaña, 2015: 102). In vivo coding, meanwhile "refers to a word or short phrase from the actual language found in the qualitative data record" (Saldaña, 2015: 105). Moreover, due to the variety of semiotic constituents of the videos and images, and the fact that this research is built on a theory which introduces the equality of all semiotic resources in the translation process (i.e. description of meaning), screenshots and links to the videos were included in the coding alongside the lingual description of the visual signs.

For example, the first round of coding an excerpt from Gaddafi's speech involved using descriptive codes for the visual and audial signs, and in vivo codes for the written linguistic signs (see table 1 below). Accordingly, the descriptive codes included linguistic and visual descriptions of Gaddafi's clothes, background, gestures and tone, and in vivo coding captured the title of the video, name of the channel and the written linguistic signs integrated into the visuals. It is important to note that including the title of the video in the coding process was significant in that it helped identify the role the title played in the translation of meaning. Moreover, coding the name of the channel helped identify the different meaning-makers of each sign, which may help with tracing subsequent signs back to their incipient meanings.

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<sup>1</sup> See addendum for complete coding process.



Table 1: Example of first cycle of coding

First round of elemental coding		
In vivo coding	“Muammar Gaddafi speech TRANSLATED (2011 Feb 22)” Channel: “SloBoe”	Visual description
Descriptive coding	Excerpt from Gaddafi’s speech, lasts 3:56 minutes, Gaddafi behind podium, brown Libyan cloak and Bedouin turban, shattered building in background, Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners, Gaddafi angry and agitated, banging on podium, frantic hand gestures, English subtitles added.	

The second round of coding was pattern coding, whereby data were grouped according to patterns or themes which emerged from the first cycle of coding. Signs from each category were chosen to ensure a comprehensive analysis of the different semiotic signs. The second cycle of coding was implemented through the grouping of the different signs into broader categories by identifying similar themes. This process of categorisation was defined by Saldaña as pattern coding: “Pattern Coding develops the ‘meta-code’ – the category label that identifies similarly coded data. Pattern Codes not only organize the corpus but attempt to attribute meaning to that organization” (2015:235).

Hence, signs which had similar descriptions or seemed to carry similar themes were grouped together. These themes were then grouped into meta-codes which helped provide a deeper but condensed comprehension of the data, ultimately filtering the initial codes into larger categories. For instance, an emergent theme from the YouTube videos was the use of Noy Alooshe’s visuals, but slightly editing the visuals to cover the dancing girl at the bottom of the screen (see table 4.2 below).

Table 2: Example of Meta-coding

First cycle of descriptive and in vivo coding			Second cycle of pattern coding
Link	Linguistic descriptive codes	Visual code	Meta-code
<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ChIpEUTX_Oc">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ChIpEUTX_Oc</a>	<p>Title: “DJ KADA zenga zenga(زنقة زنقة)”</p> <p>Pitbull’s “Hey baby” music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi’s Zenga Zenga Speech, Gaddafi’s gestures edited to look like dancing and girl covered with red boxes with moving red graphics inside, Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners, the words “DJ KADA” between both boxes.</p> <p>Channel: “Naivision”</p>		Noy’s remix edited to cover girl
<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TxPvldSOZa0">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TxPvldSOZa0</a>	<p>Title: “Zenga Zenga Song By Gaddafi Chanson de Kadhafi remix international”</p> <p>Pitbull’s “Hey baby” music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi’s Zenga Zenga Speech, Gaddafi’s gestures edited to look like dancing and girl covered with big green boxes with the words “zenga!” and “zenga?” written on them, Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners.</p>		

Moreover, due to the complex nature and profusion of similar variations of Noy’s remix, a third cycle of coding was done to pull similar categories together. As Saldanha explains:

Rarely is the first cycle of coding data perfectly attempted. The second cycle (and possibly the third and fourth, and so on) of recoding further manages, filters, highlights, and focuses the salient features of the qualitative data record for generating categories, themes, and concepts, grasping meaning, and/or building theory. (2015: 9)

Thus, to generate the most concise and efficient set of categories for analysis, many of the videos which shared an iconic relationship with Noy’s remix were categorised into further meta-codes. An example which illustrates this third round of coding is the grouping of the different categories of videos which were related to editing the dancing girl:

- Noy’s remix edited to cover the dancing girl
- Noy’s remix with girl edited out of visuals and Noy’s credits at the bottom of visuals instead
- Noy’s remix but with neither the girl nor the Noy Alooshe credits.

While these videos were slightly different, they all shared the feature of editing the visuals of the dancing girl. Consequently, these categories were then grouped together into the meta-code “Noy’s remix with edited girl” (see table 4.4 below).

Table 3: Example of third cycle of coding



First cycle of descriptive and in vivo coding			Second cycle of pattern coding	Third cycle of pattern coding
Link	Linguistic descriptive codes	Visual code	Theme	Meta-code
		 <p>DJ KADA zenga zenga(زنگة زنگة)</p> <p>73,488 views · Feb 25, 2011</p> <p>Naivision 4.88K subscribers</p>	Noy’s remix edited to cover girl	Noy’s remix with edited girl
		 <p>Gaddafi-Zenga Song-No girl edit version (Noy Alooshe Remix)</p> <p>1,613,277 views · Feb 24, 2011</p> <p>Noy Alooshe 11.1K subscribers</p>	Noy’s Remix with girl edited out of visuals and Noy’s credits at the bottom of visuals instead	

Table 3 (continued)

			<p>Noy's remix but with neither the girl nor the Noy Alooshe credits</p>	
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### **3.8 Data analysis**

After outlining and giving an in-depth account of the different constraints that may have affected the different “materialisations” of the *zenga zenga* phrase (i.e. *zenga zenga* signs), it is then vital to explain how these signs were selected and how they were analysed in accordance with Marais’s (2019) (bio)semiotic theory of translation. According to his theory, there is no definite meaning; all meaning is made through subjectively relating it to other meanings and the creation of this relationship is considered a translation process (Marais, 2019: 105). Hence, this research aims to examine the meaning-making relationships between the diverse materialisations of the *zenga zenga* phrase, whether it was the meaning rendered by Gaddafi when he uttered the phrase, or the meaning given to the speech by labelling it as the Zenga Zenga Speech, or even the meaning rendered when using the phrase in commercial advertising.

The selected signs were analysed using the Peircean triad due to the fact that the (bio)semiotic theory of translation is grounded in Peircean semiotics. As mentioned in section 2.3.1, according to Peirce, meaning is made through the relation of three components: the representamen, object and interpretant. Therefore, the signs were examined according to Pierce’s trichotomy. However, as explained in section 3.6, because the sample of data consists of representamens which were collected on the basis of their iconic relationships to Gaddafi’s Zenga Zenga Speech, references to the object and interpretant relationships were only described when a sign carries an effective meaning. This is merely because it is only possible to identify a relatively stable meaning when the representamen is constrained effectively, ultimately revealing its relationship to a particular object and interpretant. Once the triadic components and iconic relationships are described and similarities appear between different signs, it becomes possible to trace an incipient and subsequent sign.

### **3.5 Ethical considerations**

This research is a desktop study, so no human or animal subjects will be involved. Therefore, ethical clearance was granted on 26 July 2019 by the University of the Free State for a desktop study under the ethical clearance number UFS-HSD2019/1202/2507.

### **3.6 Conclusion**

The methodology for this research was chosen to cater for a case study examining the spread of the *zenga zenga* phrase from a semiotic stance. Due to the fact that the research is based on Marais's (2019) (bio)semiotic theory of translation, the focus of the study is to conduct an in-depth analysis of meaning-making processes that resulted in the spread of this phrase. This can only be accomplished through a descriptive qualitative approach. Furthermore, the analysis of the data is informed by the several time and space constraints that played into the emergence of different *zenga zenga* signs. In light of these constraints, the research question and objectives will be answered through the analysis of the data using the Peircean triad.

## Chapter 4: Data presentation and analysis

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter comprises of two main sections, namely the data presentation (4.3) and the data analysis (4.4). Because Saldanha and O'Brien (2014: 206) categorise case studies as context-orientated investigations, the chapter begins with a brief background of the reception of Gaddafi's speech and the context from which the different *zenga zenga* translations emerged. Section 4.3 then follows with a detailed account of the data examined in this study, giving a thorough presentation of the translations which were selected for analysis. Accordingly, the data analysis part of the chapter (4.3) examines the different *zenga zenga* meaning-making relationships through the description of the different manifestations of the phrase, that is, the representamens collected from the online platforms. As explained in section 3.3, these meaning-making processes are conceptualised as the translation processes under analysis according to the (bio)semiotic theory of translation. Hence, the description of the translations are done on the basis of the Peircean triad and his conceptualisation of the three termini of meaning-making (Representamen – Object – Interpretant).

### 4.2 The reception of *zenga zenga*

As explained in preceding chapters (1 and 2), this research investigates the different translations of the *zenga zenga* phrase after the Libyan leader, Gaddafi, gave his first speech at the time of the Arab revolutions of 2011. Although the speech was broadcast on Libyan state television, it was evident that it had spiked controversy internationally. Diverse interpretations of the event had proliferated from international news agencies (BBC, *The Guardian*, *The Telegraph*, Aljazeera, France 24, Reuters), researchers (Al-Majali, 2015; Al-Jabri, 2017; Almutairi, 2018; Alduhaim, 2018) and even members of the general public on social media platforms. While agencies such as Reuters, France 24, Aljazeera and the BBC (2011), all translated Gaddafi's performance as "defiant" in their headlines, when discussing the political implications of his appearance, viewers rendered comical interpretations of the speech and even sought commercial potential. Thus, the different translations of the speech's meaning depended on the context of its reception.

In other words, at the same time as the surge of news reports that covered the historical event, there was also an increase in translations at an international level. Viewers translated parts of the speech into jokes, catch phrases, chants, advertisements and online videos that went viral. As mentioned in section 1.1, the most prevalent of these translations were the ones including the *zenga zenga* phrase, to the point that the speech as a whole is now referred to as the Zenga Zenga Speech in the Arab Spring literature (Hilsum, 2012: 43 of 263; Bowen, 2013: 95; El Gomati, 2014: 131; Weissman, 2016: 672).

In addition to the multitude of references to the translation of the phrase to a pun (Alduhaim, 2018: 127; Bowen, 2013: 94; Häkkinen and Leppänen, 2014: 11;), other uses of the phrase were also cited. According to Sherwood, the phrase became “part of loyalist Libya’s lexicon, a chilling term of approval among people in Gaddafi’s grip” (2011). In fact, Libyan protestors and supporters were not the only ones who translated the threat; the phrase had crossed international borders, mutating into several sign systems reflecting diverse meanings (see examples in 4.2.6).

Bowen (2013: 94) mentions examples of these mutations in his recollection of the Arab Spring as he also marvelled at the transformation of the *zenga zenga* threat. Known for being the only foreign journalist who was permitted an interview with Gaddafi at the time of the Libyan revolution, Bowen also wrote about his first-hand experiences in the Libyan revolution. One of the most distinctive translations of *zenga zenga* mentioned in Bowen’s book was the transformation of the phrase into an assortment of fruit drinks, branded as *zenga zenga* drinks. The Lebanese company planned on introducing these fruit drinks to the Libyan market after the death of Gaddafi (Bowen, 2013: 94).

Ultimately, it was clear that the meaning of *zenga zenga* changed depending on the context in which it emerged and thus was related to. In Peircean terms, the interpretant of *zenga zenga* changed in accordance with the relation of the representamen to different objects, which thus produced different representamens. Therefore, whether the meaning-maker intended to make sense of the political implications of the phrase, use the phrase as a joke to strengthen the morale of fellow protestors or even use it for commercial branding, the fact that diverse meanings were made using this phrase is at the heart of the present study.

Although the transformations of the original *zenga zenga* meaning uttered by Gaddafi are already prevalent in the Arab Spring literature, the collection of the different meaning-making processes of the *zenga zenga* phrase, across different sign systems online, has never been done before. Hence, the following section presents the different translations of the *zenga zenga* phrase found online in accordance with the time and place constraints, which were set out to frame the scope of the research in Chapter 3.

### **4.3 Data presentation**

This section presents the finalised coded data, starting with the YouTube data in section 4.3.1 and concluding with the Google Images data in section 4.3.2.

#### **4.3.1 YouTube data**

As is commonly known, YouTube is one of many social media platforms which relies on its users for most of its content (Freeman and Chapman, 2007). Users have full discretion to post content of any nature which aligns with the general guidelines and policies stated on the website (YouTube, 2020). Keeping in mind that YouTube is an entertainment platform that is accessed for free from all over the world, this online space is a breeding ground for semiosis. While the data collection was far from simple (see 3.5), certain features on the YouTube website made it possible to identify the desired sample of data. Because the search for *zenga zenga* signs was done eight years after Gaddafi's *zenga zenga* sign, the most efficient setting was filtering the "zenga zenga" results according to the date they were uploaded. This made it possible to reach signs which shared iconic relationships with Gaddafi's sign as most of the recent results for *zenga zenga* do not seem to be related to Gaddafi's *zenga zenga* (most of them are associated to the football manager Walter Zenga). Moreover, settings such as including the YouTube channel which posted each video and the date beneath each video provided insight into when certain meanings were made and by whom for each specific search.

##### **4.3.1.1 Results for "zenga zenga"**

The first set of data that was collected from YouTube were the results for the keywords "zenga zenga" in English. Fifty-eight results were found in the period between 22 February 2011 and

31 March 2011. After coding the videos, eight categories were identified (see Figure 4.1 below).

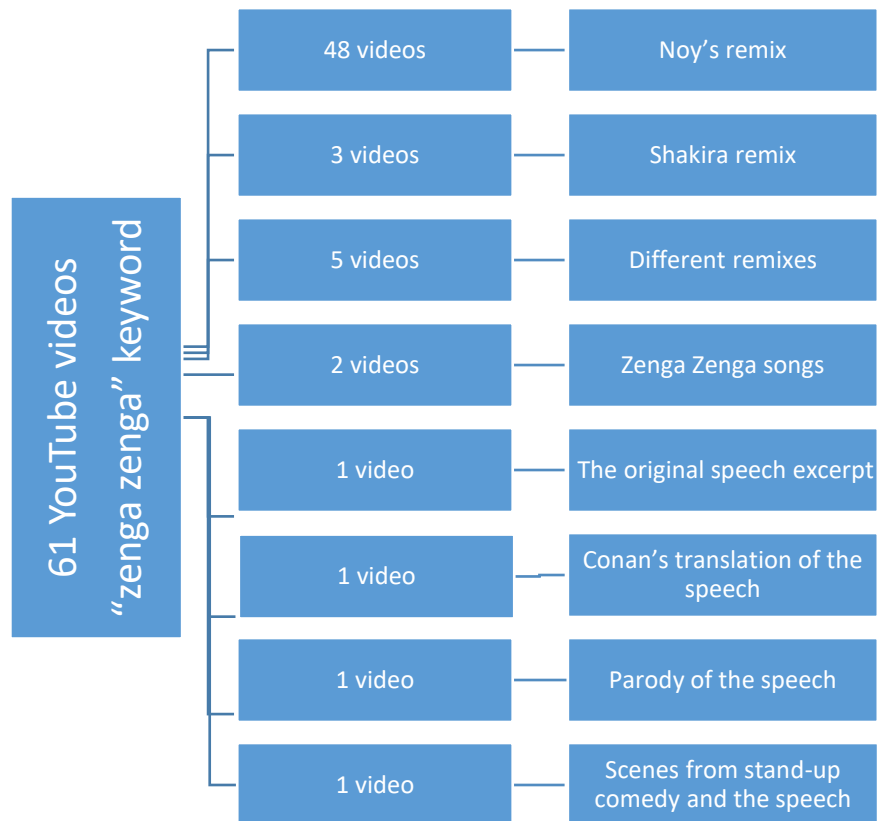


Figure 4.1: Categories of YouTube search results for “zenga zenga”

The most prominent category, which was titled “Noy’s remix”, includes all the videos that are related to a remix made by a musician named Noy Alooshe. His remix – a merge between Pitbull’s “Hey baby” music sound track, excerpts from Gaddafi’s speech and girls dancing at the bottom of the screen – was posted hours after Gaddafi’s original speech had aired.<sup>2</sup> From the period assigned for data collection (see 4.2.5), 48 (re)posts of the remix were found when searching for “zenga zenga”. These videos/translations emerged as a result of people either reposting Noy’s original remix or slightly editing it (i.e. making a change to the representamen, object, interpretant relationship) before they published it on their own channels. Furthermore, not only is the abundance of (re)semiotic processes or the vast number of views fascinating, but also the fact that Noy himself also published an edited version of his remix.<sup>3</sup> This adds to the complexity of the translation processes and indicates “a meaning potential” that the

<sup>2</sup> To see Noy’s original remix, follow the link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cBY-0n4esNY>

<sup>3</sup> To see Noy’s second version of the remix with no girl, follow the link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6GcUutnU2gk>

meaning-makers deemed important, creating a surge of translation processes or making the video viral. Thus, the researcher was able to further categorise the videos into five general subcategories (see section 1 in addendum for complete coding table with video links), from the 48 different publications of the remix:

- the original remix (16)
- Noy's remix with edited girl (12)
- videos that used the audio of Noy's original remix with different visuals (19)
- the merging of two different remixes, namely the "My people they love me" remix combined with the "Zenga zenga" remix (3).

Another remix, which was reposted three times within the same time period, was the Shakira remix. Identified as a separate category, these videos were excerpts from Shakira's "Waka Waka" song remixed with excerpts from Gaddafi's 22 February speech.<sup>4</sup> A comical remix was made by replacing Shakira's lyrics "Waka Waka" with excerpts of Gaddafi shouting "zenga zenga", and with his words "Africa and Latin America" replacing Shakira's lyrics "it's time for Africa".

The category "different remixes" encompassed five different remixes which did not gain the same popularity as the former two categories. These videos were published using different excerpts from the speech edited onto various songs.

In addition to these remixes, there were also two songs referring to the Arab Spring events and which were composed to include the *zenga zenga* phrase in the lyrics (in the chorus) (cf. the category "zenga zenga song" in Figure 4.1 above). One of these two videos is a rap song, while the other is a song supportive of Gaddafi's regime with lyrics pledging loyalty and allegiance to his rule.

The video category "the original speech" refers to a 3:56-minute long excerpt from the original speech that had been broadcast on Libyan State TV.

The next category, "Conan's translation of the speech", is a scene from the American talk show "Conan". The excerpt from the show starts with the presenter, Conan O'Brien, introducing a

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<sup>4</sup> To see the Shakira remix, follow the link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EdtMWAZPqZI>

clip from Gaddafi’s speech, which was international news at the time. The show then cuts to excerpts from the speech accompanied by satirical subtitles and jokes instead of a literal interlingual translation.<sup>5</sup>

The last category, “stand-up comedy scenes” included a video that showed scenes from a French stand-up comedian’s show interchanging with excerpts of Gaddafi’s speech. However, it was unintelligible due to the language barrier.

#### 4.3.1.2 Results for زنفه زنفه

The next set of data compiled from YouTube was from the search for the Arabic keyword زنفه زنفه. Thirty-eight videos appeared within the same time restrictions of the former search. The results were then coded and 10 categories were extracted (see Figure 4.2).

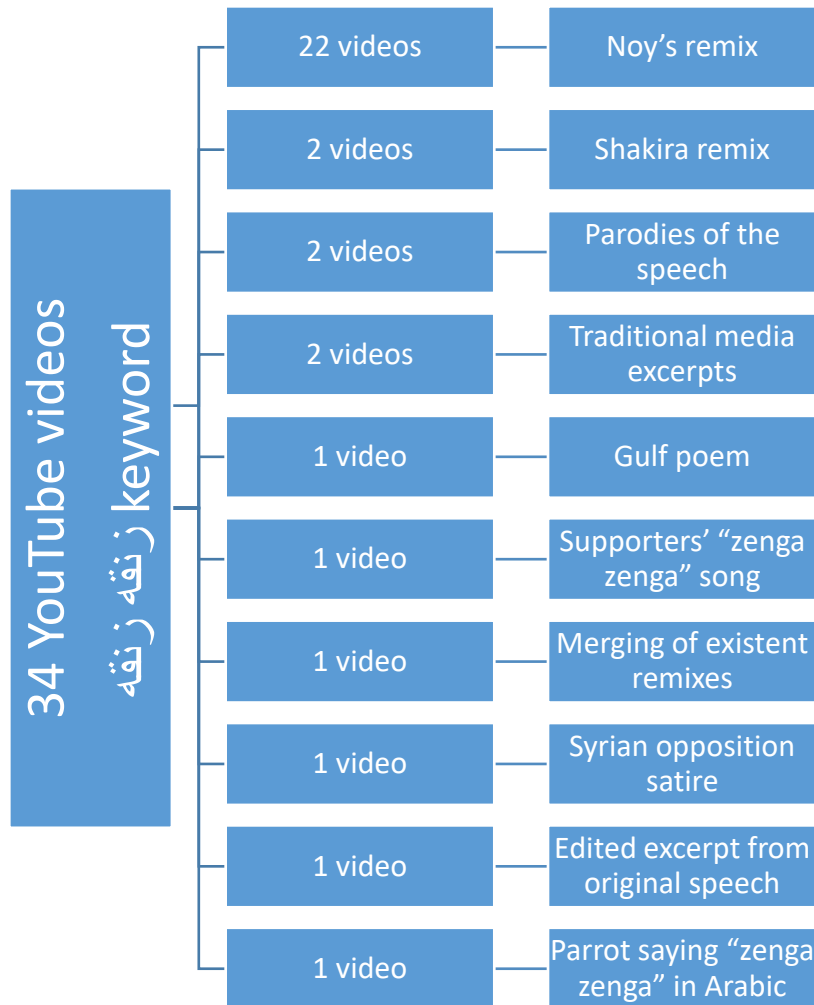


Figure 4.2: Categories of YouTube results for زنفه زنفه

<sup>5</sup> To see Conan’s comedy sketch, follow the link: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mLh2V\\_nL1Tc](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mLh2V_nL1Tc)

Three of the categories were similar to ones that emerged before in the “zenga zenga” search (4.2.6.1.1), namely “Noy’s remix”, “Shakira remix” and the “zenga zenga songs”. Similar to that search, the most frequently reoccurring video in the results for زنگه زنگه was also Noy’s remix, as 22 of the 34 videos were variations of Noy’s remix (see 1.2.2 in addendum). Furthermore, two videos of the same Shakira remix from the “zenga zenga” search were found as well as the video of the supporters’ “zenga zenga song”.

The six other categories that were detected were:

- Parodies of the speech: Two videos of people re-enacting Gaddafi’s speech with a comical twist, one of which was a toddler and the other a middle-aged man. Props such as winter scarfs for turbans and brown clothes to resemble Gaddafi’s attire emphasised the humorous context.<sup>6</sup>
- Excerpts from traditional media: Two of the videos were excerpts from material that was originally broadcast on pan Arab television channels. One was an Aljazeera advert and the other was part of a talk show on Al-aan channel. The Aljazeera advert was of a man threatening Gaddafi using the *zenga zenga* phrase, whereas the talk show was a discussion of what the Arabic phrase meant.<sup>7</sup>
- Gulf poem: A video of men, with a gulf accent, reciting a poem including the phrase *zenga zenga*.<sup>8</sup>
- Merging of existent remixes: There was one long video which started with a man running in the jungle and then cut to a compilation of the Shakira remix and variations of Noy’s remix.<sup>9</sup>
- Syrian opposition satire: Excerpts from a famous Syrian scholar’s talk and from Alasad’s speech were edited side by side to highlight their resemblance. The comparison between the two speeches emphasised how the scholar’s rhetoric was playing into state propaganda.<sup>10</sup>
- Edited excerpt from original speech: An excerpt from Gaddafi’s speech with dramatic music edited into the background and subtitles in Arabic to emphasise some of the words he said.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> To see parodies of the speech, follow the links: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qjWPq\\_hhv6M](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qjWPq_hhv6M), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9i8M1NbsmL8>

<sup>7</sup> To see excerpts from traditional media, follow the links: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T\\_aO7yHCqCM](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T_aO7yHCqCM), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mV9mpdsYNyM&t=11s>

<sup>8</sup> To see the poem, follow the link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KrbUXu4cQVY&t=9s>

<sup>9</sup> To see the merging of existent remixes, follow the link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GtsS2s9X24I&t=14s>

<sup>10</sup> To see the Syrian opposition satire, follow the link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xnyWedAvres&t=35s>

<sup>11</sup> To see the edited excerpt, follow the link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0S4xUR5--ZA&t=6s>

- Zenga parrot: One of the videos was of a parrot repeating the *zenga zenga* phrase in Arabic.<sup>12</sup>

It is clear from the YouTube data that Noy Alooshe’s remix was the most prevalent and that most of the videos were part of comical or satirical meaning-making processes. The next section looks into the signs collected from the Google search engine.

### **4.3.2 Google Images data**

As indicated in section 3.5, looking for signs which shared an iconic relationship with Gaddafi’s *zenga zenga* sign was more problematic on the Google search engine. This was because it was not possible to delineate the search results to a specific time period and identify who uploaded the sign. Consequently, the search was limited to the first 50 results generated for each search (i.e. the results for “zenga zenga” and its Arabic equivalent زنگه زنگه).

#### **4.3.2.1 Results for “zenga zenga”**

When collecting the first 50 images for the keywords “zenga zenga” from the Google search engine, 35 images were irrelevant to the research topic. These images were neither related to the Arab Spring context nor to the *zenga zenga* phrase uttered by Gaddafi. For example, 25 of these images were of a football manager (mentioned in 4.3.1) whose surname is Zenga (see 1.3.1 in the addendum for the rest of the irrelevant images).

As for the other 15 related to the context:

- Ten were images of screenshots of Noy’s remix video. These were still images from the different variations of the remix found in the YouTube searches. They displayed Gaddafi clad in brown with either the girls dancing at the bottom or the different edited versions with different subtitles at the bottom.
- Two were screenshots of Gaddafi’s original speech. The first image seems like a screenshot from the live BBC News coverage of the speech because of the words “Libyan State TV” and the large red “Breaking News” ribbon at the bottom with the BBC logo underneath. The other image was a closer shot of Gaddafi, but it only had the Libyan State TV icon.
- Three were different images of Gaddafi. The first of the three was of him wearing what seems like an African-inspired gold outfit with a matching hat and shawl. The photo

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<sup>12</sup> To see the parrot video, follow the link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4XrFT6pV49Q&t=6s>

seems to have been taken without his knowledge as Gaddafi seems in deep thought and is not looking towards the camera. The next photo is of Gaddafi looking towards the camera with his chin lifted up, projecting a sense of authority. It seems like the photo was taken at an international conference because of the small Algerian flag placed in front of him in the shot. The last image is of him wearing a brown shirt with the African continent printed all over it. He seems to be looking towards the camera, but the image is edited to look like he is cross-eyed.

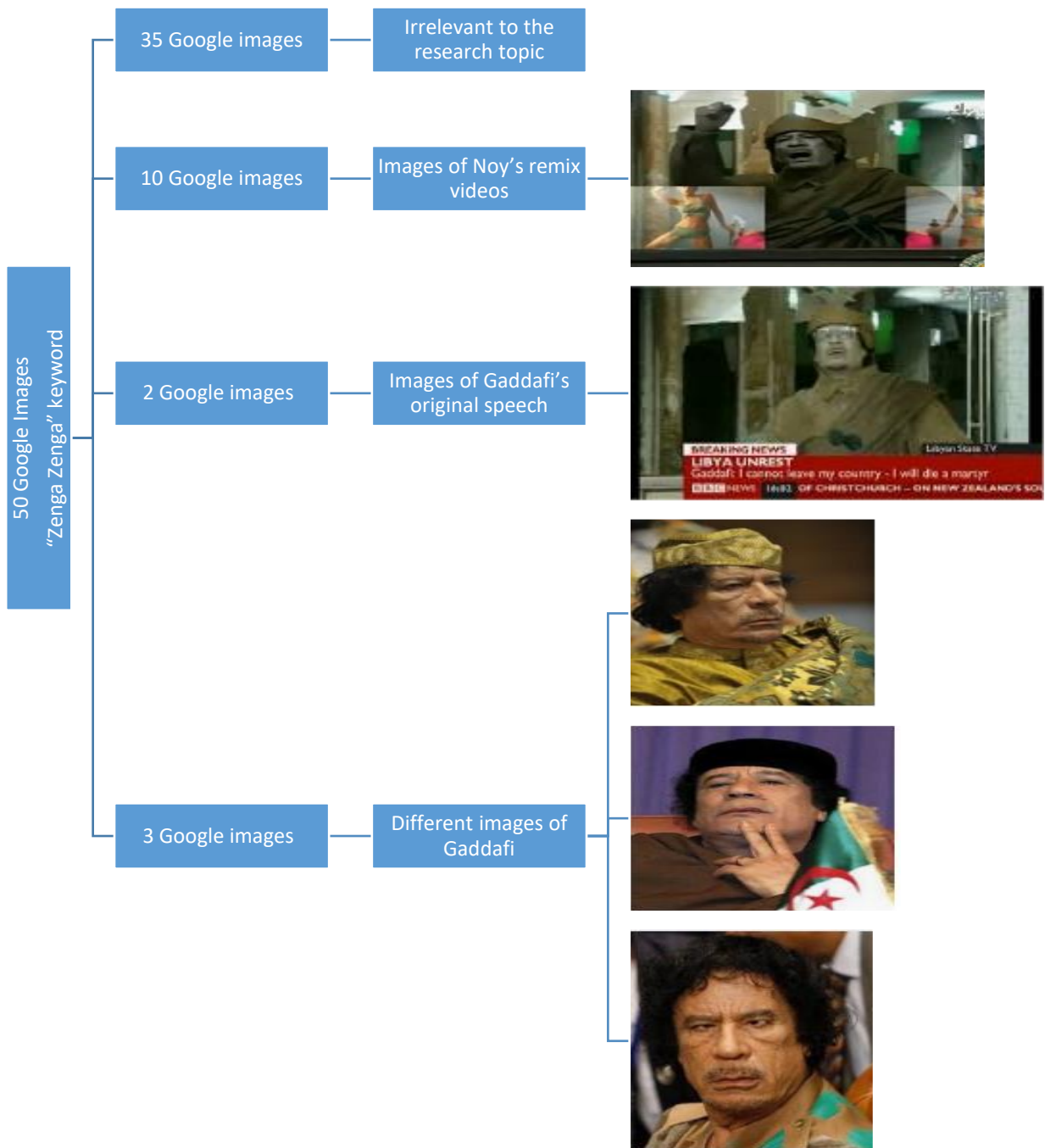


Figure 4.3: Google Images results for “zenga zenga”

### **4.3.2.3 Results for زنگه زنگه**

As for the Google Images results for the Arabic translation of the words *zenga zenga*, namely زنگه زنگه, like the previous search, 21 of the images were irrelevant to the topic and did not share any iconic relationships with Gaddafi's Zenga Zenga Speech (see 1.4.1 in addendum). The other 29 images were coded and were grouped into the following categories:

- Seven screenshots of the original speech: These were still shots of the speech from either Libyan State TV or other news agencies whose logos and breaking news ribbons were at the bottom of the image.
- Seven cartoons and memes: These images were either hand-drawn cartoons or photographs of Gaddafi with witty punchlines.
- Five images of Gaddafi's body or head edited onto another person: Three of these images were of Gaddafi's body in his brown attire with different leaders' faces edited onto the images. The other two images were of Gaddafi's face edited onto a rapper's body and Jackie Chan's body respectively. The edited images were accompanied by comic satirical remarks and subtitles.
- Two screenshots of Noy's remix: These were shots from Noy's original remix with the dancing girls at the bottom.
- Two images of Gaddafi cross-eyed: These seemed like edited close-ups of Gaddafi looking towards the camera.
- An image of a blue crisp packet with the words زنگه زنگه printed across the top and a cartoon corn character with Gaddafi's iconic curly hair and glasses.
- An image of a building with a large banner on top of the shop signs, which seems like a mother's day greeting for all the mothers in every house, room and *zenga*.
- An image of a building with a black sign and the words زنگه زنگه café written in yellow.
- An image of a car bumper with the words زنگه زنگه written across it in red.
- An image of a restaurant flyer, which advertises a *zenga zenga* meal. The phrase is spelt "zanga zanga" and written across the page in large red block letters. There is also some word play on another phrase from Gaddafi's speech in a smaller font. His phrase "It is time to take action, it is time to march" was adapted to "It is time to eat, it's time to order".
- An image of Gaddafi wearing African-inspired attire and sunglasses.

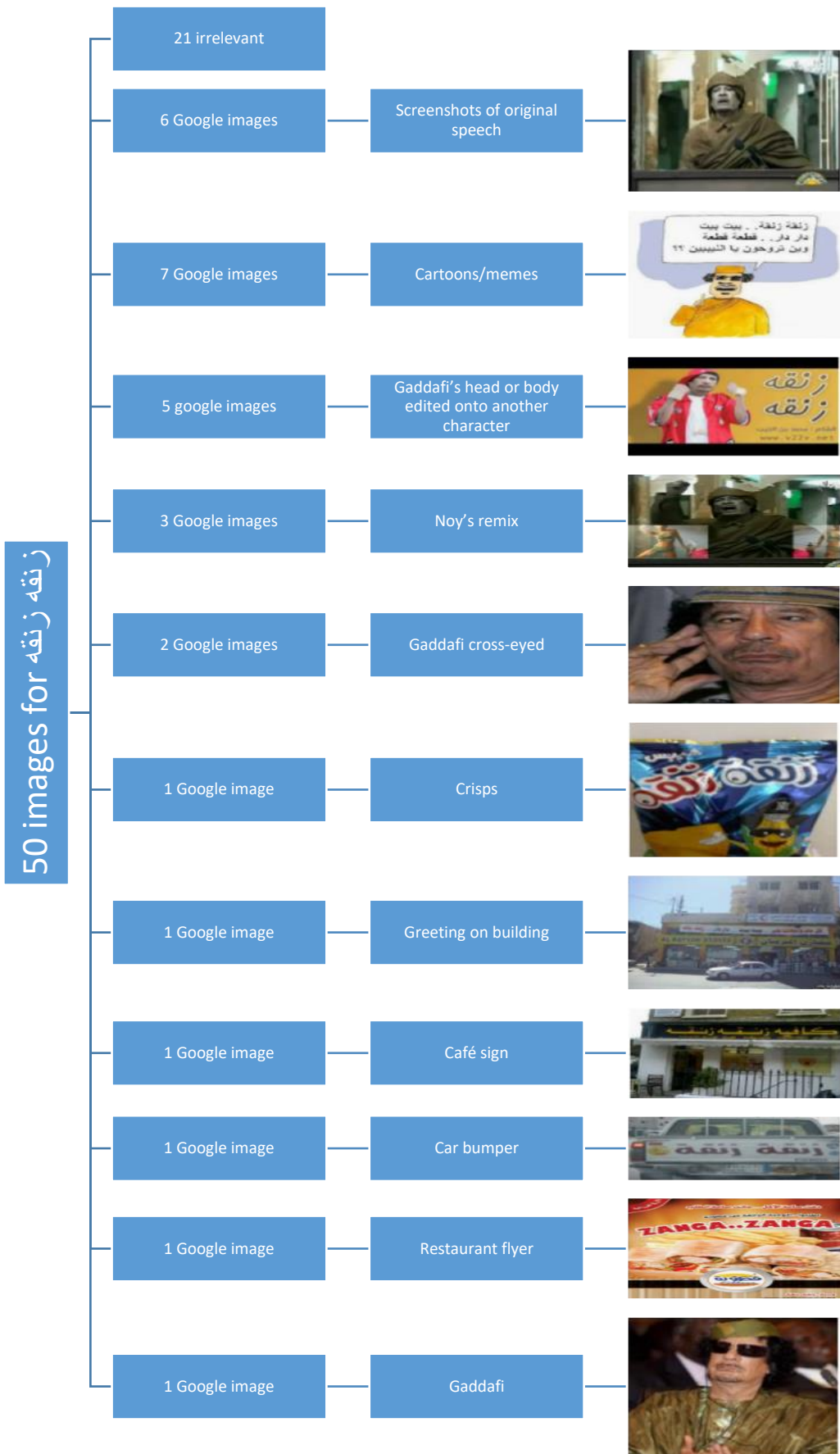


Figure 4.4: Google Image results for زنفه زنفه

Although the theme of Noy's remix was also prevalent when searching for images using the English words "zenga zenga", the results for the Arabic equivalent زنگه زنگه were more diverse. It is evident that a variety of semiotic processes emerged as a result of the same phrase, but it seems as though the Arabic meaning-makers had related the phrase to more objects and thus created a variety of interpretants. Consequently, an array of image results, which seemed to include a variety of meanings in comparison to the English search, were found.

#### **4.4 Data analysis**

On the basis of the above, this section covers the examination of the meaning-making processes which emerged in the shape of complex signs, such as videos and images. Using the Peircean triad as a tool to decipher and trace the translations of *zenga zenga*, the analysis is divided into four sections according to the chosen incipient sign and the iconic relationships the rest of the signs share with this incipient sign.

Hence, the first part of the analysis comprises the description of the YouTube excerpt from Gaddafi's original speech. This sign was chosen because the original speech, Gaddafi's initial utterance of the phrase, is considered the first incipient sign in the translation process (according to the chosen level of analysis for this study). In other words, the freezing and slicing of the ongoing semiotic processes (explained in 2.3.4) starts with Gaddafi's words. It should be kept in mind that according to the process ontology on which the (bio)semiotic theory is based,

the incipient sign is only incipient at that moment or for that particular analysis. In a previous moment, it could have been subsequent. Incipience and subsequence are, therefore, historically or temporally relative to a particular moment of observation; they are patterns arising from translational processes. They are frozen for shorter or longer periods of time, but always part of an emerging process. (Marais, 2019: 53)

Furthermore, although it has already been established in Chapter 2 that translation processes are non-linear with no fixed source texts and target texts, starting the analysis by studying the semiotic (Representamen – Object – Interpretant) relationships of Gaddafi's sign and their relationship to one another will at least serve as a contextualisation of the time and space through which the rest of the signs had emerged. This is particularly relevant since the data were confined to the signs which emerged the month after the speech was delivered.

Furthermore, the choice to start with an excerpt of the speech rather than the complete speech was made firstly because it did not appear in the search results, and secondly because the excerpt captures the 3:56 minutes in which Gaddafi had used the *zenga zenga* phrase, from the hour-and-a-half-long speech.

After an exhaustive description of this incipient sign, the analysis then delves into the investigation of the signs which shared iconic relationships with this incipient sign. The analysis of the icons starts with icons which shared video resemblances (i.e. animated resemblances) with the excerpt, then signs which shared static visual resemblances and linguistic resemblances with the excerpt, and finishing off with signs which only shared linguistic iconic relationships with Gaddafi’s excerpt (see figure 4.5 below).



Figure 4.5: Structure of data analysis

The second part of the analysis (4.3.2) is dedicated to the investigation of representamens which shared video resemblance (i.e. linguistic, visual and audial resemblance) with the speech excerpt. These signs include Noy Alooshe’s remix and its translations, the Shakira remix and Conan’s comedy sketch.

Furthermore, because Noy’s remix and its translations were the most prevalent in the data sample, as they dominated the search results, a thorough examination is conducted of this sign

and its different materialisations. Moreover, an interview with the meaning-maker of the remix, Noy Alooshe himself, in which he elaborates on the meaning-making process, was found on YouTube, enabling a deeper examination of this sign. The significance of this interview lies in the unearthing of the unknown time and space elements which played into Noy's translation and the deciphering of the object-subject-interpretant relationship he intended. Another reason behind paying close attention to Noy's translations is that the plethora of translations which derived from the remix create a rich corpus of semiotic processes. As a result of this collection of signs, there are several traces between incipient and subsequent signs, as from first glance it is apparent that there are several translations which share iconic relationships (i.e. representamens share the features of the object, for example videos which share the exact same visuals with different titles).

The third section then delves into the analysis of the signs which share linguistic and visual resemblances such as the image of the crisp packet and the meme. Finally, the fourth part of the analysis examines the signs which only shared linguistic iconic relationships, such as the restaurant flyer and the mother's day greeting.

#### **4.4.1 The *zenga zenga* sign from the YouTube excerpt from Gaddafi's speech**

As mentioned in section 4.2.7, the excerpt from Ghaddafi's speech was specified as the incipient sign for this study, and its analysis thus lays the foundation for the subsequent signs. Although it is established that no meaning is absolute or static, the meaning made by Gaddafi is a clear example of what Queiroz and El-Hani define as "effective semiosis" (see 4.2.5). Thus, starting the journey of exploring these complex, continuous and relative meaning-making processes with an effective sign will assist in obtaining a better understanding of (or at least an insight into) how meanings were transmitted, related and spread.

##### **4.4.1.1 Representamen**

As mentioned in section 3.3.1, Peirce defines the representamen as the component in the meaning-making relationship which channels the meaning. In other words, it is the medium through which living organisms initially come into contact with a certain meaning (Merrell, 2001). In the case of the first sign, the speech excerpt, the representamen is the audio and visuals on the screen while the video is playing.

As discussed in Chapter 1, Gaddafi’s speech, which aired for approximately an hour and a half on Libyan State TV, caught the attention of international media. However, “[o]nly a few channels were able to provide interpretations of the entire speech” (Alduhaim, 2018: 108). Most news agencies discussed the manner in which Gaddafi delivered his speech by only referring to short excerpts from the original broadcast (Alduhaim, 2018: 108).

The first sign under analysis, the excerpt found in the YouTube data for the keyword “zenga zenga”, seems to be part of what Al-Arabiya, a popular pan Arab news channel, had streamed when covering the event. This is evident from Al-Arabiya’s logo, which appears in the top right corner of the video, as well as the Libyan State TV logo at the bottom. Moreover, Al-Arabiya’s logo also covers the words “Live-Tripoli”, which also implies that the excerpt was either taken from a simultaneous live stream of the original speech or from part of a report (see figure 4.6 below).<sup>13</sup>



Figure 4.6: The translated speech excerpt

<sup>13</sup> To see the speech excerpt, follow the link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=69wBG6ULNzQ>

Accordingly, this representamen shares an iconic relationship with the original speech. This is because the excerpt is an extract of the last few minutes of the original live speech. It therefore resembles it in almost all the visual (Gaddafi's appearance, his background, the camera angles, etc.) and audial features (e.g. his voice) which create meaning.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, Gaddafi delivered his speech in front of the ruins of his compound, clad in brown traditional Libyan attire. The excerpt in the video is of the last 3:56 minutes of this speech. It starts with Gaddafi claiming that there were hidden agendas executed by foreign forces, who provided the protesters with drugs in order to take to the streets against their own will. He then goes on to declare a sacred march to purify the country, calling upon the millions to join him to purify Libya *زنگه زنگه بيت بيت دار دار فرد فرد* [inch by inch, house by house, room by room, alley by alley (*zenga zenga*), person by person]. He goes on to explain that millions from all nations will come to his defence and that he would never leave the land of his ancestors. He concludes his speech by sarcastically thanking and threatening Arab countries, singling out Qatar, the headquarters of Aljazeera, which was one of the most famous media platforms for the protestors at the time. Banging on the podium and shouting, he ends his speech by saying that it is time to march and that the victory hour had rang, frantically shouting *الى الامام الى الامام ثورة ثورة* [forward forward, revolution revolution] (see section 2 in the addendum for translation transcript).

Alongside the semiotic signs made by Gaddafi, there were also apparent semiotic contributions by the YouTuber who uploaded this video (see 4.4.1). In addition to posting it two days later in a different space – an alternative media platform, consequently making a reverberation to the time and space of the meaning – English subtitles were also added to the visuals. As a result, there was a slight change to the representamen by adding an extra layer of meaning-making, or, in Jakobson's terms, a layer of "interlingual translation". The YouTuber's influence on the meaning-making process was deduced first from the title of the YouTube video, *Muammar Gaddafi speech TRANSLATED (2011 Feb 22)*, second from the fact that the subtitles were added through the closed caption setting available on the YouTube website and were not part of the original excerpt, and third from the acknowledgment in the description box which refers to (and includes the link of) another YouTuber who seems to have done the translation (see figure 4.6 above).

In conclusion, the representamen under analysis in this video is Arabic spoken language which was video recorded and travelled across different media platforms (i.e. the repetition of the linguistic sign *zenga zenga*, زنگه زنگه) immersed in specific times and spaces. As a result, the following question arises: What are the object and the interpretant of this representamen?

#### **4.4.1.2 Object**

Although a number of researchers and online platforms assumed that *zenga* was a word that referred to a colloquial Libyan Arabic object (Alduhaim, 2018: 114; Bowen, 2013: 94; Häkkinen and Leppänen, 2014: 9; Wikipedia, 2011; Lewis, 2011), and even Libyans themselves appear to relate it to the western Libyan dialect in an Al-Aan television report (Al Aan TV تلفزيون الان, 2011), the term *zenga* (زنگه) is a Standard Arabic word. The Arabic language has a diglossic nature, whereby two forms of Arabic are used side by side: the Standard Arabic dialect in formal communications and the different colloquial dialects in informal settings. As a result, it is difficult to distinguish the origins of different Arabic terms. Furthermore, Gaddafi was not only known for his unconventional use of the Libyan dialect in formal and high-status settings, but he also pronounced the Arabic term زنگه [zanqa] as “zenga” using the Libyan dialect. A prominent feature of the Libyan dialect is the pronunciation of the Standard Arabic glottal letter ‘ق’ /q/ as /g/. Thus, although the etymology of the word proves its current use within the Standard Arabic dialect, his Libyan pronunciation seemed to have translated it into Libyan to the viewers. While the pronunciation may differ, the meaning Gaddafi was conveying was that of its standard origin, a noun which means a narrow path in a village and is derived from the Arabic root زنق [zanaqa] (Team A, 2020). Therefore, when Gaddafi called for a march to purify Libya *zenga* by *zenga*, he was referring to all the narrow paths in the country.

#### **4.4.1.3 Interpretant**

According to Peirce’s triad (discussed in 3.3.1), an interpretant is created only through relating a representamen to an object. Although this process is relative to the interpreter and to the space and time in which the process takes place, this part of the analysis aims to describe the most viable meaning made by Gaddafi (or what he intended to mean) when he uttered the words *zenga zenga*.

One interpretation of Gaddafi’s repetition of the word *zenga* was Alduhaim’s linguistic analysis of the phrase in her study (2018:127). She describes the repetition of these words as a means

of emphasis and attention grabbing, as well as a tool to instil fear and project authority (Alduhaim, 2018: 127). Alduhaim’s interpretation could also be supported by considering Gaddafi’s military background, as he goes by the title Colonel Gaddafi. This could also explain the repetition and terms in his rhetoric, which sound like military commands, such as “a call for a march, *zenga zenga*, forward forward . . . etc.” Keeping in mind his military background and the fact that at the time he “was the longest-serving non-monarchical Head of State” (Totman and Hardy, 2015: 1), it is also important to point out the role of the space and time in which the speech was delivered in the meaning-making process. Since the speech was delivered at the beginning of the Libyan protests, after successful revolutions in both neighbouring countries Tunisia and Egypt, projecting authority and instilling fear was Gaddafi’s regime’s survival mechanism.

Ultimately, the repetitive theme throughout the sentence, the context of purifying the country of the alleged outlaws and the use of a word referring to the narrowest of paths collectively signify a meaning of a “thorough purification of the country”. Moreover, given the context, the threat also carries the sense that every protestor will be found, no matter where they are, consequently conveying meanings of absolute power and authority. As mentioned in the introduction to this analysis, the researcher considers the meaning Gaddafi made as effective semiosis. This is because, through the meanings Gaddafi had already made in the speech as well as his tone, gestures and background, the object was constrained in such a way that the prospect of other potential meanings is relatively low.

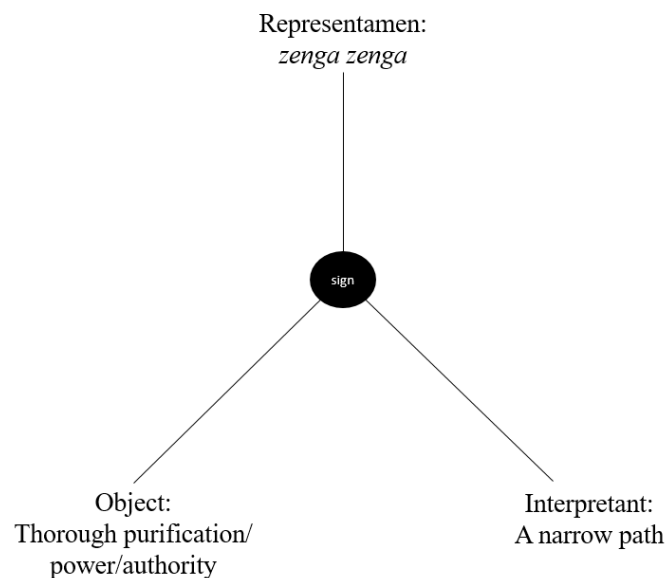


Figure 4.7: Gaddafi’s *zenga zenga* sign

Having established a sound understanding of the starting point chosen for the analysis of the complex translation processes under examination, the next section (4.4.2) delves into the description of the representamens which share video iconic relationships with this sign.

#### **4.4.2 The *zenga zenga* sign from Noy Alooshe's remix and its translations**

This section first covers the semiotic analysis of the first *zenga zenga* sign Noy published on YouTube, thus far referred to as Noy's original remix. This remix is discussed first as most of the data indicated that it is an incipient sign that instigated all the references to the Zenga Zenga Speech (Lewis, 2011; Wikipedia, 2011; Eichner, 2011; Oddguy, 2011). Or, perhaps more correctly, it is one of the first subsequent signs to Gadaffi's *zenga zenga* sign, but the incipient sign for a plethora of subsequent translation processes. Thus the section first gives a detailed description of Noy's original remix, looking into all three termini of the meaning-making process (representamen, object and interpretant). The identification of the object and the interpretant was possible because of an interview posted on YouTube by CultureBuzz (2012) with the meaning-maker Noy Alooshe. After examining Noy's original remix, the analysis goes on to describe the subsequent signs which emerged after the remix, specifically the representamens of the videos which shared an iconic relationship with Noy's original remix. The analysis of the subsequent signs of the remix is limited to the representamens (as mentioned in 3.6), since it is difficult, if not impossible, to infer the objects and interpretants of all the different signs without a comprehensive study of the meaning-makers' translation process, the meaning they intended to portray and the context in which the meaning was made. The difficulty of identifying the objects and interpretants could be due to the fact that not all the representamens were constrained in a way which rendered effective semiosis. Thus, to make the analysis feasible with the meanings available on the semiotic landscape, the iconic relationships between the signs are examined and references are made to potential meanings.

##### **4.4.2.1 Noy's original remix**

###### **4.4.2.1.1 The representamen**

The first apparent feature of this representamen (see figure 4.10 below) is that it resembles the visuals of the excerpt analysed above (4.4.1). The resemblance is evident because of the same two television channel logos – Al-Aarabiya and the Libyan State TV logo – which appear in

the right-hand corners of the video. Moreover, the shots included in the remix are all of the same last few minutes of the speech. This could mean that the remix is an edited version of the former excerpt (4.4.1), that is, a subsequent sign of the excerpt. However, the dates on which the videos were posted prove that Noy's video was posted a day before the excerpt in 4.4.1, on 23 February 2011. Accordingly, the next most likely explanation would be that both Noy and the interpreter of the excerpt might have shared the same incipient sign. However, another constraint prevailed when searching for a representamen which preceded and shared a similar iconic relationship with both these videos on the YouTube platform. Surprisingly, it is no longer possible to reach videos posted before March 2011 on the YouTube website (see section 3 in the addendum). Thus, tracing back the process and distinguishing a potential incipient sign to these processes is not feasible. This is a clear example of how time and space constraints are continuously changing and consequently (re)shaping meaning-making processes.

Although Noy's representamen shares visual and audial features with the original speech, there are several alterations to the visual and audial semiotic resources. First, the remix is only 2:01 minutes long, so nearly half of the incipient representamen was edited and cut out. The next most obvious alteration was the background music, from Pitbull's 2010 song "Hey baby", which was edited onto different alternating shots from the speech. These shots were a sequence of autotuned versions of Gaddafi's phrases and manipulations of his angry gestures, edited in a manner to make it look like he was rapping and dancing. This was the product of further semiotic work that was performed in the editing process, leaving a subsequent representamen that constrains the meaning-making process to such an extent that a totally different meaning becomes probable, namely that Gaddafi's delivery was funny. In addition to Gaddafi's modified performance, background dancers were also edited onto the visuals. This was done by editing an extra layer of visuals onto the video footage. Two images of what Häkkinen and Lappänen (2013: 9) describe as a "half naked woman dancing erotically" (see figure 4.8) were positioned at the bottom of the screen to the right and left of Gaddafi's podium.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cBY-0n4esNY>



Figure 4.8: Noy's original remix

Moreover, Alooshe's lyrics for the remix consisted of only five different phrases Gaddafi had said at the end of his speech:

<p>1. Inch by inch, house by house, room by room, alley by alley, person by person.</p>	<p>شبر شبر بيت بيت دار دار زنقه زنقه فرد فرد</p>
<p>2. Forward forward, revolution revolution. (×4)</p>	<p>(×4) الى الامام الى الامام ثورة ثورة</p>
<p>3. I have millions that support me, not just from inside but from other nations. I will call upon all the millions in the deserts, and from desert to desert the millions will march. (×2)</p>	<p>معاي الملايين من مش من الداخل معاي الملايين من الامم الاخرانا توجه نداء الى كل ملايين الصحراء من الصحراء الى الصحراء ستزحف الملايين الملايين تزحف و ما يقدر حد يوقفها بسرعة بسرعة (2x)!</p>
<p>4. The millions will march and nobody will be able to stop them. (×2)</p>	<p>شبر شبر بيت بيت دار دار زنقه زنقه فرد فرد 2</p>
<p>1. Inch by inch, house by house, room by room, alley by alley, person by person. (×2)</p>	<p>دقت ساعة العمل دقت ساعة الزحف دقت ساعة الانتصار لا رجوع x3</p>
<p>5. It is time to start, it is time to march, victory hour is here, no retreat. (×3)</p>	<p>شبر شبر بيت بيت دار دار زنقه زنقه فرد فرد x 2</p>
<p>1. Inch by inch, house by house, room by room, alley by alley, person by person. (×2)</p>	<p>الى الامام الى الامام ثورة ثورة 4 x</p>
<p>2. Forward forward, revolution revolution. (×4)</p>	<p></p>

Although the rest of the phrases and words seemed to be catchy, foreign and melodic, it was *zenga zenga* that stood out, and soon the remix was labelled “Gaddafi’s zenga zenga hip hop remix” (Estrin and Mullins, 2011). Noy became known as “the maker of zenga zenga” (CultureBuzz, 2012), while Gaddafi’s speech became known as “the Zenga Zenga Speech” (Peel, 2012; Hilsum, 2012: 43 of 263; Bowen, 2013: 95; El Gomati, 2014: 131; Weissman, 2016: 672). The translation of the historical hour-and-a-half-long speech to the two words *zenga zenga* and their consequent representation of the speech in its entirety could come down to Noy’s remix being titled “Muammer Gaddafi- zenga zenga song- Noy Alooshe Remix”.

As mentioned in 2.3.3.3, Peirce defines the process of relating a representamen to an object through convention and the practice of society as a symbolic relationship (EP, 8). This would mean that as a result of all the sign systems, and the time and space constraints, Noy’s representamen created a symbolic relationship between the linguistic sign *zenga zenga* and Gaddafi’s speech as the two had become related through the habitual use of society.

Furthermore, Peirce’s explanation of how symbols develop from icons and in turn spread and evolve gives an insight into what is known as virality today:

Symbols grow. They come into being by development out of other signs, particularly from likenesses or from mixed signs partaking of the nature of likenesses and symbols. We think only in signs. These mental signs are of mixed nature; the symbol-parts of them are called concepts. If a man makes a new symbol, it is by thoughts involving concepts. So it is only out of symbols that a new symbol can grow. *Omne symbolum de symbolo.* (7) A symbol, once in being, spreads among the peoples. In use and in experience, its meaning grows. (EP, 8)

In other words, Noy made use of a play on the iconic relationships between his musical inventory of meanings and Gaddafi’s repetitive phrases to create a musical, comic and satirical meaning. These iconic relationships then developed into a symbolic relationship, which was the result of viewers linking the speech to the remix out of habit. The meaning of the symbol then grew from the title of a YouTube remix and extended to representing the original speech.

#### **4.3.2.1.2 The object**

To understand how Noy’s translation emerged, the next step is to identify the object to which the representamen was referring. In an interview with CultureBuzz (2012), Noy explained that

after seeing the speech on the news, he had uploaded his remix onto YouTube within two hours. He revealed that, because of his DJ and musical background, he picked up the *zenga zenga* phrase because it was similar to the catchy words musicians look for in a melody chorus, giving examples such as Bieber's *baby baby* and Shakira's *waka waka* (CultureBuzz, 2012). In other words, the object of Noy's *zenga zenga* was not just a comic or a satirical connotation but also the musical potential it carried through its resemblance to past melodies, beats and choruses. This link (i.e. iconic relationship) between the resemblance of the *zenga zenga* phrase to lines of a musical chorus sheds light on the complexity of the creation of meaning. While Noy was conscious of the significance of the musical inventory of meanings he had compiled over the years as a DJ and musician, this insight still does not clarify why the *zenga zenga* phrase was chosen in particular, as the phrase was said in the midst of a string of words which had the same melodic features: شبر شبر بیت بیت دار دار زنقه زنقه فرد فرد [inch by inch, house by house room by room and person by person]. As Noy explains in the interview, there is no definite equation to achieve a viral hit on the internet, because the online community is unpredictable and defining "viral" characteristics of a video is always relative. The popularity of Noy's translation and its reception is a digital analogy of how meaning is made through the selection of relatively arbitrary signs and is then collectively accepted by society.

In short, Noy's remix is an example of how symbolic signs emerge and become conventional signs used by society. It is not clear why the words *zenga zenga* stood out from the rest of the speech for Noy, or why he chose to include *zenga zenga* in the title, or even why the online community was so fond of the video, but there seemed to be a consensus that this phrase represented the speech best. While Noy's aim was to render the iconic value to create a good remix, this iconic sign developed into a symbolic sign due to its popularity and conventional use by meaning-makers.

#### **4.4.2.1.3 The interpretant**

As a result of Noy tying Gaddafi's words to his musical background, the famous satirical remix was made. By relating his repetitive rhetoric, angry tone, frantic gestures and serious threats to pop music, dance and comedy, an effective semiosis was created. The process of remixing – or, in semiotic terms, relating and constraining – what once was a serious political speech with famous catchy dance music, effectively translated the serious threatening object into a comic satirical interpretant (see figure 4.9). As observed in the data collection phase, this meaning

that Noy made became widespread and, as he remarked himself, people were contacting him internationally to express how much the remix made them laugh.

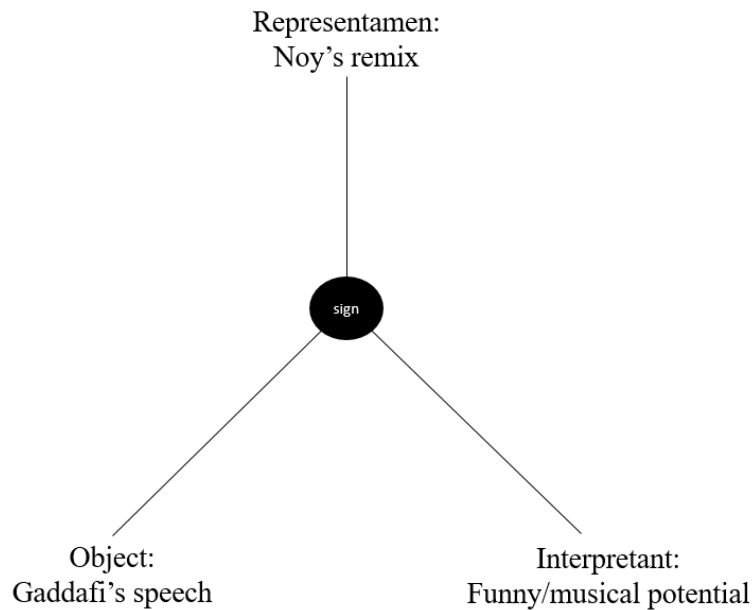


Figure 4.9: Noy's remix sign

#### **4.4.2.2 Translations of Noy's original remix**

It has become a well-known fact in the internet world that the more views and shares a video has, the more viral it becomes. Furthermore, as a result of a sign reaching more people, more meaning processes will be made in different times and spaces. Hence the plethora of results when searching for Noy's remix. As explained in 4.3.3.1.1, when coding the 46 results which presented iconic relationships with Noy's original remix, the analysis in this section delves into the description of the representamens of the remixes with the covered girls, remixes with no girl and the videos with the remix audio but different visuals.

##### **4.4.2.2.1 Representamens with edited girl**

One of the codes which emerged from the YouTube search results for the keywords "zenga zenga" and their Arabic equivalents زنفه زنفه were signs which shared iconic features with Noy's original remix but translated the visuals of the dancing girl. One such sign was a video which very close resembled the visuals and audio of Noy's original remix. However, this video seemed to have slightly altered lighting and two red boxes covering the dancing girl (see figure

4.10 below). Inside these boxes were moving graphics and in between them were the words “DJ KADA” in white block letters. Another addition to the visual semiotic resources was an animated logo at the top left-hand corner which read “Naivision”. This is also the name of the YouTube channel. Moreover, this video seems to have cut out the first 46 seconds of the original remix as it is an exact copy of the last 1:14 seconds (except for the semiotic signs mentioned above). Furthermore, this video appeared twice in the data, once in the English search results and once in the Arabic results. This could be because the video was titled “DJ KADA zenga zenga زنفه زنفه”, which included both the Arabic and English scripts of the word “zenga”.



Figure 4.10: Translation of Noy’s remix with girl covered with red boxes

Another similar translation was also found in both the English and Arabic results, as it also had the keywords in both languages in the title: “Zenga Zenga أغنية القذافي - بيت زنفة ثورة” (see figure 4.11 below).<sup>15</sup> This video shared a closer iconic resemblance with Noy’s original remix than the previous video, as it was the exact same length and had the same lighting and audio. The only two differences to the original remix were, first, the use of white boxes with moving

<sup>15</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KIWvZNqGapY&t=5s>

graphics on them to cover the dancing girl and, second, the covering of the Libyan State TV logo in the bottom right-hand corner.



Figure 4.11: Translation of Noy’s remix with girl covered by white boxes and graphics

Similarly, another Youtuber posted the exact same remix as Noy’s but with red boxes with the words “Al arab” on them covering the dancing girl (see figure 4.12 below). The Arabic title أغنية معمر القذافي بيت زنقة زنقة لشباب ثورة [Muammar Al-Gaddafi’s song to the youth of the revolution beit beit zenga zenga] as well as the words “Al arab” are hints that the meanings made in this video were made for Arab viewers.



Figure 4.12: Translation of Noy’s remix with girl covered by red boxes “Al arab”

A fourth video which also translated Noy’s remix by covering up the dancing girl also shared all the visual and audial features of the original remix and slightly altered the visuals with green boxes covering the dancing girl (see figure 4.13). The box on the left had the word “ZENGA!” printed on it while the one on the right had the word “ZENGA?” printed across it.



Figure 4.13: Translation of Noy’s remix with girl covered by green boxes

Moreover, what is interesting is that Noy had also published a version of the remix without the dancing girls (see 4.14). In this version of his remix he had extracted the layer with the dancing girl altogether. Instead he added the words “Noy Alooshe present: Dj Gadafi Zenga Zenga Song” across the bottom of the screen (the representamen) where the dancing girls once were. Noy also made it clear in the title of the video, “Gaddafi-Zenga Song-No girl edit version (Noy Alooshe Remix)”, that this representamen was an edited version of his original remix without the dancing girl. This video also became popular and spread online, and was viewed 1,613,277 times on Noy’s channel. It was also posted by several other YouTubers (see “Noy’s Remix with girl edited out and Noy credits on visuals category” in 1.1.2 in addendum).



Figure 4.14: Noy’s remix with girl edited out

Although the representamens within the category of the “edited girl remixes” varied according to the length of the video, they all shared very close iconic relationships with Noy’s original remix. They shared the same audio with slight changes to the visuals, with the most distinctive change being the covering up of the dancing girl at the bottom or editing the girl out of the visuals.

From the 73 videos in the Arabic and English search results which were related to Noy’s remix, 8 were edited to cover the dancing girls and 11 had the girl removed from the visuals. By making these apparent changes to the representamen, a tangible meaning-making process has emerged. These intentional semiotic “tweaks” could be efforts to make the remix more appropriate in a different space and time. A likely example would be the conservative Arab population, as some news articles have speculated (Eichner, 2011).

Furthermore, the need to modify the visuals could also be a result of the meaning-makers’ own time and space, which shapes their thoughts, beliefs and culture. An example is Muhammad Felimban’s channel, which posted two versions of the remix, neither of which included the dancing girl. The first translation he posted covered the girl with green boxes, and the second translation he posted, the next day, had the girl edited out of the visuals altogether (see figure 4.15 and 4.16). It is possible that the choice may have been arbitrary, but there is also the possibility that the YouTuber may have considered these “conservative” translations more appropriate and relatable to him and his online community. Other factors that could support

the idea of cultural appropriation is the name of the channel “Muhammed Felimban” and the other videos posted on the channel, which carry the theme of a conservative practising Muslim. However, it is only possible to contemplate the “potential meanings”, first because the representamen was not constrained in a way which portrays an evident interpretant. Second, since the data were collected from online platforms, years after the video was posted, and not directly from meaning-makers in, say, an interview, it is only possible to speculate on the potential objects and interpretants (as mentioned in 3.6). Furthermore, even if one had access to the meaning-makers, they themselves might not be able to pinpoint all the complex constraints that contributed to the meaning-making processes.



Figure 4.15: Muhammed Flimban’s video with girl covered



Figure 4.16: Muhammed Flimban’s video with girl edited out

#### **4.4.2.2.4 Representamens with Noy’s audio and different visuals**

From the YouTube sample, the majority of the videos which shared an iconic relationship with Noy’s original remix (29 of the 73) combined the audio of the original remix with different visuals. Consequently, the process of relating the audio to other systems of signs rendered translations with a multiplicity of potential supportive, comic and satirical meanings.

#### **4.4.2.2.4.1 Potential supportive meanings using Noy’s audio**

One video with the same audio as Noy’s original remix seemed to portray support for Gaddafi’s regime.<sup>16</sup> This was inferred from the process of relating the audio from Noy’s remix to images of Gaddafi in his renowned pompous poses and “nationalistic” photographs. The video is constituted of a sequences of pictures of Gaddafi – in his notorious “African”, Bedouin or military-inspired outfits, striking his signature poses – accompanied with Noy’s remix audio. The sequence was made of six recurring pictures, the first of which was of Gaddafi wearing what seems like African-inspired attire and hat with his hands held high looking away from the camera (see Figure 4.17).



Figure 4.17: Gaddafi in African-inspired attire

The image that followed was of Gaddafi wearing Libyan traditional clothes and looking towards the camera with his finger held up towards the camera in what seems like a warning or threatening gesture (see Figure 4.18).

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<sup>16</sup> See video at: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=luEuw\\_ZnIYI](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=luEuw_ZnIYI)



Figure 4.18: Gaddafi pointing at camera

The next image was of Gaddafi in one of his famous poses with his fists held high, wearing a dark suit with a green badge of the African continent pinned on his chest (see Figure 4.19).



Figure 4.19: Gaddafi's fists pose

The following two images appeared similar, as at first glance it seems as though he is wearing the same outfit and sunglasses. However, a closer examination revealed that the pictures were taken on two different occasions, since minor differences in his attire and facial hair are evident. Although these pictures might have been taken years apart, Gaddafi's gestures seem to portray the same sense of arrogance and pride.

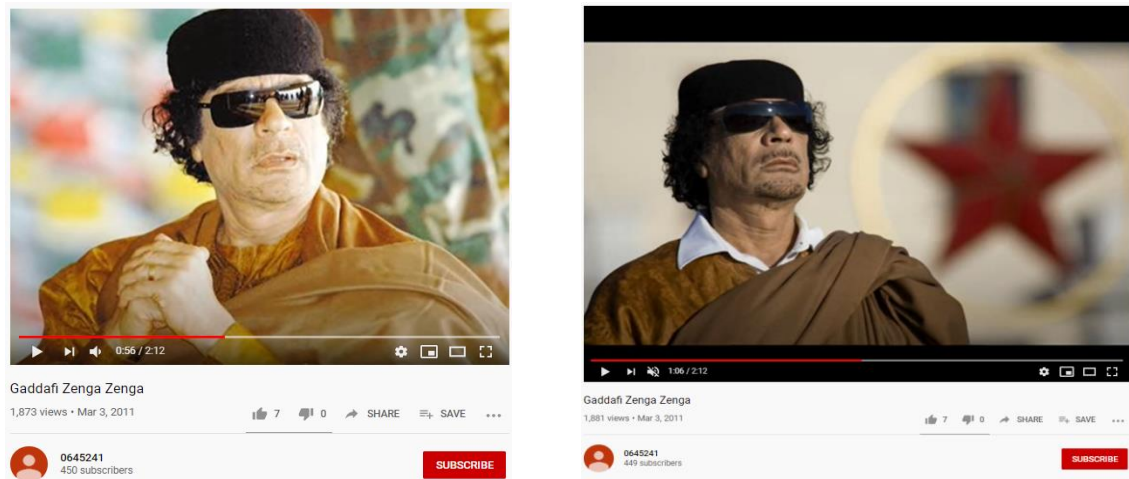


Figure 4.20 and 4.21: Similar pictures of Gaddafi in Libyan attire and sunglasses

While the representamens discussed so far carry subtle hints of objects along the lines of a proud African, Libyan, Bedouin, authoritative, nationalistic identity which could potentially create supportive meanings, the meanings are still potential. This is because the representamens do not seem to be constrained in a way which would render this interpretant effectively to all interpreters whatever their space and time constraints. However, the final picture in the sequence conveyed an effective supportive meaning. This picture is of Gaddafi standing side by side with Berlusconi, the Italian president at the time, on his first visit to Italy (see figure 4.22). This image was one of many which spiked controversy in the international press (Hooper, 2009). While news agencies discussed the unconventional occurrences of the visit, such as Gaddafi’s entourage of female guards and his warm welcome by the Italian president, it was Gaddafi’s outfit which grabbed the most attention. This was because Gaddafi had a photograph of the famous Libyan figure of the colonial resistance pinned on his chest or, as *The Guardian* headline read, “Libyan leader sports picture of resistance leader hanged by Italian colonial masters” (2011) (see figure 4.22). This picture, along with the controversial event of Berlusconi kissing Gaddafi’s hand on one of his other visits to the Italy (see section 4 in addendum), is a famous supporter’s argument that Gaddafi had a strong grasp on foreign policy, and is cited as proof of his sovereignty in the region.



Figure 4.22: Colonial resistance stunt

Hence, relating Noy’s audio with images saturated with socio-political connotations rendered a supportive meaning. However, it is important to mention here that this supportive meaning could only arise if the interpreter has knowledge of the socio-political meanings described above.

On the one hand, this video could depict an effective supportive interpretant for a Libyan citizen. This is due to the fact that a Libyan would relate these representamens to Gaddafi’s renowned rhetoric of colonial resistance and continuous efforts to portray an “anti-Western” image in every public appearance. While Gaddafi was known for his continuous attempts to render patriotic meanings using the most unconventional semiotic sources (such as in figure 4.22), these occurrences may not be known to the rest of the international community. Hence the supportive meanings embedded in this video may not be understood by someone who does not have this contextual background. As Marais explains, meaning is not a fixed entity waiting to be discovered, but a process that can only take form by relating it to another existing meaning. Thus, if one were to consider that the viewer’s only knowledge of Gaddafi was his dictatorship and related the visuals to Noy’s audio playing in the background, a satirical connotation may be rendered rather than the embedded supportive meanings.

Ultimately, this translation elucidates the process of a potential communication. This analysis emphasises the relativity of meaning because the potential meaning the representamen channels is dependant on the object to which the interpreter relates it (see figure 4.23 below).

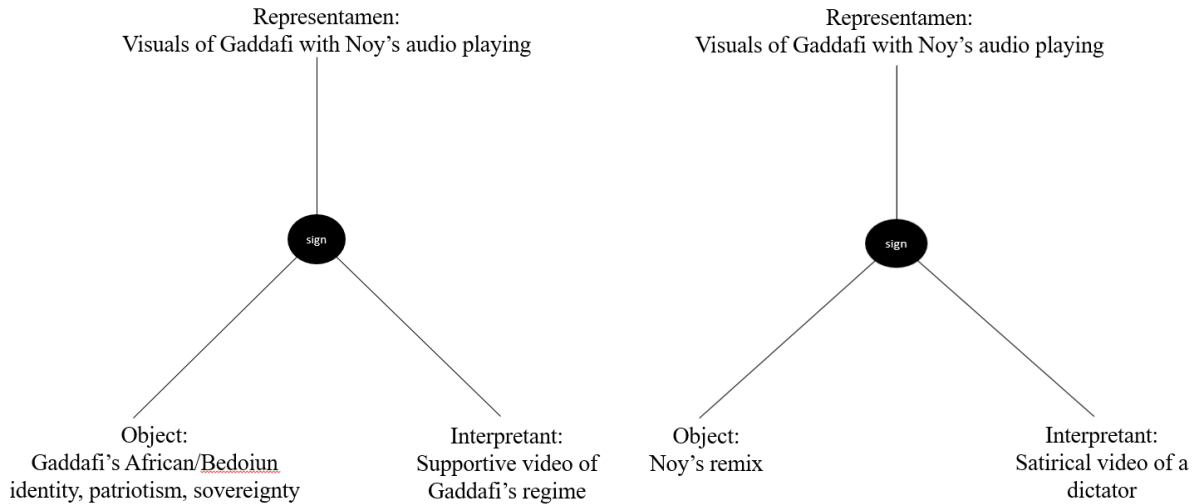


Figure 4.23: Potential meanings of remix

#### **4.4.2.2.4.2 Creating meanings of dissent using Noy's audio**

In contrast to the previous video, instead of modifying the comical object in Noy's remix with supportive connotations, another YouTuber related the remix to meanings of condemnation. This was done by using the audio of Noy's remix along with photographs and written descriptions which condemned Gaddafi (see figure 4.24).<sup>17</sup> The video starts with the words "Mouammer Kadhafi معمر القذافي megalomania crazia" in white block letters on a black background. The visuals then change into a meme with a cartoon drawing of Gaddafi and the words "wanted dead or alive, One Trillion tera bytes dollars" (see figure 4.24). At the top of the meme is a drawing of the Israeli flag, and the phrase "Important announcement for the Mahdi Party" is written in Arabic next to it. Although the meaning of the linguistic phrase is not clear, its placement next to the Israeli flag gives an Israeli-related meaning to the interpretant. This meaning carries many negative connotations within the context of the Arab world, due to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Thus, a popular way of rendering meanings of antagonism and betrayal in the Arab world is by associating any Arab political figure with Israeli roots or even Israeli affiliations. Moreover, an image which is clearly from an anti-Gaddafi protest is also added to the bottom of the meme. Although the different semiotic signs incorporated in this meme do not seem to be cohesive (or even intelligible in the case of the other Arabic sentences), the evident negative meanings convey an overall meaning of dissent.

<sup>17</sup> See full video at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WdI-1QQQgWI>



Figure 4.24: The meme condemning Gaddafi

After this introduction, the video goes on to denounce Gaddafi by using a selection of images of him with sombre facial feature and by adding condemning subtitles (see figures 4.25 and 4.26). It should be kept in mind that Noy’s remix is playing alongside these interchanging visuals. As a result of relating the remix audio to visuals which convey negative meanings, an effective semiosis emerges. By constraining the representamen with a multiplicity of semiotic resources – such as the subtitles, images and music – the most likely meaning this sign renders is a negative portrayal of Gaddafi and his regime.



Figure 4.25 and 4.26: Examples of the negative meanings

#### **4.4.2.2.4.3 Creating narratives using Noy’s audio**

Another meaning-making process which implements Noy’s remix audio is a video which combines the music with a sequence of images. However, these images differ from the ones in the video above (4.4.2.2.4.2) in that they seem to depict a narrative and its counter-narrative. The visuals continuously alternate between images of Gaddafi in the pinnacle of his rule and images from the revolution and the epitome of dissent (see figure 4.25).<sup>18</sup> While the representamen is not constrained in a manner that renders a specific interpretant, it seems as though a potential meaning of these contrasting images could be the profound social change occurring at the time. The images alternate between two themes. The first set of images which appear are pictures of popular events during Gaddafi’s rule, such as his famous United Nations speech, his meetings with international leaders and his crowning as the king of kings of Africa (see figure 4.27).



Figure 4.27: Gaddafi’s coronation as the king of Africa

The second set of images comprises a selection of pictures of the protests calling for the fall of Gaddafi’s regime or of satirical memes and cartoons (see figure 4.28).

<sup>18</sup> To see video follow the link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yi3clQGZS4o>



Figure 4.28: Example of pictures of protests

While the first set of images tells the tale of a sovereign leader who was once crowned the king of kings of Africa, the second set of images narrates the events of the revolution. The ebb and flow of these two different meanings creates a potential narrative of change.

#### **4.4.2.2.4.3 Creating satirical meanings using Noy’s audio**

Another one of the categories found when coding translations of Noy’s remix through relating the audio to different visuals was the category of comic and satirical videos. These would either be slideshows of satirical cartoons playing alongside Noy’s audio or an edited version of dancing characters with Gaddafi’s head edited onto the dancers. For instance, one of the videos seems to be a scene from an eighties disco with a tall figure sporting a large afro frantically dancing to Noy’s remix (see figure 4.29).<sup>19</sup> Gaddafi’s face is edited onto the dancing man’s body, which creates the impression that Gaddafi is performing the ridiculous dance moves. What also adds to the comic meaning is that Gaddafi’s facial features seem very serious and sombre. Editing the solemn facial features onto the funny dance movements constrains the representamen in such a way that only leaves space for a funny and satirical representamen.

<sup>19</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dEk2Yvv6cVI>



Figure 4.29: Gaddafi as a disco dancer

Another video, which also involves the creation of meaning by relating Noy's audio to edited visuals, plays visuals of what seems like a young boyband performing on a stage, but instead the faces of the singers, faces of the Arab leaders Ben Ali, Alasad, Gaddafi, Mubarak and Salah were edited onto their bodies (see figure 4.30).<sup>20</sup> The interplay between the audio and visuals creates a humorous effective translation.

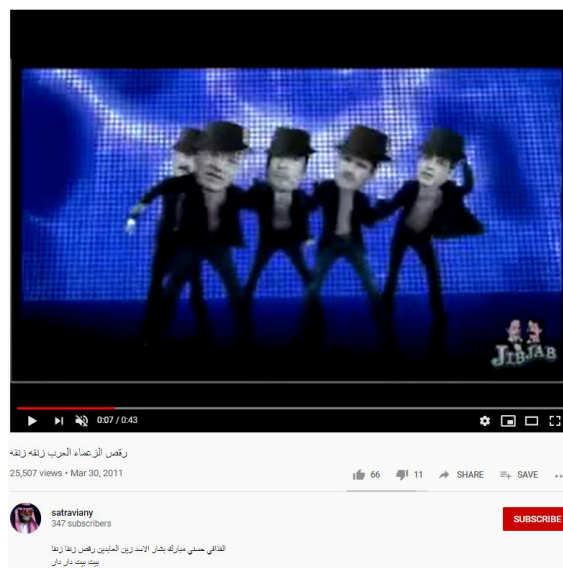


Figure 4.30: Gaddafi and fellow Arab leaders performing on a stage

<sup>20</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GkeUNtR34Iq>

#### **4.4.2.2.4.4 The spread of *zenga zenga* meanings**

Other YouTubers shared videos of people dancing in a club while the remix audio was playing.<sup>21</sup> In the data collected, three videos of the clubs shared very close iconic relationships. Though it was not clear whether the music was playing at the club or edited onto the visuals when uploading the videos to YouTube, the three videos were the same length and had the exact same visuals and audio. Although the only differences were the titles of each video and the times at which they were uploaded, these semiotic signs created different interpretants because they referred to different objects. The first video, uploaded on 27 February, was titled “Gaddafi song @ Morocco 2011 Zenga Zenga” (see Figure 4.31).

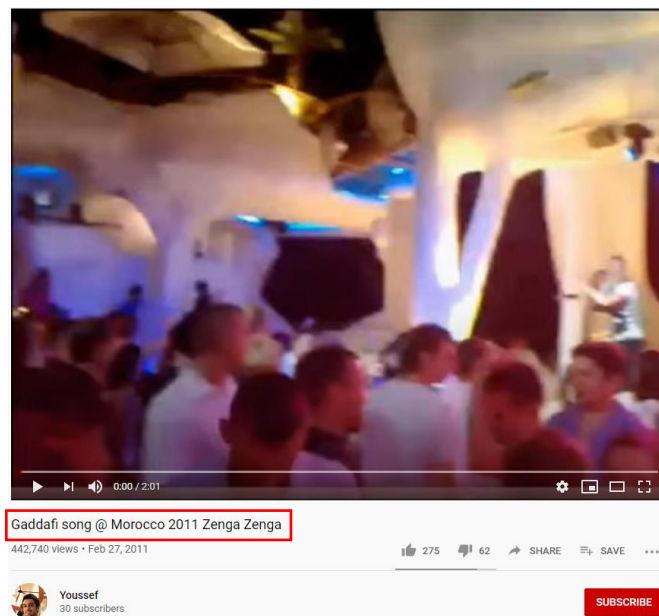


Figure 4.31: The first video found with people dancing in a club to Noy’s remix

The next video, uploaded four days later on 3 March, was titled “Zenga Zenga-Gaddafi Speech remix @ Pacha-Tunisia 2011” (see figure 4.32)

<sup>21</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z45cLXndZqo>, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VwXnm5I5lvk>, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ANqqnYx9aIQ>

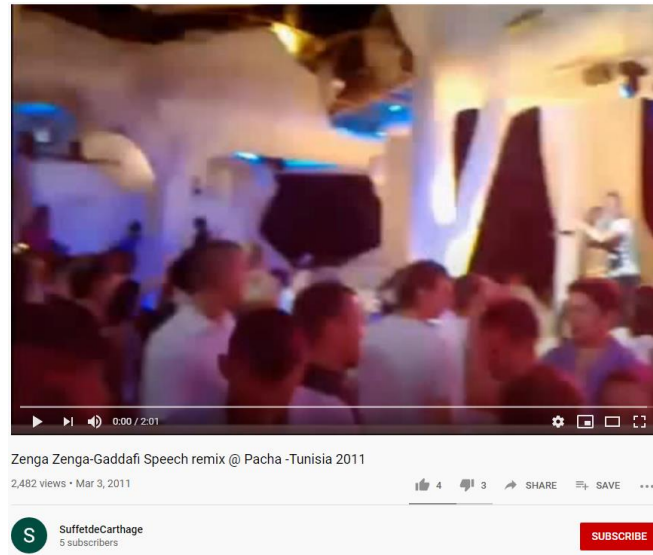


Figure 4.32: The second post of the video of people dancing in a club to Noy’s remix

The last video was posted on 4 March, a day after the latter video (4.32), and was titled “Kedafi Zenga Zenga” (see Figure 4.33).



Figure 4.33: The third post found of people dancing in a club to Noy’s remix

The first conclusion that could be drawn from these three variants of the same video is that the earliest video could be the incipient sign for the other two. However, it is important to stress here that because the sample of data is limited to specific keywords, and because of the complexities of how information spreads online, it is not possible to trace these signs back to each other. This is mainly because there is a high possibility that the incipient signs for each translation could have been a video which did not emerge in this particular sample of data.

The second deduction from examining the different titles has to do with the contradicting locations in the first two videos. The first states that the images belong to a club in Morocco, while the other claims they are from Tunisia. Although there are no clues from the semiotic signs that prove the authenticity of either these meanings, the use of the locations in the title could indicate the popularity and spread of Noy's remix. This is because a potential meaning, which could be deduced from these contradictory titles, is the intention to portray that either Noy's remix had spread internationally or that Gaddafi's phrase had travelled across the Libyan borders and become a hit in the clubs of other Arab countries. Another potential meaning could be a commercial connotation for the club mentioned in the title of 4.34, "Pacha-Tunisia". While there are no other semiotic constraints which support this possibility, there are no constraints eliminating this potential meaning as it could still take place at given time and place.

A similar video, which could also convey a potential meaning of the *zenga zenga* phrase crossing linguistic, cultural and contextual borders, is a translation which also merges Noy's audio with visuals inside a club.<sup>22</sup> This video, which presents images of a man dressed in attire resembling Gaddafi's clothes in the Zenga Zenga Speech (brown robes and turban) as well as imitating his renowned sporting of sunglasses indoors, walking around a crowded club and dancing and singing along to Noy's remix. In front of the Gaddafi "look-alike", a lady dressed in a belly dancing suit seems to be carrying a fake rifle, acting as one of Gaddafi's renowned female bodyguards. These efforts to depict Gaddafi's persona through the iconic relationship of Gaddafi's appearance and his phrases in the remix playing in the background are proof that the sign is subsequent to the Zenga Zenga Speech. In other word, the object of the video was Gaddafi's speech, since the representamen and object share features.



Figure 4.34: Gaddafi impersonation in a club dancing to Noy's remix

<sup>22</sup> [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MG0\\_irH3tz8](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MG0_irH3tz8)

Furthermore, the words “Zenga Zenga song / ChinChin Club / Tel Aviv / Israel / 18/03/2011” are written at the bottom of the visuals, and the video uses the same words in the YouTube title. Similar to the other videos above, which title the videos according to their locations, a potential meaning that could be rendered is that the *zenga zenga* phrase had travelled across the Middle East and was ironically used in entertainment settings. This sign is a significant example of how meaning travels and is (re)shaped through the continuous meaning-taking and meaning-making relationships, because the sign could start off as a threat delivered in a political speech within a critical time and space and end up as a catchy remix played in a night club for recreation.

#### **4.4.2.3 Noy’s translation, a meaning-making catalyst**

This abundance of translations of Noy’s remix could be because it was an effective semiosis which emerged in the ideal time and space. Yet, because of complex factors which play into semiotic processes, the pursuit of determining which meanings emerged first or identifying the objects and interpretants of each representamen is always relative to the constraints of the analysis.

Moreover, while the financial motive behind uploading translations of a viral video is evident, trying to identify the meaning that stimulated and attracted meaning-makers to upload further translations of Noy’s sign will always be relative. Translations of the remix varied all the way from expressing support to creating fun dance music for night clubs (see figure 4.35).



Figure 4.35: The variation of *zenga zenga* meanings translated from Noy's remix

The next part of the analysis goes on to describe the representamen which aired on American television as a comic translation of Gaddafi's speech.

#### **4.4.3 The *zenga zenga* sign from Conan's comic translation**

The fact that Gaddafi's eccentric speech had reached the far corners of the world is not an unprecedented occurrence, as his 100-minute speech just two years before in the United Nations General Assembly was talked about internationally (Leonard, 2009). Moreover, his international appearances in general rarely went by unnoticed. Described as an enigma and as the mad dog of the Middle East, Gaddafi's appearances usually reached the screens of comedy shows. As mentioned in 4.3.1.1, one of the videos posted on YouTube three days after Gaddafi's speech was an excerpt from the American talk show "Conan".

The video has an iconic resemblance to the speech through the use of different clips from the speech. The video starts with the host Conan explaining that Gaddafi had given a speech earlier that day and that experts were trying to understand and analyse what he was saying because

Gaddafi was known to be confusing. The show then cuts to clips from Gaddafi’s speech accompanied by comic subtitles, rendering puns relatable to his American viewers. Examples are the subtitles “And yes, I borrowed this outfit. From my good friend, 1980’s Oprah.” The merging of the original audio and visuals with the comic twist of the linguistic signs is an evident translation process. In other words, a comic meaning was rendered by constraining the visual semiotic signs with English linguistic signs for an audience who did not understand the original Arabic audial linguistic signs but could only get a sense of the tone and timing of the Arabic words. A great example from the video was the subtitle “I will now stare blankly for several seconds to make you wonder if I died”, edited onto a clip of one of Gaddafi’s long pauses. It could also be said that meaning here was made to achieve an iconic relationship, as the timing of the subtitle must resemble the timing and the content of the video clips, which is usually one of the objectives of dubbing in general. Thus, the timing of the linguistic signs “I will now stare blankly for several seconds . . . to make you wonder if I died . . . fooled you! I didn’t die!” resembles the timing of the awkward pauses presented in Gaddafi’s visuals, and by relating the two a comic interpretant is rendered.

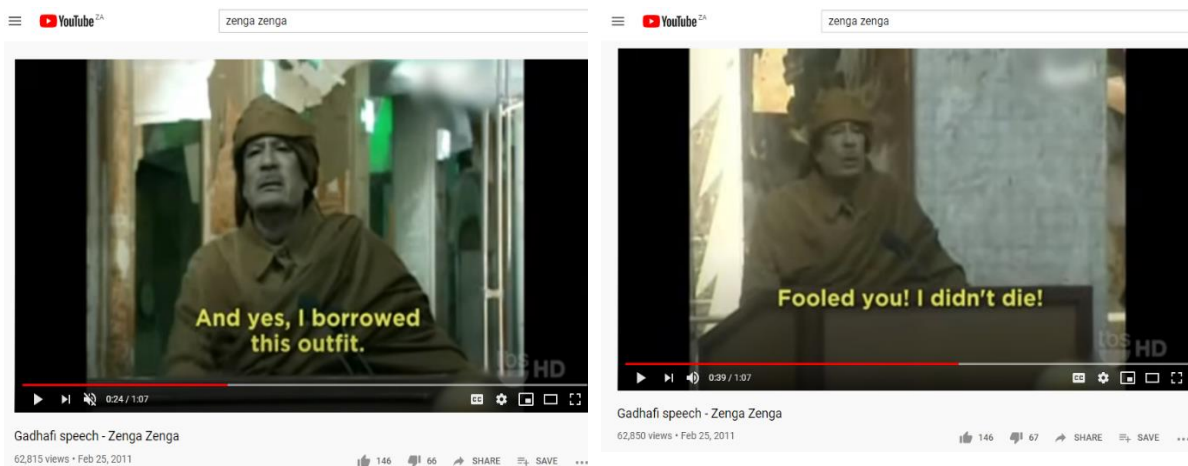


Figure 4.36 and 4.37: Examples of funny subtitles

Amusingly, Gaddafi’s voice, tone and gestures are what made the sketch so funny. This is because the meaning-maker decided to relate humorous subtitles to the sounds of the angry, foreign, repetitive Arabic words Gaddafi used in his call to purify the country “inch by inch, house by house, room by room, alley by alley, person by person” (Gaddafi, 2011). The paradox of relating trivial subtitles to images and audio of what seemed like serious and angry rhetoric is was created a comic and satirical interpretant. Furthermore, by relating the Arabic audio of the words “we will march in our millions to purify Libya” (Gaddafi, 2011) with the English

subtitles “And finally, Libya allow me to make up fake words...”, *Zenga zenga* was introduced and thus translated as “a fake word”(see figure 4.38).



Figure 4.38 Conan’s comic translation of the *zenga zenga* phrase

Interestingly, the witty incorporation of the word “Libya”, which the English-speaking audience might be able to identify from the original Arabic dialogue, participates in rendering a funny interpretant. In semiotic terms, by creating an iconic relationship between the spoken word “Libya” and the written subtitles, the comic meaning is enhanced and the video thus “effectively exerts an effect (interpretant) on some system (an interpreter)” (Queiroz and El-Hani, 2007: 293).

Moreover, after Gaddafi’s clip ended, Conan repeated the Arabic words “*shibber shibber, dar dar, zenga zenga*”, exclaiming that he loved those words and that it was the best speech ever.

Ultimately, the ensemble of Conan’s introductory and concluding remarks, Gaddafi’s angry gestures, long pauses, strange attire and foreign Arabic dialogue and the English linguistic meanings which constrain the American viewers’ interpretations in such a way as to produce a comic interpretant, is another example of an effective semiosis in motion.

#### **4.4.4 The zenga zenga sign from the Shakira remix**

An additional sign which makes use of an iconic relationship between signs in Gaddafi’s speech and those of a famous English song is another remix found on YouTube. Through the relation of Shakira’s 2010 FIFA Football World Cup official theme song “Waka Waka (This Time for Africa)” to Gaddafi’s *zenga zenga* phrase, a hilarious remix was created. The remix was orchestrated by replacing the famous lyrics “Waka Waka” from the chorus of the song with a clip of Gaddafi shouting “*zenga zenga*” and then finishing off Shakira’s line “This time for...” with the part of Gaddafi’s speech where he says “Africa and Latin America”. The play on the words *zenga zenga* and *waka waka* (which share a musical and rhythmic resemblance) and the substitution of Shakira’s voice singing the words “Africa” with Gaddafi’s voice suddenly shouting “Africa and Latin America” is an evident semiotic process rendering comic meanings.



Figure 4.39: Shakira’s remix

As well as video icons of the original speech, several still images from the Google search share visual and linguistic characteristics of the speech. The following section delves into the analysis of four of these images.

#### **4.4.5 The zenga zenga crisp packet**

One of the signs which shows linguistic and visual similarities to the original speech is a picture of a crisp packet found in the Google search (see figure 4.40). The words شيبس زنقه زنقه [zenga zenga chips] are printed at the top of a stripy blue crisp packet. Beneath these words is a triangular piece of cheese and a cartoon character in the shape of corn on the cob which closely resembles Gaddafi. This resemblance is portrayed through the glasses drawn on the corn character, as Gaddafi was known for wearing large sunglasses indoors during most of his public appearances. Moreover, the character also had Gaddafi's notorious curly black hair. The corn character was wearing a bandana and a pirate's hat, which could be a play on his infamous strange taste in clothes and headwear. Although relating crisps to a political speech seems unconventional, it is clear that the creation of meaning was intended to constrain the object in a way that would attract the consumer's attention. Keeping in mind the time and space constraints in which the meaning was made (the Arab Spring events and the socio-political unrest in the region) by relating what became famous as a pun in the Arab world (the *zenga zenga* phrase and Gaddafi's unconventional persona), this marketing approach is another clear example of effective semiosis.



Figure 4.40: Zenga zenga crisp packet

#### **4.4.6 The zenga zenga meme**

Another translation which incorporates the linguistic sign *zenga zenga* and Gaddafi's image in a semiotic process is a representamen found in the Google images search. The image consists of what seems like a scrawny figure dressed in oversized rapper's clothes and a cap worn sideways (see figure 4.41). The character has their fists held up in a self-defence pose, and Gaddafi's face has been edited onto the body. The phrase *zenga zenga* in Arabic (زنقه زنقه) is also written in big bubble letters next to the edited image on an orange background. The words "The poet: Mohammed Bin Theeb www.v22v.net" are written in small Arabic text at the bottom. Although it is not clear what the intended interpretant is – which could be because the image was found in a search engine's results and not in its initial space and time constraints – it seems to carry a comic connotation. This could be because of the edited character in the image, as it is unlikely that merging Gaddafi's face with a rapper's body and the catchy phrase *zenga zenga* would render a serious interpretant. The subtitle introducing the poet's name is also a hint of a potential meaning which refers to a *zenga zenga* poem as the object of this sign, as the picture could be a cover photo for the poem. However, the link below the image only leads to an Arabic search engine's homepage. Consequently, it is clear that this sign could take numerous potential meanings according to the time and space that constrain its interpretation.



Figure 4.41: The *zenga zenga* meme

#### **4.4.7 The zenga zenga menu**

This representamen is an image of a restaurant flyer which advertises a *zenga zenga* meal (see figure 4.42). Although there are no visual similarities to Gaddafi's original speech and the phrase is spelt "ZANGA ZANGA", the evident iconic relationship is palpable from the phrase written across the top of the flyer above the image of the meal. There is an apparent play on

the phrases Gaddafi used in the Zenga Zenga Speech. The first sentence written at the top of the flyer in red reads, “It is time to eat . . . Ordering hour is here”. This representamen shares an iconic relationship with the object, Gaddafi’s words “It is time to march... victory hour is here”. Moreover, the phrase “ZANGA ZANGA”, in red block letters, is written in English despite the fact that the rest of the information on the flyer is written in Arabic, such as the restaurant’s name and address. This could be a clue that the object may be the *zenga zenga* remix, which used the English linguistic sign in the remix title, since many have mentioned the phrase propagated from the remix. Ultimately, similar to the crisp packet sign, the phrase *zenga zenga*, in that time and space, was used as a marketing tool to grab the consumer’s attention.

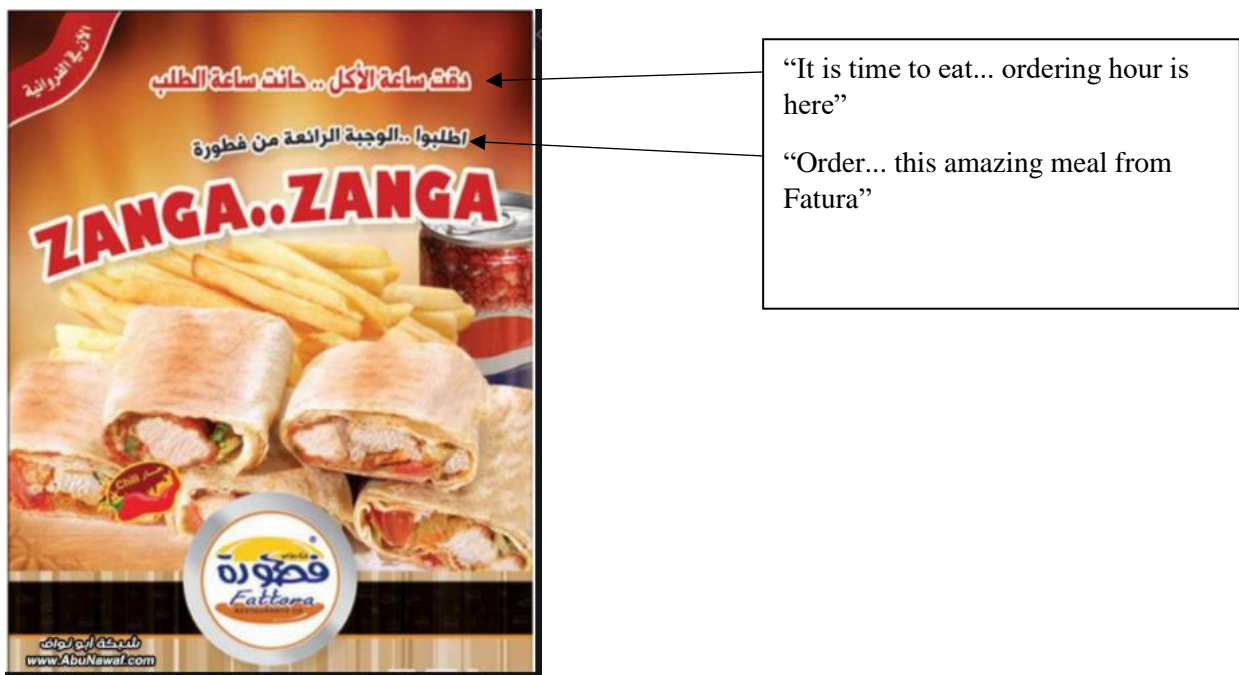


Figure 4.42: *Zenga zenga* meal advert

#### **4.4.8 The *zenga zenga* greeting sign**

The final representamen under analysis is an example of an attention grabber. The representamen is a picture taken of a building with two signs and a banner in the middle (see figure 4.43). While it is not clear where this sign was used, the use of Arabic in all the signs indicates that it was an Arab country. The sign at the top is of a dentist’s practice, and the sign at the bottom is what seems like a furniture shop sign. The banner in the midst of the two signs is distinct as the size and colour of the writing seems to stand out amongst the signs. This potential distinctive semiotic resources could have been incorporated to create an attention

grabbing meaning as the banner seem to be a mother’s day greeting. This is because the banner reads: “May all our mothers be well all year round, house by house, room by room and alley by alley (*zenga zenga*).” The iconic resemblance to the Zenga Zenga Speech in this sign is portrayed in a linguistic similarity. Similar to the restaurant flyer, a play on Gaddafi’s phrase is used. However, this time it is the phrase “alley by alley, house by house and room by room”. The translation of the *zenga zenga* phrase into a greeting shares the connotation of the original phrase delivered by Gaddafi, namely “thoroughly” doing something, as the greeting is meant to have the comic twist of reaching all the mothers wherever they may be. This ensemble of semiotic resources working together to create a distinctive, funny and memorable message is another example of an effective meaning).



Figure 4.43: *Zenga zenga* greeting

#### **4.5 Conclusion**

This chapter followed the journey of exploring the emergence and spread of the *zenga zenga* phrase through collecting and describing the different *zenga zenga* translations. The processes of data collection, selection and analysis confirmed one of the main foci of the (bio)semiotic theory, namely the complexity of meaning-taking and meaning-making processes.

The intricacies of how the different constituents of meaning play into the different meaning-making processes was evident from the initial process of data collection (as described in 4.2.3, 4.2.4 and 4.2.5). The struggle to identify and collect signs according to their chronological emergence highlighted the complexities of relating the three termini of meaning (the representamen, subject and object) and publicising these meanings on online platforms which, in turn, function according to complex digital meaning-making systems, technically known as algorithms. This entanglement of endless webs of meaning shifted the investigation beyond exploring the origins of the *zenga zenga* spread, through tracing subsequent signs to their potential incipient meanings, to why these signs became stable enough to take form and become effective semiotic symbols in the first place.

It became evident that the first step to an intersemiotic approach to the *zenga zenga* translations should be to describe these representamens in an attempt to understand why so many signs shared *zenga zenga* meanings. Thus the nature of the data (i.e. continuous meaning-making processes) and the space and time from which they were collected (i.e. online platforms years after the translations were made) reframed the objectives of the study. In due course an intersemiotic analysis of the available representamens would at the least provide insight into why *zenga zenga* signs appeared or, in Marais's terms, "trying to explain how these processes become stable enough to be recognized as things" (Marais, 2019: 6). Ultimately, the representamens which had spread and gained popularity and were found on the online search engines were proof that the phrase *zenga zenga* had been related to relatively stable forms which manifested in videos, cartoons, songs and jokes.

Through the description of the different representamens which appeared after Gaddafi's speech and shared iconic relationships with Gaddafi's sign, it is evident that the speech had instigated a surge of meaning-making relationships. Moreover, by identifying Gaddafi's *zenga zenga* sign as the starting point and beginning the analysis by deciphering the meanings behind his translation, and then going on to examine representamens which shared semiotic characteristics with Gaddafi's translation, relatively stable meanings were distinguished. In fact, describing the representamens and their iconic features revealed a multiplicity of effective and potential meanings which emerged from the different translations. The meanings varied from Gaddafi's *zenga zenga*, which conveyed a meaning of threat and ultimate power, to meanings of comedy, satire and even meanings of catchy dance music played in clubs.

The existence of representamens which shared semiotic resemblances but rendered paradoxical translations elucidates Marais's idea that meaning is not an absolute static entity waiting to be discovered but a processes created by someone in relation to something at a specific time and place. Hence, a deduction which could be made from analysing the different manifestations of *zenga zenga* meanings was the relativity of meaning. The different representamens illustrated how meanings are translated as a result of an interdependence of the constituents of the meaning-making process, whether representamen, object, interpretant, time or space. The relativity of meaning is illustrated when taking a broader view of the different *zenga zenga* signs which emerged within the first 38 days after Gaddafi's incipient sign. Meaning-makers from all over the world reshaped the meaning behind the *zenga zenga* phrase by relating it to different objects:

- Gaddafi related the linguistic sign *zenga zenga* to meanings of sacred marches and thorough searches of every alley to portray his absolute power and authority (4.3.1).
- Noy related the meaning to his background of music and comic potential (4.3.2.1).
- Some YouTubers related Noy's musical sign to their context, such as the translations covering the dancing girl, in order to create meanings which catered for viewers of their background, culture and religious beliefs (4.3.2.2.1).
- Other YouTubers created narratives. Noy's musical sign was related to images either to support the regime or to express dissent, ridicule and satire (4.3.2.2.4).
- Comic meanings were also made by relating the *zenga zenga* phrase to funny English subtitles (Conan's comedy sketch 4.3.2.3) or popular English songs (Shakira's remix 4.3.2.4).
- Other meaning-makers created commercial meanings by relating the *zenga zenga* phrase to the products they were marketing.

While the variation and abundance of *zenga zenga* meanings reveals how meaning is continuously (re)shaped, it is not clear why the phrase *zenga zenga* in particular was chosen throughout all the meaning-making processes mentioned in the analysis. In other words, why did *zenga zenga* become viral and not *shibr shibr* [inch by inch] or *bait, bait* [house by house]? Granted that most of the literature on the *zenga zenga* sign links the popularity of the phrase to Noy's remix (Hilsum, 2012: 36 of 263; Häkkinen and Leppänen: 9, 2014; Alduhaim, 2018) and in turn the analysis of Noy's sign revealed some indications of why he chose *zenga zenga* as a chorus line and title (such as its iconic relationship with other viral songs choruses), there is no

definite answer as to why Noy chose this sign and why viewers were eager to make their own translations of this sign.

Furthermore, an interesting meaning, which emerged from Gaddafi's incipient sign and translations which had Gaddafi as an object (4.4.2.2.4.1, 4.4.2.2.4.2, 4.4.2.2.4.3), was that Gaddafi was known for his extravagant use of semiotic resources. Whether it was his clothes or his unconventional speeches, it seemed as though he always implemented every semiotic sign possible to convey the meaning of nationalism and authority.

Although it is not clear whether it was the context of revolution (which is always fuelled by meaning-making processes), the distinctive semiotic resources which contributed to Gaddafi's meaning-making process, or the creation of satirical meanings the Arab world was craving at the time, an evident outburst of intersemiotic *zenga zenga* meanings occurred.

## Chapter 5: Conclusion

### 5.1 Summary

Through exploring the emergence and spread of the *zenga zenga* phrase using a contemporary semiotic theory of translation within the context of the historical events of the Arab Spring, this study was crossing uncharted territory. The context of revolution and the digital age in which the translation processes emerged and spread provided the impetus for a study that would examine the translation of all meanings made irrespective of the sign system used. This was because the context of revolution inevitably implied the use of all semiotic sources accessible to project dissent, and the digital technologies played a vital role in the creation and propagation of signs on international platforms. Accordingly, a pragmatic study of the *zenga zenga* translations within their real-life context would only be feasible through a comprehensive investigation of all the different signs that contributed to the diverse *zenga zenga* mean-making processes.

Given the paucity of literature on the translation practices within the Arab Spring events and the linguistic bias which led most of the former studies, a semiotic investigation was crucial. Hence, the study was based on Marais's (bio)semiotic conceptualisation of translation. Translation was defined as:

The very condition for making and taking meaning. It is the factor that explains how meaning-making and meaning-taking is possible. Meaning is created in one way only, and that is by translating signs into signs. (Marais, 2019: 122)

The focus of the analysis of the *zenga zenga* translation was shifted from the traditional discussion of comparing which meanings were rendered and which of them were lost between two "static texts", to how different signs contributed to the processes of meaning creation.

Furthermore, due to the fact that the (bio)semiotic theory is based on the abstract notions of Peircean semiotics, and thus a process ontology, several obstacles were faced when attempting to fulfil the three objectives of the study:

- to identify *zenga zenga* translations/signs
- to analyse *zenga zenga* signs using the Peircean triad
- to describe the iconic relationships found between different *zenga zenga* signs in order to identify possible incipient and subsequent signs.

The complexities of how the online platforms functioned and the ambiguity of why certain signs appeared on different searches made it difficult to identify incipient and subsequent signs. Moreover, the nature of the online platform also entailed that meanings were sometimes made anonymously, which adds to the difficulty of deciphering the constituents of meaning. In other words, on the online platforms it was not possible to identify what object was related to each representamen, in what time and in what space. However, the obstacles and hindrances faced throughout the processes of data collection and selection presented one of the outcomes of the study, namely the complexity of meaning-making and the relativity of meaning.

While the data were initially approached in an attempt to achieve a definite tracing of meaning that revealed the reason behind the emergence and spread of *zenga zenga*, it was evident from the initial process of data collection that the analysis and conclusion would be relative to the manner in which the data were constrained. Whether these constraints were intentionally made by the researcher to frame the scope of the study or were inadvertently imposed by the time and space from which the data were collected, it became obvious that embracing the relativity of meaning was important. As Marais clarifies when explaining the relativity of translation processes:

This is how we create stability, meaning, and enough settledness to be able to act. We constrain the endless possibilities to manageable terms. The question is, thus, not about being true to the incipient sign or not, it is about the effects of the constraining process. (2019: 72)

Thus, the drive behind the analysis of the *zenga zenga* signs was not limited to identifying and comparing incipient and subsequent *zenga zenga* signs. It also included describing what meanings were created from the representamens available on the semiotic landscape. Hence, the analysis was limited to exploring the representamens which had iconic relationships with Gaddafi's *zenga zenga*.

Consequently, the descriptive analysis of the different *zenga zenga* representamens illuminated how meanings emerge through constraints placed on the constituents of meaning. Moreover, the examination of these representamens made it clear that some signs had effectively constrained representamens, while others left space for the emergence of different potential meanings. This meant that some signs effectively channelled an interpretant while others carried potential meanings which could occur in a specific time and space. As a result of

compiling an analysis of a number of effective and potential meanings, some subsequent signs were identifiable, and meanings were traced back to their incipient meanings (see 4.4.2.2).

Ultimately the in-depth intersemiotic investigation of the *zenga zenga* representamen demonstrated how Gaddafi's first speech in the Libyan revolution of 2011 was translated into different *zenga zenga* signs. A broader semiotic view of translation made it possible to approach and explore the different *zenga zenga* manifestations. By conceptualising meaning-making processes as the phenomena under analysis, the examination of the *zenga zenga* signs went beyond the worries of meaning loss or rendering equivalent meanings to describing the nature and flow of meaning. By venturing past the linguistic features of the *zenga zenga* translations and exploring the different semiotic signs used to make *zenga zenga* meanings, profound insights into how translations emerge were discovered. Studying the constituents of the translations and the relationships between them thus elucidated how meanings emerge, travel, change and spread.

## **5.2 Limitations**

Because this case study is deeply rooted within a complex, philosophical and abstract theoretical framework, several limitations were encountered. Due to the fact that the phenomena under analysis were processes and not static identifiable units with a beginning and an end, there was a need to delimit the sample in order to identify a unit of analysis. In Marais's (2019) terms, a level of analysis had to be established and the processes needed to be frozen, and, as explained in 1.4, a starting and ending point had to be indicated in order to identify an approachable and workable sample. Thus, the examination of the *zenga zenga* signs was confined to a specific level and approach informed by the researcher. Consequently, a limited sample of signs were analysed. These appeared on YouTube and Google within the period of 22 February to 31 March .

Moreover, the scope of the study was also constrained by time and feasible data platforms. An example of the obstacles faced when using online platforms was not being able to filter the results of the Google searches chronologically in order to trace the translation processes. After general research on the interdependence of several algorithms to generate results on the Google search engine, it was evident that examining the processes chronologically, if at all possible, was beyond the scope of the research.

Furthermore, it is important to mention that, although extensive efforts were made to avoid a biased approach within the socio-political context of the Arab revolutions, it is not possible to claim objectivity after having emphasised the relativity of meaning throughout the study. Hence, being of Libyan origin and living through the Arab Spring events might have, subconsciously, influenced the researcher's analysis of the translation that evolved throughout that period and space. Consequently, in order to overcome this bias, it is important to at least acknowledge these temporal and spatial elements which are imperative constituents of meaning-making and may thus at times be irrevocable components of the complex process of "meaning-analysis". Once more, it is important to emphasise the fact that this study is built upon a theory (the (bio)semiotic theory of translation) which stipulates that meaning is only made through formerly established "relative" meanings. Therefore, achieving the closest level of objectivity would be through the recognition (when possible) of the origin, nature and effects of different subjectivities. Hence the use of the Peircean triad as an analytical tool, since his triad establishes the three termini of meaning within any given context. This is because his conceptualisation of meaning as a "process, in which something stands for something else to someone in some respect" (Marais, 2019: 104) is broad enough to include any meaning-making process by any living organism and detailed enough to allow the investigation of meaning-making processes.

### **5.3 Contributions to translation studies**

This study aimed to fill an evident gap in translation research generally and the literature on the Libyan revolution specifically. Firstly, the gap within translation studies manifests in the limited attention to intersemiotic practices and the confusing theoretical frameworks found in the literature which ventures beyond the traditional linguistic inquiry in the field. As this dissertation is one of the first to use Marais's (bio)semiotic theory as a theoretical framework, it paves the way for further academic inquiry implementing a comprehensive conceptualisation of translation. In essence, the present technological age, which generates continuously evolving semiotic resources, indicates the necessity of the sway of literature towards investigating the world as a semiotic space, in which beings make sense of their environment and interact through semiosis. As Marais explains, not only will the field of translation be left with less to study outside the borders of the lingual, but it "will also become incapable of studying interlingual translation, because almost no communication is purely linguistic" (2019: 121).

Secondly, the study also aimed to add to the scarce literature on translation in the Libyan revolution by being the first to study the spread of the phrase, *zenga zenga*. This research is not only one of very few studies which investigate the Libyan context in general, but is also the only study which explores the translation of the *zenga zenga* phrase. Although the resonance of this phrase was referenced by journalists who witnessed the revolution first hand, an in-depth analysis of these semiotic occurrence has never been done before.

#### **5.4 Recommendations for further research**

As mentioned in the limitations above, this study was restricted to a specific scope, hence a limited sample of data was analysed. Thus, future studies could examine and make use of larger samples of signs, whether by extending the time period of the *zenga zenga* spread or by expanding the platforms from which the signs were collected.

Moreover, the scope of the study could also be extended to an intersemiotic investigation of the different viral signs which emerged after all three of Gaddafi's speeches. This suggestion stems from identifying different signs which merged the *zenga zenga* phrase with other popular phrases and appearances of Gaddafi (see Noy's "Gaddafi – all my people love me –super remix zenga zenga song – 2011").<sup>23</sup>

In addition to studying all of Gaddafi's 2011 speeches intersemiotically, studies investigating the semiotic resources used by other ousted Arab leaders would be of great value. This is because a body of literature which illustrates the different meanings made by these former political figures would pave the way for comparing these meanings and investigating whether authoritative meanings have particular characteristics.

Another recommendation for future studies would be an interdisciplinary collaboration with fields such as information technology or digital humanities. Approaching the *zenga zenga* translations with a parallel knowledge of semiosis and expertise of the internet platforms would help overcome the difficulties of deciphering meanings made on online platforms. Whether it is identifying the space and time in which the meanings were made by decoding IP addresses or the scientific knowledge of how algorithms worked to create significant meanings online,

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<sup>23</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tOgWh49i2pI>

the contribution of both disciplines will help in the process of translating domains of meaning for each other.

Finally, this study, or, in (bio)semiotic terms, this negentropic work, provides the impetus to understand translation processes through all the senses that were biologically created to make and interpret meaning.

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## Addendum

### 1. Coding the data sample

#### 1.1. Data from YouTube for key word “zenga zenga”:

##### 1.1.1 First cycle of coding:

First Cycle of descriptive and in vivo coding			
Link	Linguistic in vivo and descriptive codes	Meaning maker	Visual codes
<p>1. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cBY-0n4esNY">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cBY-0n4esNY</a></p>	<p>“Muammar Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga Song - Noy Alooshe Remix”</p> <p>Pitbull’s Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi’s Zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi’s gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing on both sides of Gaddafi’s podium, Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners.</p>	<p>Noy Alooshe</p>	

2. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=69wBG6ULNzQ>

“Muammar Gaddafi speech TRANSLATED (2011 Feb 22)”

Excerpt from Gaddafi’s speech, last 3:56 minutes, Gaddafi behind podium, brown Libyan cloak and Bedouin turban, shattered building in background, Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners, English subtitles added

SLOBoe



Muammar Gaddafi speech TRANSLATED (2011 Feb 22)

1,814,178 views · Feb 23, 2011

5K 531 SHARE SAVE ...



SLOBoe  
1.91K subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

3. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6GcUutnU2gk>

“Gaddafi-Zenga Song-No girl edit version (Noy Alooshe Remix)”

Pitbull’s Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi’s zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi’s gestures edited to look like dancing, Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners, the words “Noy Alooshe present: DJ gadafi zenga zenga song” written across bottom of visuals, same as Noy’s original remix but with no dancing girl

Noy Alooshe



Gaddafi-Zenga Song-No girl edit version (Noy Alooshe Remix)

1,613,277 views • Feb 24, 2011

👍 4K    💬 266    ➦ SHARE    📌 SAVE    ⋮



**Noy Alooshe**  
11.1K subscribers

**SUBSCRIBE**

4. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OitTYtYq7VE>

“Gaddafi Zenga Zenga Song algerie tunisie egypte libye Remix”

Pitbull’s Hey baby music, visuals

and lyrics are edited excerpts

from Gaddafi’s zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi’s gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing on both sides of Gaddafi’s podium Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners.

Same as video 1.

oumeri larson



Gaddafi Zenga Zenga Song algerie tunisie egypte libye Remix

10,096 views · Feb 24, 2011

12 3 SHARE SAVE ...

oumeri larson  
44 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

5. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ChIpEUTX\\_Oc](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ChIpEUTX_Oc)

“DJ KADA zenga zenga(زنقة زنقة)”

Pitbull’s Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi’s zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi’s gestures edited to look like dancing and girl covered with red boxes with moving red graphics inside, Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners, the words “DJ KADA” between both boxes.

Naivision



DJ KADA zenga zenga(زنقة زنقة)

73,488 views • Feb 25, 2011

👍 24 🗨️ 5 ➦ SHARE ⌵ SAVE ...



**Naivision**  
4.86K subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

6. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mLh2V\\_nL1Tc](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mLh2V_nL1Tc)

“Gadhafi speech - Zenga Zenga”

Excerpt from Conan O’Briens comedy show, cuts to 45 seconds from Gaddafi’s speech which is comically dubbed into English , conan refers to zenga zenga phrase

Alberto J.



Gadhafi speech - Zenga Zenga

63,108 views • Feb 25, 2011

👍 147    💬 69    ➦ SHARE    ≡+ SAVE    ⋮

 **Alberto J.**  
48 subscribers

**SUBSCRIBE**

7. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ito85utB-zw>

“Moammar Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga Song ( TOP 10 )  
اغنية زنغا زنغا - معمر القذافي

Pitbull's Hey baby music, visuals  
and lyrics are edited excerpts

from Gaddafi's zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi's  
gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing  
on both sides of Gaddafi's podium, Libyan State  
TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom  
right corners.

Same as video 1.

Khaldoon Joudeh



Moammar Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga Song ( TOP 10 ) اغنية زنغا زنغا - معمر القذافي

42,286 views • Feb 26, 2011

60 7 SHARE SAVE ...

K Khaldoon Joudeh  
22 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

8. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RrtOSQ3wva4>

“Muammar Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga Girl \ הלהיט של  
”מועמר קדאפי - זנגה זנגה”

Pitbull’s Hey baby music, visuals  
and lyrics are edited excerpts

from Gaddafi’s zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi’s  
gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing  
on both sides of Gaddafi’s podium, Libyan State  
TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom  
right corners.

same as video 1.

OmRiTb1



Muammar Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga Girl \ הלהיט של מועמר קדאפי - זנגה זנגה

75,556 views • Feb 27, 2011

116 1 SHARE SAVE ...

OmRiTb1  
25 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

<p>9. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oQGfkcIVsT4">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oQGfkcIVsT4</a></p>	<p>“biladifitness.piczo.com -Moammar Gaddafi Zenga Zenga”</p> <p>Pitbull’s Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi’s zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi’s gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing on both sides of Gaddafi’s podium, Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners.</p> <p>same as video 1 just edited longer.</p>	<p>biladifitness</p>	 <p>biladifitness.piczo.com -Moammar Gaddafi Zenga Zenga</p> <p>1,204 views • Feb 27, 2011</p> <p>2 likes, 0 dislikes</p> <p>SHARE SAVE ...</p> <p><b>biladifitness</b> 1.94K subscribers</p> <p><b>SUBSCRIBE</b></p>
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10. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z45cLXndZqo>

“Gaddafi song @ Morocco 2011 Zenga Zenga”

Pitbull’s Hey baby music, excerpts from gaddafi’s speech as lyrics, visuals are people dancing in a club

Youssef



Gaddafi song @ Morocco 2011 Zenga Zenga

442,672 views · Feb 27, 2011

👍 275 🗨️ 62 ➦ SHARE ⌵ SAVE ...



**Youssef**  
30 subscribers

**SUBSCRIBE**

11. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Sag-3eT36iQ>

“ZENGA ZENGA nouveau tube de kadhafi libye.flv”

Pitbull’s Hey baby music, visuals

and lyrics are edited excerpts

from Gaddafi’s zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi’s gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing on both sides of Gaddafi’s podium, Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners.

Same as video 1.

actione26



ZENGA ZENGA nouveau tube de kadhafi libye.flv

837 views · Feb 27, 2011

👍 2 🗑️ 0 ➦ SHARE ≡+ SAVE ...

 actione26  
2 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

12. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VBnFnN\\_LPdE](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VBnFnN_LPdE)

“Gaddafi-Zenga Zenga Song”

Pitbull’s Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi’s zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi’s gestures edited to look like dancing, Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners, the words “Noy alooshe present: DJ gadafi zenga zenga song” written across bottom of visuals, same as Noy’s original remix but with no dancing girl

Same as video 3


HELPLIBYA1



Gaddafi-Zenga Zenga Song

114,264 views • Feb 27, 2011

👍 208 🗨️ 23 ➦ SHARE 📌 SAVE ⋮

 HELPLIBYA1  
49 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

13. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dEk2Yvv6cVI>

زنگة زنگة جديد معمر القذافي " (Zenga Zenga Song)  
video of people dancing to Noy's remix with  
gaddafi's head edited on

Metareporter



زنگة زنگة جديد معمر القذافي (Zenga Zenga Song)

181,335 views • Feb 27, 2011

👍 184 💬 23 ➦ SHARE ⌵ SAVE ...

**M** Metareporter  
19 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

Muammar Gaddafi Dances to Zenga Zenga the autotune song by Noy Alooshe written to mark the Libya uprising.

14. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wXyj2412ggA>

"اغنية القذافي زنقة زنقة" gaddafi song zenga zenga

Pitbull's Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi's zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi's gestures edited to look like dancing, Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners, the words "Noy alooshe present: DJ gadafi zenga zenga song" written across bottom of visuals, same as Noy's original remix but with no dancing girl

Same as video 3

eyelookloop



اغنية القذافي زنقة زنقة gaddafi song zenga zenga

155,212 views · Feb 28, 2011

142 likes 8 dislikes SHARE SAVE ...

 eyelookloop  
238 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

15. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KlWvZlNqGapY>

"Zenga Zenga أغنية القذافي - بيت زنقة ثورة".

Pitbull's Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi's zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi's gestures edited to look like dancing and girl is covered with boxes with moving graphics inside, Libyan State TV logo is covered, Al

Same as video 5

sherifyousef1



Zenga Zenga أغنية القذافي - بيت زنقة ثورة

5,812 views · Feb 28, 2011

17 likes 4 comments SHARE SAVE ...



sherifyousef1  
6.83K subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

16. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hfadWKfaEGw>

“Mouammar Kadhafi - Zenga Zenga Song”

Pitbull’s Hey baby music, visuals  
and lyrics are edited excerpts

from Gaddafi’s zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi’s  
gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing  
on both sides of Gaddafi’s podium

Same as video 1

lebordeauxlais



Mouammar Kadhafi - Zenga Zenga Song

56,479 views • Feb 28, 2011

75 12 SHARE SAVE ...

lebordeauxlais  
4.43K subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

17. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OcBiAQODnY>

“Gaddafi Zenga ZENGA Song No girl edit version  
Noy Alooshe Remix Muammar Kadafi ZENGA  
ZENGA zenga”

Pitbull’s Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are  
edited excerpts from Gaddafi’s zenga zenga  
speech, Gaddafi’s gestures edited to look like  
dancing, the words “Noy alooshe present: DJ  
gadafi zenga zenga song” written across bottom of  
visuals, same as Noy’s original remix but with no  
dancing girl

Same as video 3

dejan1971



Gaddafi Zenga ZENGA Song No girl edit version Noy Alooshe Remix Muammar Kadafi  
ZENGA ZENGA zenga

19,928 views • Feb 28, 2011

29 likes 1 dislike SHARE SAVE ...

 **dejan1971**  
10 subscribers

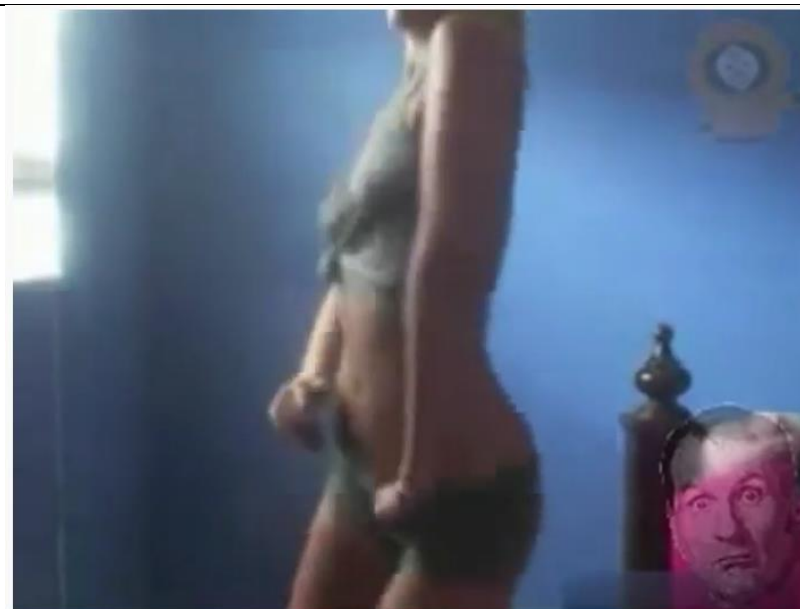
SUBSCRIBE

18. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j72QREzwMas>

“Zenga Zenga Girl!!! (The one from the original video)”

Just the Girl from Noy’s original remix dancing to zenga zenga


pickpicktarantino



Zenga Zenga Girl!!! (The one from the original video)

83,585 views • Feb 28, 2011

720 56 SHARE SAVE ...

 pickpicktarantino  
134 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

19. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KSUZF\\_M-GQc](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KSUZF_M-GQc)

“Gaddafi zenga zenga”

Pitbull’s Hey baby music, excerpts from Gaddafi’s Zenga zenga speech as lyrics, visuals are memes and cartoons

ABU EMAD



gaddafi zenga zenga

4,669 views • Mar 1, 2011

👍 9 🗨️ 0 ➦ SHARE ≡ SAVE ...

 **ABU EMAD**  
29.6K subscribers

**SUBSCRIBE**

20. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EdtMWAZPqZI>

“Kadhafi Feat Shakira ZENGA ZENGA New Remix”

Begins with green background with title “Shakira feat. Muammer Al Gadhafi Zang Zang (time for Afri9ia)”, excerpt from the chorus of shakira’s waka waka song, instead of the lyrics “waka waka” and “it’s time for Africa” snippets from Gaddafi’s speech while he is saying “zenga Zenga” and “Africa and Latin America are merged into the song.

JijelNews



Kadhafi Feat Shakira ZENGA ZENGA New Remix

34,978 views • Mar 1, 2011

33 5 SHARE SAVE ...

 **JijelNews**  
67.5K subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

Kadhafi Feat Shakira ZENGA ZENGA New Remix

21. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k4t4yTaS7ik>

"\* מועמר קדאפי - זנגה זנגה \*  
Zenga Zenga הורדה +

Pitbull's Hey baby music, visuals

and lyrics are edited excerpts

from Gaddafi's zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi's  
gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing  
on both sides of Gaddafi's podium

Same as video 1

tbestmusic



מועמר קדאפי - זנגה זנגה \* Muammar Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga+ הורדה

28,558 views • Mar 1, 2011

54 likes 6 dislikes SHARE SAVE ...



tbestmusic  
14 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

22. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IPWYPDcXM14>

“Zenga Zenga Zynga Zynga Muammar Gaddafi  
القذافي زنقا زنقا زنجا زنجا remix.flv”

Pitbull’s Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are  
edited excerpts from Gaddafi’s zenga zenga  
speech, Gaddafi’s gestures edited to look like  
dancing, same as Noy’s original remix but with no  
dancing girl

Noy’s name is edited out of the visuals

Abdullah Bush



Zenga Zenga Zynga Zynga Muammar Gaddafi زنقا زنقا زنجا زنجا remix.flv

15,439 views • Mar 1, 2011

👍 12 🗨️ 1 ➦ SHARE 📌 SAVE ...



**Abdullah Bush**  
22 subscribers

**SUBSCRIBE**

23. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p20Mdd-xt8c>

The Zenga Zenga song (Ornelis & Rogiers Online)

Qmusic

Pitbull's Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts

from Gaddafi's zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi's gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing on both sides of Gaddafi's podium

Same as video 1



The Zenga Zenga song (Ornelis & Rogiers Online)

3,842 views · Mar 1, 2011

👍 8 🗨️ 5 ➦ SHARE ⚙️ SAVE ...



**Qmusic - België**  
87.7K subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

24. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-RgwpB3PPcA>

“Lagu libya Muammar.Gaddafi.zenga zenga.dar dar.bet bet”

Pitbull’s Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi’s zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi’s gestures edited to look like dancing and girl covered with big green boxes where the girl used to be and with zenga zenga written in them

Variant of video 5

Muhammad Felimban



Lagu libya Muammar.Gaddafi.zenga zenga.dar dar.bet bet


6,087 views · Mar 1, 2011

👍 12 💬 1 ➦ SHARE ≡+ SAVE ...



**Muhammad Felimban**  
36 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

<p>25. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TGaKaiUDMQ">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TGaKaiUDMQ</a></p>	<p>“Lagu Libya Muammar khadafi zenga zenga bet bet dar dar.flv”</p> <p>Pitbull’s Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi’s zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi’s gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing on both sides of Gaddafi’s podium</p> <p>Same as video 1 but edited longer</p>	<p>Muhammad Felimban</p>	
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<p>26. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vs6sXyNQ6m8">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vs6sXyNQ6m8</a></p>	<p>“Moammar Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga من معمر القذافي من انتم؟”</p> <p>A different remix</p>	<p>Mohamed Djazairi</p>	
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27. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cag9aCB4OXo>

“DJ Mouammar Kadhafi discours ( Remix Zenga Zenga ) house music”

Pitbull’s Hey baby music, visuals

and lyrics are edited excerpts

from Gaddafi’s zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi’s gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing on both sides of Gaddafi’s podium

Same as video 1

toupress



DJ Mouammar Kadhafi discours ( Remix Zenga Zenga ) house music

1,832 views • Mar 2, 2011

7 likes 0 dislikes SHARE SAVE ...



**toupress**  
3.01K subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

28. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uz7EjnOI17M>

“KEDAFI zenga zenga --Kadhafi ZENGA ZENGA”,

Begins with green background with title “Shakira feat. Muammer Al Gadhafi Zang Zang (time for Afri9ia)”, excerpt from the chorus of shakira’s waka waka song, instead of the lyrics “waka waka” and “it’s time for Africa” snippets from Gaddafi’s speech while he is saying “zenga Zenga” and “Africa and Latin America are merged into the song.

Same as video 20

“zenga zenga TV NINES DZ”

Nines takfa



KEDAFI zenga zenga --Kadhafi ZENGA ZENGA,

206,572 views • Mar 2, 2011

46 9 SHARE SAVE ...

 **Nines takfa**  
37 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

29. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VwXnm5I5Ivk>

“Zenga Zenga-Gaddafi Speech remix @ Pacha - Tunisia 2011 “

Pitbull’s Hey baby music, excerpts from Gaddafi’s Zenga zenga speech as lyrics, visuals are people dancing in a club

Same as video 10

SuffetdeCarthage



Zenga Zenga-Gaddafi Speech remix @ Pacha -Tunisia 2011

2,477 views · Mar 3, 2011

4 3 SHARE SAVE ...



**SuffetdeCarthage**  
5 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

@ Pacha club-Tunisia 2011 Zenga Zenga

30. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=luEuw\\_Zn1YI](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=luEuw_Zn1YI)

“Gaddafi Zenga Zenga”

First introduces the video with a pic with the morrocan star and the words “marocaine frieire presente”. Then Noy’s remix plays as audio while a sequence of Gaddafi’s images plays as visuals.

645241



Gaddafi Zenga Zenga

1,870 views · Mar 3, 2011

👍 7    👎 0    ➦ SHARE    📌 SAVE    ...



0645241  
450 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

31. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WdI-1QQQgWI>

“Mouammar Kadhafi - new Song - Zenga Zanga”

ExtraEarth97

Pitbull’s Hey baby music, excerpts from Gaddafi’s Zenga zenga speech as lyrics, visuals are a sequence of pictures with phrases condemning and criticizing Gaddafi



Mouammar Kadhafi - new Song - Zenga Zanga

3,015 views · Mar 3, 2011

👍 2    💬 1    ➦ SHARE    ⚙️ SAVE    ⋮



ExtraEarth97  
13 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

32. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d5OW1JNuhBE>

“Zenga Zenga: DJ Kadhafi”

Pitbull’s Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts

from Gaddafi’s Zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi’s gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing on both sides of Gaddafi’s podium, Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners.

Same as video 1 but shorter

Tunis Tribune



Zenga Zenga: DJ Kadhafi

5,228 views · Mar 3, 2011

4 2 SHARE SAVE ...

 **Tunis Tribune**  
3.1K subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

33. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=funmCCMteRI>

“Gaddafi Song! (ZENGA ZENGA)”

different remix

DifferenSe1



Gaddafi Song! (ZENGA ZENGA)

20,987 views · Mar 3, 2011

44 likes 3 comments SHARE SAVE ...



DifferenSe1

581 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

Parody of Gaddafi singing the Zenga Zenga!

34. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QBlqePVuAN0>

Gaddafi Zenga Song بيت شبر دار شارع زنفقة معمر القذافي راب

Pitbull's Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi's zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi's gestures edited to look like dancing, the words "Noy alooshe present: DJ gadafi zenga zenga song" written across bottom of visuals, same as Noy's original remix but with no dancing girl

same as video 3

sEcZx



Gaddafi Zenga Song بيت شبر دار شارع زنفقة معمر القذافي راب

17,051 views • Mar 4, 2011

57 6 SHARE SAVE ...



sEcZx  
1.27K subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

Gaddafi Zenga Song بيت شبر دار شارع زنفقة زينقا زينقا معمر القذافي راب

35. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8tYH1inpLkM>

Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga Song (The Official Version) Noy Alooshe Remix

Pitbull's Hey baby music, slightly zoomed in visuals which with the lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi's zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi's gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing edited out of visuals "Gaddafi – zenga zenga song (Noy alooshe remix)" written in white at the bottom

variation of video 3

ZengaZengaSong



Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga Song (The Official Version) Noy Alooshe Remix

119,596 views • Mar 4, 2011

304 23 SHARE SAVE ...

ZengaZengaSong  
188 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

36. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C. aujVUM9sk>

tansimt Mouammar Kadhafi - Zenga Zenga Song.flv amazigh libya amazigh maroc

Pitbull's Hey baby music, visuals

and lyrics are edited excerpts

from Gaddafi's zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi's gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing on both sides of Gaddafi's podium

same as video 1

Tansimt benouakrim



tansimt Mouammar Kadhafi - Zenga Zenga Song.flv amazigh libya amazigh maroc

5,935 views · Mar 4, 2011

👍 5 🗨️ 1 ➦ SHARE ⚙️ SAVE ...



**Tansimt benouakrim**  
138 subscribers

**SUBSCRIBE**

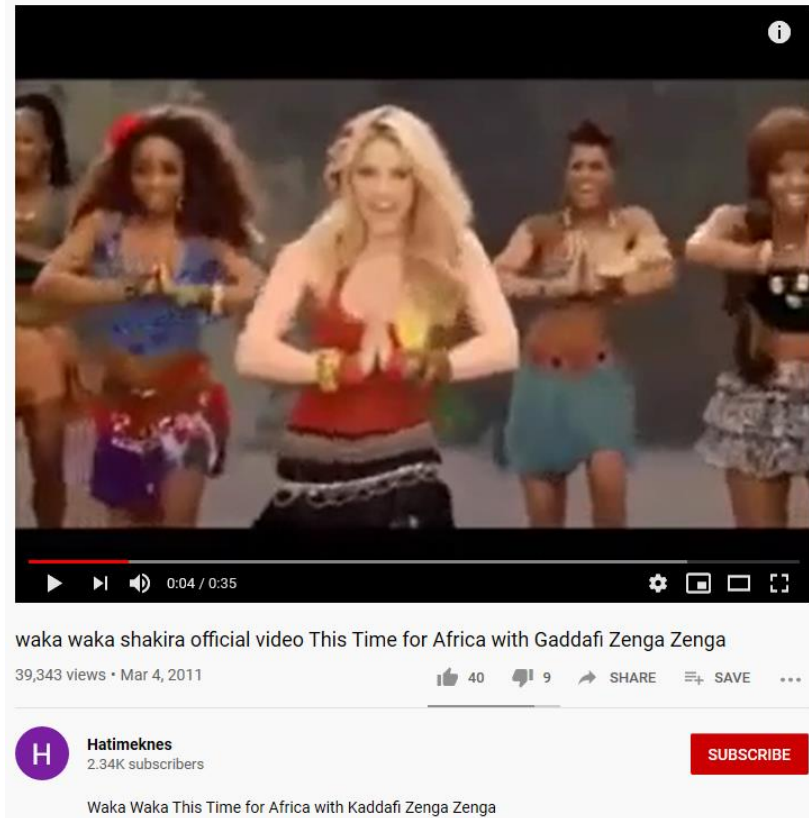
37. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BuMTuVvyQg0>

“waka waka shakira official video This Time for Africa with Gaddafi Zenga Zenga”

Begins with green background with title “Shakira feat. Muammer Al Gadhafi Zang Zang (time for Afri9ia)”, excerpt from the chorus of shakira’s waka waka song, instead of the lyrics “waka waka” and “it’s time for Africa” snippets from Gaddafi’s speech while he is saying “zenga Zenga” and “Africa and Latin America are merged into the song.

same as video 20

Hatimeknes



waka waka shakira official video This Time for Africa with Gaddafi Zenga Zenga

39,343 views · Mar 4, 2011

40 likes · 9 dislikes · SHARE · SAVE · ...

**H** Hatimeknes  
2.34K subscribers

Waka Waka This Time for Africa with Kaddafi Zenga Zenga

SUBSCRIBE

38. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ANqgnYx9aIQ>

“Kedafi song Zenga Zenga”

Pitbull’s Hey baby music, excerpts from Gaddafi’s Zenga zenga speech as lyrics, visuals are people dancing in a club

Same as 10

toupress



Kedafi song Zenga Zenga

11,859 views · Mar 4, 2011

12 3 SHARE SAVE ...

 **toupress**  
3.01K subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

39. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TxPvldSOZa0>

Zenga Zenga Song By Gaddafi Chanson de Kadhafi remix international

Pitbull's Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi's zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi's gestures edited to look like dancing and girl covered with big green boxes and with the phrase zenga zenga written on them

Variant of 5 same as 24

ausSchengen



The image shows a YouTube video player interface. The video frame displays a man in a brown military-style uniform and cap, looking upwards with a distressed expression. The video is overlaid with two large green rectangular boxes containing the text 'ZENGA!' and 'ZENGA?' in white, bold, sans-serif font. Below the video frame is a standard YouTube player control bar with a play button, a progress bar showing 0:03 / 2:01, and icons for volume, settings, and full screen. Below the player, the video title 'Zenga Zenga Song By Gaddafi Chanson de Kadhafi remix international' is displayed, followed by '45,936 views · Mar 4, 2011'. To the right of the view count are icons for likes (57), dislikes (5), share, save, and a menu icon. Below this is the channel information for 'ausSchengen', which includes a profile picture, the channel name, and '22 subscribers'. A red 'SUBSCRIBE' button is located to the right of the channel name.

40. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Sy3C87njAys>

"اغنية معمر القذافي زنقة زنقة - Moammar Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga.flv"

Pitbull's Hey baby music, visuals

and lyrics are edited excerpts

from Gaddafi's zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi's gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing on both sides of Gaddafi's podium

Same as video 1 edited longer

saskoo snow



اغنية معمر القذافي زنقة زنقة - Moammar Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga.flv

16,490 views • Mar 5, 2011

57

20

SHARE

SAVE

...



saskoo snow

76 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

اغنية معمر القذافي زنقة زنقة

41. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4Qp7I8HWNjQ>

“Zenga Zenga Song - Official Single Version”

Pitbull’s Hey baby music, excerpts from Gaddafi’s speech as lyrics, visuals are just one image of the bubble blocks of the words zenga zenga with gaddafi’s image in the letters.

ZengaZengaSong



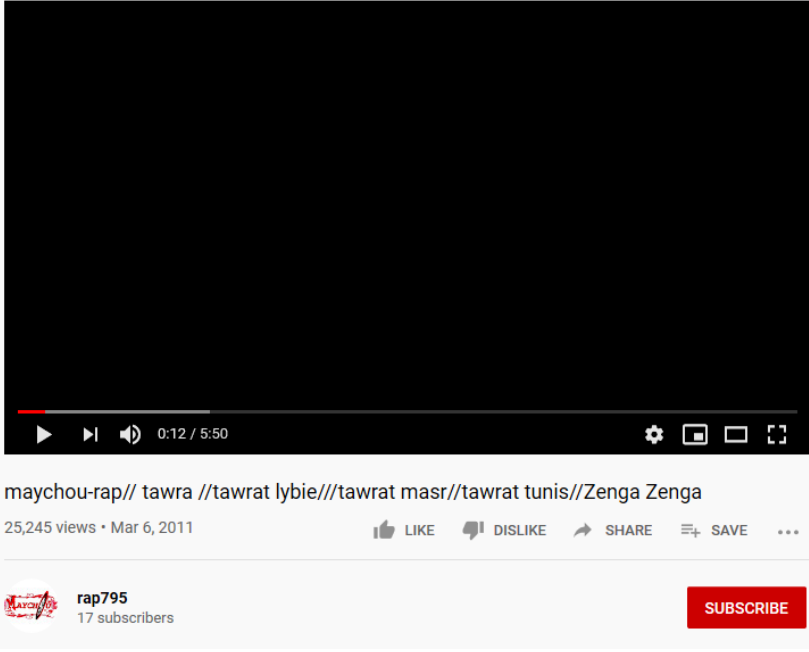
Zenga Zenga Song - Official Single Version

92,140 views • Mar 6, 2011

439 likes 34 dislikes SHARE SAVE ...

 **ZengaZengaSong**  
188 subscribers

[SUBSCRIBE](#)

<p>42. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2HABhZWkMbM">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2HABhZWkMbM</a></p>	<p>“maychou-rap// tawra //tawrat lybie///tawrat masr//tawrat tunis//Zenga Zenga”</p> <p>A rap song about the tunisian, libyan and egyptian revolutions, no visulas.</p>	<p>rap795</p>	
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43. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yi3clQGZS4o>

“Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga ( The Best Remix 2011 )”

MusicArabic2011

Noy's remix as audio while a sequence of different pictures of Gaddafi and the protests play as visuals.



Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga ( The Best Remix 2011 )

1,497 views · Mar 6, 2011

👍 1    💬 1    ➦ SHARE    📌 SAVE    ⋮



MusicArabic2011  
275 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

44. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z1ibKpwAxps>

“Chanson chibre chibre "Zenga Zanga -Chibre chibre - dar dar-bit bit- zanga zanga- Kaddafi”

Pitbull’s Hey baby music, excerpts from Gaddafi’s speech as lyrics, visuals are a sequence of satirical memes and cartoons of Gaddafi.

PETROLEONLINE



Chanson chibre chibre "Zenga Zanga -Chibre chibre - dar dar-bit bit- zanga zanga- Kaddafi

43,399 views · Mar 6, 2011

62 13 SHARE SAVE ...

 **PETROLEONLINE**  
16.4K subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

45. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Shdew4ttfBE>

"اغنية معمر القذافي بيت بيت زنقة زنقة - Moammar Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga"

Pitbull's Hey baby music, visuals

and lyrics are edited excerpts

from Gaddafi's zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi's gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing on both sides of Gaddafi's podium

Same as video 1 edited longer

ZmagriR



اغنية معمر القذافي بيت بيت زنقة زنقة - Moammar Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga

1,528 views • Mar 7, 2011

3 1 SHARE SAVE ...



ZmagriR

324 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

اغنية معمر القذافي بيت بيت زنقة زنقة - Moammar Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga

46. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UzIa\\_dt\\_BK0](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UzIa_dt_BK0)

“Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga People (Noy Alooshe English Remix) + Download”

Two remixes interchanging, Noy’s zenga zenga remix and a remix of the famous and only interview done with Gaddafi at the time of the revolution. The remix was a play on Gaddafi’s phrases: “my people they love me”. This also became a famous phrase at the time.

Noy Alooshe

The image shows a YouTube video player interface. The video title is "Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga People (Noy Alooshe English Remix) + Download". The video has 501,025 views and was uploaded on Mar 8, 2011. The video player shows a close-up of a man wearing a brown turban and sunglasses. The video title is displayed in the top left corner of the player area. The video player controls show a play button, a progress bar at 0:06 / 2:47, and icons for volume, settings, and full screen. Below the video player, the video title is repeated, followed by the view count and upload date. There are icons for likes (2.5K), dislikes (160), share, save, and a menu icon. Below this, the channel name "Noy Alooshe" is displayed with a profile picture and 11.1K subscribers. A red "SUBSCRIBE" button is located to the right of the channel name.

47. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OGgrvMQyKx8>

“Gaddafi feat. Pitbull feat. T-Pain - Zenga Zenga”

Pitbull’s Hey baby music, excerpts from gaddafi’s speech as lyrics, visuals are a picture of pitbull with two ladies between his arm's one of which has Gaddafi's face edited onto the body

Playstation354



Gaddafi feat. Pitbull feat. T-Pain - Zenga Zenga

96,755 views · Mar 9, 2011

74 92 SHARE SAVE ...



Playstation354  
907 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

48. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IOqScNu2Jec>

“Muammar Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga Song - DJ Samir Remix”

Pitbull’s Hey baby music, visuals

and lyrics are edited excerpts

from Gaddafi’s zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi’s gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing on both sides of Gaddafi’s podium

Same as video 1

themuslimclub



Muammar Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga Song - DJ Samir Remix

1,753 views • Mar 12, 2011

5 1 SHARE SAVE ...

 themuslimclub  
1 subscriber

SUBSCRIBE

49. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kygc0PzaQGY>

“Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga Song (Noy Alooshe Extended Version)”

Pitbull’s Hey baby music, excerpts from gaddafi’s speech as lyrics, visuals are just one image of the bubble blocks of the words zenga zenga with Gaddafi’s image in the letters.

Same 41 just yellow

ZengaZengaSong

The image shows a YouTube video player interface. The video title is "Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga Song (Noy Alooshe Extended Version)". The video content features the words "GADDAFI ZENGA ZENGA" in large, bold, yellow letters, with a portrait of Muammar Gaddafi integrated into the letters. Below the video, the title "Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga Song (Noy Alooshe Extended Version)" is repeated. The video has 45,142 views and was uploaded on Mar 12, 2011. The channel name is "ZengaZengaSong" with 188 subscribers. There are 214 likes and 16 comments. A red "SUBSCRIBE" button is visible.

50. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8BOzeEHrkdM>

زنگا زنگا ريمكس القذافي رهيبيبيبيب

"اغني"

Two remixes interchanging, Noy's zenga zenga remix and a remix of the famous and only interview done with Gaddafi at the time of the revolution. The remix was a play on Gaddafi's phrases: "my people they love me". This also became a famous phrase at the time.

same as video 46

Go0olaaz



GADDAFI  
ZENGA  
ZENGA  
THE OFFICIAL VERSION

اغنية زنگا زنگا ريمكس القذافي رهيبيبيبيب

516 views • Mar 12, 2011

1 0 SHARE SAVE ...

**G** Go0olaaz  
610 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

51. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vEZtiQFM7A>

### Zenga Zenga Song Official Music Video

Pitbull's Hey baby music, excerpts from gaddafi's speech as lyrics, visual is a cartoon of Gaddafi singing on a stage with the flag of independence behind him and missiles on either side of him

ZengaZengaSong



### Zenga Zenga Song Official Music Video

29,023 views · Mar 18, 2011

👍 141 🗨️ 36 ➦ SHARE ⌵ SAVE ⋮



**ZengaZengaSong**  
188 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

52. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ccwKvOnUJWU>

GADafi - ZenGa ZenGa ( Gad elmaleh )

Different clips of Gaddafi's speech interchanging with Noy's remix and what seems like a French stand-up comedy show.

hamma198



The video player shows a scene from a protest. A person in the foreground is holding a large white sign with Arabic text. The text on the sign reads "نشكيبه (لجفانه المعبود)". The background shows a crowd of people and a building with many windows. The video player interface includes a progress bar at 0:56 / 5:50, a volume icon, and control buttons for play, next, settings, full screen, and share.

GADafi - ZenGa ZenGa ( Gad elmaleh )

201,918 views · Mar 19, 2011

76 33 SHARE SAVE ...

 **hamma198**  
13.5K subscribers

[SUBSCRIBE](#)

<p>53. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MG0_irH3tz8">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MG0_irH3tz8</a></p>	<p>“Zenga Zenga In Tel Aviv. "ChinChinClub" 18/03/11”</p> <p>Pitbull’s Hey baby music, excerpts from Gaddafi’s Zenga zenga speech as lyrics, visuals are a man dressed as Gaddafi amongst people dancing in a club with a lady wearing belly dancing clothes acting as a guard</p>	<p>ZengaZengaSong</p>	 <p>Zenga Zenga In Tel Aviv. "ChinChinClub" 18/03/11</p> <p>40,669 views · Mar 19, 2011</p> <p>58 55 SHARE SAVE ...</p> <p> <b>ZengaZengaSong</b> 188 subscribers</p> <p><b>SUBSCRIBE</b></p>
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54. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1Z-DOltqkl>

“ZENGA ZENGA (SLOWED DOWN REMIX)”

stormybluerx84life

Pitbull’s Hey baby music, excerpts from Gaddafi’s speech as lyrics but in slow motion with a picture of Gaddafi and Putin as visuals.



ZENGA ZENGA (SLOWED DOWN REMIX)

191 views · Mar 20, 2011

👍 2    💬 0    ➦ SHARE    ⌵ SAVE    ⋮



stormybluerx84life  
811 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

55. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tOgWh49i2pl>

gaddafi - all my people love me -super remix zenga zenga song – 2011

Two remixes interchanging, Noy’s zenga zenga remix and a remix of the famous and only interview done with Gaddafi at the time of the revolution. The remix was a play on Gaddafi’s phrases: “my people they love me”. This also became a famous phrase at the time.

same as video 46

MultiKarimB



GADDAFI  
ZENGA  
ZENGA  
THE OFFICIAL VERSION

gaddafi - all my people love me -super remix zenga zenga song - 2011

20,241 views • Mar 21, 2011

99 11 SHARE SAVE ...

**MultiKarimB**  
3.07K subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

56. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yS50rJEoCdw>

“Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga Song”

Pitbull’s Hey baby music, visuals  
and lyrics are edited excerpts

from Gaddafi’s zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi’s  
gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing  
on both sides of Gaddafi’s podium

Same as video 1

EgyptNumber1



Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga Song

2,702 views • Mar 22, 2011

8 0 SHARE SAVE ...



EgyptNumber1  
490 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

57. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w0xvkkx98gJA>

“Gaddafi - Zenga Uooropa (Noy Alooshe Remix)”

ZengaZengaSong

some sort of music edited onto gaddafi giving a speech as the compound (not zenga zenga speech) gaddafi giving speech at compound paused with words gaddafi zenga uooropa in yellow at bottom

www.ZengaZengaSong.com

Gaddafi - Zenga Uooropa  
Noy Alooshe Remix

Gaddafi - Zenga Uooropa (Noy Alooshe Remix)

28,043 views · Mar 22, 2011

115 10 SHARE SAVE ...

ZengaZengaSong  
188 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

58. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sW9VfIQpXvI&t=74s>

“Official Pro-Gaddafi "Zenga, Zenga" Song from Libya TV”

videos of supporters chanting in the streets holding green flags and pictures of Gaddafi, Gaddafi waving to the crowds of supporters in former speeches,

MrLeShaque



Official Pro-Gaddafi "Zenga, Zenga" Song from Libya TV

52,424 views · Mar 23, 2011

👍 404 🗨️ 62 ➦ SHARE ⌵ SAVE ⋮

 MrLeShaque  
48 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

59. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=08qqivSBVYg>

“DJ Steff ft. Gaddafi- Zenga Zenga -Zanga Zanga- new mix 2011”

A remix of the speech edited onto music with cartoons and images opposing Gaddafi and his regime

MultiKarimB



The video player displays a cartoon of Muammar Gaddafi with a large, open mouth, wearing sunglasses and a brown cap. Behind him is a black, jagged shape resembling a map of Libya, with Arabic text written on it. The text includes 'طرابلس' (Tripoli), 'بنغازي' (Benghazi), 'مصراتة' (Misratah), 'سبها' (Sebha), 'نواكشوط' (Nouakchott), and 'موريتانيا' (Mauritania). A red circle with a white 'X' and the words 'NEW WORLD ORDER' is overlaid on the bottom left of the video. The video player interface shows a play button, a progress bar at 0:03 / 3:14, and a URL 'www.asafhajaj.com'. Below the video, the title 'DJ Steff ft. Gaddafi- Zenga Zenga -Zanga Zanga- new mix 2011' is displayed, along with '2,184 views · Mar 23, 2011', '6' likes, '2' dislikes, and 'SHARE', 'SAVE', and '...' options. The channel name 'MultiKarimB' with '3.07K subscribers' and a 'SUBSCRIBE' button are also visible.

60. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qjWPq\\_hhv6M](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qjWPq_hhv6M)

Gaddafi Zenga Zenga Historical Speech! - خطاب  
نهاية القذافي التاريخي

A parody of Gaddafi's speech with a guy impersonating Gaddafi dressed in clothes in an effort to copy Gaddafi's garments. Exaggerated gestures to reference Gaddafi's frantic gestures. Dark background which seems like a cave to insinuate Gaddafi was in hiding. The person behind the camera laugh at times at the impersonated gestures and accent.

IbinAlmukhtar



61. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=estJlbZ\\_r4s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=estJlbZ_r4s)

TAKFARINAS FEAT KEDAFI ZENGA  
ZENGA.flv

Gaddafi, mubarak and bin ali's heads edited on to street dancers. The three characters are simultaneously dancing to a catchy tune. Background seem to be a old wall with graffiti painted on it.


toxicobull



TAKFARINAS FEAT KEDAFI ZENGA ZENGA.flv


46,052 views · Mar 30, 2011


19 likes 1 dislike SHARE SAVE ...


 **toxicobull**  
1 subscriber

SUBSCRIBE

**1.1.2 The second and third cycle of pattern coding**


First cycle of descriptive and in vivo coding				Second cycle of pattern coding	Third cycle of pattern coding
Link	Linguistic in vivo and descriptive codes	Meaning maker	Visual codes	Theme	Meta-code
1. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cBY-0n4esNY">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cBY-0n4esNY</a>	<p>“Muammar Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga Song - Noy Alooshe Remix”</p> <p>Pitbull’s Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi’s Zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi’s gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing on both sides of Gaddafi’s podium, Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners.</p>	Noy Alooshe	 <p>Muammar Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga Song - Noy Alooshe Remix</p> <p>5,575,104 views • Feb 22, 2011</p> <p>17K 1.6K SHARE SAVE ...</p> <p>Noy Alooshe 11.1K subscribers</p> <p>SUBSCRIBE</p>	Noy’s original remix	Noy’s original remix

<p>2. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OitTYtYq7VE">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OitTYtYq7VE</a></p>	<p>“Gaddafi Zenga Zenga Song algerie tunisie egypte libye Remix”</p> <p>Pitbull’s Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi’s zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi’s gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing on both sides of Gaddafi’s podium Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners.</p>	<p>oumeri larson</p>	 <p>Gaddafi Zenga Zenga Song algerie tunisie egypte libye Remix</p> <p>10,096 views · Feb 24, 2011</p> <p>12 likes 3 dislikes</p> <p>oumeri larson 44 subscribers</p> <p>SUBSCRIBE</p>		
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<p>3. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lt085utB-zw">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lt085utB-zw</a></p>	<p>“Moammar Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga Song ( TOP 10 ) معمر القذافي اغنية زنغا زنغا - القذافي</p> <p>Pitbull’s Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi’s zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi’s gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing on both sides of Gaddafi’s podium, Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners.</p>	<p>Khaldoon Joudeh</p>	 <p>Moammar Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga Song ( TOP 10 ) معمر القذافي - اغنية زنغا زنغا</p> <p>42,286 views • Feb 26, 2011</p> <p>60 likes 7 dislikes SHARE SAVE ...</p> <p><b>K</b> Khaldoon Joudeh 22 subscribers</p> <p>SUBSCRIBE</p>		
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<p>4. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RrtOSQ3wva4">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RrtOSQ3wva4</a></p>	<p>“Muammar Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga Girl \ הלהיט של מועמר קדאפי - זנגה זנגה</p> <p>Pitbull’s Hey baby music, visuals</p> <p>and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi’s zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi’s gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing on both sides of Gaddafi’s podium, Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners.</p>	<p>OmRiTb1</p>	 <p>Muammar Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga Girl \ הלהיט של מועמר קדאפי - זנגה זנגה</p> <p>75,556 views • Feb 27, 2011</p> <p>116 likes 1 dislike</p> <p>OmRiTb1 25 subscribers</p> <p>SUBSCRIBE</p>		
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<p>5. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oQG1kcIVsT4">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oQG1kcIVsT4</a></p>	<p>“biladifitness.piczo.com - Moammar Gaddafi Zenga Zenga”</p> <p>Pitbull’s Hey baby music, visuals</p> <p>and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi’s zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi’s gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing on both sides of Gaddafi’s podium, Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners.</p>	<p>biladifitness</p>	 <p>biladifitness.piczo.com -Moammar Gaddafi Zenga Zenga</p> <p>1,204 views · Feb 27, 2011</p> <p>2 likes · 0 dislikes · SHARE · SAVE · ...</p> <p><b>biladifitness</b> 1.94K subscribers</p> <p>SUBSCRIBE</p>		
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<p>6. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Sag-3eT36iQ">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Sag-3eT36iQ</a></p>	<p>“ZENGA ZENGA nouveau tube de kadhafi libye.flv”</p> <p>Pitbull’s Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi’s zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi’s gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing on both sides of Gaddafi’s podium, Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners.</p>	<p>actione26</p>	 <p>ZENGA ZENGA nouveau tube de kadhafi libye.flv</p> <p>837 views • Feb 27, 2011</p> <p>2 likes 0 dislikes SHARE SAVE ...</p> <p><b>a</b> actione26 2 subscribers</p> <p>SUBSCRIBE</p>		
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7. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hfadWKfaEGw>

“Mouammar Kadhafi - Zenga Zenga Song”

lebordeauxlais

Pitbull’s Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi’s zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi’s gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing on both sides of Gaddafi’s podium, Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners.



Mouammar Kadhafi - Zenga Zenga Song

56,479 views • Feb 28, 2011

75 12 SHARE SAVE ...

lebordeauxlais  
4.43K subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

8. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k4yTaS7ik>

מועמר קדאפי - זנגה זנגה\*"  
Muammar Gaddafi - Zenga  
Zenga" הורדה +

Pitbull's Hey baby music,  
visuals  
and lyrics are edited excerpts  
from Gaddafi's zenga zenga  
speech, Gaddafi's gestures  
edited to look like dancing,  
girl dancing on both sides of  
Gaddafi's podium, Libyan  
State TV logo and Al-  
Arabiya logo in top and  
bottom right corners.

tbestmusic



מועמר קדאפי - זנגה זנגה\* Muammar Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga+ הורדה

28,558 views · Mar 1, 2011

👍 54 🗨️ 6 ➦ SHARE 📌 SAVE ...



tbestmusic  
14 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

<p>9. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p20Mdd-xt8c">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p20Mdd-xt8c</a></p>	<p>“The Zenga Zenga song (Ornelis &amp; Rogiers Online)”</p> <p>Pitbull’s Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi’s zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi’s gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing on both sides of Gaddafi’s podium, Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners.</p>	<p>Qmusic</p>	 <p>The Zenga Zenga song (Ornelis &amp; Rogiers Online)</p> <p>3,842 views · Mar 1, 2011</p> <p>8 5 SHARE SAVE ...</p> <p> <b>Qmusic - België</b> 87.7K subscribers</p> <p><a href="#">SUBSCRIBE</a></p>		
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10. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cag9aCB4OXo>

“DJ Mouammar Kadhafi discours ( Remix Zenga Zenga ) house music”

Pitbull’s Hey baby music, visuals

and lyrics are edited excerpts

from Gaddafi’s zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi’s gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing on both sides of Gaddafi’s podium, Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners.

toupress



DJ Mouammar Kadhafi discours ( Remix Zenga Zenga ) house music

1,832 views • Mar 2, 2011

👍 7 👎 0 ➦ SHARE ⌵ SAVE ⋮



**toupress**  
3.01K subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

11. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d5OW1JNuhBE>

“Zenga Zenga: DJ Kadhafi”

Tunis Tribune

Pitbull’s Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi’s Zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi’s gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing on both sides of Gaddafi’s podium, Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners.



Zenga Zenga: DJ Kadhafi

5,228 views • Mar 3, 2011

👍 4    💬 2    ➦ SHARE    ⚙️ SAVE    ⋮



**Tunis Tribune**  
3.1K subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

12. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C\\_aujVUM9sk](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C_aujVUM9sk)

“tansimt Mouammar Kadhafi  
- Zenga Zenga Song.flv  
amazigh libya amazigh  
maroc”

Pitbull’s Hey baby music,  
visuals  
and lyrics are edited excerpts  
from Gaddafi’s zenga zenga  
speech, Gaddafi’s gestures  
edited to look like dancing,  
girl dancing on both sides of  
Gaddafi’s podium, Libyan  
State TV logo and Al-  
Arabiya logo in top and  
bottom right corners.

Tansimt  
benouakrim



tansimt Mouammar Kadhafi - Zenga Zenga Song.flv amazigh libya amazigh maroc

5,935 views · Mar 4, 2011

5 1 SHARE SAVE ...



Tansimt benouakrim  
138 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

<p>13. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Sy3C87njAys">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Sy3C87njAys</a></p>	<p>"اغنية معمر القذافي زنقة زنقة - Moammar Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga.flv"</p> <p>Pitbull's Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi's zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi's gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing on both sides of Gaddafi's podium, Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners.</p>	<p>saskoo snow</p>	 <p>The video player shows a man in a military-style uniform with a beret, looking down. On either side of him, there are smaller, semi-transparent video thumbnails showing a person dancing. The video player interface includes a progress bar at 0:03 / 3:59, a play button, and a volume icon. Below the player, the video title is displayed in Arabic and English: "اغنية معمر القذافي زنقة زنقة - Moammar Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga.flv". It also shows 16,490 views, a date of Mar 5, 2011, 57 likes, and 20 dislikes. The channel name "saskoo snow" with 76 subscribers is visible, along with a red "SUBSCRIBE" button.</p>		
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<p>14. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Shdew4tftfBE">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Shdew4tftfBE</a></p>	<p>"غنية معمر القذافي بيت بيت زنقة - Zenga Zenga" Moammar Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga"</p> <p>Pitbull's Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi's zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi's gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing on both sides of Gaddafi's podium, Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners.</p>	<p>ZmagriR</p>	 <p>0:04 / 3:59</p> <p>اغنية معمر القذافي بيت بيت زنقة زنقة - Moammar Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga</p> <p>1,528 views • Mar 7, 2011</p> <p>3 likes 1 dislike</p> <p>SHARE SAVE ...</p> <p>ZmagriR 324 subscribers</p> <p>SUBSCRIBE</p> <p>اغنية معمر القذافي بيت بيت زنقة زنقة - Moammar Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga</p>		
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<p>15. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IQqScNu2Jec">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IQqScNu2Jec</a></p>	<p>“Muammar Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga Song - DJ Samir Remix”</p> <p>Pitbull’s Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi’s zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi’s gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing on both sides of Gaddafi’s podium, Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners.</p>	<p>themuslimclub</p>	 <p>Muammar Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga Song - DJ Samir Remix</p> <p>1,753 views • Mar 12, 2011</p> <p>5 likes 1 dislike</p> <p>SHARE SAVE ...</p> <p>themuslimclub 1 subscriber</p> <p>SUBSCRIBE</p>		
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16. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yS50rJEoCdw>

“Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga Song”

Pitbull’s Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi’s zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi’s gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing on both sides of Gaddafi’s podium, Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners.

EgyptNumber1



Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga Song

2,702 views • Mar 22, 2011

👍 8 🗨️ 0 ➦ SHARE 📌 SAVE ...



**EgyptNumber1**  
490 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

1. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ChIpEUTX\\_Oc](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ChIpEUTX_Oc)

“DJ KADA zenga zenga (زنگة زنگة)”

Pitbull’s Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi’s Zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi’s gestures edited to look like dancing and girl covered with red boxes with moving red graphics inside, Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners, the words “DJ KADA” between both boxes.

Naivision



DJ KADA zenga zenga (زنگة زنگة)

73,488 views · Feb 25, 2011

👍 24 💬 5 ➦ SHARE ⌵ SAVE ...



**Naivision**  
4.86K subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

Noy’s remix edited to cover the dancing girl

Noy’s remix with edited girl

2. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TxPvldSOZa0>

“Zenga Zenga Song By Gaddafi Chanson de Kadhafi remix international”

Pitbull’s Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi’s zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi’s gestures edited to look like dancing and girl covered with big green boxes and with the words “zenga!” and “zenga” written on them, Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners.

ausSchengen



Zenga Zenga Song By Gaddafi Chanson de Kadhafi remix international

45,936 views · Mar 4, 2011

57 likes 5 dislikes SHARE SAVE ...



ausSchengen  
22 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

3. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KIWvZNqGapY>

غنية زنقة ثورة - بيت زنقة ثورة  
Zenga Zenga".

Pitbull's Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi's zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi's gestures edited to look like dancing and girl is covered with boxes with moving graphics inside, Libyan State TV logo is covered while Al-Arabiya logo is still visible.

sherifyousef1



الذوية

0:05 / 2:01

Zenga Zenga. أغنية الزنقة - بيت زنقة ثورة

5,812 views • Feb 28, 2011

17 4 SHARE SAVE ...

sherifyousef1  
6.83K subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

<p>4. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-RgwpB3PPcA">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-RgwpB3PPcA</a></p>	<p>“Lagu libya Muammar.Gaddafi.zenga zenga.dar dar.bet bet”</p> <p>Pitbull’s Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi’s zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi’s gestures edited to look like dancing and girl covered with big green boxes where the girl used to be and with zenga! Zenga? written in them, Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners.</p>	<p>Muhammad Felimban</p>	 <p>Lagu libya Muammar.Gaddafi.zenga zenga.dar dar.bet bet</p> <p>6,087 views · Mar 1, 2011</p> <p>12 likes · 1 comment</p> <p>Muhammad Felimban 36 subscribers</p> <p>SUBSCRIBE</p>		
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1. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6GcUutnU2gk>

“Gaddafi-Zenga Song-No girl edit version (Noy Alooshe Remix)”

Pitbull’s Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi’s Zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi’s gestures edited to look like dancing, Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners, the words “Noy Alooshe present: DJ gadafi zenga zenga song” written across bottom of visuals, same as Noy’s original remix but with no dancing girl

Noy Alooshe



Gaddafi-Zenga Song-No girl edit version (Noy Alooshe Remix)

1,613,277 views • Feb 24, 2011

4K 266 SHARE SAVE ...



Noy Alooshe  
11.1K subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

Noy’s Remix with girl edited out of visuals and Noy’s credits at the bottom of visuals instead

2. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VBnFnN\\_LPdE](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VBnFnN_LPdE)

“Gaddafi-Zenga Zenga Song”

HELPLIBYA1

Pitbull’s Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi’s Zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi’s gestures edited to look like dancing, Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners, the words “Noy alooshe present: DJ gadafi zenga zenga song” written across bottom of visuals, same as Noy’s original remix but with no dancing girl



Gaddafi-Zenga Zenga Song

114,264 views · Feb 27, 2011

208 23 SHARE SAVE ...



HELPLIBYA1  
49 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

3. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QBlqePVuAN0>

بيت شير دار شارع زنقة معمر القذافي راب  
Pitbull's Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi's Zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi's gestures edited to look like dancing, Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners, the words "Noy alooshe present: DJ Gadafi Zenga Zenga song" written across bottom of visuals, same as Noy's original remix but with no dancing girl

sEcZx



Gaddafi Zenga Song بيت شير دار شارع زنقة معمر القذافي راب

17,051 views • Mar 4, 2011

57 likes 6 comments SHARE SAVE ...



sEcZx  
1.27K subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

بيت شير دار شارع زنقا زينقا زينقا معمر القذافي راب

<p>4. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wXyJ2412ggA">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wXyJ2412ggA</a></p>	<p>"اغنية القذافي زنقة زنقة" gaddafi song zenga zenga"</p> <p>Pitbull's Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi's zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi's gestures edited to look like dancing, Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners, the words "Noy alooshe present: DJ gadafi zenga zenga song" written across bottom of visuals, same as Noy's original remix but with no dancing girl</p>	<p>eyelookloop</p>	 <p>The image shows a screenshot of a YouTube video player. The video content features a man wearing a brown hooded jacket, likely a reference to Muammar Gaddafi, in a DJ setting. Overlaid on the video is the text "Noy Alooshe Present: Dj Gadafi Zenga Zenga Song". Below the video player, the YouTube interface shows the video title in Arabic and English: "اغنية القذافي زنقة زنقة" and "gaddafi song zenga zenga". It also displays "155,212 views · Feb 28, 2011", engagement icons for likes (142) and comments (8), and a "SHARE" button. At the bottom, the channel name "eyelookloop" is shown with a profile picture and "238 subscribers", along with a red "SUBSCRIBE" button.</p>		
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5. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OcBiAQODnY>

“Gaddafi Zenga ZENGA Song No girl edit version Noy Alooshe Remix Muammar Kadafi ZENGA ZENGA zenga”

Pitbull’s Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi’s Zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi’s gestures edited to look like dancing, Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners. the words “Noy alooshe present: DJ gadafi zenga zenga song” written across bottom of visuals, same as Noy’s original remix but with no dancing girl

dejan1971




Gaddafi Zenga ZENGA Song No girl edit version Noy Alooshe Remix Muammar Kadafi ZENGA ZENGA zenga

19,928 views · Feb 28, 2011

29 likes 1 dislike SHARE SAVE ...

dejan1971  
10 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

<p>1. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8tYH1inpLkM">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8tYH1inpLkM</a></p>	<p>“Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga Song (The Official Version) Noy Alooshe Remix”</p> <p>Pitbull’s Hey baby music, slightly zoomed in visuals which are edited excerpts from Gaddafi’s Zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi’s gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing edited out of visuals “Gaddafi – zenga zenga song (Noy alooshe remix)” written in white at the bottom</p>	<p>ZengaZengaSong</p>	 <p>Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga Song (The Official Version) Noy Alooshe Remix</p> <p>119,596 views • Mar 4, 2011</p> <p>304 likes 23 dislikes</p> <p>ZengaZengaSong 188 subscribers</p> <p>SUBSCRIBE</p>	<p>Noy’s remix but with no girl nor the Noy Alooshe credits</p>	
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2. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IPWYPDcXM14>

“Zenga Zenga Zynga Zynga Muammar Gaddafi **الغذافي زنقا زنجنا** remix.flv”

Pitbull’s Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi’s zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi’s gestures edited to look like dancing, Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners, same as Noy’s original remix but with no dancing girl

Abdullah Bush



Zenga Zenga Zynga Zynga Muammar Gaddafi **الغذافي زنقا زنجنا** remix.flv

15,439 views · Mar 1, 2011


👍 12 🗨️ 1 ➡️ SHARE ⚙️ SAVE ...



Abdullah Bush  
22 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

<p>3. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TGaKaiUDMQI">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TGaKaiUDMQI</a></p>	<p>“Lagu Libya Muammar khadafi zenga zenga bet bet dar dar.flv”</p> <p>Pitbull’s Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi’s zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi’s gestures edited to look like dancing, Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners, same as Noy’s original remix but with no dancing girl.</p>	<p>Muhammad Felimban</p>	 <p>Lagu Libya Muammar khadafi zenga zenga bet bet dar dar.flv</p> <p>10,379 views • Mar 2, 2011</p> <p>13 likes 1 comment</p> <p>Muhammad Felimban 36 subscribers</p> <p>Lagu Libya Muammar khadafi zenga zenga bet bet dar dar</p>		
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<p>1. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z45cLXndZqo">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z45cLXndZqo</a></p>	<p>“Gaddafi song @ Morocco 2011 Zenga Zenga”</p> <p>Pitbull’s Hey baby music, excerpts from gaddafi’s speech as lyrics, visuals are people dancing in a club</p>	<p>Youssef</p>		<p>Noy’s remix as audio and the visuals are people in a club dancing</p>	<p>Noy’s remix audio with different visuals</p>
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2. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VwXnm5I5Jvk>

“Zenga Zenga-Gaddafi  
Speech remix @ Pacha -  
Tunisia 2011”

Pitbull’s Hey baby music,  
excerpts from gaddafi’s  
speech as lyrics, visuals are  
people dancing in a club

SuffetdeCarthage



Zenga Zenga-Gaddafi Speech remix @ Pacha -Tunisia 2011

2,477 views · Mar 3, 2011

👍 4 🗨️ 3 ➦ SHARE ≡ SAVE ...



**SuffetdeCarthage**  
5 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

@ Pacha club-Tunisia 2011 Zenga Zenga

3. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ANqgnYx9aIQ>

“Kedafi song Zenga Zenga”

toupress

Pitbull’s Hey baby music, excerpts from gaddafi’s speech as lyrics, visuals are people dancing in a club



Kedafi song Zenga Zenga

11,859 views · Mar 4, 2011

👍 12    💬 3    ➦ SHARE    📌 SAVE    ⋮

 **toupress**  
3.01K subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

<p>4. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MG0_irH3tz8">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MG0_irH3tz8</a></p>	<p>Zenga Zenga In Tel Aviv. "ChinChinClub" 18/03/11</p> <p>Pitbull's Hey baby music, excerpts from Gaddafi's speech as lyrics, visuals are a man dressed as Gaddafi amongst people dancing in a club with a lady wearing belly dancing clothes acting as a guard</p>	<p>ZengaZengaSong</p>	 <p>Zenga Zenga In Tel Aviv. "ChinChinClub" 18/03/11</p> <p>40,669 views · Mar 19, 2011</p> <p>58 55 SHARE SAVE ...</p> <p> <b>ZengaZengaSong</b> 188 subscribers</p> <p><a href="#">SUBSCRIBE</a></p>		
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<p>1. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4Qp7I8HWNjQ">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4Qp7I8HWNjQ</a></p>	<p>“Zenga Zenga Song - Official Single Version”</p> <p>Pitbull’s Hey baby music, excerpts from Gaddafi’s speech as lyrics, visuals are just one image of the bubble blocks of the words “GADDAFI ZENGA ZENGA THE OFFICIAL VERSION” with Gaddafi’s image in the letters.</p>	<p>ZengaZengaSong</p>	 <p>The image shows a YouTube video player interface. The video title is "Zenga Zenga Song - Official Single Version". Below the title, it shows "92,140 views • Mar 6, 2011". The channel name is "ZengaZengaSong" with "188 subscribers". A red "SUBSCRIBE" button is visible. The video player itself shows a large graphic with the words "GADDAFI ZENGA ZENGA THE OFFICIAL VERSION" in a stylized font where the letters contain images of Gaddafi's face.</p>	<p>Noy’s remix as audio and the words “Gaddafi zenga zenga the official version”</p>	
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<p>2. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kygc0PzaQGY">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kygc0PzaQGY</a></p>	<p>“Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga Song (Noy Alooshe Extended Version)”</p> <p>Pitbull’s Hey baby music, excerpts from Gaddafi’s speech as lyrics, visuals are just one image of the bubble blocks of the words “GADDAFI ZENGA ZENGA THE OFFICIAL VERSION” with Gaddafi’s image in the letters.</p>	<p>ZengaZengaSong</p>	 <p>The image shows a YouTube video player interface. The video title is "Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga Song (Noy Alooshe Extended Version)". Below the title, it shows "45,142 views · Mar 12, 2011". The channel name is "ZengaZengaSong" with "188 subscribers". There is a red "SUBSCRIBE" button. The video player itself shows a large graphic with the words "GADDAFI ZENGA ZENGA THE OFFICIAL VERSION" in a stylized font where the letters contain images of Gaddafi's face. The video progress bar shows "0:02 / 3:24".</p>		
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<p>1. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=luEuw_Zn1YI">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=luEuw_Zn1YI</a></p>	<p>“Gaddafi Zenga Zenga”</p> <p>First introduces the video with a pic with the morrocan star and the words “marocaine friere presente”. Then Noy’s remix plays as audio while a sequence of Gaddafi’s images plays as visuals.</p>	<p>645241</p>	 <p>Gaddafi Zenga Zenga</p> <p>1,870 views · Mar 3, 2011</p> <p>7 0 SHARE SAVE ...</p> <p> <b>0645241</b> 450 subscribers</p> <p><b>SUBSCRIBE</b></p>	<p>Noy’s remix as audio with still images or cartoons as visuals</p>	
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2. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WdI-1QQQgWI>

“Mouammar Kadhafi - new Song - Zenga Zanga”

Pitbull’s Hey baby music, excerpts from Gaddafi’s speech as lyrics, visuals are a sequence of pictures condemning and criticizing Gaddafi

ExtraEarth97



Mouammar Kadhafi - new Song - Zenga Zanga

3,015 views · Mar 3, 2011

2 1 SHARE SAVE ...

 **ExtraEarth97**  
13 subscribers

**SUBSCRIBE**

<p>3. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vi3clQGZS4o">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vi3clQGZS4o</a></p>	<p>“Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga (The Best Remix 2011)”</p> <p>Noy's remix as audio while a sequence of different pictures of Gaddafi and the protests play as visuals.</p>	<p>MusicArabic2011</p>			
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4. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z1ibKpwAxp5>

Chanson chibre chibre  
"Zenga Zanga -Chibre chibre  
- dar dar-bit bit- zanga zanga-  
Kaddafi"

Pitbull's Hey baby music,  
excerpts from Gaddafi's  
speech as lyrics, visuals are a  
sequence of satirical memes  
and cartoons of Gaddafi.

PETROLEONLINE



Chanson chibre chibre "Zenga Zanga -Chibre chibre - dar dar-bit bit- zanga zanga-  
Kaddafi

43,399 views • Mar 6, 2011

62 13 SHARE SAVE ...



**PETROLEONLINE**  
16.4K subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

5. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OGgrvMQyKx8>

“Gaddafi feat. Pitbull feat. T-Pain - Zenga Zenga”

Pitbull’s Hey baby music, excerpts from gaddafi’s speech as lyrics, visuals are a picture of pitbull with two ladies between his arm's one of which has Gaddafi's face edited onto the body

Playstation354



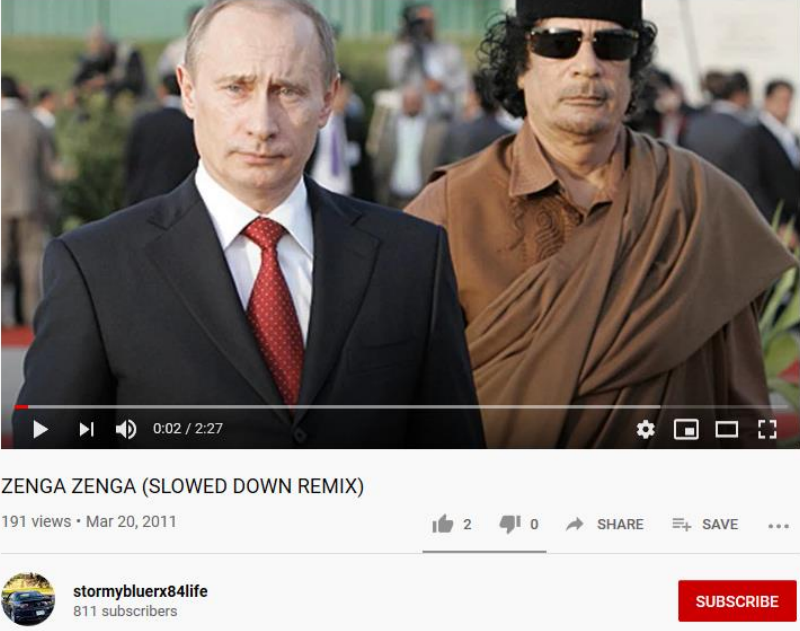
Gaddafi feat. Pitbull feat. T-Pain - Zenga Zenga

96,755 views · Mar 9, 2011

74 92 SHARE SAVE ...

 **Playstation354**  
907 subscribers

**SUBSCRIBE**

<p>6. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1Z-D0ltqkI">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1Z-D0ltqkI</a></p>	<p>ZENGA ZENGA (SLOWED DOWN REMIX)”</p> <p>Pitbull’s Hey baby music, excerpts from Gaddafi’s speech as lyrics but in slow motion with a picture of Gaddafi and Putin as visuals.</p>	<p>stormybluerx84life</p>			
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7. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KSUF\\_M-GQc](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KSUF_M-GQc)

“Gaddafi zenga zenga”

Pitbull’s Hey baby music, excerpts from gaddafi’s speech as lyrics, visuals are memes and cartoons

ABU EMAD



gaddafi zenga zenga

4,669 views · Mar 1, 2011

👍 9 🗨️ 0 ➦ SHARE 📌 SAVE ...



**ABU EMAD**  
29.6K subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

1. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vEZUQFM7A>

7A

### Zenga Zenga Song Official Music Video

Pitbull's Hey baby music, excerpts from gaddafi's speech as lyrics, visual is a cartoon of Gaddafi singing on a stage with the flag of independence behind him and missiles on either side of him

ZengaZengaSong



### Zenga Zenga Song Official Music Video

29,023 views • Mar 18, 2011

141 likes 36 comments SHARE SAVE ...



ZengaZengaSong  
188 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

Noy's remix as audio with different visuals

2. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j72QREzwMas>

“Zenga Zenga Girl!!! (The one from the original video)”  
Just the Girl from the original remix dancing to zenga zenga

pickpicktarantino




Zenga Zenga Girl!!! (The one from the original video)

83,585 views · Feb 28, 2011

👍 720    🗨️ 56    ➦ SHARE    📌 SAVE    ...

 **pickpicktarantino**  
134 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

<p>3. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dEk2Yvv6cVI">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dEk2Yvv6cVI</a></p>	<p>“Zenga Zenga Song) زنعة  زنعة جديد معمر القذافي”  video of people dancing to  Noy's remix with gaddafi's  head edited on</p>	<p>Metareporter</p>	 <p>(Zenga Zenga Song) زنعة جديد معمر القذافي</p> <p>181,335 views · Feb 27, 2011</p> <p>184 likes 23 comments</p> <p>Metareporter  19 subscribers</p> <p>Muammar Gaddafi Dances to Zenga Zenga the autotune song by Noy Alooshe written to mark the Libya uprising.</p>		
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1. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UzIa\\_dt\\_BK0](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UzIa_dt_BK0)

Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga People (Noy Alooshe English Remix) + Download

Two remixes interchanging, Noy's zenga zenga remix and a remix of the famous and only interview done with Gaddafi at the time of the revolution. The remix was a play on Gaddafi's phrases: "my people they love me". This also became a famous phrase at the time.

Noy Alooshe



The image shows a YouTube video player interface. The video title is "Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga People (Noy Alooshe English Remix) + Download". The video has 501,025 views and was uploaded on March 8, 2011. The video player shows a close-up of a man wearing a brown turban and sunglasses, with a smaller inset video showing a man in a military uniform. The video player controls show a play button, a progress bar at 0:06 / 2:47, and icons for closed captions, settings, and full screen. Below the video player, the video title is repeated, followed by the view count and upload date. There are icons for likes (2.5K), dislikes (160), share, save, and a menu. The channel name "Noy Alooshe" is displayed with a profile picture and 11.1K subscribers, along with a red "SUBSCRIBE" button.

Noy's merge of his two remixes.



<p>3. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fOgWh49i2pl">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fOgWh49i2pl</a></p>	<p>gaddafi - all my people love me -super remix zenga zenga song – 2011</p> <p>Two remixes interchanging, Noy’s zenga zenga remix and a remix of the famous and only interview done with Gaddafi at the time of the revolution. The remix was a play on Gaddafi’s phrases: “my people they love me”. This also became a famous phrase at the time.</p>	<p>MultiKarimB</p>			
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<p>1. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uz7EjnOI17M">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uz7EjnOI17M</a></p>	<p>“KEDAFI zenga zenga --Kadhafi ZENGA ZENGA”,</p> <p>Begins with green background with title “Shakira feat. Muammer Al Gadhafi Zang Zang (time for Afri9ia)”, excerpt from the chorus of shakira’s waka waka song, instead of the lyrics “waka waka” and “it’s time for Africa” snippets from Gaddafi’s speech while he is saying “zenga Zenga” and “Africa and Latin America are merged into the song.</p> <p>Same as video 20</p> <p>“zenga zenga TV NINES DZ”</p>	<p>Nines takfa</p>	 <p>KEDAFI zenga zenga --Kadhafi ZENGA ZENGA, 206,572 views · Mar 2, 2011</p> <p>Nines takfa 37 subscribers</p> <p>SUBSCRIBE</p>	<p>The shakira remix</p>
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2. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EdtMWAZPqZI>

“Kadhafi Feat Shakira ZENGA ZENGA New Remix”

Begins with green background with title “Shakira feat. Muammer Al Gadhafi Zang Zang (time for Afri9ia)”, excerpt from the chorus of shakira’s waka waka song, instead of the lyrics “waka waka” and “it’s time for Africa” snippets from Gaddafi’s speech while he is saying “zenga Zenga” and “Africa and Latin America are merged into the song.

JijelNews



Kadhafi Feat Shakira ZENGA ZENGA New Remix

34,978 views • Mar 1, 2011

33 5 SHARE SAVE ...

**JijelNews**  
67.5K subscribers

**SUBSCRIBE**

Kadhafi Feat Shakira ZENGA ZENGA New Remix

3. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BuMTuVvyQg0>

waka waka shakira official video This Time for Africa with Gaddafi Zenga Zenga  
same as video 20

Hatimeknes



waka waka shakira official video This Time for Africa with Gaddafi Zenga Zenga

39,343 views • Mar 4, 2011

40 9 SHARE SAVE ...

**H** Hatimeknes  
2.34K subscribers

Waka Waka This Time for Africa with Kaddafi Zenga Zenga

SUBSCRIBE

1. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=estJlbZ\\_r4s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=estJlbZ_r4s)

TAKFARINAS FEAT  
KEDAFI ZENGA  
ZENGA.flv

Gaddafi, mubarak and bin ali  
edited on to street dancers  
dancing to a catchy tune


toxicobull



TAKFARINAS FEAT KEDAFI ZENGA ZENGA.flv

46,052 views · Mar 30, 2011

19 likes 1 comment SHARE SAVE ...

 **toxicobull**  
1 subscriber

SUBSCRIBE

Different songs and remixes

2. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=funmCCMteRI">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=funmCCMteRI</a>	Gaddafi Song! (ZENGA ZENGA) <u>different remix</u>	DifferenSe1	 <p>Gaddafi Song! (ZENGA ZENGA)</p> <p>20,987 views · Mar 3, 2011</p> <p>44 likes · 3 comments · SHARE · SAVE · ...</p> <p><b>DifferenSe1</b> 581 subscribers</p> <p>Parody of Gaddafi singing the Zenga Zenga!</p> <p>SUBSCRIBE</p>	
--	---	-------------	--	--

3. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vs6sXyNQ6m8>

“Moammar Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga  
معمر القذافي من انتم ؟”  
A different remix

Mohamed Djazairi



The image shows a YouTube video player interface. The video title is "Gadaffi - Man Antom". The video description is "معمر القذافي من انتم ؟ Moammar Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga". The video has 12,667 views and was uploaded on Mar 2, 2011. The video player shows a man in a brown military uniform and a turban, speaking into a microphone. The video player controls show a play button, a progress bar at 0:02 / 4:58, and various icons for volume, settings, and full screen. Below the video player, the channel name "Mohamed Djazairi" is displayed with a profile picture and 4.62K subscribers. A red "SUBSCRIBE" button is visible to the right of the channel name.

4. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=08qqivSBVYg>

DJ Steff ft. Gaddafi- Zenga Zenga -Zanga Zanga- new mix 2011

some sort of remix of the speech with music with cartoons and images opposing gaddafi and his regime

MultiKarimB



DJ Steff ft. Gaddafi- Zenga Zenga -Zanga Zanga- new mix 2011

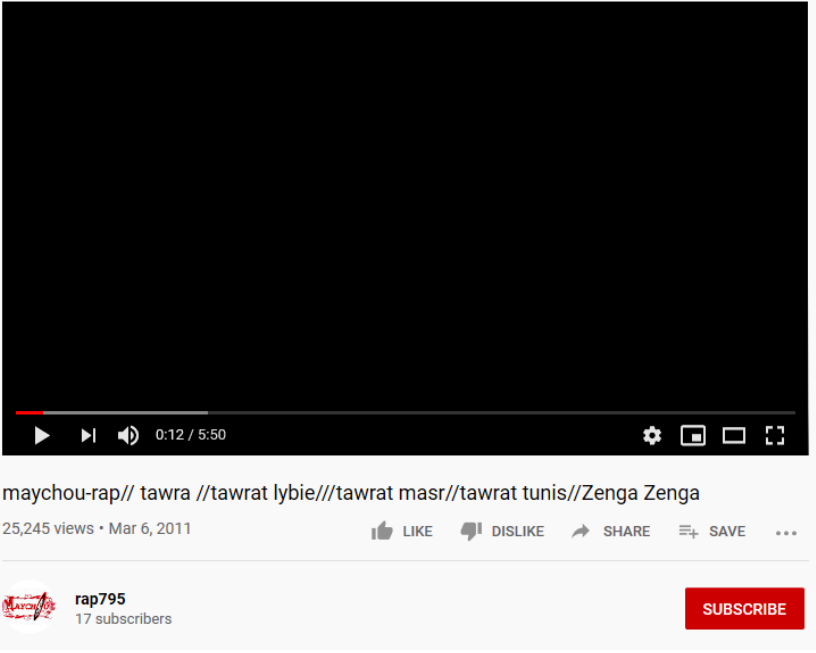
2,184 views • Mar 23, 2011

👍 6 🗨️ 2 ➦ SHARE 📌 SAVE ...



MultiKarimB  
3.07K subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

<p>5. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2HABhZWkMbM">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2HABhZWkMbM</a></p>	<p>maychou-rap// tawra //tawrat lybie///tawrat masr//tawrat tunis//Zenga Zenga</p> <p><u>A rap song about the tunisian, libyan and egyptian revolutions</u></p>	<p>rap795</p>	 <p>maychou-rap// tawra //tawrat lybie///tawrat masr//tawrat tunis//Zenga Zenga</p> <p>25,245 views • Mar 6, 2011</p> <p>LIKE DISLIKE SHARE SAVE</p> <p><b>rap795</b> 17 subscribers</p> <p><b>SUBSCRIBE</b></p>	
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<p>6. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w0xvkkx98gJA">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w0xvkkx98gJA</a></p>	<p>Gaddafi - Zenga Uooropa (Noy Alooshe Remix)</p> <p><u>some sort of music edited onto gaddafi giving a speech as the compound (not zenga zenga speech)</u></p>	<p>ZengaZengaSong</p>	 <p>www.ZengaZengaSong.com</p> <p>Gaddafi - Zenga Uooropa (Noy Alooshe Remix)</p> <p>28,043 views • Mar 22, 2011</p> <p>115 likes 10 dislikes</p> <p>ZengaZengaSong 188 subscribers</p> <p>SUBSCRIBE</p>	
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7. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sW9VfIQpXvI&t=74s>

Official Pro-Gaddafi "Zenga, Zenga" Song from Libya TV  
videos of supporters chanting in the streets holding green flags and pictures of Gaddafi, Gaddafi waving to the crowds of supporters in former speeches, gaddafi giving speech at compound paused with words gaddafi zenga uooropa in yellow at bottom

MrLeShaque



Official Pro-Gaddafi "Zenga, Zenga" Song from Libya TV

52,424 views • Mar 23, 2011

404 likes 62 dislikes

SHARE SAVE ...

**M** MrLeShaque  
48 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

<p>1. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=69wBG6ULNzQ">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=69wBG6ULNzQ</a></p>	<p>“Muammar Gaddafi speech TRANSLATED (2011 Feb 22)”</p> <p>Excerpt from Gaddafi’s speech, last 3:56 minutes, Gaddafi behind podium, brown Libyan cloak and Bedouin turban, shattered building in background, Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners, English subtitles added</p>	<p>SLOBoe</p>	 <p>Muammar Gaddafi speech TRANSLATED (2011 Feb 22)</p> <p>1,814,178 views · Feb 23, 2011</p> <p>5K 531 SHARE SAVE ...</p> <p> <b>SLOBoe</b> 1.91K subscribers</p> <p><a href="#">SUBSCRIBE</a></p>	<p>Original speech excerpt</p>
---	---	---------------	--	--------------------------------

2. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qjWPq\\_hhv6M](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qjWPq_hhv6M)

Gaddafi Zenga Zenga  
Historical Speech! - خطاب  
نهاية القذافي التاريخي

a parody of gaddafi's speech  
with a guy mimicking  
gaddafi dressed in bizarre  
clothes in an effort to copy  
gaddafi's garments and  
dropping jokes and at time  
the guy recording the video  
bursts out in laughter

IbinAlmukhtar



Gaddafi Zenga Zenga Historical Speech! - خطاب نهاية القذافي التاريخي

2,399 views • Mar 24, 2011

10 1 SHARE SAVE ...

IbinAlmukhtar  
5 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

Speech parody

<p>3. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mLh2V_nL1Tc">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mLh2V_nL1Tc</a></p>	<p>“Gadhafi speech - Zenga Zenga”</p> <p>Excerpt from Conan O’Briens comedy show, cuts to 45 seconds from Gaddafi’s speech which is comically dubbed into English , conan refers to zenga zenga phrase</p>	<p>Alberto J.</p>	<p>Gadhafi speech - Zenga Zenga</p> <p>63,108 views · Feb 25, 2011</p> <p>147 likes 69 dislikes</p> <p>Alberto J. 48 subscribers</p> <p>SUBSCRIBE</p>	<p>Conan’s comedy sketch</p>
---	--	-------------------	---	------------------------------

<p>4. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ccwKvOnUJWU">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ccwKvOnUJWU</a></p>	<p>GADafi - ZenGa ZenGa ( Gad elmaleh )</p> <p><u>different clips of gaddafis</u> <u>edited with Noy's remix and</u> <u>other clips</u></p>	<p>hamma198</p>	 <p>GADafi - ZenGa ZenGa ( Gad elmaleh )</p> <p>201,918 views · Mar 19, 2011</p> <p>76 likes 33 comments</p> <p>SHARE SAVE ...</p> <p><b>h</b> <b>hamma198</b> 13.5K subscribers</p> <p><b>SUBSCRIBE</b></p>	<p>Stand up</p>
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## 1.2 Data from You Tube for Arabic keyword: زنفه زنفه

### 1.2.1 First cycle of coding:

First cycle of descriptive and in vivo coding			
Link	Linguistic descriptive and Invivo codes	Meaning maker	Visual code
1. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H7eSQRDxU6c&amp;t=16s">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H7eSQRDxU6c&amp;t=16s</a>	<p>أغنية معمر القذافي بيت بيت زنفه زنفه لشباب ثورة</p> <p>Pitbull's Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi's zenga zenga speech, Gaddafi's gestures edited to look like dancing and girl covered with big green boxes and with the words "Al arab" written on them, Libyan State TV logo and Al-Arabiya logo in top and bottom right corners.</p>	<p>رھطاوي بحب بلدي</p>	 <p>The screenshot shows a YouTube video player. The video content features a man in a military uniform, likely Muammar Gaddafi, with his arms raised. Two large red boxes with the white 'AL arab' logo are overlaid on the video. Below the video player, the video title is 'أغنية معمر القذافي بيت بيت زنفه زنفه لشباب ثورة', it has 97,275 views and was posted on Feb 24, 2011. The channel name is 'رھطاوي بحب بلدي' with 6.37K subscribers. A 'SUBSCRIBE' button is visible in the bottom right corner of the video player area.</p>

2. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ChIpEUTX\\_Oc&t=3s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ChIpEUTX_Oc&t=3s)

Pitbull's Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi's first speech in revolution, gaddafi's gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing is covered with two red boxes with DJ Kada written at the bottom

Naivision



DJ KADA zenga zenga (زنگة زنگة)

73,490 views • Feb 25, 2011

👍 24 🗨️ 5 ➦ SHARE ⚙️ SAVE ...



**Naivision**  
4.88K subscribers

**SUBSCRIBE**

Le dernier Tube de Kadhafi (Zenga Zenga)

3. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0ePKn0DkXYY>

Pitbull's Hey baby music, excerpts from gaddafi's speech as lyrics, visual is a sequence of cartoons of gaddafi

Mo3tazb166er



4. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nst2PB6FqxA&t=1s>

Pitbull's Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi's first speech in revolution, gaddafi's gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing edited onto the speech visuals, published by someone else

3sooal



ريمكس معمر القذافي زلقة زلقة بيت بيت دار دار

49,753 views · Feb 26, 2011

211 likes 68 comments SHARE SAVE ...



3sooal  
6.81K subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

ريمكس خطاب معمر القذافي

5. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6oNxvn33se8&t=18s>

Pitbull's Hey baby music, excerpts from gaddafi's speech as lyrics, visual is a sequence of cartoons of gaddafi

Aloe vera



أفكار فخر العرب chanson de Mouammar Kadhafi المرحوم القائد محمر القذافي زنقة زنقة  
2,272,164 views • Feb 26, 2011



Aloe Vera  
3.12K subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

المرحوم القائد محمر القذافي ليبيا حرة مقتل استهداف احتلال حفر لاعتية رفقا رفقا للفنان محمر القذافي 2011 2018 2019 2020 اسمه الكامل هو محمر محمد عبد السلام أبو منيار القذافي، ولد عام 1942 في أسرة الراعي في مدينة سرت بجنوبي ليبيا، وترعرع في الصحراء، ونما على شرب لبن الإبل وأكل الفطيرة العربية، وكان قادرا على تحمل شظف الجيش والمشقات منذ طفولته، واهتم واحترم

6. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nfaHf5NQKew>

Pitbull's Hey baby music, excerpts from gaddafi's speech as lyrics, visual is a sequence of cartoons of gaddafi

Adel Sunalla



أعتية زنقة زنقة مستوحاه من خطاب القذافي

106,925 views • Feb 26, 2011

👍 130 🗨️ 52 ➦ SHARE ⋮ SAVE ...



Adel Sunalla  
3.78K subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

بيت بيت  
دار دار  
زنقة و زقة

7. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zW7XwHiUuBE&t=4s>

Pitbull's Hey baby music, excerpts from gaddafi's speech as lyrics, visual is a sequence of cartoons of gaddafi

17Feb2011



اغنية الغدافي شين بيت بيت دار دار زنقة زنقة هههه

15,423 views · Feb 26, 2011

42 12 SHARE SAVE ...



17Feb2011  
3.36K subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

الجزيرة الثورة البيضاء الليبية Demonstrations in Benghazi Libya aljazeera حجاب عريان العسكريين لثورة 17 فبراير ليبيا القذافي طرابلس طريق الراوية بعاري عمر المختار الثورة المرتفعة الرمتان حجاب شمال افريقيا يريد ليبيا freedom Tripoli إسقاط القذافي يوم للعصبة

8. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7BFTg5ZjtTM>

Pitbull's Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi's first speech in revolution, gaddafi's gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing edited onto the speech visuals, published by someone else

M K



جنان القذافي- راب ..زئقه زئقه أحلى راب عن الثورة

27,545 views · Feb 27, 2011

33 9 SHARE SAVE ...

**M K**  
8.41K subscribers

جنان القذافي- راب ..زئقه زئقه أحلى راب عن الثورة الليبيه على القذافي

SUBSCRIBE

9. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wXyJ2412ggA>

Pitbull's Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi's first speech in revolution, gaddafi's gestures edited to look like dancing Noy alooshe present: DJ gadafi zenga zenga song written on visuals and no girl

eyelookloop



*Noy Alooshe Present:  
Dj Gadafi  
Zenga Zenga Song*

0:01 / 2:00

اعنية الغدافي زنقة زنقة gaddafi song zenga zenga

155,227 views • Feb 28, 2011

142 8 SHARE SAVE ...

 eyelookloop  
239 subscribers

**SUBSCRIBE**

10. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KIWvZINqGapY&t=3s>

Pitbull's Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi's first speech in revolution, gaddafi's gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing is covered with two moving graphics covering the dancing girls

Sherifyousef1



Zenga Zenga. أعمدة القذافي - بيت زقة ثورة

5,815 views · Feb 28, 2011

17 likes · 4 comments · SHARE · SAVE · ...

 sherifyousef1  
6.83K subscribers

<http://www.youtube.com/user/sherifyou...>

**SUBSCRIBE**

11. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wUj1iNXtc6I>

Pitbull's Hey baby music, excerpts from gaddafi's speech as lyrics, visual is a man dancing, Arabic subtitles of lyrics

Anwar Wajdi



Zanga Zanga Dance - رقصة زانقة زانقة

61,237 views • Feb 28, 2011

60 10 SHARE SAVE ...



Anwar Wajdi  
360 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

رقصة زانقة زانقة  
Zanga Zanga Dance

12. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xuMpvkElxmQ>

Pitbull's Hey baby music, excerpts from gaddafi's speech as lyrics, visual is a sequence of cartoons of gaddafi

x10102010x



أغنية زنقة زنقة معمر القذافي 2010

6,896 views · Feb 28, 2011

7 likes 1 comment SHARE SAVE ...

x10102010x  
36 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

2011 zenga zenga زنقة زنقة

13. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O6gzI3PAJ7c>

Pitbull's Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi's first speech in revolution, gaddafi's gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing is covered with two green boxes with zenga written on them

AlArabiya



AlArabiya العربية is live now! ⓘ

العربية

ZENGA! ZENGA?

العربية

0:00 / 1:51

اغنية زنقة زنقة للحقيد معمر القذافي تجد رواج عالميا

366,951 views • Mar 2, 2011

👍 139 🗨️ 31 ➦ SHARE ⌵ SAVE ...

العربية AlArabiya العربية 7.89M subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

اغنية زنقة زنقة للحقيد معمر القذافي تجد رواج عالميا

14. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QBlqePVuAN0&t=6s>

Pitbull's Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi's first speech in revolution, gaddafi's gestures edited to look like dancing Noy alooshe present: DJ gadafi zenga zenga song written on visuals and no girl

sEcZx



Gaddafi Zenga Song راب بيت شير دار شارع زنقة محمر القذافي راب

17,066 views · Mar 4, 2011

57 likes 6 dislikes

SHARE SAVE ...

**sEcZx**  
1.28K subscribers

**SUBSCRIBE**

Gaddafi Zenga Song راب بيت شير دار شارع زنقة رينقا رينقا رينقا محمر القذافي راب

15. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lyCznzclleg>

Pitbull's Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi's first speech in revolution, gaddafi's gestures edited to look like dancing Noy alooshe present: DJ gadafi zenga zenga song written on visuals and no girl

hart aberfakt



زنقة زنقة [ريمكس] - أغنية معمر القذافي

29,280 views • Mar 4, 2011

👍 117    💬 10    ➦ SHARE    📌 SAVE    ...



**hart aberfakt**  
81 subscribers

**SUBSCRIBE**

زنقة زنقة , شير شير شير  
دار دار , بيت بيت  
.. معمر القذافي ..

16. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Sy3C87njAys&t=36s>

Pitbull's Hey baby music, visuals and lyrics are edited excerpts from Gaddafi's first speech in revolution, gaddafi's gestures edited to look like dancing, girl dancing, longer duration

Saskoo snow



احنية معمر القذافي زنقة زنقة - Moammar Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga.flv

16,503 views · Mar 5, 2011

57 likes · 21 dislikes

SHARE SAVE ...

saskoo snow  
78 subscribers

احنية معمر القذافي زنقة زنقة

SUBSCRIBE

17. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sJwFIOr1H7o>

Pitbull's Hey baby music, excerpts from gaddafi's speech as lyrics, visual is a sequence of cartoons of gaddafi

MSREHOM511



18. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DvWYszRcsVg>

Pitbull's Hey baby music, excerpts from gaddafi's speech as lyrics, visual is a sequence of cartoons of gaddafi



#شبير0506631182نجم00971507210220

معمر الغدافي شبير شبير بيت بيت زلفه زلفه Muammar Algathafi Remix Song

20,908 views • Mar 6, 2011

48

16

SHARE

SAVE

...



زفات نجوم افراح المملكة  
7.57K subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

استوديو زفات نجوم افراح المملكة | للطلب الاعمال مرسلتنا عبر الوتس اب 0506631182 اقدم واجمل هيلة تعرج // الفرحي يوم  
التعرج بالامير // 2020 باسم نوره تجنن روعه  
دعمكم ي حبايب -نشر-تعليق-لايك-اشتر-ككك

19. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jGC34I5qO2o>

Pitbull's Hey baby music, excerpts from gaddafi's speech as lyrics, visual is a sequence of cartoons of gaddafi



اغنية محمد القذافي زلقة زلقة

556 views • Mar 12, 2011

6 3 SHARE SAVE ...



المهندس طلال

SUBSCRIBE

20. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5iMSI37h34Q&t=5s>

Pitbull's Hey baby music, excerpts from gaddafi's speech as lyrics, visual is people dancing.

Asd55jo



zanga الديسكو الهندي الحبيب مع اعنية القذافي رنقة

40,487 views • Mar 23, 2011

81 10 SHARE SAVE ...

asd55jo  
543 subscribers

الديسكو الهندي الحبيب على انعام اعنية القذافي رنقة رنقة  
عمرهم الهنود ما يصلحورون

SUBSCRIBE

21. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5qQegC7ukfk&t=4s>

Pitbull's Hey baby music, excerpts from gaddafi's speech as lyrics, visual is lady dancing at home

Hero Master



(الغذافي بيت بيت زلقه زلقه).mp4

42,267 views · Mar 29, 2011

118 47 SHARE SAVE ...



Hero Master  
1.27K subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

22. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GkeUNtR34Ig>

Pitbull's Hey baby music, excerpts from gaddafi's speech as lyrics, visual is gaddafi, Bin Ali and Mubarak's faces edited on to dancers on a stage.

satraviany



رقص الزعماء الحرب زلقة زلقة

25,482 views · Mar 30, 2011

66 11 SHARE SAVE ...

 **satraviany**  
346 subscribers

القذافي حسني مبارك بشار الاسد زين العابدين رقص زلقة زلقة  
بيت بيت دار دار

**SUBSCRIBE**

23. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=anxyFXD1x00>

Song starts with Gaddafi's zeng zenga phrase, goes onto song about Libyan revolution, visual is the Libyan flag with the words "by: Bhhicham - sang by the Algerian singer mohammed Mahboob - house by house - room by room - alley by alley - to the Libyan people - new music"

Hicham benharoun

by : bhhicham

بناء الوطن الجزائري محمد محبوب

بيت بيتة زلقة زلقة

إلى الشعب الليبي نخاء جديد

أغنية محمد محبوب مع زلقة زلقة الجديدة

19,003 views • Mar 13, 2011

21 2 SHARE SAVE ...

hicham benharoun  
1.79K subscribers

أغنية هدية إلى الشعب الليبي دار دار زلقة زلقة فرد فرد  
by bhhicham

**SUBSCRIBE**

24. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2A6FUXEHH2A>

Traditional moroccan song and dancing with gaddafi's head edited onto one of the dancers, gaddafi's zenga zenga phrase edited into song.

Tadlaazilal1



The video player shows a scene with several men in traditional Moroccan attire. One man in the foreground has a head that has been edited to be that of Muammar Gaddafi. The video player interface includes a progress bar at 0:07 / 1:04, a play button, a volume icon, and a settings icon. Below the video, the title is "نسخة الشجبي من أغنية زنقة زنقة للغدافي" (A parody of the song 'Zengha Zengha' by Gaddafi, in the style of Shajbi). It shows 7,501 views and was uploaded on Mar 27, 2011. The video has 10 likes and 2 dislikes. The channel name is "tadlaazilal1" with 282 subscribers. A red "SUBSCRIBE" button is visible in the bottom right corner.

25. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mV9mpdsYNyM&t=11s>

News report on Aljazeera, people weeping in the background, men crying and describing a massacre in agdabya city by Gaddafi's forces, Man takes centre screen and threatens that he will come after gaddafi zenga by zenga.

Musamih Ali



YouTube video player showing a man in a white turban speaking. The video title is "زنقة زنقة بل حفره حفره يا القذافي - اجدابيا ليبيا". The video has 28,125 views and was uploaded on Mar 19, 2011. The channel is Musamih Ali, with 3.42K subscribers. The video description is "توجد الامل في ليبيا للمعمر القذافي بالبحث عنه بعد موته باخراجه من قبره وحرقه ( زنقة زنقة بل حفره حفره ) ب اجدابيا ليبيا".

26. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T\\_aO7yHCqCM](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T_aO7yHCqCM)

A presenter in a studio on Alaan channel introduces a report about the meaning of zenga zenga, a reporter going round Benghazi asking people what zenga zenga means

Al Aan TV



راي الشارع الليبي حول كلمة زنقة زنقة

69,605 views • Mar 21, 2011

84 22 SHARE SAVE ...



Al Aan TV تلفزيون الآن  
1.95M subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

شاهد أيضا:

مرافق للتدافي يصف اللحظات الاخيرة للرتل الهارب من سرت

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KMCNH...>

27. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JvA\\_zPWtDr8](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JvA_zPWtDr8)

Visuals are of people gathered in Gaddafi's compound supporting the regime, audio is a song with the chorus zenga zenga supportive of Gaddafi's regime.

plasmajo



اعنية زنقة زنقة الليبية الاصلية

16,510 views • Mar 23, 2011

44 likes 6 comments SHARE SAVE ...

**p** plasmajo  
12K subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

28. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9i8MINbsmL8>

Little boy wearing a brown turban which resembles gaddafi's, re-enacting gaddafi's zenga zenga phrase

Mahmoud Qahtan



تعليد الغدافي زنقة زنقة

1,475 views · Mar 24, 2011

7 likes 0 comments SHARE SAVE ...



Mahmoud Qahtan | محمود قحطان  
19.2K subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

29. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dd81219r0Ao&t=7s>

Seems like a play, stage with people sat in front of a banner with the words revolution revolution written on it, a man wearing a curly wig and a turban is introduced, he start talking and his voice resembles gaddafi, re-enacts the zeng zenga speech

Ahmed Bahamish



معر القذافي بكهة حضرمية (زقه زقه تنكه تنكه)

12,135 views · Mar 28, 2011

23 0 SHARE SAVE ...



Ahmed Bahamish  
978 subscribers

مندیات مجالس حضرموت الاصالة والتاريخ  
[www.hadrmut.com/vb](http://www.hadrmut.com/vb)

SUBSCRIBE

30. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0S4xUR5--ZA&t=6s>

Excerpts from Gaddafi's speech, dramatic music in the background, some words emphasised by writing them as subtitles.

Sefrinovic



ضحك القذافي الزحف المقدس لتطهير ليبيا زنقة زنقة

30,443 views • Mar 25, 2011

94 likes 9 dislikes SHARE SAVE ...



sefrinovic  
181 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

شير خير فرد فرد زنقة زنقة استعملوا ارفصوا عنوا ديكتاتور طاعية استبداد فساد قمع دهب الثورة المصرية التوسية الليبية حجاب مصر الجزيرة العربية بي بي سي الحرة فرانس 24 اورنيوز المنار القدس العربي الجبرام الكويت لبنان المغرب الجزائر موريتانيا تونس ليبيا مصر السودان الصومال فلسطين الاردن سوريا العراق البحرين قطر السعودية عمان اليمن زين العابدين بن علي حسني مبارك معمر

31. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4XrFT6pV49Q&t=6s>

parrot in a cage, a voice repeating the zenga zenga phrase

AmmarBm1



كاسكو يقند القذافي زنقه زنقه

2,500 views · Mar 27, 2011

3 1 SHARE SAVE ...



AmmarBm1

SUBSCRIBE

dx\_b\_liquid@hotmail.com

32. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KrbUXu4cQVY&t=9s>

Visual is gaddafi's face edited on a gangster's body with his fists up, the words zenga zenga and the poet mohammed bin diab on the side, audio is a poem.



محمد بن الذيب - قصيده زنگه زنگه الغدافي

380,046 views • Mar 30, 2011

👍 235 💬 85 ➦ SHARE ⚙️ SAVE ...



قنوات بيت  
3.31K subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

قصيده الشاعر محمد بن الذيب زنگه زنگه والغدافي

33. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xnyWedAvres&t=35s>

Excerpts from a famous Syrian scholar and Bashar's speech discussing how the revolution is a hidden agenda against the Syrian population, title of video : AlButi and Bashar's speeches, zenga zenga sentence sentence.

mrArabiaan



..خطاب بشار وخطاب البوطي زنقه زنقه.. جملة جملة

7,045 views · Mar 31, 2011

LIKE DISLIKE SHARE SAVE ...



mrArabiaan  
2.47K subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

كلمة البوطي في أربعين حافظ الأسد  
أريد في هذه النقائق أن أتحدث عن العوامل، أو عن بعض وأهم العوامل الخفية الكامنة وراء ما قد عرفه العالم كله في شخص قائدنا الراحل " من بطولات ومن عبقریات، ومن صمود وصبر ومصابرة، بكلمة جامعة أقول: إن باطن قائدنا الراحل كان خيراً من ظاهره، حتى أن ظاهره

34. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GtsS2s9X24I&t=14s>

Merge of music, gaddafi's original speech and Pitbulls Hey Baby music, visuals interchange between a man running in a jungle, gaddafi giving speech on the podium, video goes on to Noy's remix without the girl dancing, then the Shakira remix, then slower version of Noy's remix with pictures of gaddafi and hitler as the visual and different cartoons of gaddafi.

Mkgnl2010



The video player shows a man in a brown military-style uniform and cap speaking. A white thought bubble is overlaid on the video with the text "Ela Al Aman Attack !! Attack!!". Below the video, the title "خطاب الغدافي . زينة زينة" is visible. The video has 153,960 views and was uploaded on Mar 2, 2011. The channel name is "mkgnl2010" with 424 subscribers. A red "SUBSCRIBE" button is located at the bottom right of the player interface.

35. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Di3dRb1XEDo>

Green background with title Shakira feat. Muammer Al Gadhafi Zang Zang (time for Afri9ia), excerpt from the chorus of shakira's waka waka song, instead of the lyrics "waka waka" and "it's time for Africa" snippets from gaddafi's speech saying "zenga aenga" and "Africa and Latin America are merged into the song.

Gar7ei



YouTube - الغدافي شاكيرا.. واكا واكا زلقه زلقه -

67,144 views • Mar 4, 2011

👍 89 🗨️ 13 ➦ SHARE ≡+ SAVE ...



gar7ei  
23 subscribers

SUBSCRIBE

36. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UXjwwvv3ICc>

Green background with title Shakira feat. Muammer Al Gadhafi Zang Zang (time for Afri9ia), excerpt from the chorus of shakira's waka waka song, instead of the lyrics "waka waka" and "it's time for Africa" snippets from gaddafi's speech saying "zenga aenga" and "Africa and latin america are merged into the song.

Shakira, gaddafi, Remix, satire, catchy tune, gaddafi excerpts fit well with the songs initial lyrics



فن و نجوم بالفديو زنقة القذافي تقوده لديو مع شاكيرا www albashega own0 com

1,444 views · Mar 13, 2011

👍 1 🗨️ 0 ➦ SHARE ≡+ SAVE ...



منتديات البعثة

SUBSCRIBE

### 1.3 Data from Google Images search for key words “zenga zenga”:

#### 1.3.1 Images irrelevant to the study

 <p>Lindsay Zenga (@lindsayzenga) twitter.com</p>	 <p>Walter Zenga, New England Revolution pinterest.com</p>	 <p>Wolves sack manager Walter Zenga express.co.uk</p>	 <p>Sacking of Walter Zenga uk.sports.yahoo.com</p>	 <p>Hellas Verona FC v FC Crotona ... zimbio.com</p>
 <p>MIAMI BEACH, FL - MA... alamy.com</p>	 <p>Walter Zenga - Wikipedia en.wikipedia.org</p>	 <p>Former Olympiacos manager Marco dailymail.co.uk</p>		



Walter Zenga, New England Revolution  
pinterest.com

Walter Zenga: Wolves players gave  
bbc.co.uk



Wolves appoint Walter Zenga as  
theguardian.com



Zenga - Zenga (1996, CD) | ...  
discogs.com : In stock



Walter Zenga ...  
inter.it



Walter Zenga - IMDb  
imdb.com



Walter Zenga: Wolves must restore  
expressandstar.com



Walter Zenga to Southampton: thesun.co.uk



ZENGA - ZENGA added... facebook.com



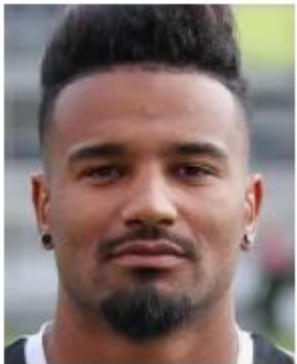
Walter Zenga - Simple ... simple.wikipedia.org



Cine este Raluca Zenga. Trecutul . playtech.ro



Divorce of the year is official ... newsbeezer.com



Erik Zenga - National te... transfermarkt.com



Walter Zenga Pictures, Photos & Images zimbio.com



Bo Zenga - IMDb imdb.com



Milan, Walter Zenga and ... alamv.com



Walter Zenga press conference  
[expressandstar.com](http://expressandstar.com)



Zenga: 'De Biasi next Italy boss ...  
[calciomercato.com](http://calciomercato.com)



Inter icon Zenga was a 'real a\*sh\*le ...  
[goal.com](http://goal.com)






Raluca și Walter Zenga divorțează  
[gsp.ro](http://gsp.ro)



Erik Zenga - Wikipedia  
[en.wikipedia.org](http://en.wikipedia.org)

### 1.3.2 First cycle of coding

The First cycle of descriptive and in vivo coding	
Image	Linguistic description
 <p>Zenga Zenga - Wikipedia en.wikipedia.org</p>	<p>Screenshot of Noy alooshe’s remix. Image of Gaddafi with fist held up and dancing girl on either side of his podium. The description below seems to refer to a Wikipedia page about Zenga Zenga.</p> <p>“zenga zenga – Wikipedia en.wikipedia.org”</p>
 <p>Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga Song (The ... youtube.com</p>	<p>Screenshot of Gaddafi in mid-speech, the words Gaddafi – Zenga Zenga Song (Noy Alooshe Remix) on visuals. The description below seems to be a link to YouTube video.</p> <p>“Gaddafi – Zenga Zenga Song (The ...</p>

 <p>Zenga Zenga - Wikipedia en.wikipedia.org</p>	<p>Side image of Gaddafi wear flamboyant African attire and glaring. The description below refers to a Wikipedia page about Zenga Zenga.</p> <p>“Zenga Zenga - Wikipedia en.wikipedia.org”</p>
 <p>Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga People (No... youtube.com</p>	<p>Screenshot of “My people they love me remix”, description seems to be link to YouTube video</p> <p>“Gaddafi – Zenga Zenga People (No . . . Youtube.com”</p>
 <p>GADafi - ZenGa ZenGa ( Gad elmal... youtube.com</p>	<p>Screen shot from Gaddafi’s speech, description seems to be link to YouTube video.</p> <p>“GADafi – ZenGa ZenGa ( Gad elmal... Youtube.com”</p>



Zenga Zenga," Israeli YouTube video ...  
pri.org

Screenshot of Noy Alooshe's remix. Image of Gaddafi with dancing girl on either side of his podium. Description seems to be a link to a website.

"Zenga Zenga, "Israeli YouTube video ...

Pri.org"



Gadhafi speech - Zenga Zenga - YouTube  
youtube.com

Screenshot of Gaddafi from Zenga zenga speech, "Oh my!" written at the bottom, seems to be a link to YouTube video.

"Gadhafi speech – Zenga Zenga – YouTube

Youtube.com"



Zenga Zenga: Gaddafi's speech as a ...  
howto.informationactivism.org

Screenshot of Gaddafi from Zenga zenga speech, "Noy Alooshe present: Dj Gadafi Zenga Zenga song" written across the bottom. Noy Alooshe's remix edited girl version. The description seems to be a link to a website.

"Zenga Zenga: Gaddafi's speech as a ...

Howto.informationactivism.org"



Zenga Zenga' has them rolling in the ...  
israel21c.org

Screenshot of Noy alooshe's remix. Image of Gaddafi with dancing girl on either side of his podium. The description seems to be a link to a website.

"Zenga Zenga' has them rolling in the ...

Israel21c.org"



Zenga Zenga - Big Think  
bigthink.com

Screenshot of Gaddafi from Zenga zenga speech, "Noy Alooshe present: Dj Gadafi Zenga Zenga song" written across the bottom. Noy Alooshe's remix edited girl version. The description seems to be a link to a website.

"Zenga Zenga – Big Think

Bigthink.com"



Screenshot of Noy alooshe's remix. Image of Gaddafi with fist held up and dancing girl on either side of his podium.



Gaddafi's Speech / Zenga Zenga | Know ...  
knowyourmeme.com

Screenshot from Gaddafi’s zenga zenga speech. The screen shot seems to be taken from a BBC broadcast as the BBC logo and red breaking news strip covers the bottom of the screen. The description seems to be a link to a website.

“Gaddafi’s Speech / Zenga Zenga Know ...

Knowyourmeme.com”

**Related searches**

- muammar al gaddafi quotes >
- gaddafi's death gaddafi >
- مقتل القذافي >

A link to other related searches:

“muammar al gaddafi quotes

Gaddafi’s death gaddafi

مقتل القذافي



Zenga zenga, Mr Obama | US & Canada ...  
aljazeera.com

Image of Obama giving a speech at a podium. American Flag in the background. The description seems to be a link to an Aljazeera report.

“Zenga zenga, Mr Obama US & Canada...

Aljazeera.com”



Gaddafi's Speech / Zen...  
knowyourmeme.com

Image of Gaddafi looking towards the camera. Arrogant facial expressions. Libyan attire. Algerian flag. The descriptions seem to refer to a link to a website.

“Gaddafi’s Speech/ Zen...  
Knowyourmeme.com”



We need to go Derper!  
funnyjunk.com

Image of Gaddafi looking towards camera and cross-eyed. Brown attire with green shapes of African continent. The description seems to refer to a link to a website.

“We need to go Derper!  
Funnyjunk.com”



song strikes a chord with Libyan rebels ...  
sizedoesntmatter.com

Screenshot of Gaddafi’s zeng zenga speech. Gaddafi’s hands raised. The description seems to refer to a link to a website.

“song strikes a chord with Libyan rebels...  
Sizedoesntmatter.com”



theorbo1 | Windows Live space | Page 15  
theorbo1.wordpress.com

Screenshot of Gaddafi from Zenga zenga speech, "Noy Alooshe present: Dj Gadafi Zenga Zenga song" written across the bottom. Noy Alooshes remix edited girl version.

Theorbo1 windows live space  
page 15

Theorbo1.wordpress.com"

### 1.3.3 Second cycle of pattern coding

First cycle of descriptive and in vivo coding	Second cycle of pattern coding
 <p>Zenga Zenga - Wikipedia en.wikipedia.org</p>	<p>Screenshot of Noy alooshe's remix. Image of Gaddafi with fist held up and dancing girl on either side of his podium. The description below seems to refer to a Wikipedia page about Zenga Zenga.</p>
 <p>Gaddafi - Zenga Zenga Song (The ... youtube.com</p>	<p>Screenshot of Gaddafi in mid-speech, the words Gaddafi – Zenga Zenga Song (Noy Alooshe Remix) on visuals, description below seems to be a link to YouTube video.</p>



Zenga Zenga," Israeli YouTube video ...  
pri.org

Screenshot of Noy  
alooshe's remix.  
Image of Gaddafi  
with dancing girl on  
either side of his  
podium.



Zenga Zenga' has them rolling in the ...  
israel21c.org

Screenshot of Noy  
alooshe's remix.  
Image of Gaddafi  
with dancing girl on  
either side of his  
podium.



Screenshot of Noy  
alooshe's remix.  
Image of Gaddafi  
with dancing girl on  
either side of his  
podium.



Zenga Zenga: Gaddafi's speech as a ...  
[howto.informationactivism.org](http://howto.informationactivism.org)

Screenshot of Gaddafi from Zenga zenga speech, "Noy Alooshe present: Dj Gadafi Zenga Zenga song" written across the bottom. Noy Alooshe's remix edited girl version.



Zenga Zenga - Big Think  
[bigthink.com](http://bigthink.com)

Screenshot of Gaddafi from Zenga zenga speech, "Noy Alooshe present: Dj Gadafi Zenga Zenga song" written across the bottom. Noy Alooshe's remix edited girl version.



theorbo1 | Windows Live space | Page 15  
[theorbo1.wordpress.com](http://theorbo1.wordpress.com)

Screenshot of Gaddafi from Zenga zenga speech, "Noy Alooshe present: Dj Gadafi Zenga Zenga song" written across the bottom. Noy Alooshe's remix edited girl version.

 <p>Gaddafi's Speech / Zenga Zenga   Know ... knowyourmeme.com</p>	<p>Screenshot from Gaddafi's zenga zenga speech. The screen shot seems to be taken from a BBC broadcast as the BBC logo and red breaking news strip covers the bottom of the screen. The description seems to be a link to a website.</p> <p>“Gaddafi’s Speech / Zenga Zenga Know ... Knowyourmeme.com”</p>	<p>Screenshots from Gaddafi's Zenga Zenga Speech</p>
 <p>song strikes a chord with Libyan rebels ... sizedoesntmatter.com</p>	<p>Screenshot of Gaddafi's zenga zenga speech. Gaddafi's hands raised. The description seems to refer to a link to a website.</p> <p>“song strikes a chord with Libyan rebels... Sizedoesntmatter.com”</p>	
 <p>Gaddafi's Speech / Zen... knowyourmeme.com</p>	<p>Image of Gaddafi looking towards the camera. Arrogant facial expressions. Libyan attire. Algerian flag. The descriptions seem to refer to a link to a website.</p> <p>“Gaddafi’s Speech/ Zen... Knowyourmeme.com”</p>	



We need to go Derper!  
funnyjunk.com

Image of Gaddafi looking towards camera and cross-eyed. Brown attire with green shapes of African continent. The description seems to refer to a link to a website.

“We need to go Derper!  
Funnyjunk.com”

#### 1.4 Google Images data for Arabic keyword: زنفه زنفه

##### 1.4.1 Images irrelevant to the study:



جفرا نيوز : أخبار الأردن | رسالة ...  
jfranews.com.jo



File:Impasse du Sabre (El Klech) زنقة ...  
commons.wikimedia.org



نباش زنفه باريس by عبد الله طواف  
goodreads.com



File:زنقة.jpg - Wikimedia C...  
commons.wikimedia.org



فيلم زنقة سنات كامل  
on Vimeo  
vimeo.com



How to get to Layali Baghdade ...  
moovitapp.com



File:Impasse Ben Abi Dhiaf  
commons.wikimedia.org



Jasmine Abbas on SoundClo...  
soundcloud.com



زقة الرياح . المدينة القديمة طرا...  
pinterest.com



File:Plaque métallique indiquant l ...  
en.wikipedia.org



... غريب زقة زقة - 011...  
elcinema.com



Baseball cards ...  
gr.pinterest.com



File:زنقة سيدي حجر.jpg - Wikimedia Commons commons.wikimedia.org



Rabat, Morocco ... booking.com



Rue Melilia زنقة مليلية Travel ... arrangy.com



Rabat, Morocco ... booking.com



زنقة عنقني Impasse De L'etreinte - Home ... facebook.com



الفنان اياد دقه دبكة على صوت القذافي ... pinterest.com



الجارالله يحذر السراج من مصير القذافي ...  
mebusiness.ae



Rue Melilia زنفرة مليلية Travel ...  
arrangy.com

### 1.4.2 First cycle of descriptive and in vivo coding

First cycle of descriptive and In Vivo coding



معمّر القذافي - زنگه زنگه زنگه  
youtube.com

A screen shot of Gaddafi giving the Zenga Zenga Speech in front of his compound, brown attire, Libyan state TV and AlArabiya logos at the bottom, description seems to be a link to YouTube.



بيت بيت دار دار زنگه زنگه - ..acebook  
facebook.com

Cartoon of Gaddafi in clothing similar to the clothes her wore in The Zenga Zenga speech, sunglasses, curly hair, description seems to be a link to Facebook.



زنگه زنگه (@Zn8hzn8h) | Twitter  
twitter.com

Gaddafi looking into camera and his eyes are crossed. Description seems to be a link to twitter.



زنگه زنگه (@8hzn8h) | Twitter  
twitter.com

Gaddafi looking into camera and his eyes are crossed. Close up. Description seems to be a link to twitter.



خطاب زنگه زنگه - YouTube  
youtube.com

A screen shot of Gaddafi giving the Zenga Zenga Speech in front of his compound, brown attire, Libyan state TV and AlArabiya logos at the bottom, description seems to be a link to YouTube.



زنگه زنگه - Facebook | Community  
facebook.com

Picture of Gaddafi with Saudi King, space between them, Kings speech bubble “come sit next to me”, Gaddafi “ nah come to my place your’s is zenga zenga”

 <p>زنگه زنگه - ويكيبيديا ar.wikipedia.org</p>	<p>Screenshot of Noy Alooshe’s remix. Image of Gaddafi with dancing girl on either side of his podium. Description seems to be a link to a Wikipedia page.</p>
 <p>خطاب زنگه زنگه من كسلا دبلجة رائعة ... youtube.com</p>	<p>Screenshot from Gaddafi’s Zenga Zenga Speech, AlBasheers head edited on, Libyan channel logo on top right and Sudanese channel logo on top left, “The zenga speech . . .kasal” written in red across the bottom, description seems to be a link to YouTube.</p>
 <p>زنگه زنگه ... hdhod.com</p>	<p>Screen shot from The Zenga Zenga Speech, Gaddafi in mid speech, report from Al-Arabiya, Breaking news strip at the bottom of the screen, live, breaking news read “Gaddafi: the protesters want to turn Libya into an Islamic state”, description seems to be link to a website.</p>



محمد بن الدبيب - كصيد زنگه زنگه ...  
youtube.com

A scrawny figure dressed in oversized rapper's clothes, a cap worn sideways, Large watch, Gaddafi's face edited onto rappers body, the wrds zenga zenga in larges bubble letters, the words "the poet: Mohammed bin aldheeb" and a link to a website written in small font, the description seems to be a link to YouTube.



شبر شبر بيت بيت دار دار زنگه ز...  
facebook.com

A picture of a muscular character in a martial arts pose, Gaddafi's head edited on to muscular body, the title across the top reads " the new movie Gaddafi Chan in Libya", the speech bubble reads "my people love me and those who don't will be killed, you rats, woohoo", description seems to be link to Facebook.



سر ملابس القذافي "الممزقة" في خطاب ...  
albayan.ae

A screenshot of Gaddafi giving The Zenga Zenga Speech in front of his compound, brown attire, only Libyan state TV logo, The words Live-Tripoli are clear as Al Arabiya logo is not covering them, red circle indicating a rip in Gaddafi' clothes in his pit, description seems to be a link to a website.

 <p>من أنتم..! لازم ننصف ليبيا.. شبر شبر.. بيت بيت.. دآر دآر.. زنقة زنقة ثورة ثورة.. آلى الامام..</p> <p>بيت بيت زنقة زنقة , صور امنية ساخره ... images.net</p>	<p>An image of Gaddafi wearing military suit, and quotes from the speech to the side:</p> <p>“Who are you?”</p> <p>“We must purify Libya inch by inch, house by house, room by room, zenga by zenga”</p> <p>“revolution, rolution, forward , forward”</p> <p>Description seems to be link to website.</p>
 <p>زنقة زنقة.. راب القذافي يُطرب الملايين ... bninsarcity.com</p>	<p>Screenshot from The Zenga Zenga Speech, Gaddafi both hands held up, mid speech, brown attire, only the words live-Tripoli visible.</p>
 <p>دار دار بيت بيت شبر شبر زنقة زنقة فرد ... youtube.com</p>	<p>Screen shot from Gaddafi in mid speech, The Zenga Zenga speech, close up, Libyan state TV logo, Brown attire, the description seems to be a link to YouTube.</p>



انا قهنتكم ، بكل حزم ...  
facebook.com

Cartoon of Gaddafi, exaggerated facial features, sun glasses, exaggerated curly hair, Libyan brown attire, the Famous phrase “who are you” from the Zenga Zenga Speech in big bubble letters in the background, description seems to be link to Facebook.




التوصيل مجاني.. بيت بيت.. دار دار ...  
albayan.ae

Cartoon of AlAsad, small head and huge body, sat behind a desk, weapons placed across his desk, Alasad pointing and saying “Free delivery, house by house, room by room, zenga by zenga”



زقة زقة دار دار (@zngh4) |  
twitter.com

Gaddafi wearing African attire made out of military camouflage material, sunglasses indoors, seems to be listening to a speaker in a conference, earphones, clapping, looking away from the camera, description seems to be a link to twitter.

 <p>دكت ساعة الأكل الآن وجبة زنقة ز... free-libya.ahlamountada.c...</p>	<p>A restaurant flyer with a picture of a meal and drink, slogan is a play on a few phrases Gaddafi used in the speech “it is now time to eat ordering hour is here” instead of marching hour is here”,</p>
 <p>شبر بيت بيت دار دار زنقة زنقة فرد ... facebook.com</p>	<p>Cartoon of Gaddafi’s facial features, somber facial features, exaggerated nose and mole, curly hair, his famous African purple outfit, description seems to be a link to Facebook.</p>
 <p>PinkGirlQ8   شيبس زنقة زنقة ! pinkgirlq8.com</p>	<p>Blue crisp packet with the Arabic words zenga zenga written in blue and red, a chunk of cheese with a corn on the cob resembling gaddafi , black sunglasses and curly hair</p>

 <p>جنان القذافي- راب .. زنقه زنقه أحلى راب ... youtube.com</p>	<p>Screenshot of Noy Alooshe’s remix. Image of Gaddafi with dancing girl on either side of his podium. Description seems to be a link to a YouTube video.</p>
 <p>بيت بيت زنقه زنقه , صور اجنية ساخره ... images.net</p>	<p>A white care with the words zenga zenga written in red across the back</p>
	<p>Black and white drawings of the Arab leaders. Character at the bottom is holding a paint brush and crossing of each of the ousted Arab leaders. Salah and Al-Asad are anxiously looking towards the character.</p>
 <p>القاسطينيون يقتلون ... alaraby.co.uk</p>	<p>Three screenshots of Gaddafi from the Zenga Zenga Speech. Netanyahu’s face edited onto Gaddafi’s body in first two shots while the third has a famous memes face edited on. Subtitles beneath each screen shot which read “we will look for all the terrorists house by house, alley by alley, oh missing settlers where are you? Where are you?”</p>



عقل القذافي .. يطارد البسطات زنقه زنقه ...  
shaabnews.net

Gaddafi's picture of him wearing brown Libyan attire and pointing at the camera. Another man's face edited onto Gaddafi's body. The words "basta basta zenga zenga" written across top left hand corner of the picture.



زنقه زنقه وصلت لندن | yosif11  
vosif11.wordpress.com

White building with black café sign with the words "café zenga zenga" in Yellow Arabic scripture.



الثوار يطاردون القذافي.. والحقيد يعود ...  
archive.aawsat.com



A picture divided into two. On the left hand side is a man heavily armed with a rocket in his hands pointing towards the second picture on the right hand side which displays a picture of Gaddafi . The words wanted and Reward \$1,700,000 are spelt across the top and bottom of Gaddafi's picture in block letters.



بيت بيت .. دار دار .. زنقه زنقه - شبكة ...  
abunawaf.com

A building with multiple signs. Top sign seems to be a clinic. The sign in the middle is a banner with the words "May all our mothers be well all year round, house by house, room by room and alley by alley (zenga zenga)". The sign at the bottom seems to be a shop sign. The description below seems to be a link to a website

### 1.4.3 second cycle of coding

First cycle of descriptive and In Vivo coding	Second cycle of pattern coding	
 <p data-bbox="220 842 675 920">- YouTube معمر القذافي - زنگه زنگه زنگه youtube.com</p>	<p data-bbox="991 387 1179 992">A screen shot of Gaddafi giving the Zenga Zenga Speech in front of his compound, brown attire, Libyan state TV and AlArabiya logos at the bottom, description seems to be a link to YouTube.</p>	<p data-bbox="1195 387 1383 521">Screenshots of the original Zenga Zenga Speech</p>
 <p data-bbox="220 1482 600 1561">- YouTube خطاب زنگه زنگه زنگه youtube.com</p>	<p data-bbox="991 1028 1179 1632">A screen shot of Gaddafi giving the Zenga Zenga Speech in front of his compound, brown attire, Libyan state TV and AlArabiya logos at the bottom, description seems to be a link to YouTube.</p>	



سر ملابس القذافي "الممزقة" في خطاب ...  
albayan.ae

A screenshot of Gaddafi giving The Zenga Zenga Speech in front of his compound, brown attire, only Libyan state TV logo, The words Live-Tripoli are clear as Al Arabiya logo is not covering them, red circle indicating a rip in Gaddafi's clothes in his pit, description seems to be a link to a website.



زنگه زنگه ...  
hdhod.com

Screen shot from The Zenga Zenga Speech, Gaddafi in mid speech, report from Al-Arabiya, Breaking news strip at the bottom of the screen, live, breaking news read "Gaddafi: the protesters want to turn Libya into an Islamic state", description seems to be link to a website.

 <p>زنگه زنگه .. راب القذافي يُطرب الملايين ... bninsarcity.com</p>	<p>Screenshot from The Zenga Zenga Speech, Gaddafi both hands held up, mid speech, brown attire, only the words live-Tripoli visible.</p>	
 <p>دار دار بيت بيت شبر شبر زنگه زنگه فرد ... youtube.com</p>	<p>Screen shot from Gaddafi in mid speech, The Zenga Zenga speech, close up, Libyan state TV logo, Brown attire, the description seems to be a link to youtube.</p>	
 <p>Community   Facebook - زنگه زنگه - facebook.com</p>	<p>Picture of Gaddafi with Saudi King, space between them, Kings speech bubble “come sit next to me”, Gaddafi “ nah come to my place your’s is zenga zenga”</p>	<p>Cartoons and memes</p>



بيت بيت دار دار زنقة زنقة - facebook  
facebook.com

Cartoon of Gaddafi in clothing similar to the clothes he wore in The Zenga Zenga speech, sunglasses, curly hair, description seems to be a link to Facebook.







الثوار يطاردون القذافي... والعقيد يعود...  
archive.aawsat.com

A picture divided into two. On the left hand side is a man heavily armed with a rocket in his hands pointing towards the second picture on the right hand side which displays a picture of Gaddafi . The words wanted and Reward \$1,700,000 are spelt across the top and bottom of Gaddafi's picture in block letters.

 <p>شیر بیت بیت دار دار زنگه زنگه فرد ... facebook.com</p>	<p>Cartoon of Gaddafi's facial features, somber facial features, exaggerated nose and mole, curly hair, his famous African purple outfit, description seems to be a link to Facebook.</p>	
	<p>Black and white drawings of the Arab leaders. Character at the bottom is holding a paint brush and crossing of each of the ousted Arab leaders. Salah and Al-Asad are anxiously looking towards the character.</p>	
 <p>انا فهمتكم ، بكل حزم ... facebook.com</p>	<p>Cartoon of Gaddafi, exaggerated facial features, sun glasses, exaggerated curly hair, Libyan brown attire, the Famous phrase "who are you" from the Zenga Zenga Speech in big bubble</p>	



	<p>letters in the background, description seems to be link to Facebook.</p>	
 <p>التوصيل مجاني بيت بيت .. دار دار زنقة زنقة</p> <p>Free Home Delivery التوصيل مجاني لكل بيت</p> <p>... التوصيل مجاني.. بيت بيت.. دار دار ... albayan.ae</p>	<p>Cartoon of AlAsad, small head and huge body, sat behind a desk, weapons placed across his desk, Alasad pointing and saying “Free delivery, house by house, room by room, zenga by zenga”</p>	
 <p>من انتم..! لازم ننصف ليبيا.. شبر شبر.. بيت بيت.. دار دار.. زنقة زنقة ثورة ثورة.. آلى الامام..</p> <p>... بيت بيت زنقه زنقه , صور اجنية ساخره ... imageess.net</p>	<p>An image of Gaddafi wearing military suit, and quotes from the speech to the side:</p> <p>“Who are you?”</p> <p>“We must purify Libya inch by inch, house by house, room by room, zenga by zenga”</p> <p>“revolution, rolution, forward , forward”</p>	

 <p>الفاسطيينون يقتلون ... alaraby.co.uk</p>	<p>Three screenshots of Gaddafi from the Zenga Zenga Speech. Netanyahu's face edited onto Gaddafi's body in first two shots while the third has a famous memes face edited on. Subtitles beneath each screen shot which read "we will look for all the terrorists house by house, alley by alley, oh missing settlers where are you? Where are you?"</p>	<p>Gaddafi's head or body edited onto another character</p>
 <p>خطاب زنقه زنقه من كسلا دبلجة رائعة ... youtube.com</p>	<p>Screenshot from Gaddafi's Zenga Zenga Speech, AlBasheers head edited on, Libyan channel logo on top right and Sudanese channel logo on top left, "The zenga speech . . .kasal" written in red across the bottom, description seems to be a</p>	

	link to YouTube.	
 <p>عقل القذافي .. يطارد البسطات زنقه زنقه ... shaabnews.net</p>	<p>Gaddafi's picture of him wearing brown Libyan attire and pointing at the camera. Another man's face edited onto Gaddafi's body. The words basta basta zenga zenga written across top left hand corner of the picture. Link seems to be a link to a website.</p>	
 <p>محمد بن الديب - قصيده زنقه زنقه ... youtube.com</p>	<p>A scrawny figure dressed in oversized rapper's clothes, a cap worn sideways, Large watch, Gaddafi's face edited onto rappers body, the wrds zenga zenga in larges bubble letters, the words "the poet: Mohammed bin aldeeb" and a link to a website written in small font, the description seems to be a link to YouTube.</p>	



 <p>زنگه زنگه (@8hzn8h)   Twitter twitter.com</p>	<p>Gaddafi looking into camera and his eyes are crossed. Close up.</p>	
 <p>جنان القذافي - راب .. زنگه زنگه أحلى راب ... youtube.com</p>	<p>Screenshot of Noy Alooshe's remix. Image of Gaddafi with dancing girl on either side of his podium. Description seems to be a link to a YouTube video.</p>	<p>Screen shots of Noy's remix</p>
 <p>زنگه زنگه - ويكيبيديا ar.wikipedia.org</p>	<p>Screenshot of Noy Alooshe's remix. Image of Gaddafi with dancing girl on either side of his podium. Description seems to be a link to a Wikipedia page.</p>	

 <p>زفته زفته دار دار (@zngh4)   Twitter twitter.com</p>		<p>Gaddafi wearing African attire made out of military camouflage material, sunglasses indoors, seems to be listening to a speaker in a conference, earphones, clapping, looking away from the camera, description seems to be a link to twitter.</p>	<p>Gaddafi pose</p>
 <p>دكت ساعة الاكل الان وجبة زفته ز... free-libya.ahlamountada.c...</p>		<p>A restaurant flyer with a picture of a meal and drink, slogan is a play on a few phrases Gaddafi used in the speech “it is now time to eat ordering hour is here” instead of marching hour is here”,</p>	<p>Menu flyer</p>

 <p>PinkGirlQ8   شيبس زنقه زنقه ! pinkgirlq8.com</p>		<p>Blue crisp packet with the Arabic words zenga zenga written in blue and red, a chunk of cheese with a corn on the cob resembling gaddafi , black sunglasses and curly hair</p>	<p>Crisps packet</p>
 <p>بيتا بيك زنقه زنقه , صور اجنية ساخره ... imagess.net</p>		<p>A white care with the words zenga zenga written in red across the back</p>	<p>Car bumper</p>
 <p>زنقه زنقه وصلت لندن   yosif11 vosif11.wordpress.com</p>		<p>White building with black café sign with the words “café zenga zenga” in Yellow Arabic scripture.</p>	<p>Café sign</p>



بيت بيت .. دار دار .. زنگه زنگه - شيكه ...  
[abunawaf.com](http://abunawaf.com)

A building with multiple signs. Top sign seems to be a clinic. The sign in the middle is a banner with the words “May all our mothers be well all year round, house by house, room by room and alley by alley (*zenga zenga*)”. The sign at the bottom seems to be a shop sign. The description below seems to be a link to a website

Greeting banner

## 2. English translation of Gaddafi's speech (Alduhaim, 2017: 371- 373)

1 In the name of God, the most gracious, the merciful.

2 Dear citizens,

3 My sons, the youth of Egypt boys and girls, I am addressing my speech today to the youth of Egypt  
4 in Tahrir Square and all over the land. I am addressing you all from my heart, like a father to his  
5 sons and daughters. I am telling you that I am proud of you for being a symbol of a new generation  
6 of Egypt, calling for change to the better, and hold on to it, dreams of its future, and makes it. I am  
7 telling you before anything else that the blood of your martyrs and injured will not go in vain, and  
8 I confirm that I will not be lenient to punish those who caused it very firmly and very fiercely. I  
9 will hold accountable those who made all these crimes to the rights of our youth with the most  
10 severe sentences according to the law. I say to the families of those innocent victims: that I felt a  
11 lot of pain for them just as much as you felt it. My heart was aching for what happened to them  
12 just as much as it ached your hearts. I am telling you that my response to your voices and your  
13 messages and your demands is a commitment that I will not go back on. I am very determined to  
14 sincerely fulfil what I said with all seriousness and honesty; I am very keen to carry it out without  
15 hesitation or going backward. This commitment stems from my absolute and genuine convictions  
16 of your pure and honest intentions and movements, and that all your demands are fair and  
17 legitimate demands. Mistakes are likely to happen in any political system or country, but what  
18 matters is to admit to it and to rectify it as soon as possible and punish the ones who committed it.  
19 I am telling you- as the president of the republic- that I do not find it embarrassing or difficult at  
20 all to listen to the youth of my country and respond to them. However, the embarrassment, all of  
21 it and the shame all of it that I can and will never accept at all is to listen to the foreign dictations  
22 that comes from abroad, no matter what was its source or its excuses or its justifications.

23 My sons and daughters, the youth of Egypt, my fellow citizens, I have previously announced in a  
24 clear statement that cannot be argued against or fraud; that I will not run for the upcoming  
25 presidential elections. I am satisfied of what I gave to my nation for over than sixty years, in the  
26 years of both wartime and peacetime. I have announced that I am committed to this. I have also  
27 announced that I am similarly committed- with the same degree- to continue with my  
28 responsibility of protecting the constitution and the people's interest until the authority and  
29 the power is delivered to whomever the electors choose next September in a free and honest  
30 elections that will be provided with the freedom and honesty. This is the oath that I have taken  
31 before God and the nation, and I will keep it until we take Egypt and its people to the safe land.  
32 I have proposed a specific vision to get out of this current crisis, and to achieve what the youth and  
33 citizens of Egypt are demanding, within respect to the constitutional legitimacy and without  
34 undermining the constitution. In way, that it will achieve stability in our society and the demands  
35 of its youth and in the same time propose a framework agreed upon to a peaceful transition of  
36 power within a responsible dialogue between all forces of society and with absolute honesty and  
37 transparency. I have proposed this vision committed to my responsibilities of taking the nation out  
38 of these difficult times, and I am following up with the process of implanting it, step by step, and  
39 hour by hour. I look forward for the support and help of each individual who cares about Egypt  
40 and its people, to succeed in making it a reality within a broad and widely agreed on national  
41 consensus that will guarantee its implantation by our valiant armed forces.

4



42 We have already started a national constructive dialogue that includes the youth of Egypt who  
43 have called for a change along with all the political parties. The result of this dialogue was an  
44 initial consensus between opinions and views, and thus we can put our feet on the first steps on  
45 the right path to get out of this crisis, we should stick to this path to move from the big guidelines  
46 into what we agreed upon, which is a clear roadmap with a specific timetable. It should take us  
47 day by day into a peaceful transition of power from now and until next September. This national  
48 dialogue agreed to form a constitutional committee to study the required amendments upon the  
49 constitution and what it is needed of legitimate amendments. It also agreed upon forming a  
50 committee to monitor the progress and follow up with the precise implantation of what I  
51 have committed to, to the people. I made sure that the forming both of committees would  
52 have include Egyptian characters who have been known for their independence and transparency,  
53 and from constitutional law experts and judges. In addition, towards what we have lost of our  
54 martyrs the son of Egypt in tragic and sad events, that hurt our hearts and shook the nation's  
55 conscience, I have issued my orders to instantly finalize the investigations about last week's  
56 events, and to refer the results right away to the general prosecutor to take the necessary legal  
57 actions. I have received yesterday the first report about the constitutional amendments  
58 with the high priority suggested by the committee that was formed from both judges and legal  
59 experts to study the required constitutional and legitimate amendments.

60 In my response to what the committee's report suggested, and with the authority vested to me as  
61 the president of the republic according to article number 189 in the constitution, I proposed today  
62 the amendment of six constitutional articles and those articles are 76,77,88,93, and 189. In addition  
63 to the annulment of article number 179 in the constitution. Confirming the willingness to propose  
64 later on the request to amend articles that the constitutional committee recommends according to  
65 what they see of both justifications and reasons. These top priority amendments aim to simplify  
66 the requirements to run for the presidential elections of the republic, and to set a limited time for  
67 the presidency to ensure the rotation of power, and to reinforce the discipline of observing the  
68 elections to make sure it is conducted in a free manner and with honesty. It also confirms the  
69 exclusive authority of the judiciary to rule upon the legitimacy and validity of the members of the  
70 parliament, and the ability to amend the requirements and procedures of the request to amend the  
71 constitution. In addition, the suggestion to annul article 179 in the constitution, aims to achieve the  
72 required balance between protecting the citizens from the danger of terrorism yet guarantee the  
73 respect of both the freedom and civil rights of the citizens. This will open the door to lift the  
74 emergency law, once quietness and stability is gained as well as the proper circumstance that  
75 allows us to lift the emergency law.

76 Dear citizens,

77 The priority now is to regain the trust among all Egyptians and to regain trust in our economy, our  
78 international reputation, and the confidence that the change and transformation that we have started  
79 is a one-way road and we cannot go back from it. Egypt is going through difficult times, where we  
80 cannot allow it to continue and increase the damage and losses it caused to us and to our economy  
81 day by day. Egypt will end up in a situation where the youth who have been calling for change and  
82 reformation will be the first ones who are affected by it. This current moment has nothing to do  
83 with me personally, it has nothing to do with Hosni Mubarak; however, it is related to Egypt in



84 both its present time and the future of its sons and daughters. All Egyptians are in one trench now,  
85 and we should continue the national dialogue we have started, with the spirit of one team rather  
86 than divided people, to avoid disagreements and conflicts. Accordingly, Egypt will pass its current  
87 crisis, and we will regain the confidence to our economy, tranquility and security to our citizens  
88 and the normal daily life to Egyptians streets.

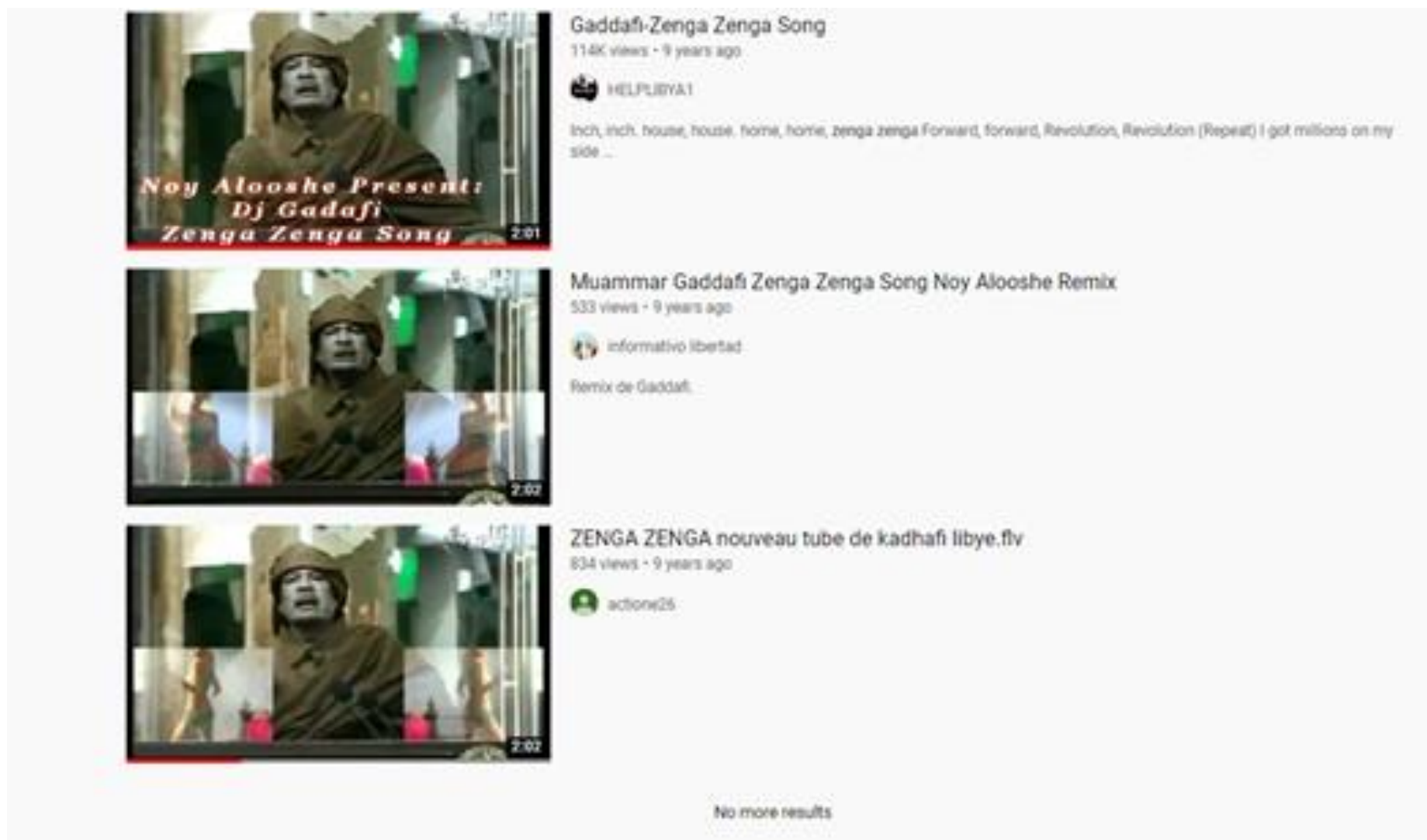
89

90 I was young once, just like the youth of Egypt now, when I learnt the honor of the Egyptian  
91 military, the loyalty to the nation and how to sacrifice for it. I have spent all my life protecting its  
92 land and its sovereignty. I have witnessed its wars with its defeats as well as its victory. I have  
93 lived in the days of occupation and humiliation, and the days of victory in 1973 and liberation. The  
94 happiest day of my life was the day when I lifted the Egyptian flag over Sinai; I have faced death  
95 a number of times as a pilot, and in Addis Ababa and a lot more times other than that. I have never  
96 been subjected to the foreign pressures and dictations, I maintained peace and I have worked for  
97 the security of Egypt and its stability. I worked very hard for its prosperity and for her generations;  
98 I was never after power or fake popularity. I am confident that the majority of my fellow Egyptian  
99 people know who Hosni Mubarak is, and it pains me to see the reactions of some of my fellow  
100 countrymen. Anyway, because I completely aware of the seriousness of the situation, and  
101 because I am confident that Egypt is going through a defining moment in its history that requires  
102 all of us to prioritize the sake of the nation above all, and to put Egypt first above any  
103 considerations and all other considerations. I have decided to delegate the powers of the  
104 presidents to the vice presidents in the way that the constitution allows it. I am fully aware that  
105 Egypt will go through its crisis and will not break the will of its people, will stand on its feet once  
106 again with the honesty and loyalty of its sons and daughters all of them, it will deflect the  
107 spitefulness upon those who are spiteful, and deflect the gloat upon those who gloats. We the  
108 Egyptian will prove our ability to achieve people's commands through a civilized dialogue. We  
109 will prove that we are not followers to anyone, and we do not take orders from anyone, and that  
110 no one can make decisions for us, but the plus of the street and the commands of the youth of the  
111 nation. We will prove this with Egyptian spirit and determination, with the unity and stability of  
112 the people, and with our adherence to the pride and dignity of Egypt and its unique and eternal  
113 identity. It is the foundation and the essence of our existence for over than seven thousand years.  
114 This spirit will live with us as long as Egypt and its people exist, this spirit will live with us as long  
115 as Egypt exist and its people exists. It shall live in all our farmers, workers, and our intellectuals.  
116 It will last in the hearts of our elderlies, and youth and children, Muslims and Copts, and in the  
117 minds and conscious of our children who are yet to be born. I am telling you again, that I have  
118 lived for this nation, protected its responsibility and its trust, Egypt will remain the lasting one  
119 upon all people and above us all. It will remain until I hand over its trust and flag; it is the goal and  
120 purpose, and the responsibility and duty. It is the beginning of my life, its path and its end, the land  
121 of my life and death, it will remain a dear country that I will not be separated from nor will it be  
122 separated from me until I die and be buried underneath its soil. The people will remain with their  
123 pride, live with their heads and flag held high, and live with their dignity and pride.

124 May god protect Egypt as a safe county, and protect its people and guide its way to the right path.  
125 May peace be upon you all.



### 3. Example of time and space constraint on YouTube search



The image shows a screenshot of a YouTube search results page. It displays three video thumbnails, each featuring a central image of Muammar Gaddafi in a brown military uniform and cap, with a smaller inset image of a woman in a white dress dancing. The first video is titled "Gaddafi-Zenga Zenga Song" with 114K views, 9 years ago, by channel HELPLIBYA1. The second is "Muammar Gaddafi Zenga Zenga Song Noy Alooshe Remix" with 533 views, 9 years ago, by channel informativo libertad. The third is "ZENGA ZENGA nouveau tube de kadhafi libye.flv" with 834 views, 9 years ago, by channel actions26. At the bottom of the page, the text "No more results" is visible.

**Gaddafi-Zenga Zenga Song**  
114K views · 9 years ago  
HELPLIBYA1  
Inch, inch, house, house, home, home, zenga zenga Forward, forward, Revolution, Revolution (Repeat) I got millions on my side ...

**Muammar Gaddafi Zenga Zenga Song Noy Alooshe Remix**  
533 views · 9 years ago  
informativo libertad  
Remix de Gaddafi.

**ZENGA ZENGA nouveau tube de kadhafi libye.flv**  
834 views · 9 years ago  
actions26

No more results

**4. Controversial picture of Berlusconi kissing Gaddafi's hand**

