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Baloyi, Faith

2012-09-03
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UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM

MASTERS THESIS: TALKING THE TALK-THE ROLE OF YSCAMTO IN THE PRODUCTION OF YCULTURE

NAME:FAITH BALOYI

STUDENT NO:9812963E

SUPERVISOR:SARAH NUTTALL

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Youth culture is a theme that has become of increasing interest and analysis in SA scholarship. Within the Cultural studies landscape it is gaining momentum by the day. This study attempts to add to the growing body of literature written on South Africa's youth.

The study will demonstrate the workings of identity formulation between radio structures and audiences and use Yfm as a case study. Through examining the interchange of influences in the oral discourse, the study will suggest that the making of Y culture is a dual process by the station and its listeners; signified by a representational tool such as language i.e. Y-scamto. The study will apply analytical tools lending from Sociolinguistics, Discourse Analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis and Thematic Content Analysis.

Introduction

It's been more than ten years into South Africa's new democracy and the black urban youth is occupying a media space that is indicative of the transformation process. Located between multiple influences their identities seem to be layered with the historical discourse of South Africa on both an aesthetic and metaphoric level. Most emphatic of the identities of today's urban black youth, as opposed to say, "the young lions" [1]is perhaps that they represent the "ascendancy of blackness". [2] By virtue of being born into a unique political environment, they may be understood as "born-frees" [3] or perhaps youth at the right time. Coined as the Y-generation, this youth offer open-ended identities, which have been theorized as "culturally mixed"[4], "crossed-over"[5] or even "creolized", [6] hence supporting the observation that these identities reflect "part of a chain of discursive formations" [7]in the new South Africa.

[1]Michael Sachs (2004) refers to the youth movement that stood at the forefront of political engagement at the time of the struggle against apartheid.

[2] This refers to processes of transformation as can be seen through the upward mobility of the urban black youth.(Nuttall.2004)

[3] The coined term for today's youth who are seen as being self-centred as opposed to community oriented, dominated by foreign influence, apolitical and disrespectful of authority. The 'born frees' are regarded as unworthy heirs to the legacy of the 'young lions'. Kwaito music is said to epitomise these tendencies(Sachs.2004)

[4] The urban black youth represent a multiple blending of various influences(Nuttall.2000;2004)

[5] This refers to the yo-yoing between two cultural worlds(Allen.2004)

[6] In this case this term is used within the context of Yculture as cited by Nuttall &Michaels

[7] Hall elaborates on Foucault's theory of discourse as contextual; the formation of Yculture is in synergy with the occurring national trend(1997)

Further notable about this generation is the sense of authorship in marking or defining the self, seen specifically in the emergent youth culture of Y.

Rationale:

Y-culture may be viewed as an example of post apartheid formations where the re-working of aspirational black identities within their respective contexts, is taking place. This observation reveals itself explicitly within the media landscape where platforms continue to be created openly for the celebration of blackness.

Beyond representing the operations of post resistance South Africa, Y-culture exemplifies the workings of urban youth phenomena within a wider context, where the ideas that shape and inform contemporary youth culture in Johannesburg mirror those of urban youth formations globally and throughout history. These ideological proceedings convey an undeniable horizontal connection - that of being young. This is usually expressed through a uniaccentual (singular in meaning) identity and marked by a lingua franca. This common world created for group belonging has been termed "popular culture" within the media terrain, perhaps because for that period in individuals' lives it is the culture that is most consumed, practiced and, through its practice, naturalized.

If media is to be viewed as a cultural agency of today, then it is of interest to analyse the relationship that it has with emerging youth cultures. This study will therefore examine the relationship between new media forms and youth culture in Johannesburg today.

The study explores how Yfm as a popular radio station affects, and may in some respects produce, black urban youth identities, ten years into democracy (2004-2006). I will argue that Yfm's listeners constitute a new urban black youth movement, which is "creolized" [8] in form and in exploring the dynamics of the identity of the Y-generation, observe the interchange of influences between them and the station.

[8] In *Senses of Culture* (2000) Nuttall refers to Yculture as being creolised in order to express that it is a fusion of various influences.

As an apparatus of the public domain and as a mass mediator, radio is the most interactive in terms of speech, therefore the most momentous and credible social contact space to observe the discourse in communication. The "common life-world"[9] of radio provides a plausible representation in reflecting behavioural patterns of individuals even with the consideration that embedded in its structure is the desire to invite individuals into a shared identity for market driven reasons. The social actors within a radio environment indicate the realities of processes in the everyday: systems of belief; socio-economics; class differentiation; identity- politics and the evolvement of language use.

Aims

The aim is to explore how youth culture is constructed via the medium of radio. The spoken text will be the focus of the investigation. Language will thus be a key mechanism to analyse, in citing Yfm as a representational mode of black urban youth identities. I propose that through monitoring the language use on Yfm, light will be shed on the inner processes/complexities of the identity of the Y-generation, based on the understanding that language is not only a carrier of information, but also a carrier of the politics of power and identity[10]. With this assertion at the core of my argument the study will regard language as a signifier of a unique youth cultural movement and a salient feature of a changing society within the macro-context.

By viewing the multiple ways media texts use language in relation to their readers, I hope to show that language is a key mechanism in the construction of identity. Those who drive the language in the public sphere gain authorship over the ideological culture of the wider society.

Yfm can be viewed as a sample of the functioning of such media texts. Through language, the station speaks for and to South African urban black youth:

[9] See **Circuit of culture** Du Gay, Hall et al (1997; pg5) refer to culture as a common life-world; in that it is the applying of meaning to existence in the same way.

[10] Language has a central role in the circuit of how culture operates(Hall.1997)

> Yfm is a youth urban station. Everything we do, everything we talk about is urban, but urban is everything from eKasi (the township) to Sandton because that's where the variety comes in. (Yfm DJ Unathi Nkayi - 6/06/2006)

The fusion of cultures is evidenced through the revival of a mixed vernacular form that has gone through a genesis of definitions: *Kofifitaal* (1950s), *Iscamto* (1960s), *Tsotsi-taal* (1970s), township *lingo* (1980s), *IsiSoweto* (1990s) and now in the new millennium contemporized as Y-scamto. By constructing what can be understood as a coded language system for their speech community, Yfm create a 'pass-system' for membership into their 'world'. This specialized system of interpretations is reflexive in its nature and becomes a social practice that gains credibility as urban black youth identity.

The interplay between this urban black youth and the role the media plays in formulating its identity is a marker of shifting perspectives. By virtue of being located between numerous cultures, the Y-generation invests in a fluid identity represented through the multicultural mix of language. Y-language appears not only to be indicative of shifts in dominant ideological discourses, but also reveals its power to drive[11] discourse.

Background to Yfm

Yfm is Gauteng's biggest regional commercial radio station with the highest listenership of 1.572 million over a period of 7 days. It targets an audience whose LSM[12] fall within the demographic range of 6-10[13]. This is further specified by the physical location of the station in the affluent suburb of Rosebank. This audience is a youth market that falls within the 16-34 age bracket. Yfm's popularity can be understood in the contexts of gross audience following, popular culture and the celebration of blackness as a national theme.

[11] By this the study means bringing new forms of language into being to articulate shifting identities and current ways of being young.
[12] Living standard measurements (LSM) in marketing surveys facilitate in identifying the financial status of individuals in social stratas.
[13] The bracket in society that earns enough to have a household that has certain living standard descriptors e.g. DSTV to type of motor vehicle. The upwardly mobile black middle class fits into this range.

Yfm as a brand and merchandising enterprise expresses itself as part of the umbrella of popular culture. The inception of the station brought along with it 'Y-lab'- a music suite where jingles and radio advertisements are recorded and upcoming talent is scouted. Also, the station hosts a social desk where projects on education, entrepreneurship, HIV/AIDS are undertaken (Y-cares). Yfm deejays are ambassadors and facilitate events, which address social issues. 'Y-shoppe' foregrounds the entrance to the radio station in Rosebank, from which clothing and other accessories can be purchased. 'Ymag' is the station's bi-monthly publication, which connects with the synergy of its mother-brand.

The theme of celebrating blackness in South Africa is a trend that was inspired by the new democracy in 1994 with the inception of 'freedom' [14]for the previously disenfranchised majority. Yfm announces itself as an embodiment of new-found aspirational black identity. This representation befits its conception in 1997 as part of several Greenfields'[15] licences dispensed by the government and the new leaning towards black owned and black affirming enterprises. This local music would fall within the South African black genres of Kwaito, House, Hip-Hop, R&B and Jazz, as opposed to Rock and Pop music, which are generally associated with 'whiteness'. "The Bulk of our target market is Black" (Kim Thipe. Y station manager; 2002)

The station constructs itself as a black institution through its 80% black ownership:
• Hosken Consolidated Investments (HCI) 4O%
• Sam Sisonke 7.53%
• Mopani Media 15%
• Youth Investment Network 11%

It affirms this 'blackness' also through percentage breakdown of deejays:
• 13 black
• 1 white
• 1 Indian
Y's baseline *'yona keyona'* means 'this is it' in Sesotho.

[14] This refers to the new dispensation post - 1994 elections.
[15] The Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA) issues the Greenfields licenses to private broadcaster applicants.

The study observes that Yfm wears its blackness through ownership and the skin colour of its agents (show hosts) more so than the notion of culture mobilised by the station, which is a more slippery indicator of what constitutes blackness.

Yfm programming focuses 75% on music and the remaining percentage on interviews, news bulletin, sport, weather, competitions, call-ins, determining its focus on infotainment as the key factor in terms of content, and thereby classifying it as an entertainment genre.

With this overview as a framework in understanding the nature of the study, the following questions will be investigated in the hopes of reaching a resolution in locating the significance of Yfm in the emergent cultural movement of urban black youth.

Research Questions

1. What role does the interaction between social actors on shows appear to play in Y- culture today?

2. What does this particular form of urban youth language reveal about how Yfm speaks to and for this youth?

3. How does Yfm use language to advocate certain forms of cultural consumption?

4. In what ways does Yfm crystallize a specific form of everyday interaction for urban black youth?

5. Does the resurgence of scamto as seen on Yfm partly demonstrate the role of youth culture today in identifying South Africannes?

The study will commence in addressing the above questions through a broad theoretical exploration of literature written on youth cultural behaviour and their affiliation with the media.

Chapter 2- Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

Three bodies of literature are relevant to the research: theoretical work on the relationship between media and identities (popular culture); on how language as a representational system drives cultural identity; and on concepts as well as terminology from a sociolinguistic angle to guide the analysis on language use.

2.1 "Media Culture"

The social constructionist approach in media studies theorises our identities as our values and beliefs that help us make sense of our location in the world. It also defines culture as a conceptual map of the world that belongs to a group; be it ethnic, race, age, gender, nationality-a group that speaks 'sameness' to an individual. How we think and feel is given meaning through representation: a central practice in producing culture.

> In the social constructionist approach, representation is conceived as entering into the very constitution of things; and thus culture is conceptualized as a primary or 'constitutive' process, as important as the economic or material 'base' in shaping social subjects and historical events-not merely a reflection of the world after the event.(Hall.1997;6)

What this conveys is that meaning is something which is produced rather than found.

Based on the idea that representation is a system of making meaning, Hall asserts that these "meanings" organize our conduct and social practices, aiding group regulation. It is through the awareness of this that subjects who aim to govern the thought processes of others (in varying respects) wish to shape meanings. In radio, membership into a station's ID (identity) is based on identification with meanings that are produced in that ideological space and controlled by the hosts. A Yfmer is presented as an individual with particular values, tastes and style: radio is as much about shaping people as it is about listening to what they say.

The constructionist approach also defines meaning as something, which is produced through its repeated practice in our daily lives. Cultural 'things' are given value in how often and in the way which we express ourselves through them and make use of them.

Representation can then be understood as what connects meaning and language to culture (Hall; 15) and language may be interpreted as the medium that exercises the system of signification. This implies that there is a circuit of culture, [16] where representation through the agency of language operates to construct meaning.

Put simply, culture is continuously being constructed by the collective effort of individuals who share a commonality. To date we still witness how creating a 'common-life-world' (1997) is a function that cultural industries rely on in order for them to thrive.

In *Media Culture* (1995), Kellner interprets the culture or operations of media as something made visible in our everyday life. We participate to this culture by transmitting the dominant or popular views into our social behaviour. Our identities therefore come to represent what the media has participated in shaping.
Radio, TV, Internet, film, print media all provide individuals with 'worlds' where we can exist fantastically and choose who we would like to be. It is because of this footing that they are aspirational avenues.

Leaning toward the research findings[17] that advocate that we as readers choose what we identify with, the study understands that we are active consumers and partially determinants of what is aspirational. The study also realises that at the core of commercial media industries is the seeking to accumulate capital, their desire is to drive our values , beliefs, aesthetics and views, therefore our identities. In these ways our identities can be considered as the subject of commodification.

[16] See Du Gay, Hall et al.1997
[17] Audience reception theorists as Ang (1985), Fiske (1987), Morley (1992) have argued the previous assumption that readers of texts are passive bodies. They proposed that the relationship is a two-way process.

> Media culture is industrial culture, organized on the model of mass production and is produced for a mass audience according to types (genres), following conventional formulas, codes, and rules. It is thus a form of commercial culture and its products are commodities that attempt to attract private profit produced by giant corporations interested in the accumulation of capital. (1995; 1)

Hall asserts this belief too, but expresses the way in which representation works dialogically. By this he means the production of meaning does not stem from one source in interaction, but is constitutive of both subjects, irrespective of the power hierarchy.

This indicates the discursive nature of culture; its representation is interpretative and therefore always changing in meaning according to history and context and power and knowledge.

Media culture invests in fostering the prevalent view, which in this case is that being youth and black is where the cutting edge in Johannesburg life and culture is seen to be. This cannot be said was the popular view two decades ago (young lions). Hence confirming the notion that cultural industries advocate particular symbols and facilitate in reworking them, depending on what is at the apex of the 'popular' consensus at the time. As whiteness slips into the background, it increasingly becomes a silent signifier of a compensatory discourse in motion which is manipulated by the media. This is all done for commercial gain.

This acknowledges Halls' expansion[18] on Foucaldian theory of how discourse needs to be addressed within its structural body in order to interpret meaning.

> ...Whenever these discursive events 'refer to the same object, share the same style and support a strategy, a common institutional, administrative or political

[18]For Foucault (Power/knowledge.1980) discourse was a group of statements which provided a language for talking about – a way of representing the knowledge about – a particular topic at a particular historical moment. Hall supports this approach in stating that Discourse is about the production of knowledge; ways of thinking and practices as much as it is about language.

> drift and pattern (cousins and Hussain, 1984,84-5), then they are said by Foucalt to belong to the same discursive formation. (44)

Kellner also observes media as a ‘source of cultural pedagogy’. He insinuates that this fact has been overlooked in focusing on its commercial intention.

> In a contemporary media culture, the dominant media of information and entertainment are a profound and often misperceived source of cultural pedagogy: they contribute to educating us on how to behave and what to think, feel, believe, fear, and desire- and what not to. (1995; 2)

This statement directs the functionings of media as a tool that mirrors ideological waves in society, which brings to account power relations in socialization. Whichever systems of meanings these industries endorse as desirable or correct and vice-versa is reflexive of occurrences in the wider society. This suggests that media is constantly in a dialectic with the political and social environment. At the same time it can also be said that it is these discourses in wider society that dictate to their representations.

The constructionist approach advocates that meaning and meaningful practice is therefore constructed within discourse; discourse is thus not about whether things exist, but rather where meaning comes from. (44)

Radio can be viewed as an apparatus of discourse that represents the system of meaning through its reflexive practices. The ever-increasing popularity of Y-culture is dialogic: the station along with its consumers is in a partnership in designing the course of the phenomenon in all its representations.

2.2 Radio structures

Radio is understood as a ‘live’ medium in the sense that the communication that takes place is broadcast to the public in real-time. This could easily give the misperception that the interaction that occurs in these formations is ‘natural’ or mundane talk. Scannell (1991) dispels this view in stating:

> All talk on radio and TV is public discourse, is meant to be accessible to the audience for whom it is intended (1)

The science of live broadcast can thus be read as oral discourse occurring on multiple levels by virtue of the orators' awareness of being read. The 'interactional formation'[19] is therefore performative to an extent. The individuals participating in 'talk' whether it is the anchors or callers assume a role of social acting even though it may come across as unpremeditated. It is the immediacy gained through feedback from outside the studio-walls that succeeds in giving believability- the impression that the oral discourse is a slice of reality captured in time. It is this technical attribute that can be considered as the tool that gives radio power over consumers. We give authority to media organizations because of the access they have to information and in this fashion the structure manages to govern our experience of the world and on a smaller scale 'realities' in our societies.

> Broadcasting reproduces the world as ordinary, but that seeming obviousness is an effect, the outcome of a multiplicity of small techniques and discursive practices that combine to produce that deeply taken-for-granted sense of familiarity with what is seen and heard. (8)

This reliance on media as a credible resource for what is happening around us puts their organizational principles on a higher footing of power, to the layman, where consumers become integral to their perceived omnipotence. Hall incorporates the powerful role of "social actors", whom he states use their ideas, systems of culture, linguistics and representation to weave meaning into this created "world", and communicate these understandings convincingly to others. (25)

Hence, the media may succeed in manipulating our ideologies, but it is possible that we social subjects are unawaredly key partners in the formation of dominating ideologies. Kellner observes:

[19] Tolsen(1996;16) states that interactional formations are environments such as the studio room where broadcasts go out live to the audience, he claims that here an entire world can be created and those who participate in the exchanges become 'social actors'

> Media culture is a contested terrain across which key social groups and competing political ideologies struggle for dominance and that individuals live these struggles through the images, discourses, myths, and spectacles of media culture .(2)

This poses the understanding that any system that represents a way of life needs participatory activity from the 'outside world' in order for it to read as reality. Hall describes this process as a 'plurality of discourse' (l996) which Scannell sites as the prototypical form of radio structures, a 'two-way talk, in which participants have equal discursive rights' (199l).

Radio talk [20]is dependent on the sharing of multiple perspectives, communicated through varying 'social actors' who take turns in expressing their views. Simultaneously, the role of who is being read or doing the reading shifts constantly between hosts, callers and those listening in.

> The people speaking in the studio or other contexts do not appear to be either talking to themselves or locked in private discourse from which viewers and listeners are excluded. (1991; 1)

This signals that the structure of radio talk is accommodative. It also reveals how the allowance of inter-subjectivity[21] manages to give that essence of 'believability' in assuming that its proceedings are spontaneous. The achievement of this impression also works to convince the listener that its role is to serve as a mediator solely. This is a part of the rules and regulations that inform the inter-discursive space.

> The power of broadcasting, like that of any institution, lies in the way it can define the terms of social interaction in its own domain by pre-allocating social roles and statuses, and by controlling the content; style and duration of its events. (2)

[20] This refers to a formulated way of talking that is designed to produce a shared identity with its audience(Scannell and Cardiff.1991)
[21] Scannell refers to multiple experiences of what existence is conflated into sameness for practical purposes

In this way the fact that the interaction is controlled remains hidden and that the talk is a production, hard to believe. The design of the discourse on radio is to appear natural. This is a strategy that was achieved after numerous debates in the BBC, in the late 1920's. Prior to this, radio was a one-way mass communication mode because it had not been taken into account that audiences were active consumers. Through research proceedings [22]this misconception was rectified and the new challenge became the question of identification.

With the latent belief that social subjects process data as a private experience and viewing radio as a tool of public discourse, a structure would need to be evolved where the private and the public needs could be met simultaneously. (Scannell & Cardiff. 1991). Even though communication was occurring in an institutional space, it could not abide to public conventional interaction, because the goal was to reach the listener on a personal level. This alludes to the beginnings of theorization of inter-subjectivity where identification could be considered on a pluralistic level, almost impossible to cater to from a single position. Scannell notes:

> The concern with actual utterances-what people say, and how, in particular social settings-focuses in the first place on the communicative features that constitute the grounds for their intelligibility and require of participants a commitment to co operate with each other. (4)

Understandings that identity is a discursive practice proved to be an obstacle in the attainment of mass reach appeal. Perhaps this was one of the contributing factors of basing the structure of radio on a homogenous model[23]. By merging multiple understandings of what existence is and should be about, into a 'common life-world'[24] would be a resolution of sorts, but one which would only succeed with the participation of 'social actors' from outside the studio walls too. One can assume that talk radio was structured not only to assimilate diverse social members into one 'controllable' discourse, but also to use individuals in helping shape that same discourse. This would achieve the objective of relating on a behavioural level but the

[22] Audience analysis debates in the latter half of the 90's led to the consensus that readers are active participants in the influence of media discourse.
[23] The replacement of plurality with a uniaccentual identity in order to regulate and control through a central culture.
[24] In *Culture, Media, Language* Hall refers to culture as a 'common life-world'(1980)

achievement of complete identification would rely on a way of conversing common to all who were interacting in that discourse.

"Language and behaviour are the media of the material registration of ideology, the modality of its functioning" (1996).

Hall further interprets Althusserian theory of ideology as a notion based on sets of beliefs or ideas, but gaining its materialism through its practice lived in relationships between individuals and things-institutions, knowledge, power. He states that it is the individuals who work in the media who produce, reproduce and transform the field of ideological representation itself (1996).

Although wider society participates in the manufacturing of 'systems of meaning' their role is that of being 'subjected', a process that is authenticated by those who have closer access to social apparatuses. In this case, radio hosts. This is in considering that although they may not be able to control what is communicated live on air, they can control the process of communication. Hutchby (1991) affirms this as an example of the politics of power. He states that the way in which conversation operates in broadcast talk is in the same vein as 'bureaucratic practices' found in social institutions. The callers are social subjects passing through the 'institutional machinery' and in order for them to be managed/controlled successfully must be invited in, heard, assimilated and removed in time for the next individual. This is the structure followed in broadcast institutions as in the bigger structure of social organization.

> This processing must be directed, in a necessarily ad hoc, rule-of-thumb manner, by the individual who is the 'visible' organizational hub of the entire institution, and who operates at *the interface* of lay member and institution, namely the host. (129)

Because it is not possible for individuals in a society to experience the world in exactly the same way, radio creates an alternate reality that is in harmony with external realities in the macro-contexts. The success in constructing a common life-

world with a particular 'culture' occurs because the audience buys into a uniaccentual identity. Scannell cites Heritage as having stated in 1984:

> To state categorically that human beings can never have identical experiences of anything, but that this is irrelevant because they continuously assume that their experiences of the world are similar and act as if their experiences were identical-for-all-practical-purposes. (5)

One of these practical reasons is the need to communicate with another in a form that is common to all members of a particular discourse. This is how language becomes instrumental in achieving a culture that can be shared. Language becomes the articulation of a system of meanings understood by a group formation. It is through this understanding we find embedded in the structure of interaction on radio, the implementation of a way of conversing that is indicative of the communicative style of the targeted market group. Scannell (1991) refers to the analysis of this practice as the 'theory of communicative intentionality'. By this he means the way in which individuals perform for one another as listener and spokesman when we interact, depending on context and status relations of that interaction. This ties in with the socialization of our identities, in that our identities' discursive character is dependent on discourse, in this case oral discourse taking place within the public domain.

> The self is, from moment to moment, perishable, dependent on others who, since their self-projections are vulnerable too, have a common interest in collaborating to sustain the general character of the performance in most mundane social settings. (Brand &Scannell; 201)

This particular cite on the nature of identity rings most befitting of youth identity politics within the various stages of the life cycle. The discussion of 'self'[25] leads the study further into unpacking the role of radio in the self-making process of youth cultures.

[25] Sarah Nuttall (2004) writes an essay on stylising the body as a metaphor for making an identity produced by the 'self'.

2.2 Youth culture and Media

This section draws from work written on the sociology of culture, specifically youth culture in urban spaces. This work explores the phenomena of popular cultural patterns and the relationships between media and the behavioural attitudes of social subjects. This section will investigate the notion of 'culture' and its polysemic meanings in trying to position it within a media discourse.

The focus from the early decades of the 19th century up until the late 60s lay heavily on mass media's relationship to its receivers without taking into account media itself as a construct and the complexities that existed within itself as a structure. The way mass society responded to mass media verified a consensus that social scientists could regard society in a pluralist way and thus if the American whole could be viewed as 'in line with one value system', they would be easier to control. In the 60s, the idea that different individuals may interpret codes or messages from the media in varying ways was addressed.

Examination of youth group formations challenged the mainstream practice of perceiving anything outside the marginal way of thinking as an antithesis to the dominant consensus. Enclaves were for the first time regarded within the framework of their own discourses, which were relative to their own social standing. Hall notes:

> In 1957, Robert Merton revised the perspective on 'deviant communities'; he took individual social contexts into consideration. A new dialogue about the disposition of power between those holding authority to define and those receiving definition began in trying to iron out how 'consensus' worked.(Hall.1982)[26]

It was hereafter that the discourse of ideology began to be studied using the critical approach[27] where it was encountered as a social practice. The powerful role of media to not merely reflect the social order, but to legitimize the existing structure was

[26] See chapter on deviants and the consensus In *The Rediscovery of Ideology; Return of the repressed in media studies*(pg62)

[27] Critical theory has its origins in the 20th century **Frankfurt School of Thought** and refers to research that inquires on the relationship between societal structures (economic and political) and the ideological patterns of thought that these systems perpetuate. See *Critical Theory and Constructivism by* Lynn Schofield.

addressed. Media as a structure began to be analysed as an active agent of signification.

Hall reviews how what was now addressed was media's power to construct realities, deeming it representational: "a narrative structure requires some kind of methodological process in making meaning".

Hence it was in the paradigm of the critical approach to media, that 'youth formations', 'subcultures' came to lead to a new way of understanding the capabilities of media. Beyond limiting its power to influencing our behaviour, media could be reviewed in its capacity to create entire ideological environments and then naturalise them.

Culture has been defined as the values and norms that represent a group of people. The ways in which members of a particular society behave is influenced by their beliefs (*Consumer behaviour;* 2001). [28]The processes by which individuals acquire 'culture' may be developed through an apparatus such as radio.

In the late 80's Curran stated how media theory had overlooked the role of media as an inscriber of culture. He reviews its position as a central cultural base:

> ...The attempts of media institutions to manage, measure or predict popular taste, the social and economic relations influencing cultural trends, and the ways in which media absorb elements of popular culture and thereby shape the cultural consumption. (*Impacts and Influences.*1987; 233)

This suggests that there is a link between absorbing culture and economics. Radio mediates 'popular' culture with the aim of selling; of marketing itself.

The study acknowledges that at the heart of the science of mass media production lies commercialism. The media is a market driven economy that relies on effective consumerism by social subjects. Any form of broadcast- be it satellite, Internet,

[28] The 11th chapter of this edition focuses on consumer socialization: how through media transmissions we acquire consumption related 'cognitions, attitudes, and behaviour'.

Television or Radio that has a wide reach has the aim within its programming structure to engineer the popular. Commercialism thrives through offering identification and thus consumers buy into that identity which reflects them and appears aspirational. In *Consumer Behaviour* it is stated that:

> When cultural changes occur, trends develop and provide marketing opportunities to those who spot the changes before their competitors do. As culture evolves, marketers may associate product or brand benefits with new values. (319)

In *Impacts and Influences* (1987), Curran imparts how by 1923 the decision in relation to content on radio had been seasoned to the range of themes that reflected cultural interests. He states that this was a decision derived from the experiences and reflections of Eckersley, Burrows and Lewis'[29] contribution particularly, which befits the scope of the study's exploration most accurately:

> The contribution made by Lewis stemmed from an Avante- Garde conviction that from new technology would emerge new modes of expression. He brought to the company a constructive artistic tradition that valued the 'new' as the material of artistic experimentation. Lewis' interest was in 'the art of the microphone', his faith that artistic creation would flourish in those milieu that were peculiarly products of their own times. (Curran; 237)

Programme-making in radio has proved through history to be in accordance with the pulse of the prominent national identity at the time. This confirms Hall's (1997) assertion that representations are part of a chain of discursive formations tied to historical themes and ever-changing. In reviewing BBC positioning throughout British social and political history, Curran cites Cardiff and Scannell:

> There are peaks and troughs in its prominence within the schedules, which can be explained in terms of the changing relationships between broadcasting

[29] Eckersley, Burrows and Lewis were forerunners of radio transmissions as early as 1918. They made up the original Broadcasting company executives of BBC (registered in 1922).

> institutions and both the state and the public in terms of wider social changes. (1987; 158)

Because the radio station is classified within the entertainment genre, it may be regarded as 'media fiction' (Curran.2000; 45), suggesting that commercial radio fits within the category of films and soap operas. In these instances of broadcast, public debate may not manifest itself in the traditional formal mode. By virtue of their 'imagined' environments, it may be taken for granted that they can serve as plausible mediators of representation within the public sphere. In *Media Organisations in Society* (2000), Curran observes the important role that media fictions play in reflecting as well as defining 'the social':

> It is clear that fictional spaces such as soap operas can no longer be dismissed as irrelevant to our understanding of the public sphere. On the contrary, they can be crucial to ongoing processes of national and cultural self-definition: for example, in focusing debates and tensions about national and local identity. (45)

The study is in agreement with the observation that the workings of radio are designed around producing a shared identity with its audience. This may be interpreted as an acknowledgement that audiences are active participants in the impact of media discourse. The study will base its analysis on this standpoint.

In reviewing the relationship between youth and the mass media, Curran gives an account of the ongoing mirroring pattern at play between the youth of Hong Kong in the 1950's and the media context of the time:

> Schools and other government institutions did not provide any coherent historical narrative of national or political identification with which the younger generation could make sense of their world…popular media, in particular film and television culture, evolved to become a cradle of indigenous cultural identity. (2002; 256)

This suggests that common youth identities in urban spaces possibly emerge out of a seeking of a responsive 'conceptual-map'[30] of the world, which they can identify with because it speaks their 'language'. Mass media becomes the virtual parent that provides a sense of belonging and gives access to the 'clone' community that youth need or are most comfortable with. The study will investigate the degree to which this is in part a factor of the 'self-making' processes of the Y-generation. The absence of the parent with whom they can find identity may be due not only to a generational gap, but also different political environments.

> Youth culture in general has diverted power away from the mainstream culture toward a culture in touch with the present and eager to build a different future. (Ross&Rose.1994; 25)

2.3 Youth as cultural agents

This section reflects on studies conducted by sociologists on youth cultures emerging after the 1950's. As mentioned in the previous section, the mainstream approach of reading youth behaviour along the same lines of 'deviant communities' [31]in America changed once ethnographic modes of research were pursued only to reveal an experience of the world that was distinctive to that period in the life cycle. This meant that youth discourse was not necessarily the antithesis of the dominant system, but a way of being occurring on a parallel with the central culture.

It was Coleman's (1961) [32]introduction of categorizing the youth experience along the terms of subculture that prefigured the burgeoning theoretical writing on youth culture that came out of the CCCS[33]. Wulff[34] summarises the influential school of thought as:

> Framing their studies in a Marxist perspective that was informed by a semiological interest. They depicted working —class youth culture- mainly

[30] Hall(1997) refers to 'conceptual maps' as mental representations of things, people, objects in the world that have common meaning or interpretation by members of a community.
[31] This refers to American sociological deviancy theory that brackets the practices of minority groups, youth and any other enclaves that fall outside of the hegemony as resistant to the dominant culture.
[32] Coleman's first report argued the effects of schooling on social values and aspirations of the individual
[33] Birmingham centre for contemporary cultural studies focused on pioneering youth cultural studies and consumption in the1970s and 1980s. Their observations of youth subcultures led them to posit 'youth as a metaphor for social change'
[34](Eds)Wulff& Amid-Talai study Language practices and language ideologies in youth subcultures. *See Youth Cultures: A cross cultural perspective(1995)*

> that of white boys- as resisting class domination (on behalf of their parents) through spectacular forms of style. (Youth Cultures. 1995)

In 1983 Jenkins challenged the prevalent theorising of youth by semiologists of the Birmingham school and stated that they were still laying emphasis on youth formations as an occurrence that was in opposition to the dominant culture. What still needed to be acknowledged by theorists was the fact that youth discourse was an experience which was universal and the cultural processes that were manufactured were autonomous to that youths' understanding of existence. How young people translated their view of the world was not counter to the mainstream value system but more of a critique of it implicitly.

> There is above all a consistent theoretical concern to show how young people are active agents- in different ways and with varying force- in the construction of the meanings and symbolic forms, which make up their cultures. (1995; 2)

If agency is to be perceived as active participation in the processes that occur in the world, then practicing these manufactured ways of existing, makes the youth cultural experience one of great significance in opening up ways of seeing socio-political history.

Youth cultural practice is associated with movement. Young people tend to group into formations that are about reworking or transforming the standard. Mobility can be considered as the motif of youth socialization. This is usually expressed through the stylistics of the body, language and artistic forms. This is why youth cultures tend to have a close affiliation with apparatuses of expression like the media. Wulff asserts this:

> When it comes to globalization or transnational connections youth cultures are in the forefront of theoretical interest; youth, their ideas and commodities move easily across national borders, shaping and being shaped by all kinds of structures and meanings. It may concern development and consumerism. (1995; 10)

By virtue of this stage in the generational cycle, youth tend to be seen as the dwellers of the intermediary phase from childhood to adulthood (in SA 16-35). This meaning they can enjoy the freedoms of adult ways, yet without the full responsibilities as they have just graduated from the domestication of childhood. Seen as 'incomplete adults' (1995), they have the time to occupy their practices with the aesthetic explorations of life; which could be conceived as the cultural mores of the global village. This then deems them the authorities on the development in fashion, music, visual arts and language. This in turn explains how the resource that would offer exposure to their primary concerns could adopt the role of the foster parent. The media serves as the cultural agency and the youth are drafted as the authorial voices. Wulff reinstates Vered Amit-Talai's assessment of the youth cultural space:

> The conceptualization of culture would benefit greatly from findings on youth, especially of what she calls their multi-cultural strategies, or an awareness of cultural possibilities that may be of a contingent character. (1995; 16)

If to have cultural agency may be assumed as intervening within the culture that already stands, and youth are concerned with re-scribing codes of meaning that social subjects have been domesticated to, then it can be regarded that they would be partial determinants of the trends that the media would invest in popularizing.

2.4 What is this Scamto-talk?

Since the study focuses on language as a key representational system of 'Y-culture', 'Y-scamto' will need to be defined in order to address its operations. By identifying its genesis in meaning and purpose through different eras, I will be equipping my analysis in considering its context and in exploring its symbolism: how it functions in interaction.

Chrystal lists a set of definitions that can be applied to the study of language. He provides two encyclopaedia volumes (The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Language. 1987; 1995) in classifying Language forms. A standard language exists first as a parent and then for varying discourse-related reasons, metamorphoses into varieties.

He suggests that the taking into account of contexts helps to identify these transitions when trying to determine the semantic area of a sociolect as scamto.

It is the writings of Makhudu and Mesthrie that offer a discussion of scamto's genesis within the specifities of South African socio linguistics. This includes an attempt to define its location in political history and its role today in a transforming democratic society.

Makhudu's An Introduction into Flaaitaal (1980), offers an etymological[35] and morph phonological[36] description of scamto. He explains the origins of scamto as having stemmed from the multilingual setting of the urban and township communities in the latter half of the 19th Century. The mixing of different individuals, he explains, occurred because of the discovery of minerals in 'the South African interior'. This offered a prelude to the development of scamto.

> …people from all over the world as well as from all parts of South Africa flocked to these diggings: Europeans speaking English, French, German, Dutch, Afrikaans or Yiddish, and Africans speaking Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho and Tswana, to name a few. Although this era preceded the evolution of Flaaitaal it might well have laid the initial yet crude substratum on which Flaaitaal later developed. (Mesthrie 298)

This suggests that Flaaitaal originated as a language form with Creole qualities because of the need for an integrated communication system that was all encompassing of its open free-market community members.

Its transgression from that initial point came to its present day extention into scamto. What did remain is its association as an urban phenomenon and therefore a sociolect associated with urban speakers; specifically, black township urban dwellers. Makhudu notes:

[35] This refers to the genesis of the lingua franca
[36] The way in which words are formed to create how they sound is as intrinsic in making meaning

> Flaaitaal or tsotsi-taal is a South African urban township argot which is used mainly, but not exclusively, by black males in various urban centres. It is a mixed code in so far as it seems to have been initially reliant on Afrikaans for structure and a variety of languages for its lexis. To the uninitiated ear, Flaaitaal might sound like a variety of Afrikaans; but such a conclusion would overlook its robust Bantu language texture. (Mesthrie 298)

The Soweto suburbs in which scamto developed in the 1950's are Orlando, Rockville, Meadowlands, and Diepkloof. Each township had a different term for the dialect i.e. Iscamtho, Sepantsula, Lingo or Tsotsi-taal respectively (300). Considering the time frame in which it was flourishing it can be seen why as a concept it has its roots in the mode of an anti-language.

According to Halliday (1978:165), an anti-language can be understood as something that stands in relation to an anti-society in the same way as a language relates to a society. It is based on "the creation of new words for old; it is a language relexicalised". Makhudu too asserts this citing:

> One use of Flaaitaal was to denote resistance or defiance, the common cry heard in the Defiance Campaign of the 1950s against the Group Areas Act...[37]

This in itself accents how language forms are unique to their contexts: they evolve out of the intersecting of individuals in a specific space, at a specific time, and constitute a way of relating that befits a shared lifestyle.

Mesthrie (1995) provides a relative analysis of South African languages and equips the 'reading' of scamto on a specific level. He outlines scamto as a language variety that has lexical items from most South African black vernaculars, as well as South African Eng1ish and Afrikaans. It is comprised of adoptives[38], and not only borrows forms and their meanings, but translates them as well. According to Mesthrie, motives for borrowing include:

[37] The Group Areas Act of 1950. Forced physical separation between races by creating different residential areas for different races.
[38] In Linguistics this refers to borrowing from another language also known as "loans".

- Extention of range of reference
- Structural convenience
- Directive capability
- Express force
- Social solidarity
- Stylistic effect

Another reason a meta-language such as scamto would formulate would be to serve its multi-lingual society. Mesthrie reviews the fusion of different languages and cultures through the examples of District six and Sophiatown. He cites Trudgill and Chambers (1980:132-142) on the formations of mixed dialects being the effect of urbanization:

> Many borrowings in language-contact situations may function at least in part as signals of social solidarity, as in Giles' accommodation theory as mentioned by Trudgill(1986:2), which for our purposes can be restated thus: 'A sender who wishes to gain a receiver's approval may choose vocabulary items thought acceptable to that person'. A related view by Trudgill (1986:61) himself is also relevant:
>
> Whole new language varieties, many of them eventually spoken by millions of people, grow and develop out of small-scale contacts between individual human beings.

He ends with the emphasis that there must be convergence if this parole is to become a Langue[39]. (1995; 210)

The development of language forms may be perceived as an occurrence that is always in process, that which can transmute from moment to moment, depending on the locale and the participants engaging in the exchange. Flaaitaal was the result of the in-group outcome of fusion through social and linguistic interacting for those individuals

[39] Parole is what is on the surface whereas Langue is the hidden meaning. This is seen in the coded language system of Y-scamto where membership to that discourse is what enables translatability. These are descriptions of language as a system and its utterance according to Semiologist, **Saussure**.

in a common setting and shared context. Charting the genesis of scamto further exemplifies how meaning is made, rather than found.

2.5 The role of Language

In viewing how language can function as an indicator of social shifting by individuals, the study also considers how it is a conveyer of the waves of ideological change as well.

Redeveloping language policies was high on the ANC's agenda in the early 90's. In the new democracy, the ruling party was concerned with the question of language rights as a possible resolution for a society that was aiming to be both representative and inclusive. On the nature of language regulations post the 1994 period Reagan writes:

> The ANC has recognised the need to protect linguistic and cultural rights in some manner, as indeed did the Freedom Charter. It would appear that all that remains to be clarified in this regard is how such rights are to be understood and how, in actual practice, they are to be practiced. (Mesthrie (ed.) 1995)

His statement suggests that language can therefore be perceived, not only as a carrier of information but connotative on a historical and political level too. Language is instrumental in signifying change, whether that be the shifts in power that play themselves out through social restructuring or psychic conversion.

Mesthrie (1995) observes the period of negotiations in the constitution on the repositioning of language during 1990-1993. He lists the important issues discussed in the lead-up to the new constitution on reconsiderations of the marginalized ethnic languages. The positions of Afrikaans and English as the longstanding official languages would have to be revised. The black vernacular languages of South Africa would have to be introduced at various levels as mediums of instruction in social institutions. These re-organisations were implemented with the belief that this would be more reflective of the 'Rainbow Nation':

> … the relationship between the mother-tongues of South Africa and any common national language that may be used as a lingua franca in order to bind the country together as one nation… (1995; 314)

The above statement attests to the study's belief that historical discourse can be located through language and it's positioning in social power relations. The negotiations constituted an attempt to elevate the formerly marginalized ethnic languages of the black majority in post-apartheid South Africa. By giving them equal status and recognition within national identity, a diversified but unified society was being actualized.

For the purposes of achieving a New South Africa that could be experienced and perceived as free and liberated from the old apartheid structures, Afrikaans would have to now occupy a marginal role because of the oppressive connotations it carries. Afrikaans during this period was eliminated as a compulsory subject in the South African schooling curriculum, while English was deemed a more viable option as a central language. Moreover, through this process, one can see how the positioning of language is able to carry new meaning also at the level of liberation and political change.

At this point in South African historical discourse newfound freedom carried with it the production of a new value of celebrating black identity freely in the public sphere. As one can understand ideology as a practice that materializes itself in everyday discourse, the decision to use English (rather than Afrikaans) as the standard in promulgating an aspirational consciousness is fathomable. In the early chapters of *Introducing Sociolinguistics* (2000), standardization such as this is explained in the following way:

> Standardisation is when a language is put to a wider range of functions than previously typically for the spread of literacy, education, government and administration, and in the expansion of the media. Successful standardization involves the creation or acceptance of a variety as the most prestigious one, on

> account of its use by those who have status and powers in the society. (2000; 20)

Ten years into freedom, this English standard is being challenged for the first time. There are citings of a preferred mode of communication for the young black Johannesburg youth, seen through a circulating urban lingua franca that has gone through many terminologies and is today referred to as Scamto. Scamto may be perceived as a language variety because of its Creole qualities and therefore as a sub-language. Yet in considering its socio-historical discourse and the momentum that the sociolect is gaining in the market-driven economic sphere, signals of its potential to become the future emblem of South Africa's multilingual national identity are evident and creating attention. Zoe Daniels, a reporter for Saturday AM, writes:

> Scamto began in Soweto in the 1950s when tribal groups were forced to live together under the apartheid regime. But it's taken off so much that now it's being used in music, advertising and marketing. (2005/03/05)

One of the public faces behind the resurgence of scamto is 24-year-old Lebo Motshegoa, who grew up in a South Western township known as Pimville. He is the copywriter of the Y-scamto dictionary, which was launched in 2002 and followed by a second audio volume in 2004.

> On Friday 01 October 2004, GP's biggest regional radio Yfm and the number 1 choice amongst 16-34 year olds, walked away with two awards from two different events and all this happened as Yfm turned 7. At the Loerie awards in Sun City, the Scamto Dictionary Audio compiled at Ylab walked away with a Loerie Bronze medal in the Media: Alternative Media category. Well done to our creative and production team: Neo Mudaly, Onitias Mphela, Lebo Motshegoa & Mike Penny. Motshegoa has since left Yfm to start his own company, Foshiza. (YzeUp newsletter 10/04)

Motshegoa has created his own online communication business (Soweto Rocks.com) as well as Foshizi Productions (advertising and marketing consultation in reaching

urban black youth market). Motshegoa is currently lecturing on scamto in Educational institutions and has released a third publication on the lingo to the wider society (Township Talks, Exclusive Books 06/06/2005). Makhudu's premonition in the 80s on the development of Flaaitaal was precisely in this vein, he writes:

> The widespread and increasing use of Flaaitaal raises questions about its status in the future. It is certain to continue flourishing in urban multilingual centres, and to continue influencing standard forms of African languages…whether, like Creole languages, it will stabilize into a first language is uncertain. The matter is certainly deserving of future research. (Mesthrie 304)

The role of scamto in Y-culture is discursive in its nature and significant in relation to continuations and discontinuations of past structures. It operates on a metaphoric and literal level in representing the South African historical discourse. The phenomenon may be understood as a work -in-progress and what the resurgence of scamto in mainstream media discourse will lead to remains open-ended.

2.6 Youth and Language

In this section of the study, the work drawn upon is used to explain the relationship between youth identity and language. Theory written on this subject posits that language functions on a deeper level than as an expression of communicating. Language is further understood as a symbolic item of positioning in society, be it age, class, gender or ethnicity. In other words it functions to reveal the environment of socialization.

James (*Youth Culture* 1995) articulates how signification through language does not only operate through speaking, but also through knowing the codified systems of meaning. These are its connotations and nuances. Furthermore, being au fait with these subtleties is an indicator of belonging.

The exploration of talk amongst groupings gained much attention within the sociological circles in the 70s. This was in trend with the new respectability accounted to youth cultures and their role in societal climates. Whilst examining youth it was

explicitly notable that these cultures were accompanied by a particular way of speaking. Theorists embarked on unravelling the process by charting it to as early as childhood. James recalls:

> Drawing on two periods of ethnographic fieldwork in different parts of England with children aged between 4 and 15 years olds I consider what the form, content and context of young people's language reveals about the nature and experience of growing up. (1995; 43)

Most useful to the study is her finding that youth experience the social world from a marginal space. She advocates Eisenstadt's [40]notion of youth culture being a reaction to the experience of marginality. This stance asserts the role that language would play within a setting as above. Language would be key in creating group cohesiveness and solidarity. Hence formations that were not aligned with the hegemonic attributes would be likely to formulate a language variety or in sociolinguistic terms, a lingua franca.

As expressed by Giddens (1979), Lingua Francas involve a 'context of communication'. He continues to explain how this means that they are dependent on building practical knowledge about the practices in the making and remaking of social interaction (129-130).This conveys once more, how language serves a distinct role in group formations that which incorporates applying the codes and conventions that make up its use as the 'emblem of belonging' (1995.43).

Another characteristic found in youth language is the implementation of rhyme in conversation. James fosters this practice as part of the flow of talk in young people and adds further that this is not only due to the attempt to enhance conversation, but also reflects the generational psyche of performing group identity.

> Ways of speaking demand the use of a particular and particularized vocabulary, a distinct syntax and rhythm. But to be able to speak in this language-to be able to 'talk' and participate in this generational culture-requires more than the art of

[40] Eisenstadt points out that whilst making this transition from childhood to adolescence young people band together for support. *From Generation to Generation* by S.N. Eisenstadt (1956)

> translation. It necessitates knowing how to use language; it means giving a good performance. (1995; 56)

Youth Lingua Francas can thus be perceived as a manifestation of how conversation is a cultural system regulated by how language is used. Even more, using language is a process of knowing and a marker of belonging to a particular identity or not. The shaping and reshaping of ways of talk is cause and effect of social context and a point in time in the life cycle. Why Johannesburg's black youth speak the way they do is as much linked to where they are located geographically as well as in life. The space from which they communicate the urban lifestyle as young black South Africans is embodied through the symbol that YFM is: a place where identity is being reworked and seen through the complex process of the codification in the language.

Chapter 3: YCulture

3.1 The Ygeneration

It is a common proposition that youth at any point throughout history have been associated with practices that could be deemed as radical, resistant, anti-state. This notion has come to be accepted as a 'tradition' of being youthful: a coming of age or an expression of the transformation from childhood to adulthood. Gillis notes this phenomenon in the words of Matza, as 'tradition' because it is a practice that continues to repeat itself beyond time, contexts, race and gender:

> Tradition is a particularly useful term precisely because it suggests that any explanation of youthful behaviour at a given point in time must take into account not only social and economic structures but the previous historical experience of the age group, as an independent variable with a dynamic of its own. (Youth and History; preface)

In considering the 'previous historical experience' of today's youth, Gillis' affirmation becomes poignant when reviewing the urban black youth of the New South Africa. In comparison to the culture of the previous youth generation coined the 'young lions', urban youth formations of nowadays seem to reflect "freedom" on two levels. Literally that they were too young to be a part of the struggle directly and figuratively that they have no state limitations[41] as far as how they locate their existence in the world. In her research conducted on Race in a multicultural Durban high school(1996) Nadine Dolby observes how youth of this era have an affiliation to apartheid, but are not necessarily defined by it:

> I argue that youth at Fernwood do not look solely to the past, to the remnants of apartheid, to develop and define their identities. "Race" after apartheid is not simply a matter of discarding or embracing already formed racial positions, but of renegotiating it in a new context."(*Constructing Race*.2001; pg 8)

[41] This would read untrue for all black youth in the urban space as some are afflicted by social challenges (poor service delivery, state support, etc) but refers to the so called "black diamonds"

As citizens of the global village their racial identities reflect a creolization of sorts; marked by the ironical state of existing in the inter-space and making it difficult for their identities to be pigeonholed:

DJ Adil: I look at myself as [Yfm's] first generation ya (of) multi-cultural black youth. I mean someone who went to school with people of other cultures, someone who has learnt things that were not necessarily part of my culture - be it in language, music...just a way of doing things. (See Yfm DJ Adil interview in Interview Transcripts pg 7)

At face value, the Y-generation may be perceived as apathetic politically [42] because of two reasons: their pre-occupation with the creative cultural forms and secondly, their engrossment with stylization of the self. [43]This perception may ring true on a comparative level as their sense of purpose departs from the community and reads as a fixation with individual aspiration. Yfm agents dispel this myth as they explain the politicisation of the Ygeneration:

Unathi: And the reason why I say our generation's political awareness and political activeness comes through in different forms is that someone would rather try and become a filmmaker because they love film and display the country's political issues through film as opposed to wanting to become a member of parliament and hence I say we are attacking politics in a different form. (See DJ Rudeboy & Unathi interview in Interview Transcripts; pg 27)

The targeted members of this group listenership represent an amalgamation of past and present discourses: global popular culture, the genres of black consciousness, the memory and effects of apartheid, racial -assimilation, Negritudianism[44], and transformation. All these different discourses are embraced into a fused expression of the 'self'. These influences translate into an identity with Creole qualities, signalled by particular behavioural patterns and also expressed through their multilingual

[42] In his article *Youth and politics in the democratic order*(2004)Sachs elaborates on the misconception of the 'born frees' political life, he argues that their activism operates through artistic forms

[43] Nuttall states how the appearance of the Ygeneration is loaded with historical meaning. The way in which they dress and do their hair functions as a social semiotic(2004)

[44] The celebration and preservation of pre-colonial African tradition and culture as pioneered by Leopold Senghor and Aime Cesaire in the 1930s.

capability. In interviews with Yfm DJ's the study observes on how they agree that the listening urban youth of Johannesburg is diverse in its cultural representation and how the black Yfmer is typically multilingual because of growing up in the township:

Adil: It's a language that has always been there, a culture that is here and hence I was saying earlier that in the first few years tsa (of) Y, it was just a platform for people to start expressing themselves and that's where the whole lingo came in because it's a language everyone speaks in the streets, if you are young you wanna be hip and part of the hip language of the time. (See DJ Adil interview in Interview Transcripts, pg 7)

One sees the expression of all these influences articulated in the popular cultural domain of Y-world. [45] Here signifiers such as language, music, clothing and hair offer testimony to local articulations as well as a reworking of western representations, which held sway before. In *Public Culture*, Nuttall writes the following about the Y-generation:

> Turning to a series of images from Y magazine, we can see how Y culture signals to, but increasingly breaks with, the past in its adaptation of a newly elaborated stylistics of sensation and singularisation. Hair and clothing are crucial vectors of this stylistics. A cover image accompanied by the words 'Kwaito-nation' reveals a striking example of the foregrounding of the capacity for sensation, of the new investment in the body's special presence and powers, and of the ascendancy of the sign of blackness. (2004; 43)

The creolized cultural- identity of the Y-generation manifests not only an investment in new expressions of the self, but also celebrates stylistic forms borrowed from the South African past. When Y-mag was re-launched in 2002, Allen observes in relation to the front cover of that month's edition:

> …the front cover, which advertised a feature on Kwaito artists, displayed leading Y culture personalities sporting a tasteful mix of Kofifi-retro,

[45] This refers to the entire enterprise as an expanded brand. The corporation began with the station in 1997 and has since flourished into the magazine, website, satellite and retail industries, all in synergy with the image and ideology of the mother brand Yfm.

> ‘traditional’ African, and hip-hop clothing, body language, and attitude. (Kwaito versus crossed over.2004; 102)

This emergent identity of urban black youth is a construction that is layered with the historical discourse of South Africa. It is a phenomenon that is part of a sequence in the development of what South African black identity has meant before and may represent in the future.

Yfm may be read as an institution housing a black urban youth cultural movement, which the station has branded as Y- culture. Since its advent in 1997, the ‘culture’ of Yfm has been to give prominence to vernacular forms in their varying respects. The practice of Yfm to occupy itself with the revival of indigenous modes of expression becomes important in exploring radio as a cultural agency. Y-scamto dictionary copywriter asserts these intentions when he comments:

Lebo: Within language we can be unified, scamto is something that has been hidden and ready to be tapped into not just for advertising, if you wanna communicate with the young market, but also for politics, TV, news. The culture of reading and literature we black people are not into because of the language and the approach. Gooi (throw) a bit of scamto in there and xa xa xa... (See Lebo Motshegoa interview in Interview Transcripts, pg 3)

The station also seeks to brand the ‘cultural movement’ as well as the language of urban youth as their own. This makes an allusion to the workings of ‘hyper-commercialism’. Yfm can be viewed, in the same way, as a cultural innovation that acclimatizes the popular ‘hype’ of the period. The celebration of black identities in post-democratic South Africa incorporates previously marginalized ‘cultural -lives’.

Yfm, similarly, assumes the foster parent role because of a communal experience of the world and crystallizes a specific way of life for the urban black youth of the new South Africa:

Khanyi: Y-culture is a schizophrenic guy...on the one hand he is a guluvani eKasi(the big boss in the Township) who hangs with amagange(gangsters) and

talking about the big life...on the other hand he is also an upcoming BEE commercial guy...he attends whisky tastings and he is reading the business section of the newspaper. (See DJ Khanyi Magubane in Interview transcripts, pg 18)

With this understanding as a backdrop of the culture of mass media production, I will analyse how Yfm desires to drive the habitual activities of young urban black youth. In applying this observation to the context of South Africa, the study poses that blackness is the 'product', which is mostly commodified today. The performance of blackness entails the 'black is back' theme promulgated by the media mostly to the youth demographic. This alludes to the workings of urban youth cultures where the membership psyche revolves around assimilating to the identity of your peers to avoid the risk of being an outsider. Dolby(2001) reviews the discourse of taste within the popular culture domain and argues that racial identity becomes a construct based on these practices, more so than the previous signifiers i.e. history, culture, biology. The disintegration of set understandings and confines in the commodified space leads to a situation where race is flux and in a process of being "recoded."(pg 77)

3.2 Y-culture

Y-culture can be best understood as a manifestation of contemporary creolized black identity- an example of postmodern blackness. It is a way of being borne out of expectations of its locale and representations of what blackness aspires to be re-archived as. The discourses within the culture itself are imaginative and reflective of an emerging black middle class lifestyle. Language, socio historical context and social formation are themed within the desire to produce an affirming black identity. As in the habit of youth cultures, Y-culture is a signifying practice that voices the changing state of affairs by legitimating the new ideological patterns, through naturalizing them. Y-culture, through mediums such as Y-mag, commodifies itself as a popular culturist theme. In this strain, blackness (in all its connotations) becomes a commercialization that makes up an integral part of the economic sphere. As the changing face of media, blackness becomes the personification of power shifts in ideological discourse. This practice fosters the workings of social reorganisation and is reflective of the ideas of the new ruling elite, reflecting the processes of naturalization.

In regarding Y-culture from this standpoint[46], the study proposes to partially understand Y-culture as the subculture of the parent ideological shift, making the discourses within it, sub-subcultures. In viewing how meaning is made Hebdige views these practices as:

> …charged with a potentially explosive significance because they are traced and re-traced along the lines laid down by the dominant discourses about reality, the dominant ideologies. They thus tend to represent, in however obscure and contradictory a fashion, the interests of the dominant groups in society. (1979; l5)[47]

This would seem contradictory, as subcultures have been known to emerge out of a seeking of liberation from the restraints of the hegemonic order. This notion implies that subcultures form when the dominant culture has failed them in some way or other. This is probably partially true when considering the 'tradition' of youth groups contesting the dominant- be it ideology, class, or social authority. Forrester[48] believes that this disruption occurs 'in order to crease spaces for themselves'.

In what the study defines as the sub-subcultures of Y-culture, there is the emphatic ritual of performance poetry, which can be viewed as an oppositional subculture as it is preoccupied with resisting standards of the larger global culture. During the Kamikaze Heat shows on YFM, there is the inclusion of 1 hour word of mouth sessions hosted by organiser, Julius Makweru every Wednesday. The poems recited by callers are the performances which were selected as the most excellent by the host and the Yagents(RudeNathi):

Rudeboy: So you do some poetry
Caller: Ja I've got one nice piece
Rudeboy: Are you gonna do that piece...are you gonna say Ta Jah for the Gunja…
Caller: Haha ha respect!!

[46] The study borrows from the model of subcultures in relation to the central culture and doesn't necessarily propose that Ydiscourse is a subculture fully in the Hebdige sense.
[47] In *Subculture-the Meaning of Style* Hebdige alters former methodological approaches towards subcultural analysis, shifting from a class-based sociology to a more layered understanding of social difference.
[48] See pg 3 in *Youth Subcultures and the commitment level model*

Rudeboy: Ha Ha turning of Agent

Caller: Yeah…as I said a simple poem titled nursery rhymes...it goes: ***Fee Fi Fo Fum I smell the blood of an English-scum came to Africa and violently raped her Though she tries to hide it she still bears the scars 350years later…Ah but now Bah Bah black sheep have you any wool, no sir only if I were a fool. Why my black wool if white is cool, should have thought about that before you took me to school… nursery rhymes nursery rhymes like man they have to change with time*****…Saint Demon signing out!**

Rudeboy: Ah aah Saint Demon Y'all. (See pg 7-9 Kamikaze Heat Transcripts)

The above excerpt from the Data collected reflects the functioning of resistance politics within the subcultural practices within Yculture. Yagents, Rudeboy and Unathi broadcast this particular poem because they advocate the "Anti-ism" within it.

The poem recited by Saint Demon exemplifies the workings of slam poetry as an Anti language. The entire poem is a resistance to dominant ideology. The poet does not invent a narrative but disarticulates the narratives that already stand by making commentary on them. This in turn shapes into a new narrative where archived history is stated only to be dismantled. The poem is a semantic battlefield for dominance. The meaning which overtakes the previous one will mean triumph in the poet gaining authorship over his identity. (See entire poem in Kamikaze Heat Transcripts, pg 8)

This disarticulative practice carries through to the language used on the Kamikaze Heat show in its entirety. In an interview with the show's hosts the insertion of scamto taal into Ydiscourse is explained as a result of Ycopywriter, Lebo Motshegoa's frustration with the limitations of the English standard:

Rudeboy: I think for him it got frustrating at times when he would be sitting with clients, so he thought 'let me make some kind of a bible that would let these assholes know that...

Unathi: ...that we are not all vulgar when we use vernacular...

Rudeboy: ... and it's not a vulgar word when you hear it being said by a voice artist, but it will actually entice! (See Rudeboy and Unathi interview in Interview Transcripts, pg 26)

In the same interview, Rudeboy shares on how when YFM first launched on air in 1997, he used the term 'Voetsek'[49], which led to a moral outcry from the older black generation.

This is an affirmation of Hebdige's observation of how the processes within making meaning are often obscure and contradictory. 1997 was but 3 years into a new found democracy for the South African black majority and this stage of confirmed liberation created room for new avenues of black expressionism that was uninhibited, unique and 'free', manifested in a new genre of music as Kwaito; uniquely South African and along the same theology as the invention of American hip-hop. In the same regard arose the popularity of slam poetry - also a borrowing from African American culture.

These forms of expression have been cultivated into modes of commentary that could be perceived as flagging new identities as well as new political positioning:

I am a warrior whose voice shatters kings, yes from the heights the choir sings. I have a right to be me, the spirits in the sky release all my dreams because I am freedom, I am word, beautiful, powerful…Catch poetic Wednesdays only on the Kamikaze heat. (Promo on YFM 6/07/2005. See Kamikaze Heat Transcripts, pg 7)

The Word of Mouth sessions take place against a backdrop of drumming and flute accompaniment with a language use embedded in identity politics; identity need not just mean white or black. The theme most explored involves contesting the effects of colonization or Apartheid on African identity[50]. The Ygeneration appear to find healing and a sense of belonging through this circle of expression:

Unathi: We come from a very hurt society and a lot of people are obviously healing through a lot of things that they do and it comes across artistically as well. You see it in graffiti, on the streets or on train stations. You see it everywhere where there is youth and hence you can't stem it onto one plant. (See Unathi and Rudeboy interview in Interview Transcripts, pg 27)

[49] Voetsek exists in the Y-scamto dictionary and is a loanword that comes from the Afrikaans language.
[50] See pg 18 Kamikaze heat Transcripts: Khanyi Magubane poem "Black and Slanted" 20/07/2005.

Forrester lists the elements of a subculture as:

- Relatively unique values and norms
- A special slang not shared with society
- Separate channels of communication
- Unique styles and fads
- A sense of primary group belonging seen in the use of 'us' and 'them'

In considering the poetic element[51] of Ycultureship, the study observes that it operates as an inner practice that is dissimulative in its nature. By the very science of poetry, it offers the space for the workings of an anti-language to take place implicitly. Whatever ideological positioning the Ydiscourse agents privately believe in, they can advocate indirectly through the poetry they select and permit on their shows. This goes back to the formulaic structure of oral discourse in radio, where the radio hosts because of their positioning become shapers of discourse. Hutchby as well as Hall's extention of Althussarian theory insinuate that those who produce media employ a concealed control over what is communicated for invested reasons.

[51]Hebdige speaks of different forms of language as resistance and how practices as drumming are viewed by 'authorities' as a symbolic threat. The use of drumming in performance poetry furthers this belief making it intrinsically subversive. See *Resistance through Rituals*(1982)

Chapter 4 - Y-scamto dictionary

The study includes an analysis of the audio dictionary to account for its claims of Yculture embodying a coded language system. The attached audio dictionary[52] with given translations only, limits the sociolinguistic scope of the study: it provides the inherent meaning of the words documented, but does not offer a linguistic context which is what invests the sociolect with meaning. Furthermore in monitoring the way in which these words are used, the study will be able to observe indicators on a discursive level; that of class, region, educational background and 'common life world' practices.

The manufacturing of the audio dictionary also serves the role of conveying the commercial goals of Yfm in their drive to capture the lifestyle of a particular group and sell that 'engineered audience' to advertisers[53] who seek to tap into that market. Copywriter of the Y-scamto Dictionary, Lebo Motshegoa explains how he has since capitalised on the commercialisation of the township lingo outside of the Yworld framework:

Lebo: There are advertising elements tse ngwetseng ka style sa Kasi (that are written in Township style). Some ads tsa (by) Cell C and all of them. There is my online magazine Sowetorocks.com. There is another company called Tobetsa: it's an sms company ya ka se Kasi, using the whole language thing to talk to the youth... (See Lebo Motshegoa interview in Interview Transcripts, pg 3)

Below is the Alphabet of the coded language system, the radio agency claims is used by the Ygeneration. The copy is contextualised in case scenarios in order to give an essence of the lifestyle of the urban black youth of Johannesburg. The A-Z of the street talk is branded by Yfm and packaged to clients as Y-scamto.

A[54]: And welcome back to TV's hottest dating show *lonely hearts* next we find out what Cindy is searching for, so what type of **A'uthi** are you looking for?

[52] See Y-scamto audio dictionary attached in appendix.
[53] Track 1

Well he must be interesting based oversees like from **Ane kank** or something, he must get along with all my **Achuus**, I enjoy cooking hot food so he must like **Achaar** **'**cos it's my favourite.

Hmmm interesting combination let's see if we can get you a date. Contestant no 1 would you live under this ladies terms and conditions? No **Aneva** no ways **neva neva**. How'bout you no2 will you be able to live with this woman? Agh sorry my friend I can't **Aneva** I can't live with this chick

Askis m'am it seems your ideal man is not here today but don't lose hope yet 'cos there is plenty of **Amajita** out there who are looking for a woman like you.

When we come back we meet a couple that met thirty years ago at an **After tears** see you after the break

B[55]: Dad tell me how did you and mom meet, son it was a Sunday just after a **Begrafe** that I had to attend when me and **aBafana** went to a **Bioskop** afterwards we decided to go to a **Bash** son, this bash had everything, nice **Bojwa** chicks and the likes then I saw your mom standing at a corner wearing this fine **Botsotso eish,** she was **Blind** I went to her, I asked for her **Belas** and she slapped me.

And then, then what? I wasn't gonna give up that easily I thought that it might be how I looked so I rushed home, changed my clothes put on my **Bathus** and I went back to her she refused again **eish**. Later that night I asked for a **Bol pen** from my buddy then I went to her corner **kaBloma** ja **kaBloma** she came and gave me her **Belas,** son I tell you she was just playing hard to get.

C[56]**:**Here is a **Cup' a- jive Chomi**

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[54] The dating game story scenario reads appropriately for this youth group who are at that period in the life cycle where watching TV and courting preoccupies most of their time. Also typical of this group is their aggrandizement of overseas people. **Ane kank** sounds like **ander kant** meaning other side in Afrikaans

Aneva is a derivative of the English phrase **I'll Never** and undergoes reduplicated as **neva neva** for expressive force. **After tears** contextualises the next scenario as township based.

[55] The bedtime story is an anecdote of how the couple met which is accurate of the black experience. The story within the story is universal and could happen anywhere in the world except the word **Bash** places the experience in a specific location i.e. township or black residential area. **Bash** pronounced exactly as English **Bash** with difference lying in meaning**. Begrafe** is a loan translation of the Afrikaans **begraaf,** meaning **funeral. Bioskop** is an **adoptive** from Afrikaans. **Blind** is **complete reduplication** to the English adjective and has undergone **amelioration**. **Belas** is derived from Afrikaans verb **Bel** (to phone) it has added **suffixes** and undergone **extent ion**. **Bol pen** is a loan translation of **ball- point –pen** (English). **Bojwa** is a lexical metaphor that has undergone syllable reversion (**bourgeoisie**) but is pronounced exactly the same.

[56] The two friends appear to be in a rural setting as they conversate against a natural backdrop, furthermore the speakers (probably elders) are not familiar with urban youth terminology i.e. **Chizboys** and **CD**. The taxi experience is a signifier of a black 'common life world'. **Cup'a-jive** is a loan translation that has undergone specialisation. **Model C** and **Chizboy** are **adoptives** that function as **lexical metaphors** i.e. In the township only the well off can afford to eat **cheese/chizz** (wealth); the

Dankie **Chomi**, you know on my way here there were two **model C** students that were in the **Cab** I was driving in, what do you call them?

Cheeseboys,

Ja Ja ja ja Chizboys...so anyway I'm sitting behind them listening to their conversation, chatting about **diCherry** tsa bona when the other one with the **Chiskop** asked his **chomi** to borrow him a **Clipa** to buy a **Cd**

Aai, these kids love music

No chomi **Cd** is not music, it's a condom don't you know that?

D[57]**:** What's wrong baby please stop crying, *keng(what)*? Is it my **Dairy** doesn't taste good, please stop crying. Is it **Die ding** do you want me to turn it off do you want **iDiski Dimmas** is it too cold? Want me to close the **Deur?**

E[58]**: E'itha** madam speaker, honourable members of parliament, president of the constitutional court and my fellow South Africans. **Ek se** we have gathered in this chamber to begin work on our democratic parliament. **Eintlik** let me say this from the beginning that the challenges of it require that we move away from spectacle and rhetoric and we bend our backs to the serious work ahead of us.

F[59]**:**I see you have listed in your previous job titles pimp, what's that all about?

Well I actually used to be a **Fat cat** you know, rolling in a **G-string** flossy with *P-daddy Clinton* the likes, **Fros'stun**

So why you here today?

Well everything is a **Flop** now, I need a job man, I just can't stand sitting **Four-four** in a taxi

Well there is a vacancy open it pays **Five bobb** an hour you want it?

Five bobb?

---

extention Chizzboy has undergone syllable reversion. **Cherry** has undergone complete reduplication from the English (fruit). **CD** has undergone **narrowing** as an abbreviation of condom.

[57] This scenario alludes to teenage pregnancy which is most rife amongst black youth in South Africa. The scene has a didactic purpose to it as it sets up the mother as one who is not geared to cope. **Dairy** is borrowed from the English directive and undergone **specialisation**. **Deur** is a **loanword** from Afrikaans.

[58] This takes place in the house of assembly and parodies the institutional space through the use of an Afrikaner accent and the delivery of his speech in scamtotaal. **Ek se** and **Eintlik** are **loan translations** from the Afrikaans language.

[59] This exchange between a *Wigger* (register) and a typical white South African guy (accent) relates the cross over in lifestyle and cultural influences as can be said of the Ygeneration. He relates the knowledge of hip-hop icons as well as the taxi experience .**Fat Cat** and **Flop** are direct adoptives from English as is **G-string(BMW 3series)** only that the latter has undergone specialisation. **Five Bobb** is repeated for expressive force.

G[60]**:** Okay shut up let me try it again, let me try it. Alright at bucks second hand store we sell **G-strings Gusheshes** and we also buy anything new or **Groot** unlike other stores at bucks we are open to discussions should you think our prices are **Geff** our grand opening is this weekend at **Gomora** next to the **Gado** station. Yo, how was that man?

Mfana(guy) **Geleza** that think correct I mean how many times are we gonna do this? You left out the fact that there will be **Geijo** at the grand opening. C'mon now **eish**, let's do it again from the top.

Okay, okay fine I'll do it again....

H[61]**:** Okay magents call me crazy ne but check this out, how is this idea for our next episode ne bafowethu okay we have a guy called Warrick okay this guy is involved go **maHowza - howza** allright so one day two guys come up to him asking for food so Warrick he doesn't mind **charlie** he pulls out **iHalf tiger** uyabagaya okay the next thing the one **skelm** pulls out I **zet** shoots him down damn Warrick passes out from the shock the neighbours call iambulance, it gets busy now, at the **Hhosi** the doctors search for hours looking for the bullet the beeping machines go mad, he starts kicking like he is about to die in the state of panic the doctors make a decision **ugumHlohla** guthi iskape **Hiso** bale gumahips mfowethu and **Halakasha** the bullet drops out in the last frame we say the story continues

I[62]**:** Hello thank you for calling word enquiry which word may I assist you with?

Ja, hello, **eintlik** I want to know ne **Isiko** is it a coincidence or **Isha'isa** or **Ini**?

It's definitely not a coincidence sir, **Isiko** is a culture, a socially transmitted behaviour of patterns arts and beliefs

Oh no sure, thank you

---

[60] The voice artist is a Model C character who is battling to sell the township auto dealer advert as the director would like. He battles with pronunciation, register and grasping the script/concept in general. The director has a distinctly different accent to the artist in order to indicate their different class locations. **Groot** is a loanword from Afrikaans as well as **Geff** which is derived from Afrikaans Gif (poison) and has undergone syllable reversion. **Gomora** stands for Alexander township indicating prejoration and specialisation at the same time.

[61] The protagonist in the story is a criminal who conducts house robberies. He represents the stereotype of the township loafer who tends to be unemployed and sustains himself through such endeavours. The real *tsotsis* are the characters who pretend to be beggars and shoot him for money. **Mahowza-howza** is a **loan blend** from English **House** and has **borrowed prefix** (ma) from Sesotho to show the plural; syllable reversion as well as **reduplication** is used for **stylistic effect**. **Half tiger** is a **lexical metaphor** that has undergone **specialisation. Hhosi** is abbreviated from English **hospital** and undergone **syllable reversion**.

[62] The caller represents a lower education bracket conveyed through his **accent, register** and **lack of knowledge**. This also indicates his **regional location** as urban, since he does not know about his own culture.

You most welcome sir

J[63]**:** Dear diary tonight was just another night in **Jozi** I felt like **guJiva** so I put on my best **Jewish** and off I went to the nightclub when I got there I ordered **iJeje** took a seat and waited for my food as I was eating I spotted this cute **Janandra** on the dancefloor oh she was fine we made eye contact and she seemed interested until this **Jahman** started hitting on me, "ke batla go **Jola** liwena" he said actually he wanted gung **Jackrolla** I told him look **Jinda** my ass and tata your ass out of my table okay. When I looked back at the dance floor the **Janandra** chick was gone Hey, as I said, just another night in **Jozi**

K[64]**:** Ladies and gentleman kemocaptain speaking we are currently flying at an altitude of 3000 feet if you look **Ka da** to your right you'll see the famous kasi of katlegong island where you can get the best **Kota** and some of the world's famous **Kwai-kwai** shoes, this island is also famous for its **Khemi** that kills **goKhenya** this is a fun island. If you look closely ka here on your left you can see **Kgonji** that sells **Khanjana** to see their new museum that tells the origins of **guKekela** in this island you won't feel like a **Kwere-kwere** there's no **Kwal'**. Ladies and Gentleman sit back and relax and enjoy the rest of your flight.

L[65]**:** Welcome back to **Loxion** cooking, cooking with scamto, I'm your host nas mataz and our last dish is almost ready to be served what we need to add is some barbeque but **Lalela** you must not sprinkle too much spice as it might spoil the meal and make **iLiwe** yako difficult. Wala! there it is magnificent, before we end the show though let me leave you with a thought and that is don't sit at home **eLoxion** ube

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[63] The narrator is a **model C urban youth**; signalled through her **practices** of journal writing as well as clubbing and being same sex orientated (Janandra girl). The male who hits on her does so in a typically township fashion which is upfront and forceful. **Jozi** is an **abbreviation** of Johannesburg. **Gujiva** has a **borrowed prefix** from Sesotho and is derived from English **Jive**. **Jewish** is has undergone **complete reduplication** in meaning as well as narrowing. **Janandra** is a **loan translation** and **Jahman** is a **loan blend** (English&Patois) has undergone **generalisation** signifying a man with dreadlocked hair.

[64] The storyline accurately describes the anarchy that can be found in the township space. The pilot in this scene characterises the **hybrid** archetype who is a Yfmer in that his register is that of **Model C** indication and at the same time his **township lingo** is accurately delivered in **pronunciation, accent and tone**. He represents the creolised linguistic space of Yculture also seen through precise **code switching and mixing**. **Ka da** is a loan blend with a borrowed prefix **Ka** (Sesotho) and syllable reversion of **daar** (Afrikaans). **Khemi** is an abbreviated l**oan translation** of English chemical and has undergone **syllable reversion.**

[65] This scenario serves a didactic purpose of encouraging self determinism amongst township dwellers. The cooking show host caricatures the black presenter style in his **tone** and **register**. Most dominant on South African screens are black faces that try to sound "white" (**Model C**), this also marks the creolised nature of the South African black accent. **Loxion** is derived from English **location** and has undergone **syllable reversion** and become **specialised**. **iLiwa** is a loanword and **loan translation** from Afrikaans (lewe) which has undergone **syllable reversion.**

iLova, cook more and sell your meals to the people because **iLiwe** is what you make out of it.

M[66]**:** In the news today **Magriza** cooked **aMagwinya** abut **Madala** was angry because he wanted he wanted **Mapapa** so he kicked her out. On events last night **Mzekezeke** performed at the biggest **M'qimbe** that ever hit **Mzansi** unfortunately problems occurred when one **Mdrayiseni** driving a bakkie had a lot of **Mbombi** to drink so he couldn't drive them back. Moreover the govt has just passed a law that all **Model C** students are to attend **Model D** schools atleast twice a week **Mara** the headmasters are refusing to comply. On our court news **iMedi** yaga Jerry Smith who has been accuses of selling **uMdubolo** to **aMajita** revealed today that he was supplied by **aboMageza** that he met through **iMpechi** yake the case is still under further investigation. I am Michelle Lowe with a rap of your daily news.

N[67]**:** Inhale, exhale, inhale again, exhale. You look **Naar** today what's bothering you ma'm?

Eish..hmmm

No no don't be afraid you can tell me **Nine- nine**

Eish well doctor do you remember that **Ntwana** I told you about last week

Ja, ja the one you think **iNgakara** in bed

Ja him well he is not as **N'swebu** as he used to be in bed, I mean **eish iNka'uza** *yake* is not performing well

It's premature ejaculation nothing to be **Naar** about though, but if I may ask do you... **uyamNcanywa**?

Him, Ja I do

[66] The news bulletin parodies the kind of news reportage typical of South African livelihood. The news reader is a typical hybrid Yfmer who **code switches and mixes** with fluency so that her accent switches **adhoc** from Model D to Model C (and vice-versa) to accommodate the language in use. **Model C and Model D** are loaded **lexical metaphors** in that they represent social, political and cultural understandings of the prototypes that are **indexical** of these terms. **Mara** is a loan translation from Afrikaans **maar** that has undergone syllable reversion.

[67] The youth who has gone for a doctor's visit reflects the **lifestyle** of this age bracket (16-35) where there is a big emphasis on sexual practice. HIV/Aids campaigns are typically geared at this target market in the urban space. The life lesson is promulgated through the doctor's reminder of the importance of contraceptives. **Naar** is a **loanword** from Afrikaans. **Nine-nine** is a loanword from English that has undergone **complete reduplication** in that the meaning is specialised. It is also double barrelled for **expressive force**.

Then i suggest you feed him vitamins like **Nzo** for more energy and maximum performance but remember to use this **Njivana** condoms because you don't want **iNcosi** *angithi*

Eish thank you so much doc, I'm feeling so much better

It's my pleasure just leave this documents at reception the nurse will do the paperwork for you.

O[68]**:** Drinks?

Ja sure

Hmmm so, where you from?

Well I'm South African but I spent most of my childhood **Oorkant** that's because **Ofi** laka was a journalist jeez man those days were on the...anyway enough about me. Have you ever been **Oorkant**?

Naaa naaa not at all I'd love to go one day you know, I thought firstly maybe tour Africa get to know Africa, you know my own backyard and then maybe one day get to go oversees and stuff , yeah

P[69]**:** You know Mel I really don't know what the big idea is with this plastic story you know with all this **Pham'kat** going around you'd think they are paying us to wear them

You right hey doll, anyway you mean rubber not plastic and they say it's for the environment

Plastic, rubber whatever! Anyway did you hear about Almaries's husband?

The one who acts like a **Player**?

Ja, well Almarie was looking in his cupboard the other day and she saw this strange box

Phina and out pooped a rubber **Pipi**

No way girl

Ja

[68] The social context given is that of a man and woman meeting while **out for a good time**, this is signified through the **wild sound** of music and a crowd. These characters appear older than '**born frees'** as they imply having grown up during apartheid times. **Oorkant** is a **loan translation** from Afrikaans.

[69] The scenario of two friends shopping and gossiping is located into the urban space experience through **linguistic manifestations**. The one character has a **coogul** accent (**nasalisation**) and the other a **coloured** accent (**register**) even though they discuss a universal occurrence. **Player** is a loanword from English which has undergone **specialisation** and **complete reduplication**. **Prent** is a **loan translation** from Afrikaans.

Do you think he'll have the pluck to admit he swings both ways hey, anyways are we gonna catch a **prent** after this?

Well it depends what's showing

Well there's that new Steven Spielberg he acts soma like a **Pantsula** in this **Prent** hey

Divine doll I love retro

Q[70]**:** 1234 welcome to two special service battalion I'm your captain and I'm in charge of this unit and these are my mass rules. Rule number 1 the time **yaguQanda** is 17:00 hours **iQando** is ready and served at 16:45 pm. rule no 2 if **uQala guQanda** before or after these specified times sizo**Quza** understood.

Hoy!

Rule no 3 you ladies don't even think about **uguQoma** because this military unit is a sex free zone, dismissed!

R[71]**:** Dearly beloved we are gathered here today to the joining of these two people in holy matrimony. Do you take this woman to be your wife, your **Regte**, your everything till death do you part? Do you accept her talkative **Reli** that like **guRinga** all the time?

You forgot about the **Reverse**

Oh yes do you also accept her big **Reverse**?

Yeah i do

I now pronounce you husband and wife, you may kiss the bride

S[72]**:** Silence in my court! Now sir will you please explain to the jury what happened at the crime scene.

I was from **eSgela**, bengi **Skryfa** iexam but I left early because bengi **Sika** so on my way home I heard **iSgubhu** it was very loud so I ran to the scene thinking it was a

[70] This exemplifies the author's (Y-scamto dictionary) expressed desire to see the sociolect grow in usage and infiltrate all public sectors.

[71] Y-scamto as envisaged in use at an Anglo-wedding (pastor's accent) is somewhat of a parody considering the unique political history of South Africa. **Regte** is a loanword from Afrikaans that has undergone **reduplication. Reli** is derived from English relative and has been abbreviated with **slight syllable reversion**. **Guringa** is a **loanblend** of Sesotho (**Gu**) and English **(ring)** with **slight syllable reversion** and **specialised meaning**. **Reverse** is a **loanword** from English that has undergone **partial reduplication** in meaning.

[72] The court case signals **Model D** orientation on the level of the events that occurred in the story as well as the **accents** and **register** of the characters. The **behavioural practices** cited in this storyline are those accurate of township life. Education is not regarded as paramount, people loiter in the streets all day, some are unemployed others are menaces to society conducting their business or disturbing the 'peace'. Territorial wars and trigger- happiness are a reality of the township experience. Span is a **loan translation** from Afrikaans.

group of artists performing only to discover it was him sitting in a **S'lahla** pumping the music loud, with him was **iS'chuzana** wearing blue **iSpoti** that originally belongs to esinya **yaS'febe** zakhe so **iSdivane** sa **daar** heard the irritating loud music coming from the car across the road. he went to the car and asked him to lower the music. **US'bale** decided **gumshaya- shaya** and promised him he will give him **iSkholana** and plus **iStina**. "bengi **Shizila** he said so you better not be lying to me or else..." he replied and said **uSthipa Skep'sela** kewena do you think I'll just give you my money that easy tola **iSpan uSpane iSbotho**" he felt insulted and punched him, then they fought.

Thank you sir, you may step down

T[73]**:**And now for the speeches...

Hi brothers and sisters my topic today is relationships. Through your support and counselling I have realised that if I want to **Trowa** there must be love nothemba. I accept that I was an impossible **Ta-i kop keThasha** to the nearest liquor store and wasting **diTiger hudiTamati** if I had saved **Tiger** yesterday then another one today I would've had **Two tiger** then **Three Tiger** basically I would have saved enough that **Twede –twede** I could have bought a house for my family sooner 'cos lena keya **Thesha**. I have grown and that's thanks to you, thank you

U[74]**:** Cinderella my love if you try on the shoe i promise ill buy you **Ubuqwebe** and diamonds. I'll paint the sky any colour you want and if anyone in your family **Uyasika** I'll go through the darkest forest and bring them medicine, that's how much I love you.

V[75]**:** Think of a car that allows you to travel as **Vir** as you want, one where fuel is like **iVati** think of the car that wants to **Via** when you want and on the road its convenient

[73] The support group scenario displays the execution of how the push towards **certain forms of cultural consumption are** engineered by Yagents through **narrative**. They are promulgating the culture of prospering through lifestyle change as can be seen through this storyline as with the oral discourse on shows. **Trowa** is an Afrikaans (**trou**) loanword that has undergone syllable reversion. **Tai-kop** is a **loan translation** from Afrikaans. **Tiger** is a lexical metaphor that has undergone **narrowing.**

[74] The adaptation of the Cinderella fairytale operates to show the inclusion of the **multiple cultural influences** that make up the Ycultural space. This sequence also serves to **show cross-over** in racial relations as the prince is white wooing a black Cinderella, hence the use of scamto. **Uyasika** is a **syllable reversion** derived from English (sick) with **extention** in meaning.

[75] The car advert also exemplifies how scamto would be infused into commercial texts which has happened across the marketing landscape. **Vir** is a loanword from Afrikaans (for) that has undergone **syllable reversion** and **complete reduplication**. **Via** is a **loan translation** from Afrikaans. **iVat- en-set** is a **loan blend** (Afrikaans & English) that is a lexical metaphor. **Voetsek** is a **loanword** from Afrikaans.

like **iVat- en- set**. The all new **Vora** places you in a dream where you decide when to wake up.

Danni , Danni, Danni **Vuka**!

Haai man **Voetsek**!

W[76]**: Wola**, yeah you, **Wzup**? Let me tell you about a planet big enough for all of us, but I still find myself in my corner asking myself the same questions holding this mic like **Wzup** with world politicians bombing other nations hundreds and hundreds or should I be saying millions and millions died in a bomb blast yesterday as I read in the papers. Is this world peace or is this world domination I'm asking you yes **Wena** listening to me right now? Isn't the killer virus already killing enough of us? Damn, how I wish I was a surgeon to medicate then amputate the need to control, control control

X:

Y[77]**: Yena**(him/her) **Yeah, Yzeup**(wake up) **Yo, Yebo**(yes) **Yona keyona**(this is it)

Z[78]**:** Dear lord thank you for the day that I had, thank you for stopping my brother form smoking **Zolo**, thank you for keeping my family safe in our little **Zozo** and protecting us from the **Zet** that rules our neighbourhood Lord **Zwakala** i invite you into my heart and soul as we sleep now, Amen.

The innovation of the Y-scamto dictionary exemplifies James' theorisation cited in the previous chapter, in form and context. Through the case scenarios presented in this chapter, the audio dictionary aids the study in its desire to showcase how the urban youth of Johannesburg use language to separate themselves from the adult world. The author of the Y-scamto dictionary states:

The other day when I wrote my column mo (in) Daily Sun-*Tsa Kasi.* I put the language in different places. I put it in parliament and the point I was trying to make was that sometimes this political English that the government or

[76] The slam poet piece affirms the **subcultural** practices of the Ygeneration. Performance poetry is another expressive mode which this culture represents itself through as is indicated through the platform given on the **Kamikaze** Heat show. **Wzup** has undergone **syllable reversion** from the English (What is up?)

[77] These terms are often used by the Yfm and have been branded as a part of the station Identity. **Yzeup** has undergone syllable reversion from the English(**Wise Up**)

[78] The final prayer encapsulates the **township reality** that makes up the lives of the target market that the station tries to foster out of the ghetto through their social responsibility programmes (**Ycares and Ylab**) as well as in how they drive their **thematic content structure**.

whomever these guys, use on us, we don't understand it. (See Lebo Motshegoa interview in Interview Transcripts, pg 2)

Youth Lingua Francas tend to be made up of words that are loaded with particular representations and are an adaptation of old dialects continued.

> …these words register not only the continuity of verbal traditions between generations of children; they simultaneously celebrate their insularity as a social category. Words, now marginal in the adult lexical world, are thus taken as symbolic emblems by those who are marginalized. (James; 51)

This ties into the common finding of anti-societies formulating an anti-language in order to register their culture autonomously within their own social world. Also, the practice of borrowing from other varieties and expanding on lexical items serves to convey inter-culturality[79]. In the case of youth, jargon usually serves to fulfil the freedom to engage in the taboo and use inappropriate forms of address as swearing and slang. (Chrystal. 1995)

The above examples of how Y-scamto is used in the context of the Ygeneration also affirm how young people perform their group identity in order to belong. Speech indicators such as pronunciation, register and accent as well as phonological markers[80] mediate information about the diverse and unbalanced social positioning of the youth who make up the Yfm listenership.

The audio dictionary best imagises the dual relationship of mirroring and construction as far as the identity being produced speaks to and for urban black youth. This mimetic process of borrowing from "real life" provides source material in observing the oral interchanges on the Kamikaze Heat show in observing just how reflective they are of the street life. Y-scamto, as a sociolect, displays in its form and practice a context that is distinctly South Africa, in that it still contains lexical loanwords[81] from the English and Afrikaans standards over 50 years later.

[79] This refers to the encouragement of contact between cultures.
[80] Makhudu speaks of how meaning is invested in how words are spoken (1980)
[81] In Linguistics this refers to words borrowed from other languages.

Chapter 5 - YLanguage

The study has been exploring how youth cultures mark themselves through the example of the Y generation and discovered that over and above aesthetic expression in the stylisation of the body (Nuttall.2004), everyday life and lifestyle is language. How and why they use language in the forms they do is of particular interest to this study as multilingualism appears to be a requisite in belonging to the "cultural movement". Switching and mixing and understanding "codes" within Y-scamto, help form this popular identity above a prior identity. The Foreword in the Y dictionary (2002) explains:

> Scamto is a cultural foundation, a colloquial speech, the word on the street. Yfm is not just a radio station, but a cultural movement. Youth culture is fluid, dynamic and is constantly pushing the envelope. (1)

In taking language as a key interpretative site within this youth culture, the study explores how the lingua franca of Yfm performs the intertextual act of producing urban youth identities.

Y as a mass media enterprise shares a dual exchange relationship with youth in wider society evidenced through the language processing in their discourse. Y-scamto is exported from the street culture then imported back to the streets after authorisation by the cultural agents (social actors). The lingua franca is the code of the speech community marked as the Y generation, who share a common identity through the practice of this language variety. The following exchange takes place during Kamikaze Heat on 29/06/05:

Caller: Firstly I think you are very intelligent…your riddles, where do you get the riddles from?
Adil: I can't tell
Caller: ok secondly Boss, being the type of person you are and staying in Kasi*, don't get me wrong ke goletste ko khasi broer wa ka, ke mojita*(I grew up in the township, I am a townhsip guy) through and through but I ended up moving out

of the location and at the moment I still have that stigma that ushaya ditopa [82]don't you have the same problem? Did you find it difficult leaving the location? Adil: I had the same argument with Zola[83], he said you need to go back to the community ko khasi* daar(there in the township) and I said if you really wanna go back to khasi it should be someone letting them know they need to leave that place, I mean first of all they not there coz they wanted to be there, it's not out of choice. Soweto was formed to service what was outside…
Rudeboy: hence that poem my brother
Rudeboy & Unathi: I'm not going back to the township. (See Kamikaze Heat Transcripts, pg 6)

Any language variety serving a multi-lingual community will be homogenous in nature as necessitated by its public role. Y-scamto processes do so and moreover create a specialised vocabulary beyond the standard domain. In Y vocab the loanwords are generally of South African origin and therefore widely understood across various races and ethnic groupings. Yfm DJ, Rudeboy gives examples of the typical oral discourse on Yfm and how Lebo utilised it:

I think for him it was very unique to hear the voices coming through on air, I would be taking six calls let's say, the first call would be 'hey how you doing. I'm ok man how you doing' second call would be 'howzit brew', third call would be "e sharp gujwang ntwana" (cool howzit man), fourth call would be 'hey sharp gunjani' (cool howzit), you know what I'm saying so I think through that he was inspired to sort of tap into the township and see what kind of words have evolved on a scamto sort of level. (See Rudeboy and Unathi interview in Interview Transcripts, pg 26)

It can be understood that street lingo or township talk are intercultural proceedings borne out of the need to bridge language varieties under a single cultural umbrella. The uniaccentual identity is achieved through the production of switching, mixing and borrowing lexical items from differing languages in order to create a common new language variety that can be shared in signifying one identity.

[82] Township slang explaining someone who thinks they are better.
[83] The host of a popular travelogue show on SABC 1

Y- discourse has taken the urban black youth mode of communication and grouped it into their semantic field in order to achieve identification in creating a Yculturesh ip. The language of Yfmers is similar in function to how Creole and pidgins speech was formed- it aims to blend and merge different vernacular groups into a common identity. The lingua franca belonging to this group can be viewed as a sociolect that is a metalanguage because it is consistent with the elements of the ideological world of Y, in which it operates. Fed by the communication processes in the interactional spaces, Language is an interlanguage continuum [84]of the functionings of scamto because it is in constant flux as the discourse unfolds:

Lebo: Urban youth are defining things. As new things come into our lives we need to name them, we invent those names every year. It's definitely urban, which means you define what's supposed to be happening. Even for those youth in the rural areas, they aspire to be urban youth. (See Lebo Motshegoa interview, pg 4)

Looking at language policy trends in South Africa in the latter half of the 1990s, linguist Kathleen Heugh [85]observes:

> English is adopted from an instrumental point of view as the lingua franca, with the proviso that another South African language might later occupy this role. (Mesthrie, pg 331)

English may have been the standard, but it was not reflective of the indigenous cultures, which were various in their language usages. In seeking a lingua franca that would be more suitable of their multiple vernacular identities, the urban youth began to generate the culture of township talk into the mainstream social practice. The language would be cultivated out of a social need to integrate different ethnicities, languages and value system into one urban culture. In this way "Y language" became the popular language borne out not only out of the call to reflect shifting perspectives,

[84] See Mesthrie ,*Introducing sociolinguistics*.(2000; 255)
[85]Kathleen Heugh is a senior lecturer in English Language at Unisa she is interested in the education of minority and marginalised communities; and works towards disseminating research and expertise from the peripheries to the centre/s.

but also the commercial drive to draw a certain audience. Copywriter, Lebo Motshegoa observes:

What is popular is popular culture and through language, you are able to tap into what is popular and find out because ha una lintswe fela (there is no word that just exists) if it doesn't have a use. Because the fact that Volvo doesn't have a nickname, shows that it is unpopular in this market, but the fact that BMWs, Golfs, Civics have nicknames tells you that they are so popular. (See Lebo Motshegoa interview in Interview Transcripts, pg 1)

Y Language is not only a blend of various regional township styles; it extends to include distinctive characters from the American and Jamaican linguistic cultures. This can be understood along the tradition of youth lingua Francas to embrace the taboo or the rebellious. Patois[86] in the popular realm is affiliated with Rastafarianism signifying dreadlocks and cannabis- an anti-ism to the central culture. Black American English, on the other hand, is loaded with slang and expletives. In regarding the functionings of homogeneity, the two societies tend to be received as anti-societies, as they exist outside the margins of central hegemonic structures, and their lingua Francas thus befitting labelling as anti-languages. This positioning is conveyed through the example of a patois sting by in-house Ragga DJs Admiral and Appleseed that forms a part of the Yfm brand ID:

Sting*:* **Rudeboy: Give me rhythm**
Andy: Jah Rudeboy and Unathi this is Admiral and Jahseed
Jahseed: Jah man
Andy: they used to call you Appleseed, what happened to the Apple
Rudeboy: De Apple got rotten
Jahseed: De Apple got bitten in Great Britain
Rudeboy: Wicked! (See Kamikaze Heat Transcripts, pg 9)

As Flaaitaal fused many "lects" in order to serve the functionings of underground or anti-society (e.g. Sophiatown), scamto attempts the same purpose only under different

[86] Jamaican Patois is an English lexified creole language with west Indian influences spoken mostly in Jamaica

circumstances. It operates openly in conveying, in its public articulation, its symbolic desires.

5.1 What accent?

Y language appears to transcend the problematics of class which may be picked up in conversions between agents and their callers. This is achieved through celebrating the varying educational experiences [87]of speakers. Through code switching, mixing and lexical borrowing from all echelons of society that which is the dynamism of Talk, the Yfmers achieve a new articulation invested in inclusiveness. This mode of operations is authored by the same philosophy cited in Buthelezi's observations on the emergence of South African Black English:

> It is argued that SABE emerged as a result of a variety of factors, including the educational experience of speakers, their culture and lifestyles which encourage code-mixing, a high degree of enclosure which encourages group cohesiveness, religious affiliations and the overall black political experience in South Africa. (Buthelezi, pg 243)

Within Yculture varying social stratifications signalled by articulation which would otherwise cause segregation are not only placated through their adoption in use but also the way in which they are accented. Accent outside of the social acting of Yworld functions to give the linguistic origins of speakers. Distinctive pronunciation and grammatical use will reflect their social background. The speech habits of the Yagents reveal a class identity far more middle class to the bulk of their callers, which is why modification occurs during the process of convergence. How the Yagents[88] view themselves as far as what social group they belong to (outside of the ideological context of Yfm) is a risk factor that needs monitoring as it works against the achievement of sameness. Observation of grammar, vocabulary, utterance and pronunciation which are loaded with signification come to the fore in order to carry linguistic accommodation[89].This becomes an onus placed upon the Yagents who in their register need to be methodic in how tone and delivery affects the listener thus

[87] In South Africa there exist three educational stratifications based on economic brackets: Model D(township), Model C(integrated) and private schooling(elite)
[88] The Ystable consists of show hosts(kamikaze heat) who make up the 'black diamond ' bracket
[89] Linguistic accommodation refers to the tendency for speech to alter so that speakers become more alike

inviting or negating that much desired "solidarity".[90] Copywriter of Y-scamto dictionary explains the dynamics of this relationship:

Lebo: KO kasi if you only know two languages then we know you are from somewhere else, a specific area, but if you know a couple of languages we expect guri rethlo gossipa informally (we are going to gossip), you know switch between languages and expect you guri ung vorstane (to understand me). (See Lebo Motshegoa interview in Interview Transcripts, pg 4).

In another interview with Yfm DJ Khanyi Magubane, the more commercially driven reasons behind the need for the hosts to be representative of the Ygeneration across all class groupings is given as the following:

A lot of times people were starting to think that if you couldn't speak English properly then you couldn't call Yfm. I heard that flying around somewhere and listener's eKasi (from the township) were starting to feel unwelcome. That's what was picking up from listener's eKasi that Yfm was going so bourgeoisie now… (See Khanyi Magubane interview in Interview Transcripts, pg 18-19)

5.2 Lost in translation

The study understands that in order for a parole to become a langue, its practice has to be integrated into the circuit of a social system. New dialects cater for an immediate purpose whereas the nature of standards is to stay transfixed in meaning. Further than coming about in order to facilitate identification, Language varieties may also stem from the need to gain accurate expression. More so than symbols words explain experiences which at times are a province of a particular group in society; as so aptly displayed by the Y-scamto audio dictionary. Copywriter, Lebo Motshegoa reiterates his point on translatability:

Some of the sentences they [government] would say I translated them to Kasi. Like even when you at the doctor and he says you are suffering from influenza bacteria, they could rather say eintlek uyazini une flu uzoba grand (actually you

[90] In Ydiscourse "solidarity' refers to Snejina Michailova's 'Us' and 'them' theory. See *Youth subcultures and the commitment t level model*(pg2)

know what, you have the flu and will be fine)… and if you got Aids, they say eish eintlek une Z3. (See Lebo Motshegoa interview in Interview Transcripts, pg 2)

Ydiscourse is reflective in all its elements of a unique experience of the world and it is through its chain of sequence that their lingua franca would constitute of variables insignificant and illogical in any other context either than the world understood by Yfmers. Platt endorses this observation when he states the role of lingua Francas as such:

> When the standard dialect fails to fulfil some of these communicative needs, a speech community will coin new words and expressions or adapt existing ones to express these ideas succinctly (Platt eta al 1984:87)

Keeping in tune with the study's observations of Ydiscourse as a youth movement that is heavily encoded in systems of projecting and manufacturing new meaning, this chapter gives indication that the language behaviour of the Yfmers is tied to their self image in all its manifestations as a work in progress.

The foreword in the Dictionary expresses the fluidity of scamto as ever evolving and as something that serves to link variety too. Language as a whole can be understood as operating within the same way as it does require a particular way of talking for membership as seen on the Kamikaze shows. The language takes form and reform as the oral discourse unfolds, so that the "scamtolising" [91]occurs in the "making meaning" of the language in progress and the cultureship through the manner in which new terminology is carried, conveyed and understood.

The ongoing processes in the lives of this speech community cannot always be accurately conveyed through the representational cannons standard to the English medium. Some experiences, by virtue of being unique to township existence therefore require an extention of language, whether through a repetition, mixing of meanings to make new meaning or hybridisation of words to create exact meaning. In the

[91] Colloqualising the speech patterns in an interactional formation so that as to reflect the oral discourse on the streets

canonical structure Fat Cat [92]has a pejorative term but in the lingua franca of the Ygeneration to call someone a ‘Fat Cat’ is an extollation.

[92] In Brechtian terms Fat Cat operates on a synechdocic level to represent the oppressive class.

Chapter 6 – Methodology& Findings

6. l Spoken text

The study observes that conversational interaction is a ‘clean contact space’ and to a degree undergoes less ‘editing’. This makes speech communities a purer form to investigate as far as trying to observe the activities occurring within language. The subtextual dynamics that can be indicated and the meaning possibilities they offer in a socio-real setting may not always be as obvious in other text forms. Emerging or circulating ideologies ‘on the streets’ have more of an immediacy when noted through interactional contact.

In the quest to identify current class, race and socio-economic power patterns amongst the youth, conversation is a more open semantic field to analyse as opposed to written speech. Language variables as accent, register, and pronunciation become signifiers of the roots in the dual relationship of influence. J. Keith Chick (cited in Mesthrie; 240) writes on ‘Intercultural communication’ in South Africa:

> As critical linguists explain (see for example Fairclough 1989), to the extent that oppressed groups uncritically accept the communication of discourse conventions of the power-holders, and behave accordingly, they sustain the ideological assumptions about relations of power, which underlie them. On the other hand, oppressed people may challenge the hegemony of the dominant group by contesting the positionings implicit in the discourse conventions, which the dominant group seeks to have accepted as natural and appropriate in a wide range of public domains. (ed.1995)

The study reiterates its agreement with the notion that what takes place on a micro-contextual level has a relationship with the discourse with the wider society. This relationship also influences semantic changes on the production of ‘self-making’ (Nuttall.2004)

6.2Thematic content and discourse analysis structures

Methodology structures in the practice of content and discourse analysis of radio broadcast will equip the study for a critical exercise on how mediation operates in interactional formations. [93](Tolsen. 1996)

Tolsen argues that the structure of radio broadcast uses formulaic modes of address for specific reasons:

> …broadcasting has discovered that direct address to the audience is the most effective way of securing its involvement. (Mediations. 1996)

In other words, the modes of execution displayed by show-hosts is set within a structure that has been researched and proven successful in having mass effect on gaining listenership. The process is underlined by the aim to invite the audience into the station's identity. This is a dual process of course, where on the side of the audience; the listener needs to gain a stamp of approval into the cultural community. Expressing the same understanding of the 'codes' of the station's language system indicates this.

The study will pursue a mixture of thematic content analysis, discourse analysis and CDA of Yculture and the programme Kamikaze Heat. The first mode will function in positioning the media genre on a representational level in a democratic South Africa. The second method will equip the analysis in exploring the intertextuality operating between the micro-context and the wider society and the third analytical mode will help reveal the subtext of the exchanges. Through Tolsen's (Mediations. 1996) analytical theories of radio interaction, the study will examine the hosts of Kamikaze Heat on a syntagmatic[94] level:

- Narrative- which stories, why those stories, and how are they told?
- Montage-code switching and mixing happens for structural convenience: acceptance, accommodation, sameness

[93] This refers to the Kamikaze heat show which is a space of social acting where speech interaction is observed by the study with the aim to focus on the plurality occurring in the oral discourse
[94] This refers to the way linguistic units contained in a text as Kamikaze heat are combined together

• Argument- when, why and how do the hosts use: proposition, justification, evidence.[95]

This informs how influencing may work in those first-contact communication spaces.

The study seeks to observe the processes of linguistic changes or variations that take place in language contact situations; it will also attempt to explore the processes that give rise to the occurrence.

The study approaches the metaphorical processes in Y-scamto through an analysis of the audio dictionary, this is equipped by Makhudu's findings that the structure of street lingo need not be limited to textual understanding alone but that phonological metaphors, grammatical metaphors and semantic metaphors must be included in analysing the lingua franca (Makhudu. 1980). This meaning that as much as scamto is about the way it is constructed; it is also about the way it is spoken:

- Is there nasalisation
- Is there use of borrowed suffixes
- Can syllable reversion be found
- Reduplication(diff meanings according to where emphasis lies in word)
- Complete reduplication
- Partial reduplication
- Lexical metaphors

This will guide the study into a phonetics analysis cited in interactional shows and endorsed by the audio dictionary. This will evidence how much of Y-scamto is used in wider society and in what kind of contexts it can be located. Although the dictionary document the varying styles of scamto use, it is the interactional formations that reveal the strategies within the language use. The Kamikaze heat shows offer a context for lexical and syntactic characteristics and will be studied in attempt to explore Y-scamto's colloquial style and its operations. This will be achieved through analysing the following:

- Grammatical usage

[95] These are formulas of address in radio hosting. **Proposition has four types :**1factual.2.lexicalising.3.evaluative.4.advocative **Justification** is the warranting of common belief. **Evidence** is common knowledge

- Pronunciation traits
- Slang and proverbs

This will assist the sociolinguistic prospects of the study by alerting the observation as to where lexical items are drawn from and why, in particular scenarios. Over and above examining the processes which give rise to the semantic structure of Y oral discourses, Crystals' explanations of lexicons[96] and how they develop definition will be applied. In his 10th chapter Crystal identifies Etymology beyond a study of lexical history. He also addresses how lexemes have affinities to each other, and in the *Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Language* defines a semantic field as the following:

> A named area of meaning in which lexemes interrelate and define each other in specific ways. (pg.156)

To Crystal the semantic change of a lexeme can occur through four different ways:

- Extention or generalisation[97]
- Narrowing or specialisation[98]
- Amelioration[99]
- Pejoration or deterioration[100]

As significant as how certain lexemes have changed in meaning will be why they have metamorphosed into their present state. This will lead the study into a pre-occupation with reviewing the semantic field of Ytalk on a connotative level too. Hence providing aid in identifying semantic shifts and their discursive nature, which will lend towards findings geared towards unpacking the workings of Ydiscourse.

6.3 Data Collection

The study will undertake participant listening of the programme, drawing on the fact that I am a multilingual speaker of South African languages and have a relatively good understanding of U.S and Caribbean Black English slang. I will transcribe and

[96] In Linguistics, the lexicon of a language is its vocabulary, including its words and expressions
[97] Extending the range of reference
[98] Coded representation so that only the speech community have common interpretation
[99] The improvement or making better of the canonical meaning
[100] The reduction or worsening of the canonical meaning

paraphrase four weeks of the 10-2pm weekday show (Wednesdays) and address part of the sociolinguistic study from evidence given by that oral discourse.

The Kamikaze Heat format includes cultural news, dub poetry and local youth issues. The programme introduces itself with a reversion of Mutaberuka's radical Dis Poem; [101]plays a top 10 countdown and continues with various Kwaito, Hip-hop and R&B tracks throughout the duration of four hours. In-between the music the hosts conduct interviews, phone-ins and read e-mails. The topics discussed for the day are e-mail suggestions that have come from their listeners. Each show has at least one in-studio guest interview per broadcast, be it a local or foreign celebrity: musician, actress, deejay or any other public personality. The e-mails are read out on air and the phone lines are opened out to the public for commentary. The show emphasises the cultural theme of oral poetics, which is itself a language embedded in identity politics; callers are encouraged to call in and recite their prose.

In order to create a programme identity that its listenership can recognise Kamikaze heat creates a set format that remains fixed except for the content that is subject to continuous change. As all radio programmes are structured, the show has signature tunes[102] to create familiarity. The programme presenters use stage names in order to add character to the discourse. Rudeboy and Unathi are lexemed[103] as RudeNathi. There is a standard sequence for the material of the programme and standardised beginning and endings. The institutional identity comes across through generic stings[104] and in anchorage and relay. The identity of the hosts is mediated through the 'talk' that occurs in the programme.

[101] Mutaberuka is a Caribbean dub poet who performs in Johannesburg (Newtown) almost every year at the urban Voices festival in July. On kamikaze '**Dis poem'** is repeatedly replaced with 'this show'. Scannell & Brand call this the show's expressive idiom(1991;216)
See appendix of poem
[102] E.g. Give me Rhythm-Jahseed and Admiral. This sting as well as the use of Patois and Caribbean slang is in synergy with the show's ideology in that reggae addresses a community in transit through a series of retrospective frames. It is a record of a peoples journey(Hebdige.1982)
See show transcripts
[103] A lexeme is the minimal unit of language which has a semantic interpretation and embodies a distinct cultural concept. **RudeNathi** is the unification of two individual names for the public identity; it is a loan blend meaning **Rude with Us** which is in line with the ideology of the Y-scamto dictionary.
[104] Jingles that promote the radio station e.g. "Yfm - radio for your mind" (Kamikaze Heat Transcripts)

6.4 Ydiscourse agents

An observation of the social acting in these interactional formations will inform the study by looking at how the language documented in the dictionary translates into everyday usage and what the processes that give rise to these contexts where meaning is manufactured can be identified as.

Termed “high profile authorities on urban youth culture”, the two personalities of Yfm, Unathi and Rudeboy personify the brand in all its articulations. The hosts of the Kamikaze heat show are both black South Africans and have township backgrounds. Falling within the bracket of the objective 16-35 target market, they display a fluency in multilingual capability and as a combination encapsulate scamto heritage to a degree. Their educational backgrounds range through model “c” and private schooling, which classifies them within the middle-class to elite social bracket. They display a quick repertoire of switching and mixing codes, in adapting to callers and keeping pace with the accommodation to change.

The analysis will be compartmentalized through a personification of each interviewee as the representational symbol of the themed discourse within Yfm that has been under discussion. Each of these agents typify a certain quality of the cultural concept operating in Y-discourse.

- Y-scamto: Lebo Motshegoa
- Y-culture: Adil
- Yfm talk: RudeNathi
- YPoetics: Khanyi Magubane

The study will base its findings below on the observations of interviews with agents of Ydiscourse, the etymology of scamto through the Y dictionary[105] and the interactional formations on the Kamikaze heat shows.

The interviewees were given free-reign in expressing their views on the broadcaster and were requested to answer questions that pertained to their agency and role at Yfm

[105] The dictionary documents the form and meaning of the words found in scamtotaal, the audio part of it exemplifies how these words are reworked and adapted into everyday speech on a phonological level.

in the hopes of addressing questions proposed in the first chapter. What did remain generic in all interviews was the encouragement to chart the evolution of Yfm from its inception (1997) until the present day (2006) from personalized experiences.

6.5 Y-scamto: Lebo Motshegoa

In his study interview Lebo relates how the injection of scamto talk into the marketing sphere served to fill the gap that was apparent in media communication. He insinuates that an entire listening community's identity was misrepresented and not accurately reflected in advertising and radio broadcasting. This group may have not been perceived as the spending power a decade before, but they were at the core of the "popular culture" now and one of the ways they drove the popular was through language.

Y-scamto was a reflection of the spoken word in many townships and the bridging factor between young people, irrespective of location. It was also a custodian of township life and culture and offered a sense of belonging to its practitioners. Y-scamto fulfilled the needs of its users within the social setting of the urban space. This meant every word served to identify a particular meaning of an object within a specific context, as a part of a lifestyle as well as an identity.

Recognising language as a unifying force, Motshegoa foresaw the utilization of this "talk" on a national level as a means to reach those sectors in society who were marginalised because of a non identification with the language in use. This breakdown in communication could be amended with speaking to people the way they understand – in this case the Youth in question.

Like the Kamikaze heat show hosts RudeNathi, Motshegoa also had a mixed background of township upbringing and the model C education of the urban space, making him an authority on the overlap in culture and an example of the complexities within the cross-over(i.e. Bertrams to Rosebank etc, one foot in Kasi(the township) , one in Rosebank.)

The urban black youth space is in revolution as they ride the discourse they create on all stylistic levels. In the same mode as the methods of subcultures they mark their identity through the way they dress, behave and talk. Yfm as a broadcaster has

positioned itself as the reflector of the this youth coined the Ygeneration. By dedicating its brand image to mirroring the trends in youth talk, even in transition as their meaning is being made, the station endorses its authority over the identity of the black urban youth - as seen through Y-scamto, in Johannesburg specifically.

In reviewing the data in the audio dictionary, the study witnesses how popular cultural forms as Y-scamto tend to transfigure, replace or complicate earlier preoccupations with meaning and translation (2000). The volumes chronicle a new vernacular form that offers reinterpretations over time. Through the diffusion and change of traditional understanding of certain words Y-scamto dismantles standard cannons of English speech not only in meaning but also phonetically. Y-scamto has lexical items of English, Afrikaans, Zulu, Sotho e.t.c with a mixture of loan translations[106] and loan blends[107]. These borrowing forms are used to make new meanings. Y-scamto dictionary cites evidence of Flaaitaal's adaptive and transformative nature. There are many semantic shifts in the lexical field of the sociolect which expresses the life and times unique to the Ygeneration:

Lebo: Yes…ko kasi if you only know two languages then we know you are from somewhere else, a specific area, but if you know a couple of languages we expect guri rethlo gossipa informally(we are going to gossip…), you know switch between languages and expect you guri ung vorstaane.(to understand me). (Lebo Motshegoa interview in Interview Transcripts, pg 4)

The initiative to archive items of this lingua franca gives evidence of a market for introduction or injection of this language variety into public speech pattern. The dictionaries are also an indication of how Y discourse attempts to fuse different ethnic backgrounds into a core culture with a whole new meaning system. The dictionary crystallizes most vernacular forms and gives them an urban context.

After Y-scamto dictionary there came *Foshizi* and *Sowetorocks* authored by the Motshegoa. Since his few initiatives the advertising industry has hijacked the

[106] A form of borrowing from one language to another whereby the semantic components of a given term are literally translated into their equivalence in the borrowing language
[107] A word composed of parts from different languages

metatext[108] and used it as a new marketing tool in order to appeal to a desired spending black youth bracket. Scamto can be located in use across the advertising landscape in above the line and below the line advertising campaigns. The Y-scamto dictionaries therefore hold an empirical position in as far as charting the genesis of scamtotaal and in marking the purposes it was conceived to serve and what transpired thereafter.

6.6 Yfm talk: RudeNathi

The interactional spaces on the talk shows are most revealing of language variables that exist in talk formations. Kamikaze heat proved a lexical field where borrowings occur and also how deejays operate discursively as agents of Ydiscourse. The hosts succeed in overlapping their roles as judges and "facilitators" who give the impression that they are playing the subordinate role in the interchange. Their superiority is subliminal due to the methods exercised by the deejays. In the opening sequence of conversion with each caller, the hosts manage to achieve, validation, acceptance or "likeness" through the use of structural practices of using recognition and inviting the caller to direct the theme in discussion. This strategy allows for the appearance that the listeners are the ones driving the show and the ones who make the show and the hosts are merely serving as mediators:

Rudeboy: caller on the line…yes
Caller: hi this is Solomon and I think the whole thing is outdated …besides it's all about business these days. A small boy must go through life to be a man, not some weeks in a mountain
Rudeboy: So you wouldn't take your son?
Caller: No I'd teach him about being a man myself
Unathi: Buthi wam(my brother), may I make a comment…obviously as a woman I don't know what goes on ehlatwini(initiation) and I don't want to undermine you, but I think we shouldn't underestimate something unless we are in it. To give you an example after I gave birth my mother made go back home I was forced into isolation for ten days as part of our tradition for my mother to teach me about being a mother, I mean I tried to avoid it but it was till I was

[108] A text whose discourse is not only about meaning but about structure too

there in the actual ritual itself that I actually appreciated it and learnt so much. So I think if you haven't been there don't say it's useless you know.
Caller: no I hear you sissie. (Excerpt from Initiation debate 6/07/05. See Kamikaze Heat Transcripts, pg 9)

The adoption of scamto into the public language system could most aptly be noted during the talk shows. Through the Kamikaze heat show exchanges revealed that markers, indicators and stereotypes[109] are the format around which the discourse takes place. For example the deejays RudeNathi speak with what is termed as "model c" or private school English; both are associated as markers (show social stratification) of belonging to the upper echelons of society. When transporting a message or trying to influence a way of thinking, they adapt a similar tone to their caller, placing themselves on that level in order to receive identification. Within Y-world there is a socially accepted way of speaking, set by the callers and perpetuated by the deejays. This speech community is defined by a system of speaking with a particular lexical meaning, pronunciation and syntax (Mesthrie.pg 70.1995). This means that RudeNathi not only have to be au fait with what the talk is (stereotypes), but also how the talk is delivered. This means they have to invest in mirroring the parole; they would address an elder respectably which would be different to a peer caller (indicators). During a poetic Wednesday session Rudeboy greets a caller named Saint Demon in the following manner:

Rudeboy: Are you gonna do that piece...are you gonna say Ta Jah for the Gunja…
Caller: Haha ha respect!!
Rudeboy: Ha Ha turning of Agent! (Excerpt from Kamikaze Heat Transcripts, pg 8)

RudeNathi give identification in order to receive it, exposing how reliant their roles are on social acting and how convincing the performance needs to be to keep that listener feeling like a member to them and the station identity. This gives evidence as to how much transmits through social and linguistic behaviour.

[109] **Markers, Indicators, Stereotypes**(See Chrystal 1985,1987)

As soon as after an introductory greeting by a caller, the deejays adjust their address. Part of the skill needed in talk formations is to establish and recognise social positioning immediately so as to inform their register and role i.e. footing as equal or as teacher. This determines whether they will try influence the discussion or learn from it therefore suggesting that social stratification determines the output from the social actors. Beyond that on a discursive level what transpires through tone, register, utterances is a sense of using identification yet still with the intention to appear aspirational; a sense of "we act like you but we want you to be like us". This is made apparent in the thematic content - through the way they respond, develop or argue themes under discussion.

Code switching and code mixing.

RudeNathi execute a flexibility in language variety which is a key tool in achieving a sense of harmony or equality. They accommodate and fulfil the needs of a diverse linguistic youth community, which inevitably translates as acceptance.

In order to accommodate its multilingual speech community RudeNathi engage in talk shows heavily in usage of code mixing and code switching. The team move between conversational code switching[110] mostly when speaking to each other or involved in an address. When involved in a one on one with a caller situational code-switching[111] usually occurs, both these indicate once again the desire not to alienate any listener and have stylistic and social effects. Sometimes the team use the switch in conversation for pragmatic reasons. When a standard approach cannot fully convey a particular meaning as intended mixing may happen in order to avoid a loss in translation or effect:

Bonnie: uhm with Backstage it was just time, you know, time to move on. I think you always know when it's time to leave something and move onto something else, the place just becomes uncomfortable, it's almost like it spews you out!
Rudeboy: But you've been lucky…you leave one thing and land into another
Bonnie: It's not luck, not at all its just courage…it's all about courage
Rudeboy: Shew! Maar usis Bonnie ukhulile…(Sister Bonnie has grown)

[110] When a change topic requires a change in language used, we have metaphorical code switching.

[111] When the languages used change according to the situation in which the conversant find themselves: they speak one language in one situation and another in a different one. No topic change is involved

Unathi: Ukhulile man...ha ha (she has grown)
Rudeboy: And coming up is Home Affairs, tell us a little about that. (Excerpt from Bonnie Mbuli interview on Kamikaze Heat 13/07/05, pg 16)

Rudeboy understands and speaks Sesotho whereas Unathi does not. When speaking to a caller he might jump in with the correct loan word in order to fill in for Unathi who unlike him is not fluently bilingual. Another time a switch may happen is when the caller greets back in a language different to the one initiated by the deejay and the deejays has to switch to that language; in this case it is situational and the stylistic function is to accommodate the caller:

Rudeboy: Mr. Masoja unjani Na? (How are you?)
Masoja: Ah the latest inqwadi (book) is the voice of hope, the much awaited voice of hope iya launcha on Monday… ipublisher ngu Iskwattaville Media (the publisher is)
Rudeboy: Eish* …Ja ja ja
Masoja: shaya I track no6… (excerpt from Kamikaze Heat 6/07/05, Kamikaze Heat Transcripts, pg 8)

Vernacular form of address also varies according to the discussion at hand; this implies that the lexical field of Y users is guided by the thematic content too. Y-language functions on an adhoc level during conversations used for structural convenience. When taboo words are used it is typically for expressive force:

Rudeboy: did it ever get to that level you kissed right?
Unathi: C'mon Adil…
Adil: ok we kissed…
Rudeboy & Unathi: Ha ha ha Booyakasha[112]!!! (Excerpt from DJ Adil interview on Kamikaze Heat 29/06/05, Kamikaze Heat Transcripts, pg 3)

[112] Patois slang for sound of gunshot

Depending on the topic at hand the phonemic expressions differ and also rely on the role dynamics. Linguistic choices played out by the deejays all have structural and stylistic intention. The context determines the tone they will adapt.

In the Kamikaze shows RudeNathi consciously or subconsciously process linguistic changes to acquire a particular effect. African American English is used to translate as confident possibly because black Americans, are viewed by this youth market, as aspirational. Afrikaans is seldom used if at all, possibly because of the negative connotations it carries, when it is used it is carried through a comedic, "monkeying around" tone perhaps implying there is no place for it in Y discourse even though it is occasionally borrowed from in the Y-scamto dictionary. This proving there is a relationship between historical factors, power differentials and ideology- what happens on a micro context and macro context are related:

Adil: they stole the keys to the girls hostel and raided the girls with toothpaste
Unathi: at least it was toothpaste and not condoms…
Rudeboy: Go boys Yay Yay(mimicks Afrikaans jocks)
Unathi: don't say that! I've a sixteen years old sister…
Adil: well it cost him his place in the boarding school. (Excerpt from DJ Adil interview on Kamikaze Heat 29/06/05, Kamikaze Heat Transcripts, pg 3)

Whenever the hosts seek to initiate a new direction in conversation, they invite the outside world into the narrative. This may function to alter the tone, break the flow of topic or reroute the theme into another perspective. This also facilitates in avoiding exclusion or alienation of the audience for too long. The strategy reflects how the dimensions of the show operate on co-dependency. Diversity is achieved through infiltration from other social actors besides the ones in the studio.

In putting the lexemes found in the Y-scamto dictionary to use, RudeNathi are observed using DK[113] most recurringly. This measures not only the large amount of listenership they have from that particular township but also informs the study of the archetype of the kind of youth who is an ardent Yfm listener. The use of the acronym for Diepkloof is typical of the language of Yfm. The hosts and callers prefer to use

[113] Diepkloof

coded terms, which is in the structure of the image of their programming. Furthermore these coded ways of exchange extend to include iconoclasms from other subcultures that have infiltrated the youth culture. In understanding youth's affiliation with taboo and jargon[114], the show invests in their practice also as a pulling tool i.e. Booyakasha. [115]Through such on goings on Kamikaze we witness how Yfm is a station that tries to mirror the young lifestyles of these urban speakers and through the continuous repetition of these utterances, in time gain entitlement over their use. This eventually translates into "ownership". This sense of authorship is articulated through an exercise such as the publishing of the scamto operating in Yfm's interactional formations as Y-talk.

In the study interview with the two hosts, the aim for the radio broadcaster to "own" the youth in their identity and practices as their consumer brand is affirmed by the two "youth authorities". From the onset the initiative aspired to break boundaries in both the marketing sphere and cultural space. The station intended to expose black youth patterns of behaviour and speech in the urban setting. This was achieved through the transparency allowed and encouraged in the oral interactional space as well as the promotion of the vernacular forms of exchange. Believing that the station has moved from conveying the pulse on the urban street to authorizing a cultural movement which is systematic of South Africa's particular history, the hosts seemed to apply a psychographic understanding [116]of their target market as opposed to a demographic which advertisers relied on so much. The Ygeneration is about an attitude more than anything else and it encapsulates all different types of subcultures under one umbrella of Yfm. Y-talk had always been the mode of interaction on the station's airwaves. The hosts continuously witnessed the evolution of the way of talking through the practices of the speech community of Yfm. Khanyi Magubane states:

K: I think at any given point Yfm has a responsibility to have its ear on the ground, in terms of what's happening in youth culture, and there is not just one youth culture there are so many subcultures within that…I think where are we going? I think we are going wherever the youth are going. And they are changing

[114] See Chrystal(1985,1987)
[115] See show transcripts
[116] A measurement of social subjects through social determinants; whereas demographics are occupied with economic determinants.

so fast everyday that we need to keep up, it's not even the other way round we need to keep up with them. (See Khanyi Magubane interview in Interview Transcripts, pg 21)

Y-scamto was borne out of the desire to archive this oral discourse and its transformative nature so that it could be accessible and referential within the marketing sphere. Over and above this was the need to alert serious awareness to its role and functionings to those who fell outside of the movements margins.

The hosts bring into light the importance of Y-talk and its link to youth identity -its signification on a political level being that to serve a purpose for healing. This affirms that the Ygeneration's political activism manifests itself in various stylistic forms. As facilitators they believed that their chief function was to be impactful in their messaging of promoting success and material gain [for the previously disenfranchised] and that creating the Kamikaze interactional space was a two way street. In their final words during a combined interview, RudeNathi position themselves as activists: cultural and socio-political. They reiterate their role as contributors towards a much needed psychic conversion of Johannesburg's black youth:

U:one thing that we recently discussed as a radio station, just as a way forward is that we will never glamorize poverty, as a black people we were raised to be humble and to feel bad if you can afford to buy certain things..
R: celebrate what you've worked hard for
U: celebrate it
R: drive that fancy car…
U: fuck that ja...you know what I mean, stop glamorizing poverty and look forward to achieving and being something, your parents took you to schools where they couldn't go because they wanted you to be something and now that you are starting to become someone…now you are all…aah askis*(sorry)
R: askis*…aah
U: Ag c'mon
R: you know. (See Interview Transcripts, pg 32)

6.7 Y-culture: Adil

Most reflexive of the complexities outlined in the observations of the Ygeneration is what emerges from the interviews with deejay Adil, another Yfm radio host. He endorses the two-fold existence of the upwardly mobile middle class black youth in question. His persona when on the Kamikaze Heat show differs slightly to the personality in the one on one the study conducts with him. This is possibly because the first is in the public domain and the latter occurs on a somewhat private scale. Partaking in some role-playing as a 'social actor' Adil, positions himself in the social hierarchy when he refers to a local musician by his nickname. He hints his closeness to highbrows of society to elevate himself in the eyes of the listener. At the same time he also includes what kind of music he was listening to on his way to the interview. The radio host in his exchange on the show conveys his ability to cross-over, not only in music, but also in lifestyle. In a later interview with the study he explains his standpoint on Yfm's shortcomings in representing the youth of Johannesburg:

Youth is not just black, we are the majority, but we are not just black. I think we should be at the point where we are talking to everyone 16-25, even in our music output. It doesn't always have to be house or Kwaito because I mean look at a song like *I like the way you move.* It appeals to everyone, why can't we play it on Yfm? These have always been my arguments, we are like SABC 1, we are speaking English and Zulu and youth is not just English and Zulu. I mean we are a regional station and we live in a region where the youth is so dynamic, so open-minded and if there is a youth in this country that is exposed to so many cultures, it's the youth in Joburg. (See DJ Adil Interview in Interview Transcripts, pg 9)

Adil observes how a sector of the youth remains alienated not only through content, but through language use. His observations echo Dolby's(2001) findings in Ferndale high school where she articulates the power of the popular culture arena in moulding youth identity and notes "Taste's dynamism" and how it reveals the instability of race as a construct that determines identification.(pg 114)

During the Kamikaze show however, Adil typifies the objective target market (black youth). He switches to reminiscent talk about the township and code-mixes when not code-switching to vernacular all together. Rudeboy is a soundboard in the dialogue as

he mirrors the exchange by also identifying the same items in the cultural experience of township life:

Intro song into interview with DJ Adil on Kamikaze Heat: *Sweetie My Baby*[117]

Rudeboy: *Hey sweetie my baby…uzohlale unje*
(stay just the way you are)
Unathi: *Sohlangana emarenkeni*
(we will meet at the taxi rank)
Rudeboy: 99.2 fm we've got Adil!!
Adil: (how you guys doing?)
Rudeboy& Unathi: we are good, how are you?
Adil: Cool
Unathi: why did you want that song?
Adil: huh?
Unathi: Why did you want *Sweetie my Baby*?
Adil: when it comes to music I'm pretty much on the surface…commercial as some people would call it. It just tickles my fancy…Ubrixie the way he rhymes; it's not your typical Kwaito.
Unathi: so that's the kinda stuff you always listen to at home, in your car?
Adil: Well actually on my way here I was listening to (Freshly Ground and a bit of Fatboy Slim)…I mean I grew up ko(in) Kasi* in Meadowlands and your Saturdays and Sundays would be your music days, you know doing the garden with..
Rudeboy: Kholi Yagawu
(your cold drink)
Adil: iPine –nut
Rudeboy: na ma(and) Tennis biscuits…. (See DJ Adil interview in Kamikaze Heat Transcripts, pg 1)

The radio hosts are implementing a strategy in radio talk structure where they mark themselves out as superior to the callers, but also bring themselves to their level in

[117] Popular Kwaito song sung by "UBricks"-2005 release.

order as to not alienate them. The aim is to appear aspirational, so as to invite a fan base, but not out of reach, so they continuously yo- yo in their conversions from one social identity to the next collective one (bourgeoisie to Township). This brings them to the level of the listener. This method is also used with the underlying desire to try distract that they are from the upper social strata.

The three hosts forgetfully exercise pillow talk as they toy around with one another while also remembering to do some subliminal marketing. They "mention" the Y-shoppe and all the beautiful women employed there and also Unathi's appearance on the magazine. Adil teases that Unathi looks ordinary in real life. The response they hope to draw out of "namedropping" is to evoke curiosity on the Y-mag and Y-shoppe in all it has to offer, therefore pulling the audience to forms of consumption. On the other hand they once again manage to bring themselves back down to the level of the reader by reducing Unathi. The "reductionism" [118]serves to humanise her and her status becomes attainable to the girl next door or the ordinary guy with a crush calling in:

Adil: I might say right now I'm not ready for a relationship but then I could walk out that door…
Rudeboy: And it might just hit you then as you walk out the studio…
Unathi: And you see one of our beautiful girls at the Y-shoppe
Adil: In fact I had a crush on HER
Rudeboy: who, Unathi?
Adil: Ja…then ofcourse it was the Unathi I saw on the magazine…then I came here and saw the real thing…I'm kidding
Unathi: Get out of the studio, get out! (See Kamikaze Heat Transcripts, pg 2)

The study also observes the role of foster parent under demonstration as the three hosts engage in a discussion on lifestyle choices. They propose stability as they embark on a philosophical outlook on love and relationships using themselves as models. This mode of indirect persuasion allows for an unforced way to enforce their beliefs and principles on their listeners. Unathi concludes the theme discussed by mentioning another angle in order to balance the discussion. This is so as to not lose

[118] In this instance the study refers to lowering hers to the level of callers instead of celebrity standing

the listeners that may befit the unbecoming lifestyles mentioned. She includes the "other" by departing with a "pc" approach. She punts that everyone need not be the same to have a place on the Kamikaze Heat experience and accommodates extremes in order to convey that the show serves a multitude of an audience. Acting neutral in the end is a means to manipulate the audience into staying tuned into the station identity even though the bulk of the conversation had an influential overtone:

Adil: Being a bachelor these days is almost like a cancer because everything is overdone…if you smoke you smoke too much, if you party, you party too much...
Rudeboy: Ja ja ja
Adil: You don't sleep on time you don't eat right…
Rudeboy: Do you feel him though, do you feel him?
Adil: No I do I do…
Unathi: (but also it's not for everyone as well, we must acknowledge that…there are no fairytales)…
Rudeboy: Let's take to the calls we have been neglecting the callers. (See Kamikaze Heat Transcripts, pg 2)

The "pillow talk"[119] moments in the oral discourse of the Yfm shows often tend to flag the power footing of the social actors involved. At these times the hosts overindulge in the niceties of the lifestyles of the rich and famous, internationally and locally. This usually occurs because their aspirations are drawn into the discourse and, as individuals, begin to compare their achievements to their imported subject matter. The hierarchy in social standing becomes layered as the youth in the township look up to the local celebrities who in turn aspire to match those who dominate the International media stage. The three hosts articulate this through their discussion of an expensive media stage. The three hosts reflect on a work trip to Mount Grace and Adil articulates this further when he promulgates an African American lifestyle theme of bling[120] when he repeats the slogan "get rich or die trying". [121]Beyond suggesting that the identification the callers have with the Yagents is a limited reflection, this also signals their attempt to push their fan base towards certain forms of cultural

[119] This refers to relaxed intimate conversation that would occur in the private space
[120] See **B** in Y-scamto dictionary
[121] This is a song by famous rap star 50cent

consumption. Adil drives home the need for black urban youth to employ the practice of excelling in whatever they do and to pursue financial wealth:

Adil: You know Fatboy slim represents Independence, he starting making out beats for himself, starting out with a computer at home that was held together by elastic bands, much like Pro-verb[122] when he started out. Now look at him he is a multi-millionaire. (See Kamikaze Heat Transcripts, pg 5)

In reviewing the "born free" generation Dolby explores "defining the self and other" and addresses the "public marking of difference" that is found in social interaction. She relates instances where this youth map out territory that is "racially bound." Her observations at a Ferndale fashion show become synonymous with the discourse at play during the Kamikaze Heat show where the thematic content explored is a display of an identity grounded in blackness; and therefore a site where "struggle" is occurring.(pg 74)

Political rhetoric taking place openly in the public forum is highlighted in the oral discourse driven by the three Y-agents. Assuming the superior role of educator, they shift between intellectual and historical justification of how their audience should encounter townships. Adil elevates his social stratification by referring to the township as "that place" and at the same time distances himself from the identity he began his interview with. He manages not to alienate himself completely through justifying his antagonism. He pronounces his uproot from there as a 'hero's escape'. He words his argument in a way that convinces the reader who may still live in the township that it is the place that is at fault, not necessarily the dweller. In this way he achieves the notion of sameness. Unathi and Rudeboy advocate his statement by using poetic references which evoke an emotional reaction in the audience. This is also a way that excuses their denigration by retreating behind the words of the highbrows of the spoken word. The enemy successfully becomes apartheid. The notion of the constitutive other is introduced to achieve collectivism. Race becomes the glue that bonds them and at the same time erases class differences:

[122] Proverb is a South African freestyle star within the South African Hip-hop genre

Rudeboy: hence that poem my brother
Rudeboy & Unathi: *I'm not going back to the township*
Unathi: What Sipho Sithole from Gallo always says "as black people we glamorize poverty too much and that will be our downfall."
Rudeboy: Ja
Adil: When you are true to yourself and are happy with who you are and you do your little bit to help out, I'll help out a guy who comes out of Soweto and ventures into the world…white folk man, they finish school and go into the world, not even…Joburg
Rudeboy: They send their kids to the UK or Australia…
Unathi: and they end up playing as (fly half for…uhm…France)
Adil: U know what I mean, if you wanna plough back to Soweto to the community, tell them to get out of there, South Africa is bigger than Soweto. (See Kamikaze Heat Transcripts, pg 5)

The Y agents are claiming a mirror identity which at the same time they disqualify because of their perpetual messaging of aspiration that spells, "be like me".

6.8 Y-poetics: Khanyi Magubane

In her interview this member of the Ystable exemplifies the multifaceted prerequisite of the agents of Yfm discourse. Moving out of her role in the news room she contributes to the cultural show during poetic Wednesdays and through that reveals not only a Yfm stable requirement for multitude i.e. adaptability, all roundedness and multi-skills; but the thematic content climate at work within this discourse. Her poem *Black and Slanted* serves on a synechdocic level in relating the discursive processes of the identity struggles of this youth in questions:

Rudeboy: *Black and slanted* let's hear it…Miss Magubane
Khanyi: *black make people scared black make people angry , black make people defensive, black make people guilty, black make people say no, black make people turn backs. Black make people hostile, black not nice colour, black make people intellectual, black make people defend and protect, black make black say "no black", black make people divide, black make people chose, black make black chose another. Slanted towards life, slanted towards me, slanted*

towards ideals of life and irregular emotions, slanted towards my skin, slanted towards my thoughts and emotions, slanted towards my controversy, slanted towards the object of my hate, slanted towards you. I am black and slanted towards it.

Rudeboy: ja man whoa…Miss Magubani[17] (See Poetic Wednesday, Kamikaze Heat, pg 18-19)

Magubane expresses how Yfm allows her the space to use all her skills and in so doing can be seen as a platform that nurtures growth in "artistic forms". At this same time, the content in her recital considers a contrasting reality that which is how group identity renders entrapment. The paradox then lies in how within this Yfm structure that represents "a free black youth" ideologically; the selected choice of content is that which points towards an inner truth of a still felt repression due to blackness as an identity.

By differentiating herself from other performance poetry entrees or selectees, Magubane alludes to the class related complexities in the Yworld found within all the "Yagents" sited. She elevates herself through giving an intellectual measurement of the experience. She marks herself as having higher cognitive sophistication in understanding what poetry is in relation to her listeners (who are also the selectees):

Khanyi: What poetry is right now, is that we are in a sifting phase, where the true poets from the wanna bees, those who are just doing it because it's hip, we are in that phase. (See Khanyi Magubane in Interview Transcripts, pg 14)

This ties into the social acting of Yagents. The discursive nature of their public identities is attested to by their coming across as "one of their listeners" in the public space whilst in the private space they openly position themselves at a higher class level. The ability to perform "down" to the callers level i.e. class, language, political

[17] In the kamikaze Word of Mouth sessions, the young artists are likely to involve the problematics of colour into their prose. This is part in due to the kind of poetry the hosts tend to revere. Slam poetry is a language embedded in identity politics, identity need not just mean white or black. The identities being contested involve apartheid or black on white revenge. This youth of Yfm world seemed to have found a sense of belonging through this circle of expression. As all youth practices, they do appear to mimic each other, in sound, ideology and practices.

and social becomes evidenced as part of the radio structures in operation at Yfm. Observing slam poetry as a growing subcultural practice that young black youth invest themselves in, she endorses the cathartic effect that the practice offers. As a mode of expression that they can identify with, the space offers the framework for revolutionary ideas and inhibited feelings to be unleashed. Most of these feelings stemming from the basis of the anti- mainstream ideological corner and vocalising themselves through protest language and political positioning:

Khanyi: You got the Lesego Rampolokeng era, that was very angry and militaristic and you know and then there was the Lebo Mashila stage, black and beautiful and very chic and funky, performing and celebrity and blowing up and you know poetry suddenly became funky, poetry became cool and adorning yourself in beads and wearing a Steve Biko t-shirt. Poetry came with a whole lot of things than just poetry itself. It came with its fashion, it came with its lifestyle, it came with everything. (See Khanyi Magubane in Interview Transcripts, pg 14)

Formerly being a behavioural practice followed in the underground, this mode of expression was now gaining momentum as something to be carried out into the foreground and heard in mainstream public discourse. The culture of silencing "radical" talk was being broken in trend with the wider aspirations of the new nation to avail increasing platforms for freedom of expression; especially for the previously repressed black voice. In an interview with Kamikaze Heat hosts: Rudeboy and Unathi, the desire to promulgate self determinism to the black youth is noted during this exchange:

Unathi: I think that's the one thing that advertisers should try stop and do, is to try to stop defining and categorizing the youth…it's a movement, it's a movement that is aspirational, it's a movement that is obviously very reflective of our history, but also knows that now is the time we've got to take the bull by its horns…or whatever, and own South Africa that is who we speak to… (See Interview Transcripts, pg 24)

In reviewing her oral poetry, Magubane serves as a key representational example of the symbolism of the "subtextual" narratives underscoring the ideological space

apparent in Yworld. *Black and slanted* (to her) attempts to provide an all encompassing interpretation of what it means to be black right now in present South Africa. The study acknowledges the piece's selection by the hosts and the judge of Poetic Wednesdays as typically in form with the ideas that they desire to circulate and promote. The text showcases how agents in radio structures exercise their authority over the narrative discourse, in as far as which "stories are told, why they are told and how". Furthermore Magubane, as an agent of Ydiscourse, serves to show how this authority over the black youth experience is played out. As the spokesperson of the internal theatre of race relations from the black experience she reveals the ongoing political dialectic that would not normally occupy the mass media mainstream space. In her interview she elaborates on what inspired the writing of *Black and Slanted*:

There is actually no such thing really as a black identity, because the black experience is different for every individual, but I think what I tried to capture there is a lot of what people go through. But what inspired this poem was the identity of blackness as a culmination of what people have been through. (See Khanyi Magubane in Interview Transcripts, pg 15)

On locating Yfmers on the social spectrum she posits that the listenership society, in tune with the station, is a hybrid of the two extremes represented by the North and South socio-economic divide. Coining Yculture as a "schizophrenic guy" she alludes to the conflated experience of its preoccupation with material lifestyle of the upper social environment mixed with the dispossessed lifestyle of the township experience. Ydiscourse in these terms comes to be understood as a cross-over and constant hopping between the two vast realities. She further elaborates how the station has throughout its continuation successfully managed to hijack this experience and monopolise on its fluctuations and complexities; rendering it still today as it stands, the authority on the life-world of the urban black youth.

In reviewing the mechanisms of Ydiscourse, the study observes how the broadcaster has shaped its movement in identity through the years in the everyday happenings of its target market, namely urban black youth. The resurgence of scamtotaal in Yfm's structures posits itself as a move that further stresses the need to keep authorship and

ownership over young black identification in the urban space. The encoding of scamtotaal as a part of Language is driven by market related reasons on one level and implicative of socio cultural practices operating in the wider society influenced by the political atmosphere, on another level. The socio political intent behind the drive of the use and revival of scamto talk broadens beyond the commercial intentions of the station, to the personal journeys of the Yagents propagating the discourse/dialectic. The independent broadcaster offers a forum where the status quo of black identity in South Africa can be displayed. Through these live interactional spaces being black and young in the new dispensation is addressed through the thematic content choices of shows. Being young black and wanting autonomy evidences itself through, the Yagents and their follow ship's "slant" [123]towards the lingua franca. In persuading the implementation and acknowledgement of the sociolect into the mainstream public domain, the youth in question reflect the phenomenon of repositioning in broader society. This being in tune with the wider socio-political climate in needing to remove blackness out of previously inherited identification structures into a phase of reworking. In a studio interview with the cast of Umoja[124]. RudeNathi advocate African beauty by objectifying the performers in the show in a positive manner; opposing the typical negative stereotypes found in western discourse:

Unathi: Ja and the acting is riveting, the dancing so awesome…like wow.
Rudeboy: the gals the gals whoa…
Unathi: I remember sitting in the audience and thinking the black anatomy is such a beautiful anatomy because you look at the women on stage and then the men on stage and all I could say all evening was oh my gosh.
Rudeboy: And you look at the bigger women and wow phenomenal.[15]
Unathi: alright and we have them right here…welcome to Yfm, nyisebenza umsebenzi omuhle… (you are doing a good job). (See Kamikaze Heat Transcripts, pg 16)

In the same interview, Unathi attempts to steer the conversation in the direction of South Africa's political history. Since song was a part of the struggle during the

[123] In this instance it means approval
[124] Famous travelling South African musical that historicises the relationship between struggle and song.
[15] Unathi and Rudeboy are trying to enforce a new sense of beauty to the youth deliberately. This is given away through the repetition.

apartheid years and played a very important role, she attempts to bring up the controversy.

In Y-world language functions as the base for unification. In seeking to form group identity language operates as a coding system through which ideology is spread. The use of the lingua franca of the Ygeneration demonstrates the workings of previously marginalized languages coming to the foreground within the media landscape as part of a current practice of commercial texts. Furthermore Yfm uses scamto to show how a metalanguage is fulfilling the role of a new value that has come with the new dispensation in illustrating our diverse “rainbow nation”; also revealing the relationship between broadcasting institutions, the public and the state.

The interaction observed on the Kamikaze Heat show displays, in line with the structure of Radio talk, how narrative, montage, argument are used by hosts in order to accommodate callers, but it is the way in which the exchanges take place and the manner in which the speech flows that indicates how the language of Y is what constructs its “culture”. In these interactional formations, social power relations can be sighted through accent, register, pronunciation and although the hosts are the facilitators they are not necessarily always holding the authoritative position, it rotates. Hence the audience are as active as participants in shaping this Yculture.

The choice in thematic content on the Kamikaze Heat shows demonstrates how “black talk” is taking place openly today within the public sphere with no censorship; be it aspirational African rhetoric during interviews or protest prose during poetic Wednesdays. The platform provided for performance poetry reveals through its choice of recitals and in- conversations, how Yfm invests in the subcultural popular opinion. This implies attentiveness to the wants and needs of young black youth, and in reflecting the attitudes of this group found in the wider social space, the station manages to appear as speaking to and for urban black youth.

The drivers of Yculture may be both the hosts and the listenership on a holistic level, but during the shows it is the Yagents who steer the Ydiscourse through a repetitive advocacy of particular patterns of social behaviour as favourable. Meaning that as the station draws urban black youth to certain forms of economic consumption; the hosts

also attempt to persuade certain forms of cultural consumption. This is shown through linguistic manifestations as code switching and mixing and the use of scamto. Thus as the hosts use a metalanguage for the promotion of knowledge about black customs and traditions they 'bespeak' a contestation of dominant ideological representations while at the same time influencing listeners to adopting a cultures of affluence and excelling. The station monopolises the dynamics of what this exchange experience represents on the level of crossovers operating in Y-discourse and achieves its commercial goal in having its feet in both camps of the township and Northern suburbs.

Yfm crystallises forms of everyday interaction for the urban black youth through Yculture and its representational mode of language to reveal a changing society and not so changing society simultaneously. Social power relations in shows unveil class relations that still prevail even in this "communal- life -world" shared by the multilingual "clone community". So that even within the physical shift in public space from the South to the North (Bertrams to Rosebank), the black occupation of this "new" lifestyle fulfils a commercial idea but not a socio-political one.

Today's youth are practitioners of transforming patterns of meaning as far as identities have been and are classified in SA. This generation uses popular culture domains such as Yworld to articulate their taste patterns which concurrently qualify and disqualify the notion of race. The "born frees" also evidence the ongoing struggle of racial identity - where it is appropriated as a concept and where it falls short as a practice. Through the implementation of cultural tools such as language the longing for their own definitions whether cultural, linguistic, or representational are being mobilised and beginning to be realised.
Therefore in working towards a new identity which is shared there is the implication of an eagerness to build the face of a 'new future' South Africa using a lingua franca as a reflection of a meta identity that will merge under a single cultural umbrella.

Conclusion

The study sought out to explore Ydiscourse and its operations within a contextual framework, that as a movement 'part in chain of discursive formations' in SA**.** In isolating the cultural genesis of South African society to a review of a niche youth group the study was placing itself at a midway post so as to execute an analysis that could not only draw from the present, but reflect on the past and fathom the prospects of the future.

Of all the feasible cultural domains of post apartheid SA, the study recognised the urban black youth as a cite indicative of dissolving inherited structures. The ideological structures that previously held sway are under contestation conveyed through a battleground for meaning. The negotiations for redefinitions by the Ygeneration reflected a psychic shift that was operating in the wider society as a whole and mostly notable in processes of the media. Systems of meaning are undergoing a change that is not only being integrated into the public sphere but overwhelming it completely. Through the study's understanding that what is popular will be at the apex of any culture, the study decided to read a black urban youth identity as such a text. Signified through hyper commercialism and the over commodification of "black attributes" in the media, an analysis into the workings of the Ygeneration and their stylistics proved testimony of black identity changing in signification into an aspirational theme. Articulated through a focus on language formations in this discourse, the study observed the self-making process ten years into the new democracy as a practice dominating the national identity space. Endorsing findings that language is a driver of discourse, the study observed that Y-scamto should not be perceived as a static phenomenon but should be engaged with in an empirical nature. The lingua franca of the Ygeneration is as much about diffusion and fusion as is the ideological structure of the movement.

The status quo of the youth in question in South Africa is history-making in that it is a an amalgamation of past and present national identity discourses, as well as borrowed continental notions that identify blackness. It thus needs to be noted as a signifier of a shade of blackness that is creolised, and in viewing how it manifests its realism

through urban black youth is indicative of an addition to the polysemic nature of blackness in its definition, within the South African cultural context.

The youth under discussion is symbolic on many levels and manifests layers of multiple influences that have infiltrated the South African realm of identity - politics. Beyond representing a composite of binary opposites (western philosophy; African philosophy), they accommodate these contesting ideologies in one identity. This looks towards a hybrid identity that appropriates both worlds through behavioural patterning. Through a study of this youth one becomes aware of how being coloured, Creole, mixed is a condition that cannot be determined merely at face value. The terminology has shifted in meaning from that which was literal to a metaphorical representation where mixtures of black and white pointers of identification co-exist within the black skin.

A paradox arises through this merging, then dismantling of the white/African influences articulated in the popular cultural domain, where signifiers such as language, music, clothing and hair hold testimony to a negation from domineering western or Eurocentric ideological frameworks. There is an explicit resistance to canonical structures of interpretation in language through the emergence of the Y-scamto. Conversions of the standard meaning of words mark a shift in the operations of language use and therefore destabilise power-relations within the structure of how language functions in social organisation. A reliable reflector of the politics of power and identity, language is a chief mechanism in positioning through its ability to construct. Thus in the public sphere those who drive the language in use gain authorship over the ideology of the mass society.

In viewing Yfm as an example of how media texts use language in relation to their readers and vice versa, the study employs that the station speaks for and to South African urban black youth. The interplay between this urban black youth and the role the media plays in formulating its identity is a poignant marker of a disarticulation to the nexus of dominant ideological discourse. By virtue of being located between competing narratives (pre colonial and neo colonial) they resemble an amalgamation of both ideologies, only to dismantle both in a construction that looks towards a fluid identity which can be interpreted as a creolized space of identification.

Kellner's statement on the affect and role of mass media in 20th Century societies has prevailed well into the 21st century and shown relevance in the case of South Africa through a radio broadcaster as Yfm. Y-discourse is a cultural phenomenon that can be recognised as a social movement. Since its advent in 1997 it has been in chronological synergy with the South African political and ideological discourse

As a media enterprise that may be termed as a post-resistance formation Yfm, eight years after its inception represents itself as one of the authorities of urban black youth identity. How the average young black middle class individual, who lives in the peri - urban area up to the northern suburbs of the greater Gauteng region understands and locates themselves in the world today, is whom Yfm believes to embody and represent.

Yfm has transformed its image coherently with its physical and psychological placing since its advent in 1997-moving from its Kwaito boom and 'pulse on the street' persona in Bertrams to its black mobilized esteemed identity to date (Rosebank). Nuttall notes the metaphorical significance in the relocation to the Zone as being tied to the black middle class cultural practice of locating itself in the urban milieu after many years of exclusion. She observes this group as having the means to shift the culture at large, who in remembering the black life world under apartheid seek to transform the behavioral standards. By reassembling the past, present and future, they create "one of the most decisive cultural shifts in the post-apartheid era" (Nuttall pg 435)

The study acknowledges that every youth culture has its own unique accent that marks its occurrence in history. What individualizes the process of the Y-generation in the narrative they are steering is the context. The Y-discourse is operating in an epoch where black aspirational rhetoric can take place openly in the public domain without constraints 'talk to us the way we understand'[125]. Also through findings made apparent through observing Yfmers and how they operate through Ydiscourse, the study contests the perception that born frees are politically apathetic and suggests the opposite. The Ygeneration can be read as a site that conveys flirtations with cultural imperialism underway. Their multilingual character inadvertedly works to exclude

[125] Foreword in Y-scamto dictionary

and their political activism operates through artistic forms. The thematic content is loaded with pan africanist [126]sentiment while the language use driving this discourse reveals itself as a further statement of a generation that seeks authorship over who they are as young black Africans existing in an urban setting. The study concludes with a foreword from the Y-scamto dictionary:

> The millennium youth is a questioning youth and it chooses to show its identity through scamto….Yfm is not just a radio station, but a cultural movement. (Y-scamto dictionary foreword; Volume 2)

[126] The study refers to various movements in line with a common goal to unite Africans and eliminate the negative effects of the colonial past.

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Mutabaruka Lyrics

DIS POEM

dis poem
shall speak of the wretched sea
that washed ships to these shores
of mothers cryin for their young
swallowed up by the sea
dis poem shall say nothin new
dis poem shall speak of time
time unlimited time undefined
dis poem shall call names
names like lumumba kenyatta nkrumah
hannibal akenaton malcolm garvey
haile selassie
dis poem is vexed about apartheid rascism fascism
the klu klux klan riots in brixton atlanta
jim jones
dis poem is revoltin against 1st world 2nd world
3rd world division man made decision
dis poem is like all the rest
dis poem will not be amongst great literary works
will not be recited by poetry enthusiasts
will not be quoted by politicians nor men of religion
dis poem s knives bombs guns blood fire
blazin for freedom
yes dis poem is a drum
ashanti mau mau ibo yoruba nyahbingi warriors
uhuru uhuru
uhuru namibia
uhuru soweto
uhuru afrika
dis poem will not change things
dis poem need to be changed
dis poem is a rebirth of a peopl
arizin awaking understandin

dis poem speak is speakin have spoken
dis poem shall continue even when poets have stopped writin
dis poem shall survive u me it shall linger in history
in your mind
in time forever
dis poem is time only time will tell
dis poem is still not written
dis poem has no poet
dis poem is just a part of the story
his-story her-story our-story the story still untold
dis poem is now ringin talkin irritatin
makin u want to stop it
but dis poem will not stop
dis poem is long cannot be short
dis poem cannot be tamed cannot be blamed
the story is still not told about dis poem
dis poem is old new
dis poem was copied from the bible your prayer book
playboy magazine the n.y. times readers digest
the c.i.a. files the k.g.b. files
dis poem is no secret
dis poem shall be called boring stupid senseless
dis poem is watchin u tryin to make sense from dis poem
dis poem is messin up your brains
makin u want to stop listenin to dis poem
but u shall not stop listenin to dis poem
u need to know what will be said next in dis poem
dis poem shall disappoint u
because
dis poem is to be continued in your mind in your mind
in your mind your mind








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