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The multilingual landscape of Ulaanbaatar, the capital city of Mongolia

1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to explore how multilingual practices are formed in Ulaanbaatar (UB), the capital city of Mongolia, by investigating the use of multiple linguistic resources displayed in the urban linguistic landscape. The research is timely, given the sociolinguistic significance of increasing linguistic diversity in post-socialist Mongolia. Before 1990, Mongolia was a satellite of the USSR (otherwise known as the Soviet Union), with Russian being the only significant foreign language. Cultural and linguistic elements from the West were perceived as "capitalist products" with negative ideological messages and were strictly banned by the ruling communist party. Alignment with the USSR was such that in 1941 the local communist authorities replaced the classical Mongolian Uyghur script with the Cyrillic alphabet, which remains the official orthographic system of Mongolia (Rossabi 2005). Soviet and post-Soviet cultural elements, including Russian films, music, literature, and cuisine, were (and some still are) widely popular in Mongolia, with a high number of Russian expatriates living and working in Mongolia.

By the late 1980s, with the impending conclusion of the Cold War, the Soviet Union started to collapse. This was the beginning of a new social, political, and economic order for Mongolia, marking the end of 70 years of Soviet dominance (Marsh 2010). After 1990, a newly democratic Mongolia quickly opened its internal and external market to the rest of the world, allowing economic liberalisation and the development of a free-market economy, complemented by the free flow of goods and capital in the country (Marzluf 2012). Mongolia also opened its internal and external borders, allowing the movement of individuals and groups, including both the arrival and free movement of tourists, volunteers, expatriates, missionaries, and professionals from overseas. The ability of local citizens to travel overseas has also risen dramatically since that time (Dovchin 2018).

Mongolia generally, but mainly its capital city, UB, has witnessed a significant shift in lifestyle since 1990. UB has experienced a dramatic increase in terms of its population, due to internal rural to urban migration, rising from just over half a million in 1990 to nearly 1.5 million people today, almost half of the country's entire population. By way of comparison, Mongolia's second-largest city, Erdenet, has less than one hundred thousand inhabitants. Nearly 60% of the UB population is under 35, now consisting of a mix of city and rural-bred young residents, mak-

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ing UB one of the most youthful cities in the world (Dovchin, 2018). The migration to the city is perpetuated not only by UB's rapid urbanisation, including the diverse job, business and education opportunities, but also by recurrent natural disasters such as *zud*, the snow blizzard which ruins the grassland for traditional livestock raising, playing a vital role in the acceleration of rural-to-city movement (Marzluf 2017). With this dramatic increase in urban population, urban Mongolians have also started enjoying various new media and technological resources, as the number of cable TV channels, urban radio stations, Internet cafes, CD, and DVD shops has rapidly multiplied (Dovchin 2018). Western cultural and linguistic trends, which were previously considered to be the weapon of the capitalists' ideology, have become a part of the daily life of many urban Mongolians. In fact, globalisation today acts as a significant stimulus for urban Mongolians, as there is a stark contrast between the modern Westernised lifestyle centred around UB and the traditional life of nomadic herdsmen in rural areas (Campi 2006).

Overall, Mongolia has started to catch up rapidly with the rest of the world in terms of its economy, language, culture and technology. Urban Mongolians, primarily in UB, have begun to experiment with a range of language and cultural resources from the West since the political transformation (Marsh 2008). The new national government established in 1990 began to view linguistic diversity as both a powerful tool for creating new opportunities and a key to modernisation and success across all areas of society (Dovchin 2018). As a result, not only English but also other languages are, by extension, welcome in UB, with Russian, Chinese, Korean, Japanese, German, French and Turkish also found in both institutional and non-institutional settings. International tests such as TOEFL, and IELTS for English, the Japanese-Language Proficiency Test (JLPT) or the Korean-Language Proficiency Test (KLPT) are used locally for academic and professional purposes, and these languages are also taught across all levels of educational institutions as optional or core subjects. Foreign language high schools and private language and culture-specific educational institutions are in high demand, with numbers increasing each year (Dovchin 2018).

All these languages have also started blossoming in UB and elsewhere in Mongolia due to the influence of the Internet and new technology on cultural and economic expression. As Billé (2010: 245) acknowledges, English and the Latin script remain for instance highly visible in the contemporary musical landscape in UB, as the vast majority of urban Mongolian singers and bands write their names and titles in the Latin script, frequently translating titles into English. In addition, Dovchin (2018) notes that the linguistic practices of popular culture in Mongolia are diverse and vibrant since multiple other linguistic and cultural resources are integrated, notably in song lyrics, music videos, album covers, TV advertisements, and commercial websites. The languages present in these spheres

include French, Russian, Spanish, Korean, Japanese and Chinese. Many TV channels broadcast bi/multilingual entertainment shows. In some of the most popular singing reality TV shows in Mongolia, "Universe Best Songs" and "The Voice of Mongolia", for example, contestants are expected to sing various popular foreign songs and are judged not only by local music experts but also by Japanese, American, Korean, Russian, and French representatives from the respective embassies. Other national singing competitions such as "Who can sing best in French?" or "Who can sing best in Japanese?" are widely popular among young people in Mongolia, not just in UB. The pop-opera band named "Nuance", based in UB, sings in French, Spanish, Italian, and Russian and has successfully performed outside Mongolia.

Meanwhile, the linguistic landscape of UB has been one of the most affected contexts in Mongolia with regard to multilingual diversity. It is common to see multilingual amalgamation and mixtures, loan translations and calques, and phonetic/grammatical change in the post-socialist context of UB, much more so than in its previous socialist incarnation, primarily due to rapid urbanisation and contact with the multiple languages. Nevertheless, there has been little sociolinguistic research to date about the urban linguistic landscape of UB. Most Asian studies in this field have so far been done in post-industrial urban contexts such as Beijing (Wang 2013; Lai 2013), Incheon, South Korea (Lee and Lou 2019), and Tokyo (Backhaus 2006; Wang 2013). Much less attention has been paid to the linguistic landscape of urban contexts in a peripheral Asian country such as Mongolia. This chapter, therefore, focuses on the sociocultural dynamics of the linguistic landscape in the post-socialist context of UB, a city very much under-represented in current sociolinguistic research. The chapter addresses two main questions:

(1) How are multilingual, cultural, and orthographic resources used in the post-socialist linguistic landscape of UB?
(2) What is the impact of these resources on the contemporary post-socialist Mongolian language?

2 Relocalisation of multilingual resources

The study presented here will approach the research questions from the perspective of "linguistic relocalisation" (Pennycook 2010: 4–5), in which language is examined in terms of its locality, space, and place. The focus is on how language creates the contexts where it is used, and how it becomes the product of socially mediated activities and a part of the action (Dovchin et al. 2015). Higgins (2009: 2) argues that English in the local context is a component of "urban vernaculars", or

local ways of using language that are better understood as "amalgams rather than as codeswitches between languages". In this sense, English needs to be seen as part of local language practice. In order to understand how hybridised English is interpreted in the local context, Higgins (2009) reconceptualises English as an everyday social practice that is constantly being reconstructed in a specific locality (East Africa in her case). English can serve a local sphere through creatively mixing varied genres and resources, which means the localised English may involve more than just English itself.

Out of this mix, new locally relevant meanings and language practices may develop (Terkourafi 2010). Individuals mobilise different semiotic resources and adopt different negotiation strategies to make local meanings across linguistic boundaries rather than focusing on fixed grammar, forms, and discrete language systems (Canagarajah 2013). The concept of relocalisation – a form of language recontextualisation that creates new meaning – is thus important in understanding the multilingual resources used in local contexts (Pennycook 2010: 35–37). Multilingual relocalisation is not seen as a direct, borrowed or imported loan for describing the same concept as in the source language, but rather as an act of linguistic renewal, making new local linguistic meanings within this process (see also Dovchin 2017a, 2017b).

Drawing on this notion of relocalisation, this chapter analyses how the linguistic landscape of UB is formed through diverse linguistic, cultural, and orthographic resources to achieve its visual, communicative, and marketing purposes. The display of different languages will be understood as local language practices, which are useful for revealing how different local conditions influence a contemporary multilingual linguistic landscape in more complex yet localised ways (Li Wei 2018). Put simply, language relocalising processes are deeply historical and complex and depend on how different local societies and different contexts appropriate features from other languages. The relationship of any language with the local society is not random or meaninglessly contingent, but rather the relationship is context-dependent, producing meanings that manifest themselves in intensely local forms (Dovchin 2018, 2020).

3 Linguistic ethnography: Open ethnographic observation

The data used in this chapter derive from a larger ethnographic research project that explores the linguistic practices of urban culture in UB. Recent studies on bi/multilingual speakers, including our own, have found that the methodological

framework of linguistic ethnography (LE) may be helpful to achieve a deeper understanding of the sociolinguistic realities of language users (Copland and Creese 2015). LE is characterised by the appropriation of both ethnographic and linguistic perspectives, where researchers are interested in understanding sociolinguistic experiences through ethnography. LE provides researchers with an improved explanatory power, enabling them to make statements about language and its actual connection with a socio-cultural reality. It focuses on people's daily lived experiences and on how language users' linguistic actions in particular local contexts are understood (Tusting and Maybin 2007).

One of the most common methods in LE – Open Ethnographic Observation (OEO) – gives the ethnographer the flexibility to record and note what they see, hear, smell, feel, and sense in the field (Dovchin 2019). In OEO, a researcher makes as many observations as possible about the people, social spaces, and practices in the site under investigation, documented through photographs, ethnographic notes, engagement with locals, and so on (Copland and Creese 2015). OEO has given the authors of this chapter the means to observe the language diversity in UB in a natural and unobtrusive manner. Based on photographs and ethnographic notes taken between 2014 and 2019, the analysis in this chapter examines how the linguistic landscape of UB is formed, and the ways in which it relates to local contexts. Both researchers are participant-observers, who consider themselves insiders, as one of them lives permanently in UB, while the other one is a Mongolian-background researcher based in Australia, who does fieldwork in UB.

In the next section, we analyse a series of examples taken from UB's linguistic landscape, representing the use of three different languages (English, Russian and Korean) not native to Mongolia and produced by the residents of UB. These three languages are selected because they are the most frequently occurring non-Mongolian resources in the linguistic landscape of UB observed during OEO. Data extracts have been selected to introduce a variety of ways in which such relocalised language resources are used in the socio-cultural, historical, ideological and political context of UB's linguistic landscape.

4 Relocalised linguistic resources in UB

4.1 Relocalised English linguistic resources in UB

Since the 1990s and at the expense of Russian (see section 4.2), English has clearly become the most common foreign language used across public places in UB, serving multiple visual, communicative, and marketing purposes for local urban Mon-

AU: The cross references to figures, tables and equations are highlighted for the author/ editor to check and confirm its correct placement. These highlights will be removed in the next stage. Please make changes if necessary.

golians. Consider the example in Figure 1, where English orthographic and other linguistic resources are used to advertise the traditional Mongolian musical instrument *morin khuur*, 'horse-headed fiddle'. The shop *Морин хуурын дэлгүүр,* 'Morin khuur shop' is located in the city centre and specialises in making and selling the *morin khuur* – a two-string instrument, similar in sound to a violin or cello, identified by UNESCO as a Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity. The strings are made from horsetail hairs and run over a wooden bridge on the body of the instrument up a long neck, which is carved into the form of a horse head. The *morin khuur* is considered locally to reflect the spirit of the Mongolians and is an integral part of the nomadic culture because horses play a large role in the history and daily life of Mongolians (Marsh 2008). Each local household in Mongolia seeks to possess its own *morin khuur*.

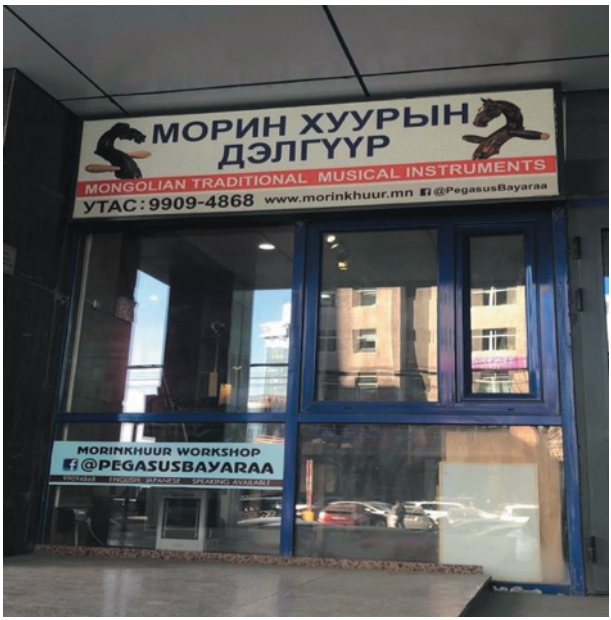

Figure 1: Morin khuur shop in UB (Photo: Bolormaa Shinjee).

English is here aimed at the local audience as one needs to know the meaning and history of *morin khuur* in order to make complete sense of the content in English. The shop uses the standard Cyrillic writing system of the Mongolian language in its main header (line 1), which is also ornamented by the figures of two *morin khuur*. The signage is further complemented by the English statement "Mongolian traditional musical instruments" (line 2). English orthographic re-

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Table 1: Morin khuur shopfront in UB – visible text.

	Transcript	Transliteration	Translation
(1)	Морин хуурын дэлгүүр	Morin khuuriin delguur	The Shop of morin khuur (horse-headed fiddle)
(2)	Mongolian traditional musical instruments	Mongolian traditional musical instruments	Mongolian traditional musical instruments
(3)	Утас: 9909–4868 www.mori khuur.mn (Facebook page:) @PegasusBayaraa	Utas: 9909–4868: www.mori khuur.mn (Facebook *page*:) @PegasusBayaraa	Telephone: 9909–4868: www.morikhuur.mn (Facebook *page*:) @PegasusBayaraa
(4)	*Morinkhuur* workshop Facebook page: @PEGASUSBAYARAA	Morinkhuur workshop Facebook page: @PEGASUSBAYARAA	Morinkhuur workshop Facebook page: @PEGASUSBAYARAA
(5)	9909–4868 English Japanese speaking available	9909–4868 English Japanese speaking available	9909–4868 English Japanese speaking available

sources are used to display its website “www.morinkhuur.mn” (line 3), while “telephone” is written in Mongolian Cyrillic (line 3). The name of the Facebook page, “PEGASUSBAYARAA” (lines 3 and 4), is the combination of Pegasus – a winged white divine horse in Greek mythology – and the shop owner’s name, Bayaraa. Pegasus is related to the popular Mongolian myth of *morin khuur*, which describes how the horse rider who lost his white divine winged horse decided to create the musical instrument to commemorate his beloved horse. What seems interesting with this signage is that some of the meaning is local and not readily available to outsiders (e.g., tourists, business travellers etc.) who do not know about the traditions and connotations of Pegasus in this context, but the sign still addresses outsiders, including potential customers, through the use of English for its central message. What is even more interesting is the fact that the shop also offers service beyond English, seeking to attract Japanese speaking visitors to their shop, “English Japanese speaking available” (line 5). This line also illustrates the evidence that Japanese is a popular foreign language in UB due to extreme popularity of Japanese TV dramas, sumo wrestling and Japanese food. Human mobility between Japan and Mongolia has also dramatically increased since 1990, largely due to scholarships provided by the Project for Human Resource Development Scholarship by Japanese Grant Aid (JDS), which have been awarded to 400 Mongolian students, allowing them to complete their postgraduate studies in Japan. The popularity of Japanese language and culture has also increased rapidly due to Japanese sumo wrestling in Mongolia. Many young Mongolian males started going to Japan to become sumo wrestlers, a momentum which made

sumo very popular in Mongolia (Dovchin, 2017a). Since 2003, Mongolian-born Japanese sumo wrestlers have become the highest-ranking champions (Yokozuna) in Japan, including Hakuho (Munkhbat Davaajargal), a retired professional sumo wrestler, who became one of the most iconic sumo wrestlers in Japan.

Figure 2 shows the sign of a mobile phone trade and repair centre, which hundreds of mobile technology consumers visit on a daily basis.

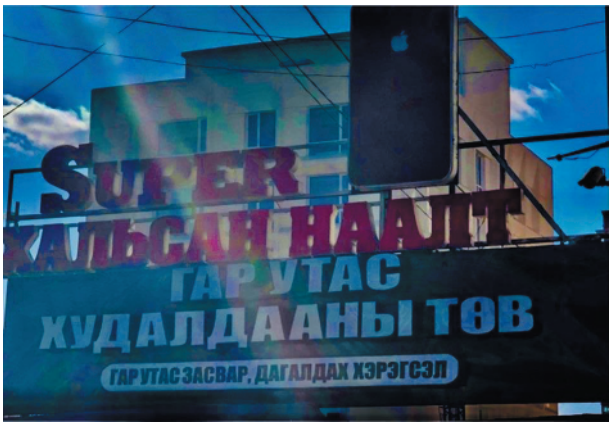

Figure 2: 'Super хальсан наалт' Centre for mobile phone repair (Photo: Bolormaa Shinjee).

Table 2: 'Super хальсан наалт' Centre for mobile phone repair – visible text.

	Transcript	Transliteration	Translation
(1)	Super хальсан наалт	Super khalisan naalt	Super film screen protector
(2)	гар утас худалдааны төв	gar utas khudaldaanii tuv	mobile phone trade centre
(3)	гар утас засвар, дагалдах хэрэгсэл	gar utas zasvar, dagaldakh kheregsel	mobile phone repair and accessories

The actual signage is dominated by Mongolian Cyrillic (lines 2 and 3), but English is also used for local purposes mainly targeted at locals, in line 1. Here, the English loan, "super" directly modifies the Cyrillic Mongolian, *хальсан наалт* 'film screen protector,' creating an anglicised Mongolian sign, referring to 'super film screen protector [for phone screens]'. In general, the English loan "super" is used widely by Mongolians to indicate something exquisite and exceptional and there are many local expressions such as *супер цавуу* [super tsavuu] 'super glue', or *Чи супершүү!* [Chi supershuu] 'You are super!'. "Super" has been relocalised into the

Mongolian vocabulary to the point that it is often viewed as "real Mongolian" and an authentic expression due to its deep absorption within the Mongolian language and culture. Note, however, that in these expressions, "super" is rendered in the Cyrillic alphabet and follows local morphosyntactic rules, different from the sign in Figure 2 where "super" appears in the Roman alphabet, making it foreign-looking.

Consider another example in Figure 3, where English has been relocalised.

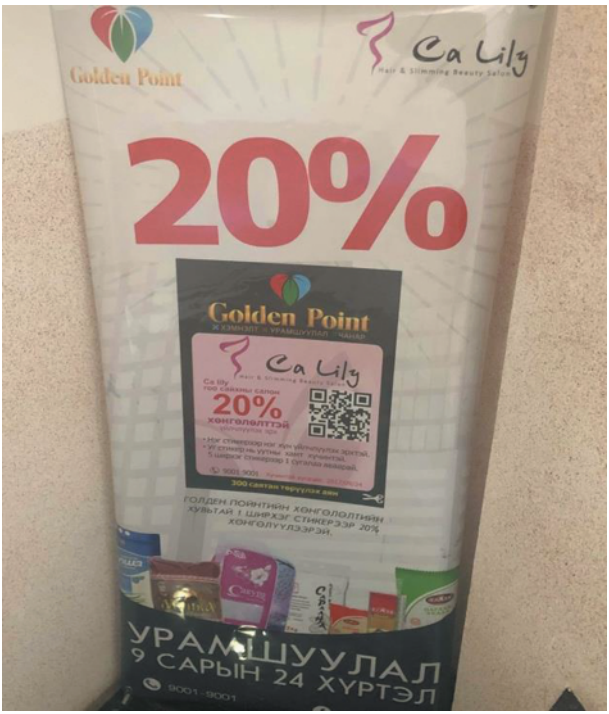

Figure 3: Golden Point poster at a supermarket (Photo: Bolormaa Shinjee).

The poster in Figure 3 is located at the front door of a big supermarket in UB. It advertises the new "Golden Point" loyalty system that the supermarket is introducing and is marketed by Ca Lily Hair and Slimming Beauty Salon for its customers. The role of English here is local: even though phrases such as "Ca Lily Hair and Slimming Beauty Salon" and "golden point" (lines 1 and 2) are presented in English, it is not very clear what they stand for. We need to be familiar with "golden point" and "Ca Lily" to make sense of the English part of the sign. Once we analyse these English linguistic resources in relation to the Mongolian language system, its mean-

Table 3: Golden Point poster at a supermarket.

	Transcript	Transliteration	Translation
(1)	Golden Point Ca Lily Hair and Slimming Beauty Salon	Golden Point Ca Lily Hair and Slimming Beauty Salon	Golden Point Ca Lily Hair and Slimming Beauty Salon
(2)	Golden Point: хэмнэлт урамшуулал чанар	Golden Point: khemnelt uramshuulal chanar	Golden Point: save, reward and quality
(3)	Ca Lily Hair and Slimming Beauty Salon: Ca Lily гоо сайхны салон	Ca Lily Hair and Slimming Beauty Salon: Ca Lily goo saikhnii salon	Ca Lily Hair and Slimming Beauty Salon: Ca Lily beauty salon
(4)	Нэг стикерээр нэг хүн үйлчлүүлэх эрхтэй	Neg stickereer neg khun uilchluulekh erkhtei	Each sticker allows one customer
(5)	Уг стикер нь уутны хамт хүчинтэй	Ug sticker ni uutnii khamt khuchintei	The sticker is valid with the bag
(6)	5 ширхэг стикерээр 1 сугалаа авааpай	5 shirkheg stickereer 1 sugalaa avaarai	Buy one lottery [ticket] with five stickers
(7)	голден пойнтийн хөнгөлөлтийн хувьтай 1 ширхэг стикерээр 20% хөнгөлүүлээрэй	Golden pointiin khungulultiin khuvitai 1 shirkheg stickereer 20% khunguluuleerei	Get 20% discount through per sticker. Each sticker comes with the golden points.

ing becomes easier to understand. From lines 4 to 7, English has been relocalised into the complex Mongolian syntax system. For example, the English stem word "sticker" has been Mongolianised in various ways based on Mongolian grammar and syntax, as seen in Нэг стикерээр нэг хүн үйлчлүүлэх эрхтэй 'With per sticker for per customer' (line 4). Here, "sticker" has been transliterated into Cyrillic Mongolian, mixed with the Mongolian suffix *-ээр* 'with', forming стикерээр 'with sticker'. In line 5, *Уг* стикер *нь уутны хамт хүчтэй* 'The sticker is valid with a bag', "sticker" is accompanied by the Mongolian verb *нь* 'is', creating стикер *нь* 'sticker is'. In the phrase *5 ширхэг* стикерээр *1 сугалаа авааpай* 'Buy one lottery with five stickers' (line 6), it is again combined with the Mongolian prepositional suffix *-ээр* 'with', resulting in стикерээр 'with sticker'. Furthermore, the English phrase "Golden Point" has been integrated into the Mongolian syntax system in line 7. Here, "Golden Point" has been transliterated and then fully Mongolianised through the combination of the Mongolian suffix *-ийн* [possessive 's'], forming *голден пойнтийн* ['golden point's']. Overall, English is relocalised into the Mongolian syntax system to the point that it is difficult to recognise as English – certainly for an outsider – producing new local linguistic forms and novel terms. These types

of relocalised multilingual signs in the urban linguistic landscape create not only new linguistic and cultural references but also new modes of meaning-making.

4.2 Relocalised Russian linguistic resources in UB

As noted previously, the Russian language was the most common foreign language in Mongolia before 1990. During the Soviet era, a majority of UB residents could speak fluent Russian as a second language. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union the presence of Russian has declined and been substantially replaced by English. Nevertheless, the impact of the Russian language and culture has not been fully erased. In fact, there are many deeply localised Russian examples in the linguistic landscape of UB which may make no sense to native Russian speakers but remain in common use in Mongolian, As Beery (2004: 106) highlights, "Mongolians seemed to have little need of Russian and concentrated on the learning of English [after the democratic revolution]". Yet, Russian is "so entrenched in Mongolia that it was never fully replaced". Such Russian examples are better understood through the sociolinguistic history and background of the Russian language and culture in Mongolia.

Due to geographic proximity and deep historical, cultural and linguistic ties with Russia, many Mongolians treat Russian cuisine as if it is their own. Not surprisingly, there are many Russian restaurants across UB, offering traditional Russian cuisine. In Figure 4, we see the special Valentine's Day menu of a Russian restaurant in UB called Россия ресторан 'Russia restaurant' in Cyrillic characters (line 1, Table 4).

The menu of this restaurant displays some relocalised Russian phrases that are commonly used across Mongolia. Note, however, that all course sections are in English – "Soup" (line 3), "Salad" (line 4), "Main Course" (line 5) and "Dessert" (line 6), including the main heading "Valentine Dinner 14th February". In line 3, *борщ* ('Borscht', a sour soup common in Russia, which consists of beetroots as the main ingredient) and *солянка* ('Solyanka', a thick, spicy and sour soup), two very famous Russian soups that are loved by many Mongolians, are on offer. The original Russian words – *борщ* and *солянка* – are phonetically relocalised or, in other words, Mongolianised in this menu as they are phonetically transformed as *борш* and *салянка* with the Russian character *щ* replaced with the slightly different Mongolian character *ш*, and the Russian *о* in *солянка* replaced with the Mongolian *а*.

As one reads through the menu, it is clear that what many Mongolians think is Russian is often an appropriation from the west, especially French (and English), in which the use of Cyrillic and mediation via Russian are common. Many Mongolians

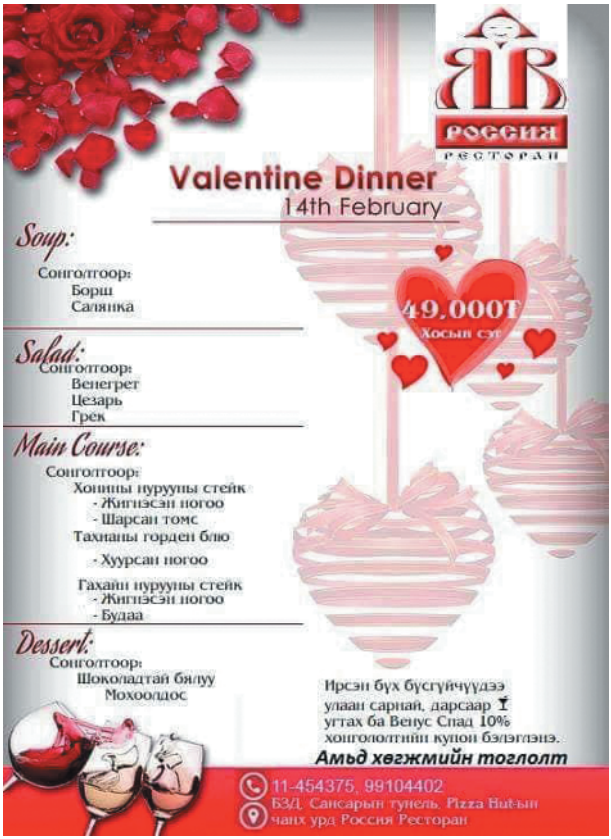

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Figure 4: Russian restaurant in UB (Photo: Sender Dovchin).

do not necessarily know that these food terms are of western origin. For example, there is the Caesar salad, which is localised as *Цезарь*; Greek salad localised as *Грек*; vinaigrette as Венегрет (a Russian word of French origin, although the actual ingredients and style are very different from French vinaigrette) (line 4). Note further the transliteration of chicken cordon bleu as *Тахианы горден блю*, a dish of Swiss-French origin, mediated by Russian (line 5); and English steak mediated again by Russian as *стэйк* (line 5). In the dessert section (line 6), the combination of Russian and Mongolian linguistic resources has created *шоколадтай бялуу* 'chocolate cake'. Here, Russian *шоколад* 'chocolate' and the Mongolian preposition *-тай* 'with' and *бялуу* 'cake' are brought together. In line 7, *купон* ('coupon'), a word of French origin mediated through Russian, is localised into the Mongolian syntax by combining хөнгөлөлтийн купон 'discount coupon' and the Mongolian verb *бэлэглэнэ* 'will be rewarded'. The relocalised English term in the Mongolian

Table 4: Russian restaurant in UB.

	Transcript	Transliteration	Translation
(1)	Россия ресторан	Rossia restauran	Russia restaurant
(2)	Valentine Dinner 14th February: 49000 ₮ хосын сэт	Valentine Dinner 14th February: 49000 ₮ khosiin set	Valentine Dinner 14th February: 49000 ₮ couple's set
(3)	Soup: Сонголтоор: Борщ Салянка	Soup: Songoltoor: Borsh Salyanka	Soup: By choice: Borscht Solyanka
(4)	Salad: Сонголтоор: Венегрет Цезарь Грек	Salad: Songoltoor: Venegret Tsezari Grek	Salad: By choice: Vinaigrette Caesar Greek
(5)	Main Course: Сонголтоор: Хонины нурууны стэйк – Жигнэсэн ногоо – Шарсан төмс – Тахианы горден блю – Хуурсан ногоо Гахайн нурууны стейк – Жигнэсэн ногоо – Будаа	Main Course: Songoltoor: Khoninii nuruunii steak – Jignesen nogoo – Sharsan tums – Takhianii gorden blu – Khuursan nogoo – Gakhain nuruunii steak – Jignesen nogoo – Budaa	Main Course: By choice: Lamb spine steak – Steamed vegetables – Fried chips – Chicken cordon bleu – Fried vegetables – Pork spine steak – Steamed vegetables – Rice
(6)	Dessert: Сонголтоор: Шоколадтай бялуу Мөхөөлдөс	Dessert: Songoltoor Shokoladtai byaluu Mukhuuldus	Dessert: By choice Chocolate cake Ice cream
(7)	Ирсэн бүх бүсгүйчүүддээ улаан сарнай дарсаар угтах ба Венус Спад хөнгөлөлтийн купон бэлэглэнэ. Амьд хөгжмийн тоглолт	Irsen bukh busguichuuddee ulaan sarnai darsaar ugtakh ba Benus Spad khungulultiin kupon beleglene. Amid khugjmiin toglolt.	All women will be welcomed with the red rose and wine and will be rewarded with the Venus Spa's bonus coupon. Live music.
(8)	11-453475 99104402 БЗД Сансарын тунель Pizza Hut-ын чанх урд	11-453475 99104402 BZD Sansariin tunel Pizza Hutiin chankh urd	11-453475 99104402 Bayan Zurh district, Sansar tunnel, right opposite the Pizza Hut

Cyrillic orthography – *Венус Спад* 'Venus Spa's' – English Venus Spa attached to the Mongolian suffix *д* (possessive s') – is also used in line 7. Another western origin word – *тоннель* 'tunnel' – has been mediated through Russian and relocalised as *Сансарын тунель* 'Sansar's tunnel', referring to one of the central tunnels situated in UB (line 8), followed by Pizza Hut-*ын* 'Pizza Hut's', the combination of the name of the American pizza chain and the Mongolian suffix *ын* – a genitive ending in English. Overall, we see how this menu is formed by the relocalisation from western linguistic and cultural resources, especially French and English, in which the use of Mongolian Cyrillic orthography and the mediation via Russian are common.

4.3 Korean in the linguistic landscape of UB

Human mobility between Mongolia and South Korea has also rapidly expanded since 1990. South Korea has, in recent years, become one of the largest aid donors and important trading partners for Mongolia. Many Mongolians have started traveling to South Korea for different reasons, including to study, live, and work. As a result, Seoul hosts one of the largest Mongolian expatriate communities in the world, while South Korean merchants, businessmen, academics, tourists, and Christian missionaries have become long-term residents of UB. This mutual relationship has strongly reinforced the influence of South Korean linguistic and cultural resources in Mongolia. Korean TV dramas and movies, K-pop music, and Korean food have become tremendously popular in UB.

The linguistic landscape of UB is rich in Korean resources as seen in restaurants, karaoke bars, grocery shops, and beauty and hair salons. Mongolians today particularly enjoy Korean food such as kimchi, Korean BBQ, and noodles. Figure 5 shows the front of the Korean restaurant *Jang Su 2* in UB which interestingly makes no use of the Korean script. Instead it uses Romanised forms *Jang Su*, from the Korean 전라북도 [*Jangsu-gun*], a county in North Jeolla Province, South Korea, to convey the aura of the Korean language to those with reading ability in the Roman alphabet. Note that the romanised *Jang Su* has also been Mongolianised as *Чансу* embedded between two English terms leading to "Korean *Чансу* Restaurant" in order to make it more readable for locals.

The use of Korean script has been avoided in this signage, mainly due to a new city regulation introduced in 2007 regarding city signage which requires all public signs to give priority to Mongolian over Asian languages such as Chinese and Korean. Restaurants bearing signs in Asian scripts were largely affected by this rule, and the owners were ordered to replace their existing Asian signs with Mongolian ones. In fact, according to Billé (2010: 241–242), the regulation did not

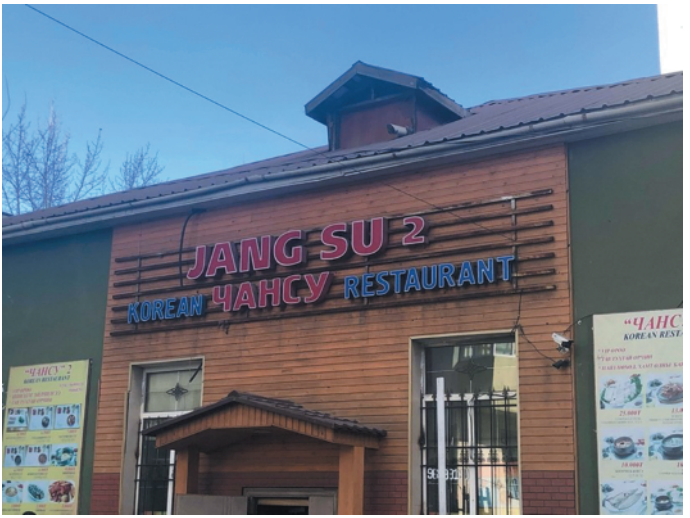

Figure 5: Jang Su 2 Korean Restaurant in UB (Photo: Bolormaa Shinjee).

only apply to Asian languages but to all foreign languages. However, it was enforced only regarding Asian languages/scripts. Billé (2010) suggests that Chinese signs were/are seen as representing cultural and political intrusion (and other Asian languages/scripts like Korean and Japanese were "collateral damage"), whereas signs with Cyrillic or Latin scripts (English in particular) are seen as representing modernity and cosmopolitanism (Billé 2010). In response to this regulation, many Korean restaurants have started replacing their signage with English or Mongolian, while still seeking to convey the aura and image of "Koreanness" through the relocalised Korean using Cyrillic Mongolian orthographic resources.

5 Conclusion

With reference to the data examples used in this study, we seek to address the two main research questions set out at the beginning of this chapter:

(1) How are multilingual, cultural, and orthographic resources used in the post-socialist linguistic landscape of UB?
(2) What is the impact of these resources on the contemporary post-socialist Mongolian language?

In addressing the first question, linguistic resources other than Mongolian are evident in the post-Socialist linguistic landscape of UB, Mongolia. It has become clear that the public urban linguistic landscape in UB has already extensively allowed for the inclusion of multilingual resources, while the users of these resources expand their linguistic creativity. However, the fact is that now, public signs in UB draw on different multilingual resources, and through the relocalising of such resources, relocalised meanings are created that are unique and not simply an echo of a source language. It is almost impossible to determine or comprehend the sole meaning of English, Russian, or Korean printed on these signs as they have become practically incomprehensible to English, Russian, or Korean speakers when in contact with Mongolian. We see how some examples in the linguistic landscape are formed by the relocalisation from western linguistic and cultural resources such as English (and French), either directly or mediated through the Russian language, while creating uniquely local Mongolian meanings. There are instances in the linguistic landscape where the meaning is local and not readily available to outsiders (such as tourists, and business travellers) who do not know about the local connotations, while the message still addresses outsiders, including potential customers, through the use of English for the central message. We also note the examples of Korean restaurants which display Roman or Mongolian signage, yet still convey the aura of Korean cuisine and Korean culture through relocalised Cyrillic Mongolian orthographic resources.

In addressing the second question, we found that these multilingual resources are deeply relocalised into Mongolian Cyrillic orthography, transliterated Roman Mongolian scripts, full Mongolian sentences, and the Mongolian grammatical, phonetic, lexical, and syntax systems. Rather than merely borrowing from these languages for the Mongolian context, the urban citizens in UB use English, Russian, Korean and other languages alongside Mongolian to function in the space of relocalisation. The multilingualism in UB can no longer be considered as a separate linguistic system but rather as part of the local language. Multilingual resources are relocalised in creative ways in the local linguistic landscape of UB, which means that the Mongolian language is reformed and renewed in varied contexts, creating new locally relevant words, meanings, phrases, and terms. Overall, situated within the relocalisation of the increasing global spread of English and other languages (in this context Russian, Korean and to some extent French), the multilingual landscape in Mongolia is in a position of fluidity regarding what it means to be a modern Mongolian in a new post-socialist era. Because public signs and advertisements in languages other than Russian and Mongolian were not allowed in the public space prior to 1990, the current multilingual landscape presents an entirely new set of multiple and fluid linguistic relocalisations. The formation of these new post-socialist linguistic practices is a continuous pro-

cess that reveals new sociolinguistic realities of belonging and identities in contemporary urban Mongolia. The multilingual landscape of UB is not a predetermined or prefixed entity, but rather a constant site for negotiation, shift, and reformation.

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