

THE LINGUASCAPE OF URBAN YOUTH CULTURE IN MONGOLIA

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Certificate of Authorship/Originality

I certify that the work in this thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree except as fully acknowledged within the text.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis deals with the movement of language in the current globalized world, looking specifically at the spread and role of English and other additional languages in the context of urban youth culture in contemporary Mongolia.

Since Mongolia transformed from communism to democracy in 1990, the role of foreign language has been viewed mainly through two popular ideologies. On the one hand, the society has embraced the notion of 'linguistic diversity', as an important means to interact with the modern globalized world. This trend, however, is practiced through the idea of 'pluralization of pure monolingualism'. On the other hand, the spread of multiple languages are also viewed as 'dystopic' by some areas of society, and perceived as a potential threat to the fabric of Mongolian language and culture.

Moving away from these two dominant ideologies, this thesis suggests an alternative way of thinking about language that allows for other linguistic possibilities in Mongolia. Drawing on Arjun Appadurai's theory of 'scapes' and the 'translingual' movement in recent applied/sociolinguistics, this thesis offers the new conceptual notion of 'linguascape' - transnational linguistic resources circulating across the current transnational world of flows. Following translingualism, linguascape not only moves beyond the traditional terms such as 'bi/multilingualism' and 'code-switching', but also concerns the recombination of linguistic and semiotic resources as central to one's language practices. Linguascape further enhances the analytic potentiality of translingualism, which has not yet adequately addressed the diversity in individuals' language practices in relation with various other scapes. Linguascape thus explores five dimensions of 'scapes' – ethnoscape (transnational mobility of people), mediascape (flows of media, images, information, culture), technoscape (movement of technology), financescape (flows of capital and money), and ideoscape (flows of ideas and ideologies) in relation to one's language practice. Revealing the complex relationship between young people's locatedness in different types of 'scapes' and their engagements with transnational linguistic and cultural resources, linguascape seeks to provide us with a better understanding of differences in young

people's translingual practices based on the intersecting dynamics of rural/urban, privileged/unprivileged and other backgrounds, factors and characteristics.

The research takes a 'linguistic (n)ethnographic' approach constituted by online and offline participant observations, group discussions, and interviews with the members of urban youth culture in Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia, mobilized by the 'transtextual' and 'transmodal' analytic frameworks to illustrate the multiple function of various linguistic resources in young people's everyday lives. The thesis finally argues that the movement of linguistic resources in current globalization needs to be understood as linguistic practice – 'linguascaping' - in conjunction with other demographic, media-cultural, technological, financial and ideological realities in the society. This new concept correspondingly seeks to contribute to the foreign language higher education policy in Mongolia, in its careful re-assessment of the complexity of contemporary cultural and linguistic experience of its language learners.

CHAPTER 1

THE LINGUASCAPE OF URBAN YOUTH CULTURE IN MONGOLIA

1.1 'ÜLEMJIIN CHANAR': LINGUISTIC DYSTOPIA?

Bitüün day, Tsagaan Sar 2008 (Lunar New Year's Eve), Ulaanbaatar (UB), the capital city of Mongolia. Television stations around the country for the most part broadcast traditionally themed programs, concerts and performances, in accordance with the festive celebration of this traditional holiday. A well-known traditional Mongolian song, 'Ülemjiin Chanar' ('The Perfect Quality') starts playing on TV. This song is viewed by many Mongolians as an important piece of national heritage, and is often understood in terms of its historical Mongolian philosophy and aesthetics. The song is performed at almost every major event, including weddings, national holidays, and other festivities, and is so entrenched that almost all of the foremost folk singers in Mongolia have performed this song at some stage in their career, because it is almost considered as a 'compulsory duty'.

Except, this time the song sounds not so traditional. When I have a careful glance at the music video, I understand why. Nominjin, a well-known Mongolian pop star, is performing a 'modern' rendition of the song, incorporating Western pop music styles in her performance. For popular music artists, singing this song has become a major challenge, because of its deep connection with the long-established Mongolian custom and tradition. Nominjin nevertheless released her own version of this song, despite being only 14 at the time.

'Ülemjiin Chanar', one of the most popular traditional Mongolian folk songs, was composed by Dulduityn Danzanravjaa (1803–1856), who was known as the Lama ('Buddhist Monk') of the Gobi Desert [One of the world's largest deserts, covering much of the southern, middle and eastern part of Mongolia], renowned for his artistic (painting, sculpture, poetry) and healing (medical) skills. This song praises the beauty of a Mongolian woman, and is well known for its 'mystic power', because singing this song even once is said

to equate to reciting ten thousand 'Dari Ekh'¹ ('Buddhist Mother Tara') tantric prayers.

At the start of the video, the juxtaposition of two languages – English and Mongolian includes other modes of sign-making and handwritten calligraphy. The classical Mongolian script (which was used until the introduction of Cyrillic to Mongolia in 1941)², the modern Mongolian Cyrillic script and the Roman script are shown on the screen to present the artist and song title. Then the clip commences with Nominjin, viewing a museum exhibit of a sculpture of Dari Ekh. Nominjin seems to be enjoying the sculpture, as she starts visualizing herself transforming into a Dari Ekh. In the next scene, the singer is dressed as a Dari Ekh and starts dancing, portraying 'the meditating Dari Ekh'. Nominjin then transforms back into Western style clothes, and starts rapping in English, whilst the English rap lyrics flash on the screen in the background, '*Rock the world with a different kind of mix*³'; '*Of vocalising and improvising rhythmic licks*'; '*Great Mongol music, is what I sing*'; '*An inventive style but traditional still*'.

Upon completing the English rap, Nominjin starts singing the Mongolian part of the song, wearing a traditional dress, and performing traditional Mongolian dance routines, whilst the actual images of Dari Ekh are simultaneously elaborated in the background. The various segments, depicting the Buddhist Lama Danzanravjaa [songwriter] painting the Dari Ekh; a group of Mongolian contortionists⁴ performing dance routines are also displayed, while Nominjin continues singing in Mongolian.

¹'Dari Ekh' known as the 'Buddhist Mother Tara' in Tibetan Buddhism, is a female bodhisattva, representing the virtues of peace, compassion, love, beauty, success and health.

² Current Mongolian orthographic system is Cyrillic, which was adopted in 1946, replacing Uyghur script, 'as part of a policy targeting all minority languages in the Soviet world' (Billé, 2010, p.231).

³ Quotations from all data transcripts/texts are *italicised* in text.

⁴ Mongolian contortion is one of the most popular circus performances in Mongolia, rooted in the combination between the Buddhist meditation practices and traditional Mongolian dance. Many Mongolian contortionists travel to Las Vegas to perform at the Cirque du Soleil.

Lyrics ⁵	Translation ⁶
Ülemjiin chanar tögöldör	Your perfect qualities,
Öngö tunamal toli shig	Are like colors reflected in a mirror.
Üzesgelentei saikhan tsaraig chini	I see your shining face, my dear,
Üzvel lagshin tögs maani	And truly you have captured
Ünekheer setgeliig bulaanam ze	My entire mind and body.

After these segments, Nominjin transforms back into Western clothes, and reiterates the English rap chorus, while a group of young female dancers also dressed in Western style clothes perform Hip Hop style dance routines. These segments alternate back and forth, with English rap repetitively integrated in the chorus, until the music video concludes (cf. Dovchin, 2011).

The next morning I view the music video again on YouTube (Ülemjiin Chanar, 2006). The message board for 'Ülemjiin Chanar' is flooded with messages, critiques and discussions for and against Nominjin's performance. All of these comments however convey one important message - the great deal of emotional attachment to this traditional Mongolian song. This emotional attachment is expressed from multiple perspectives, with some being quite defensive in terms of 'Ülemjiin chanar' by harshly criticizing Nominjin for distorting the traditional song, while others praise the performer for popularizing Mongolia at an international level, or modernizing traditional elements with creativity (cf. Some examples of actual comments in Dovchin, 2011, pp. 327-329).

Worth noting here is the fact that this emotional attachment to this traditional Mongolian music is expressed not only through the Mongolian language, but also through other linguistic resources, including English (e.g.,

⁵ All Cyrillic Mongolian texts used in this thesis were transliterated into Roman script in order to make it possible for a non-Mongolian speaker to read the Mongolian text (cf. Appendix 3). The Roman alphabet draws on the 'International Phonetic Alphabet' commonly used in phonemic transcriptions within linguistics and phonetics, and the new standard Romanization of Mongolian Cyrillic letters, approved by the National Advisory of Standardization of Mongolia in 2012 (MNS 5217:2012).

⁶Mongolian–English translations were provided by <http://tomongolia.blogspot.com.au/2009/06/treasure-hunt.html>.

'msgdeerei'⁷ [message me please], **emaildeerei** [email me please]; Japanese (**'Sugoi nee, taalagdaj bna'** [Great, I like it]); and Russian (**'Chert gej! Goy bailaa shuu'** [Shit! That was awesome!]). On checking the locations of the commentators, the majority of them were found to be Mongolians living in Ulaanbaatar, or Mongolians living in other countries (e.g. USA, UK, Japan, Europe, China, Korea, etc.), suggesting that the discussion board for Nominjin's music video has created a new 'translocal space' – '[...] where both territoriality ('we here now in our place') and de-territoriality ('they there beyond the bounds of our locale') are reference points for communication, meaning making, and identification' (Leppänen et al, 2009, p.1081). All the commentators on 'Ülemjiin Chanar' had their own chosen online usernames, with most of them English oriented (e.g. Sssick, Mermaid5599, featherfromnorth), yet with local flavours (e.g. MsMongol143, MongolEmpire, QueenMandukhai), using mainly transliterated Cyrillic Mongolian into Roman scripts (cf. Dovchin, 2011, p. 329).

First of all, I shall examine these examples from the perspective of one of most dominant paradigms in current language studies of globalization – 'linguistic dystopia' - the spread of various languages within local contexts portrayed as 'the worst possible scenarios: linguistic imperialism, endangered languages, language death' (Jacquemet, 2005, p. 257). The integration of English rap lyrics in the traditional Mongolian song, thus, can be interpreted as detrimental (cf. Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2010), culturally and linguistically 'imperialistic' (cf. Phillipson, 1992, 2010), distorting the local language and culture. The singer of this song can be assumed as an 'impersonator' of American Hip Hop, and the whole music video would be depicted as the mere mimicry of Americanization and homogenization.

If I put aside this dominant vision, I may find another alternative interpretation, in which English and other additional languages are used for certain identity (cf. Alim et al, 2009) and 'local' (cf. Higgins, 2009a; Pennycook, 2010) purposes. On the one hand, although Nominjin is clearly

⁷ Non-Mongolian codes are highlighted in bold in these examples. The Mongolian transcripts/texts used in all other extracts of this thesis were translated into English by myself, unless stated otherwise. The non-Mongolian transcripts/texts (e.g., Russian, Japanese and so on) used in all other extracts of this thesis were translated into English by myself, unless stated otherwise.

using English rap and Hip Hop style music, we should also consider the fact that these elements are immersed with other diverse local cultural and linguistic resources, from traditional Mongolian song and poem, dance routines, dress, old script calligraphy to Mongolian Buddhist sculptures and monks. In other words, Nominjin presents us with an opportunity to enter the local realm of Mongolia. Drawing on very particular traditional local resources, Nominjin orients herself to a more global context, yet also re-invents her artistic expressions in such a way as to re-introduce traditionally aesthetic Mongolian elements into her music. Here, Hip Hop music styles and English rap lyrics are dependent on local aesthetic values. If English is dependent on local values in this music video, how do we understand its actual role in this clip? Can we assume the role of English here as the mere mimicry of American Hip Hop? When Nominjin refers to her use of English rap as 'An inventive style but traditional still', how do we understand the role of English in this example? How reasonable is it to assume the role of English here as the destruction of the local?

On the other hand, the use of English, Japanese and Russian in the discussion board are so deeply entangled with the Mongolian language, it is almost impossible to demarcate or count these languages as 'English', 'Japanese' or 'Russian'. One, for example, writes 'msgdeerei', in which the English 'message' is abbreviated as 'msg' and combined with the Mongolian suffix '-deerei' ('please'), meaning 'please message me' in Mongolian. This user is most likely speaking Mongolian through the manipulation of English 'msg', since the identification of English is noticeably blurred by the mixture with the Mongolian linguistic feature, '-deerei'. Can we therefore assume that, following the main ideology of 'linguistic dystopia', this speaker is homogenized by English?

Referring directly to 'msg' as English is also somewhat problematic here, since 'msg' is a ubiquitous Internet and mobile technology saturated linguistic feature, which moves beyond the sense of Englishness. On top of that, it makes no more sense to demarcate 'msg' as English, since it fulfills proper communicative meaning in combination with the Mongolian linguistic feature. In fact, the mixture between English and Mongolian here is constructed at the level of 'linguistic features' (cf. Jørgensen, Karrebaek, Madsen & Møller,

2011) rather than distinct bilingual codes. The consumer is likely to be speaking Mongolian, mixed with the Internet specific linguistic features to achieve his communicative purposes. How fair is it therefore to categorize these types of language practice from the dystopic view, in which the speaker is understood as distorted by English?

Many of the issues elaborated in this introductory section are discussed in this thesis. Nominjin's music video 'Ülemjiin Chanar' and its accompanying discussion board give us an opportunity to consider the fact that the language practices of young people positioned in the wake of globalization do not necessarily have to be understood through the popular paradigm of language studies in current globalization – 'linguistic dystopia'. In fact, such examples urge us to re-consider how else, as opposed to dystopia, English and other additional languages could be thought of in the context of young people's linguistic practices in late modernity.

1.2 LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES IN MONGOLIA

Mongolians are notoriously welcome to the idea of 'linguistic diversity'. They have already adopted a 'laissez-faire' policy on the spread of foreign languages in Mongolia, 'welcoming diversity rather than insisting on the use of one language or another' (Benson & Chik, 2012, p. 31). The language policy of '*English plus one other language*' is prevalent. The more languages you speak, the better opportunities follow, as a popular Mongolian proverb says, '*Heltei bol hultei*' ('If you have language, you have legs').

In recent years Mongolia has been one of the fastest growing economies in the world, and the government views 'linguistic diversity' as a powerful tool for creating new opportunities and the key to modernization and success across all areas of society. The urge for linguistic diversity to increase the number of bi/multilingual citizens is incredibly high. As Otsuji & Pennycook (2010, p. 243) put it, 'Current cultural, social, geopolitical and linguistic thinking is predominated by a celebration of multiplicity, hybridity and diversity. Within this trend, terminology such as multiculturalism, multilingualism and cosmopolitanism are taken as a focus and a desirable norm in various fields including academia, policy-making and education.'

Even Mongolia's then Prime Minister and current President Tsakhia

Elbegdorj, highlighted in his interview about the Mongolian Government's policy to declare English as an official foreign language, '*We are looking at Singapore as a model [...]. We see English not only as a way of communicating, but as a way of opening windows on the wider world [...]*' (cited in Brooke, 2005, para. 4). Elbegdorj further announced his ambitious plan to transform Mongolia from monolingual to bilingual, with English as the second language (cf. Brooke, 2005). Today, many Mongolians proudly refer to English spoken in Mongolia as 'Mongolian English' – a new term, which has become widely popular across Mongolia in recent years. As Cohen (2005, p.215) puts it, 'There are already signs that English is being adapted to the attitudes and sensibilities of Mongolian users, and in the coming decades a new variety of Mongolian English may evolve.'. English has spread to all areas of society, and is now taught as a compulsory language at the primary, tertiary and higher education levels. Having a proficient level of English has become a pre-requisite for virtually every professional level job in UB and it is becoming increasingly common for job interviews to be conducted in English. As Cohen (2005, p. 215) further notes, 'The growth of English in Mongolia since the collapse of Communism in 1990 has been phenomenal. The majority of the population now either knows at least some English, or understands that speaking it is a desirable skill to possess in order to succeed in Mongolia's new market economy.'

Not only English but also other languages are welcome in Mongolia, as Beery (2004, p. xi) concludes, 'Russian, Chinese, Korean, Japanese, [German, French] and Turkish in addition to English are used by Mongolians to varying degrees, placing Mongolia in a unique linguistic situation'. International tests such as Japanese-Language Proficiency Test (JLPT) or Korean-Language Proficiency Tests are taking place elsewhere in the country, and these languages are also taught across all level of educational institutions as optional or core subjects. Foreign language high schools, and private language and culture specific educational institutions have been in high demand, with their numbers dramatically increasing each year.

On top of this instrumental level of bi/multilingualism, it is also promoted in the context of media, technology and popular culture. As Cohen (2004, pp.21-22) concludes, 'Not only is English becoming a necessity in Mongolian

offices, but its usage in the country is also blossoming due to the internationalization of the arts (pop music & cinema), mass media (the Internet, television news and radio broadcasts in English) [...]. Many TV broadcasting channels release bilingual (English and Mongolian) news broadcasting ('Tsagiin Khürd' National News Broadcasting Program) and entertainment shows (UBS music, 'Playtime'). The number of newspapers printed in English is increasing (Mongol Messenger, UB post). One of the most popular singing reality TV shows in Mongolia, 'Universe Best Songs' is for example attended by thousands of young Mongolians, in which they are expected to sing various popular foreign songs, judged not only by popular music experts, but also by Japanese, American, Korean, Russian, French representatives from the Foreign Embassies. Other national singing competitions such as 'Who can sing best in English?' or 'Who can sing best in Japanese?' are widely popular across young people in Mongolia. Pop-opera band [the combination of Western style pop music and classic opera], 'Nuance', singing in French, Spanish, Italian, and Russian songs, have successfully held concerts outside Mongolia, in Ulan-Ude and Chita, in Russia. Pop artists are singing songs about Mongolia in English to promote certain national events in Mongolia, including tourism ('Inspiring Mongolia' by All Stars in Mongolia; 'Exciting Mongolia', 'Danish Men of Bulgan steppe' by Naran) and also for the promotion of freedom and democracy ('We stand altogether' by All Stars).

Meanwhile, the ideology of 'linguistic dystopia' has been circulating around the country in recent years. Some academics and educational policy makers have started vigorously questioning the role of English and other foreign languages in society. The hegemony of English and the Roman script are for example widely criticized as destructive (cf., Dogsmaa⁸, 2009; Elbegzaya, 2009); American/Western consumer culture is often problematized by a well-known scholar and writer Lodongiin Tudev, referring to the Mongolian border security as not yet violated, but its national language – Mongolian – is an already '*violated language*' (Lodon, 2010). English-Mongolian mixing practices by young Mongolians are also referred to as '*an*

⁸References to works in Mongolian appear in the reference list translated into English by myself.

epidemic plague', which have *'infested Mongolian language with lice'*, spearheaded by English as the sole imperialist language (Nyamjav, 2001, pp. 68-69). *'Weird, dim-witted, arrogant, monkey-like identities, with Mongolian names and Mongolian facial features are growing fast, due to the pollution of native language'*, writes Naidan (Professor of Mongolian language and culture) in his popular blog (2010, para.3). For Galdan (2010, para.1-4), a language used by young Mongolians is an *'orphan'* language, which has lost its *'owners'*.

Overall, young Mongolians are harshly criticized for distorting the Mongolian language and culture due to foreign influences, and losing their own language and identity - a sentiment, which was also addressed in a 'Letter to the Committee of The Comprehensive National Development Strategy of Mongolia, Mongolian Parliament, 2007', written by a group of renowned Mongolian academics (cf. 'Zuunii Medee' in June 2008, number 259/2707). The underlying concept of this ideology is to protect Mongolian language from these foreign influences, leaving it intact and pure. The widespread incorporation of various foreign languages may have a detrimental impact to either the Mongolian language or to the overall national security of Mongolia.

I believe that these two hegemonically dominant language ideologies - 'linguistic diversity' and 'linguistic dystopia' are both not so useful in terms of understanding the overall function of English and other additional languages circulating around Mongolia. The ideology of 'linguistic dystopia' for example tends to reinforce the idea of 'monolingualism as norm, that one country equals one language' (Kelly-Holmes, 2010, p. 489). This is a problem because 'such a mythically homogeneous community depends in part on the exclusion or suppression of populations and characteristics which do not fit into its ideal self-definition' (Doran, 2004, p.93). As Busch (2010, p. 193) acknowledges, following Habermas (1990), 'Homogenization in language use is much more difficult to implement today, under the conditions of globalization, where communication and media flows have become more diverse and multi-directional than in previous times, when communication was organized around a national public sphere.'

By contrast, although the ideology of 'linguistic diversity' opens up new

possibilities with its open policy towards appreciating multiple languages, one of its underlying concepts lies within the idolization of 'standard' or 'pure' language - parallel or pluralized 'pure' monolingualism. The ideal version of 'linguistic diversity' in Mongolia is a linguistic utopia, where the speakers take advantage of participating in the modern world through harmonious co-existence of the multiple language systems. That is to say, linguistic diversity is imagined through the idea, 'Persons who command two (or more) languages should at any given time use one and only one language, and they should use each of their languages in a way that does not in principle differ from the way in which monolinguals use that same language.' (Jørgensen et al, 2011, p. 33). This is also in line with Ag & Jørgensen's (2012, p. 526) suggestion, 'People who are accepted as "knowing two languages" are labeled "bilingual", and the norm applies to them as well. This *double monolingualism* norm says that "bilinguals" must at all times use one and only one language, and (preferably) use it as if they were monolingual in that language.'. Put simply, '[...] any language should be spoken "purely", i.e. without being mixed with another language' (Jørgensen et al, 2011, p. 33).

Indeed, this idea is widespread in all social areas of Mongolia, from institutional to non-institutional contexts. As Dorjgotov Nyamjav (Professor of Linguistics) for example notes, '*It is very important for young Mongolians to learn foreign languages. Unfortunately, many young people are distorting both English and Mongolian. Many of them still don't speak proper English and Mongolian. This is a very bad language practice, which has the potential hazard to distort the Mongolian language*' (Interview⁹, August 4, 2010, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia). Meanwhile, a popular public speaker, Tsoodol Danzan (pseudonym) posts on her Facebook, '*Unfortunately, a number of Mongolians speaking "broken" English, Japanese, French and Korean is dramatically increasing. We need to appreciate the proper multilinguals, not the "gibberish" multilinguals*' (Facebook wall post, February 18, 2014, My translation from Mongolian into English). From this point of view, the speakers are expected to speak 'standard' language (be it English or Japanese) either in the language classrooms, offices, job interviews, or even on levels of

⁹ All interview data transcripts used in this thesis were conducted primarily in Mongolian, and translated into English later by myself.

popular culture, where the singers are expected to sing in monolingual 'standard' English, if they want to be accepted as successful artists. In other words, if someone speaks certain foreign languages out of 'standard' diaspora, they are often mocked or frowned upon. From this point of view, 'English from above' – the use of English 'by the hegemonic culture for purposes of international communication' (Preisler, 1999, pp. 241) is highly valued by Mongolians as the opportunity for the educational and professional prosperity, while 'English from below' – 'the informal—active or passive—use of English as an expression of subcultural identity and style' (Preisler, 1999, p. 241) is explicitly overlooked.

This is a problem because the ideology of 'linguistic diversity' creates the sense of utopian bi/multilingualism, which is only celebrated through a pluralised monolingualism, rebuffing not only other linguistic possibilities but also other identity expressions, desires and aspirations closely attached with these 'other' languages. Such a limited view may fail to recognize a sociocultural reality, including all other language possibilities within the present society. As Ag & Jørgensen (2012, p. 526) note that such a view of 'separate languages' are 'abstract ideological constructions', which is 'highly questionable whether they are useful in the description of everyday language use'. Heller (2007, p. 1) urges us to move away from 'highly-ideologized' views of bilingualism, in which 'the co-existence of two linguistic systems' is central. The importance of opting for a critical perspective is acknowledged by Heller (2007, p. 1), which provides an alternative way to understand language practices as 'socially and politically embedded'. That is to say, the notion of bilingualism needs to shift away 'from a focus on the whole bounded units of code and community, and towards a more processual and materialist approach which privileges language as social practice, speakers as social actors and boundaries as products of social action'.

If, as a researcher, I deal with the target of my research – the language practice of the urban youth population through the eyes of either 'linguistic dystopia' or 'linguistic diversity', I might end up in a position where I miss out on the complexity of what is really happening across the local realities of young people living in late modernity. As Jacquemet (2005, p. 274) puts it, we also need to 'examine communicative practices based on disorderly

recombinations and language mixings occurring simultaneously in local and distant environments. In other words, it is time to conceptualize a linguistics of xenoglossic becoming, transidiomatic mixing, and communicative recombinations'. What is needed therefore is to fill this gap, by shifting away from the already established popular discourses around the spread and role of various languages in Mongolia, and centering its focus on understanding other linguistic possibilities, occurring in the middle of these diverse youth language practices. The ethnographic exploration of how these young people deploy English and other languages in various ways in their daily lives, desires and aspirations, and of how such deployments contribute to the overall complex processes of understanding those languages within current globalization is required.

In order to better understand the linguistic practice in the context of the urban youth population in Mongolia, this thesis thus goes beyond the underlying assumptions embedded within the popular language ideologies in Mongolia – linguistic dystopia and linguistic diversity, moving forward to an alternative understanding on exploring linguistic practices of these young people. In doing so, this study seeks to reveal how and in what ways young people use global languages in their everyday language practices, and what young people do with English and other additional languages, and what these languages actually mean to this youth population.

1.3 THE EMERGENCE OF 'URBAN YOUTH LANGUAGE' IN MONGOLIA

Putting aside the dominant language ideologies of linguistic diversity and linguistic dystopia, this thesis explores particular aspects of linguistic practice in post-socialist Mongolia, based upon the spread and use of various linguistic and cultural flows, specifically popular among the urban youth population. The global image of Mongolia, mainly portrayed as a remote and grassy land, populated by semi-nomadic animal-herders, seems to be a 'largely romantic projection' (Myadar, 2011, p.335), since 'the Mongolian landscape and Mongolian herders have become a facade through which the portrayal of Mongolia as a "nomadic nation" is widely constructed and perpetuated'. In fact, 'globalization today acts as a catalyst for the urban Mongols to abandon the economic particularities of nomadic culture' (Campi, 2006, p.95), as 'newly

democratic Mongolia in the 1990s was exposed to the modern Western world and the whole issue of globalization' in multiple ways (Campi, 2006, p.78). Young people living in contemporary urban Mongolia are not the 'nomads', roaming the boundless steppe on horseback. They are 'attracted to a western lifestyle, not the nomadic traditions of generations ago. They are filled with a radical desire to reform every sphere of life' (Sargaltay, 2004, p.331). The concept of 'pure nomadism' in Mongolia therefore is specifically doubtful in an urban context. As Campi (2006, p.78) proposes, 'a society is split in two, as the modern urban Western lifestyle centered around Ulaanbaatar loses touch with the needs of the growing poor rural herdsmen around the country'. Put simply, 'nomadism has symbolically taken on greater cultural significance and more central role in how Mongolians define themselves – independent, free-spirited, resilient (nomads within)' (Myadar, 2011, p.356).

Mongolia generally, but particularly its capital city, Ulaanbaatar (UB), has witnessed a major shift in lifestyle since 1990, following the transition from 70 years of communist rule, to a newly democratic nation with fledgling free market economy. Since 1990, Ulaanbaatar has experienced a dramatic increase in terms of its population, due to internal 'rural to urban' in-migration, becoming home to nearly 1.3 million people, almost half of the country's entire population. Almost 60% of the UB population is under 35, now consisting of a mix of city and rural-bred young residents, making Mongolia one of the most youthful countries in the world. The migration to the city is perpetuated not only by UB's rapid urbanization, including the diverse job, business and education opportunities, but also natural disasters such as 'zud', the snow blizzard which ruins the grassland for livestock, playing a vital role in the acceleration of the growth of 'rural-to-city' migration. On top of that, the weight of new socio-economic situations has started causing income inequities across population. The gap between rich and poor has started to widen, resulting in obvious uneven social class positions in youth society. This unequal income disparity has allowed financially advantaged group to have easy access to media, technology, education, travel and so on, while financially marginalized groups still seem to struggle in having access to varied resources and capital.

With this drastic increase in urban population and disparity in social class since 1990, young people living in UB started to experiment with a range of cultural and linguistic flows available in a networked globalized world, in their search for a post-Socialist identity (cf. Dovchin, 2011). As Gundsambuu & Chuluunbaatar (1998, p. 78) suggest, 'Cable TV channels are multiplying: Consequently, our youth are catching up with the latest global news, musical releases and Hollywood movies. The number of young Mongolian fans of the Western famous singers and actors are rapidly growing.'. Young Mongolians experience direct exposure to various modern media and technological resources, thanks to the emergence of new sophisticated technologies. The Western cultural trends, 'which were considered once as the "cruel weapon of the capitalists' ideology", are now part of the daily life of our youth' (Gundsambuu & Chuluunbaatar, 1998, p.79).

Before 1990, Mongolia was a satellite state of the USSR. Cultural elements from the West were perceived as 'capitalist products', and were strictly banned by the ruling communist party – the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP: 1921-1990)¹⁰. During this time, listening to Western style popular music for example was seen as subversive, as it was considered to be the 'capitalist art', layered with wrong ideological messages, and English clearly labeled as the 'capitalist language'. Although English was not particularly accessible at the time, other direct modes of Western cultural elements started to find their own way into communist Mongolia from the 1970's onwards. The children of Mongolian diplomats posted abroad (mostly from the Eastern European / Soviet bloc nations) started to smuggle Western products such as ballpoint pens, whiskey, chewing gum, instant coffee, jeans, Vinyl LP records and audio cassettes, featuring the music of The Beatles, The Rolling Stones, Bee Gees, Smokie, Van Halen and others.

It was a very common practice for many young urbanites to gather in

¹⁰ The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party is the longest reigning political party in the history of Mongolia, between 1921 - 1996, and between 2000-2004. The party dropped the word 'Revolutionary' from its original name in 2010, renaming the Mongolian People's Party. Some members of the Party opposed this change, causing the Party to produce a separate fraction 'The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party', which retains the original name.

places such as apartment entrance halls to play their acoustic guitars, performing Western songs, '[...] one day my friend brought this cassette with the collection of the Beatles song, "Yesterday". We used to love that song even though we didn't understand a single word. Then my friend brought a guitar one day. We started playing "Yesterday" on it... We didn't know English, so we would just make up words which would sound similar to the lyrics of "Yesterday" [...]' says, Batsaikhan (50) (Interview, August 15, 2010, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia), who was one of those urbanites who experienced the Soviet lifestyle in Mongolia before 1990. The use of 'unknown English' lyrics embedded within the melody of 'Yesterday', and the act of imitating those lyrics without understanding their meaning therefore was one of those popular practices that many young Mongolians opted to do.

During this time, the leaders of the ruling communist party started noticing the growing interest of young people for Western style popular music forms, and sought to utilize popular music to portray their own communist propaganda. As a result, the first Mongolian popular music bands, Soyol Erdene (Cultural Jewel) and Bayan Mongol (Rich Mongolia) were established in the 70's. Clearly, these bands were strictly controlled by the ruling party, releasing songs mainly about the friendship between Mongolia and the USSR; or the appraisal of socialism and collectivism (cf. Marsh, 2006; 2009; 2010).

By the late 80's, on the other side of the world, young fellow artists from East Germany (cf. Larkey, 2003), and other Eastern European Bloc communist countries (cf. Connell & Gibson, 2003), started using English as an oppositional identity marker to act against the socialist ideology. Likewise, young urbanites in Mongolia also started to express their desires for freedom and democracy, with the rise of programs of 'perestroika and glasnost'¹¹ in the Soviet Union, initiated by its leader, Mikhail Gorbachev. A number of demonstrations, featuring mainly young urban adults in their twenties and thirties, were seen in the main streets of Ulaanbaatar, calling for the abolition of the 'communist regime'. Many of the crowd consisted of people who had

¹¹ 'Perestroika' is a Russian term meaning 'reforming', which refers to a political movement to reform the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1986, initiated by its leader Mikhail Gorbachev. 'Glasnost' is a Russian term, meaning 'transparency, openness', referring to an 'an open policy reform', associated with the policy of the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, causing the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989, and the end of the Cold War.

been exposed to some Western cultural elements (cf. Rossabi, 2005). This local activism had also been reflected across the songs released by several local bands, although they were singing exclusively in Mongolian, as English was still largely inaccessible at the time. Jargalsaikhan, the founder of Soyol-Erdene, one of the first rock music bands in the communist regime, for example established a new rock band called Chinggis Khan¹² referring to Genghis Khan, the Emperor of the Great Mongol Empire in the 13th century. During this time, all talk of Genghis Khan was effectively prohibited, and making any public statements about him were essentially avoided. This is also associated with the Soviet ideology of challenging the traditional Mongolian heritage, as the USSR urged Mongolians to reassess Chinggis Khan and the Mongolian Empire (cf. Confucian in China). As Rossabi (2005, p. 197) notes that Chinggis Khan was portrayed as a 'rapacious plunderer', who 'represented the feudal ruling classes and whose invasions retarded the development of the territories he and his troops had subjugated'. The portrayal of Chinggis as a national hero and the founder of the Mongolian Empire were denounced and Chinggis was 'banished from Mongolia's consciousness and history books'. Against all odds, Jargalsaikhan released a song called 'Chinggis Khan', not only praising the glory of Genghis Khan as a founding father of the Mongolian nation, but also asking for forgiveness for overlooking his legacy for many years. Another popular band during this time was Khonhk (Bell), which released a popular song, 'Khonkhonii Duu' ('The Sound of Bell') with a political message against the ruling communist regime. This song addresses that Mongolians are caught up in a 'living nightmare', and they should wake up by the sound of the bell ringing, which metaphorically calls for Mongolian people to leave behind the communist regime, whilst embracing democracy and freedom. This song consequently became an anthem for the democratic revolution in Mongolia in 1990. Young demonstrators in the street would often sing along this song, whilst marching in the main Sukhbataar Square of Ulaanbaatar. This of course was the beginning of the new social, political, economic order for the newly democratic Mongolia. The authorities of communist Mongolia resigned without

¹² Genghis Khan is spelled and pronounced as 'Chinggis Khaan' in Mongolia, unlike known to outside world.

confrontation in 1990, marking the end of the 70-year period of communist rule. Many of those young demonstrators from these historic protests are now leading members of 'The Democratic Party of Mongolia'¹³, and the current President, Elbegdorj Tsahia¹⁴, was one of those pioneers who stood at the front of those demonstrations.

Yet, it has not always been an easy road for young Mongolians since 1990, due in part to the painful transition from a centrally planned to a free market economy. As renowned historian Nasan Dashdendeviin Bumaa notes, '...Mongolia has achieved its goals, that is, independence and democracy within a market economy structure, but the cost has been high. Many lost their lives; even more suffered from economic, physical and human rights deprivations during the frequent periods of restructuring; and the incessant intergenerational struggle continues' (cited in Cohen, 2004, p. 4). The resulting financial problems for example prevented young Mongolians to have a direct access to media and technology, since Mongolia was still struggling to find its own way as an emerging market economy. Young popular music artists for example were not significantly making music, as 'the rents for sound equipment, concert halls, and musical instruments have skyrocketed' and 'the rural market for pop music cannot be tapped because the state funding for countryside tours dried up and the rural population simply does not have the money to pay for tickets, making the bands almost totally dependent on Ulaanbaatar' (Rossabi, 2005, p.189). The situation, however, gradually improved from the late 90's, thanks to the emergence of the new technology and other media outlets – computer, cable TV (MTV and Channel V), urban radio stations, the Internet and so on.

By the mid 90's, the linguistic practices of young Mongolians have started being characterized by the combination and mixture of various different languages and cultures as we have witnessed in earlier section (cf. Section 1.1). Young Mongolians living in UB started using English and other linguistic resources in the context of their daily practices, including text

¹³ 'The Democratic Party of Mongolia' is a political party in Mongolia, which was established in 1990, after the democratic revolution in Mongolia. The founding members are those who started the democratic revolution in Mongolia.

¹⁴ Elbegdorj Tsahia is a current President of Mongolia elected in 2009 from the Democratic Party of Mongolia.

messaging, chatting, surfing the Internet, playing video games, listening to music and watching movies. As Beery notes (2004, p. 115), 'I have observed one Mongolian messaging to another Mongolian on their hand phones, even when one of them would choose not to use English with an English speaker. For example, one Mongolian messaged another Mongolian with a question asking him when he would arrive at the meeting. This was asked in English between two Mongolian speakers.'. Specifically, English is widespread in the popular music scene in Mongolia, as many young Mongolians learn English, according to Beery (2004, p.3), 'through the English language translations of popular songs or original songs written in English by non-native English speakers such as Shakira and the Russian group T.A.T.U'. Billé (2010, p. 245) similarly writes that 'the significance of English and the Latin script remains [...] highly visible' in the contemporary musical landscape in Mongolia, as the 'vast majority of Mongolian singers and bands write their names in the Latin script, occasionally translating titles in English as well'. Many young Mongolian musicians produce their recordings and performances in English, promoting themselves using English-oriented modes. English is the main choice of language for naming the music bands and artists (e.g. A-Sound, Click Click Boom, Lipstick, Sweetymotion, Spike, Kiwi); the song titles and the song lyrics (e.g. 'Promise', 'My love' by BX, 'Why Baby' by Camerton, 'Crying', 'Shine on' by A-Sound); CD covers ('Made in Altan Urag' by folk-rock group Altan Urag; 'Mongol Pop' by Bold, 'Release' by A-Sound; 'Why' by Emotion; 'Welcome to my heart', 'My voice' by Naran); music festivals and concerts (e.g. 'Universe best songs', 'Playtime').

Patrick Hamilton, a Peace Corps volunteer describes his very first experience in Ulaanbaatar, the capital city of Mongolia, '*I've noticed during my several trips to UB that I rarely had to use any Mongolian language to get by. [...] My conversation partners – waiters, store clerks, hostel workers – seemed to always answer me in English (or some semblance thereof). Even homeless people in UB have mastered their (often complex) pleas for support in six or seven European languages, in hopes that one of them would work on my foreign ears [...]*' (Hamilton, 2009, para.9).

Indeed, in addition to English, various other flows of language and culture are also flourishing within young people's daily lifestyle in Mongolia.

Young Mongolians copy the hairstyles of Korean pop stars; young male teenagers dream of wrestling in Japanese professional sumo (in recent times the major grand champions of Japanese professional sumo wrestling are largely Mongolians); they go to concerts by Russian pop artists; they watch Chinese TV dramas; the girls are keen to acquire goods with French brands such as Louis Vuitton (the official opening ceremony of Louis Vuitton store was held in 2009, in Ulaanbaatar). Global music – American and Western/Eastern European popular music (e.g. Eminem, Britney Spears (American), Ace of Base and Abba (Swedish), Spice Girls (British), Modern Talking (German), TATU, Viagra (Russian)), J- pop (e.g. Ayumi Hamasaki, Utada Hikaru, SNAP) and Korean TV drama soundtracks (e.g. ‘Winter Love Sonata’, ‘Autumn Love Story’) are particularly popular. Young Mongolians manipulate wealthy resources associated with French (‘City Night’ by Naran; ‘Freestyle’ by Hip Hop group Lumino); Russian (‘Uvul’ ‘Winter by Lumino); Spanish (‘Bonita’ by Bold featuring B.A.T and Quiza; ‘Mi Amore’ album by Mede); Korean (‘Uvliin hairiin duu’ [‘Winter love sonata’] by Gantulga); Japanese and Chinese (‘Welcome to my heart’ by Naran) in either their own pop songs, or their online/offline linguistic repertoires, casual conversations and interactions (cf. Section 1.1).

1.4 RESEARCH PROBLEM

Surprisingly, the emergence of these new and non-conventional language practices, particularly popular across young people in newly democratic Mongolia, has only been ‘assumed’ rather than systematically investigated in the last two decades by both educational policy makers and academics. Focusing largely on linguistic diversity and dystopia, the educational policy makers and academics tend to leave aside questions of the potential social meaning of the emergence of various other new meanings, or of how these language practices might be linked to issues of identity, aspiration, expressions and desire among young people. The significance in language learners’ out-of-classroom linguistic behaviors and practices are seldom acknowledged in the educational context of Mongolia, and less is known about the pedagogical implications of understanding young speakers’ non-institutional linguistic practices, lacking real evidence to display what is

really linguistically and culturally happening in the new society.

This is a problem because on the one hand, as Preisler (1999) argues, it is almost impossible to explain the status and impact of English in particular society without understanding its informal function. Young speakers' non-institutional linguistic practices are rapidly evolving due to current globalization, which seem to impact on overall language learning and teaching practices, which needs to be considerably addressed within current language educational settings (cf. Lantz-Andersson et al, 2013). On the other hand, when we talk about cultural change, there is often the issue of conflicts between old and young culture. Many elements embedded within the current urban youth culture in Mongolia can be interpreted as a new part of culture, so it is important for the old culture to understand these changes in new culture and investigate what is really going on.

With the stated aim of understanding these issues, this thesis will present the outcome of an intensive 'linguistic (n)ethnographic study' – the combination of two research paradigms, 'linguistic ethnography' (LE) (Creese, 2008; Rampton et al, 2004) and 'netnography' (Kozinets, 1998, 2002). (cf. Chapter 4) carried out in Ulaanbaatar, in exploring the urban youth language of contemporary Mongolia. As a language learner, lecturer and researcher myself, it is my intention to identify the urgent issues requiring attention, if the educational policy makers in Mongolia are to work to the benefit of language learners and educators. In doing so, this study seeks to provide the first evidence that incorporates a comprehensive account for the Post-Soviet linguistic and cultural experiences of youth, who are largely involved with the various activities enabled by the new market economy. This is a promising direction for studies of foreign language education in Mongolia, since this research context represents a new, but growing, area of intellectual enquiry. By taking advantage of young people's various dynamic communicative sites of language in their everyday life, and integrating its implication for educational purposes may open up a new space and new possibility for the overall language education context in Mongolia.

Lastly, it is also particularly crucial for Mongolia to carry out this kind of investigation because there has been only a limited discussion on the language practices of young people in peripheral countries in Asia such as

Mongolia in recent global youth language studies. The majority of youth language studies have examined multiethnic youth (cf. Rampton, 1995/2005; 2011) with migrant backgrounds (Auer, 2005; Godin, 2006; Li & Zhu, 2013) and first or second-generation immigrants, mainly around the post-industrial contexts (Blackledge & Creese, 2008, 2009; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Jørgensen, 2008). Much less attention has been paid to the language practices of non-migrant young adults in peripheral Asian countries, who have not been subject to migration and transnational mobility, but nonetheless still participate in the global flows of linguistic and cultural diversity. As Bucholtz (2002, p. 539) points out that research on youth style and identity 'must look not only to the United States, Britain, and other post-industrial societies for evidence of youth cultural practice, but also to young people's cultural innovations in other locations around the world'. This thesis therefore focuses on the sociocultural dynamics of linguistic practices in the post-socialist context of Mongolia, a nation very much under-represented in the field of youth language studies in current globalization.

1.5 INTRODUCING 'LINGUASCAPE'

Moving away from the two dominant visions of linguistic dystopia and linguistic diversity, I prefer to locate the diversity of multiple languages in the context of the urban youth population within a more complexifying alternative preposition. Hence, I use the term 'linguascape' in order to locate the 'translingual practices' (Canagarajah, 2013; Pennycook, 2007) of the urban youth population in Mongolia. To this end, I follow the cultural anthropologist Appadurai's (1996, 2001, 2006) idea of a world of flows. As Appadurai (2006, p. 597) argues, '[...] global cultural process today are products of the infinitely varied mutual contest of sameness and difference on a stage characterized by radical disjunctures between different sorts of global flows and the uncertain landscapes created in and through these disjunctures'. Globalization therefore is seen as a 'deeply historical, uneven and even localizing process', since 'different societies appropriate the materials of modernity differently' (Appadurai, 1996, p. 17). The current global cultural economy needs to be seen in a more sophisticated and complex process, which involves the 'complex, overlapping, disjunctive order' (Appadurai, 2006,

p.588) that has to be understood through the means of fluid processes in motion, which involve the movement of objects, people, capital, information and technology - a 'world of flows' - 'a world fundamentally characterized by objects in motion' (Appadurai, 2001, p. 5). These processes are seen as the 'ideas and ideologies, people and goods, images and messages, technologies and techniques' in motion that are not defined by any single or central units (Appadurai, 2001, p. 5). To this end, Appadurai (1996, 2006, p. 599) envisions the world of flows as 'scapes' - 'five dimensions of global cultural flows' - ethnoscape (movement of people), mediascape (movement of media), technoscape (movement of technology), financescape (movement of capital), and ideoscape (movement of ideas) to demonstrate the various ways that cultural objects move across borders.

Ethnoscape refers to the transnational flows of human migration, particularly mobile groups and individuals (e.g., moving groups, tourists, immigrants, refugees, guest workers and individuals etc), who 'constitute an essential feature of the world and appear to affect the politics of (and between) nations to a hitherto unprecedented degree' (Appadurai, 2006, p. 589). Appadurai (2006) however warns us that this is not to say that there are no relatively stable communities and networks, since these human motions can be regulated by the local realities or fantasies of having to move or wanting to move.

Technoscape covers highly mobile (and mobilizing) technologies, which connect across unlikely parts of the world - 'the global configuration, also ever fluid, of technology and the fact that technology, both high and low, both mechanical and informational, now moves at high speeds across various kinds of previously impervious boundaries' (Appadurai, 2006, pp. 589-590). Different components of new technological configurations are oddly distributed, driven not by any obvious economies of scale, of political control, or of market rationality, rather by increasingly complex relationships among capital flows, political possibilities, and other relevant factors. This is also evident in financescape, as the patterns and flows of 'global capital are now a more mysterious, rapid, and difficult landscape to follow than ever before as currency markets, national stock exchanges, and commodity speculations move megamonies through national turnstiles at blinding speed, with vast,

absolute implications for small differences in percentage points and time units' (Appadurai, 2006, p.590). Financescape therefore refers to the transnational flows of capital, money, investments and so on, as Appadurai (2006) also highlights that 'the global relationship among ethnoscaples, technoscaples, and financescaples is deeply disjunctive and profoundly unpredictable' (p. 590) because each has its own incentives and influences on the others.

Mediascape and ideoscape are 'closely related landscapes of images' (2006, p. 590). Mediascape means the complex flows of mediated image distributions (e.g. electronic or print media, newspapers, magazines, TV stations and so on), and how these images allow viewers to gain access to other parts of the world, and how audiences experience the media as a sophisticated repertoire of interconnection. Mediascape is image-centered and narrative-based accounts of strips of reality, in which the audiences experience, transform and produce not only the forms of imagined lives of their own but also those of others living in other places. As Appadurai (2006, p. 591) puts it, 'These scripts [images and narratives] can and do get disaggregated into complex sets of metaphors by which people live as they help to constitute narratives of the Other and protonarratives of possible lives, fantasies that could become prolegomena to the desire for acquisition and movement.'

Ideoscape refers to a chain of ideas, ideologies, terms, and images - the concatenations of images like mediascape moving across borders, although Appadurai's (2006, p. 591) main focus in this scape moves towards the political ideologies of states and 'the counterideologies of movements explicitly oriented to capturing state power or a piece of it'. The fluidity of ideoscape is complicated, since new meaning-streams of certain ideologies are constantly injected into the discourse of different parts of the world. In other words, the transnational flows of ideologies may create the source of imagination and vision for people in conjunction with the various modes of mediascape, including print, electronic and digital media and so on.

These five dimensions therefore move beyond the ideologies of dystopia and diversity as the suffix '-scape' here represents 'the fluid, irregular shapes of these landscapes', which are disorganized and uneven orders. As Appadurai explains (2006, p. 592), 'people, machinery, money, images, and

ideas now follow increasingly nonisomorphic paths', since 'at all periods in human history, there have been some disjunctures in the flows of these things, but the sheer speed, scale, and volume of each of these flows are now so great that the disjunctures have become central to the politics of global culture'. Appadurai (2006, p. 600) here reminds us that the relationship of these scapes is not 'random or meaninglessly contingent', but rather the relationship is 'context-dependent'. That is to say, the relationship of these scapes is profoundly unpredictable and unevenly localizing yet overlapping disjunctures, producing 'problems that manifest themselves in intensely local forms but have contexts that are anything but local' (Appadurai, 2001, p. 6). The disjuncture between these landscapes thus may express some form of overlap of conflicting local interests. These scapes therefore are not, according to Appadurai (2001, p. 5) 'coeval, convergent, isomorphic, or spatially consistent', since 'the paths or vectors taken by these kinds of things have different speeds, axes, points of origin and termination, and varied relationships to institutional structures in different regions, nations, or societies'. Accordingly, these five scapes not only entail social, demographic, cultural, economic, ideological and technological dynamics at the macro level, but also at the micro level since Appadurai (2006, p. 589) also emphasizes that individual actors are the significant locus of the five perspectival set of scapes which are 'eventually navigated by agents who both experience and constitute larger formations, in part from their own sense of what these landscapes offer'.

What is needed, in accordance with this theory of scapes, is an empirical research, which can contribute to an analysis of how various resources within different scapes may fit with the coinciding development of people's language practices. Within this vision of '-scapes', the notion of 'linguascape' is proposed in this thesis, in line with Pennycook's (2003, p. 523) view that it is worth adding linguascape 'in order to capture the relationship between the ways in which some languages are no longer tied to locality or community, but rather operate globally in conjunction with these other scapes'.

The term *linguascape* (cf. Chapter 2 in detail) therefore refers to transnational linguistic resources circulating across the current transnational world of flows, in which 'various spatiotemporal frames interacting with one another' (Blommaert, 2010, p. 5). The underlying idea embedded within *linguascape* is that language is neither a self-standing product nor is it a stagnant and fixed structure (cf. Heller, 2007). Languages are not 'completely isolated items, as objects circling around one another in a galactic void, not in real social, cultural, political and economic spaces' (Blommaert, 2010, pp. 17-18). Languages do not exist 'as real entities in the world and neither do they emerge from or represent real environments', as they are 'the inventions of social, cultural and political movements' (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007, p. 2). The idea of language hereafter is better understood through emergent practices from contexts of interactions (cf. Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010; Pennycook, 2010), as it is a constantly evolving unit. As Canagarajah (2007, p. 94) puts it, 'there is no meaning for form, grammar or language ability outside the realm of practice', because language is 'not a product located in the mind of the speaker; it is a social process constantly reconstructed in sensitivity to environmental factors'. *Linguascape* is therefore understood through alternative discursive roles of language, investigating meanings through the 'world of flows' - 'the embodiment, flow and location of meaning [...] in the complexity of their relations' (Pennycook, 2007a, p. 50).

To put it differently, the concept of *linguascape* can be understood by 'translingual resources', i.e. 'actual situated resources as deployed by real people in real contexts, and recontextualized by other real people' (Blommaert, 2010, p. 43), which is also the outcome of the 'combination of resources from more than one language, and their selection and mixing of features associated with different registers, genres, and styles of one language [...]' (Leppänen et al, 2009, p.1100). In other words, the 'linguistic resources' are produced by their role of varied linguistic codes, combined with semiotic resources associated with varied cultural resources (e.g., genres, styles, repertoires and so on) (cf. Blommaert, 2003) across time and space, and 'their disembedding from and re-embedding into social and semiotic contexts' (Androutsopoulos, 2010a, p.205). Put simply, the overall notion of *linguascape* cannot be fully understood without examining the mobility of

linguistic resources embedded within language practices. Linguascape thus is constituted by language practices, in which the speakers employ linguistic resources at their disposal to achieve their communicative aims as best they can (cf. Chapter 2).

However, to say that linguascape is only about a world of things in motion or flows somewhat understates the point, as it deeply relates to other scapes, which are, according to Appadurai (2006, p.589), 'deeply perspectival constructs, inflected by the historical, linguistic, and political situatedness of different sorts of actors', including 'nation-states, multinationals, diasporic communities, as well as subnational groupings and movements (whether religious, political, or economic), and even intimate face-to-face groups, such as villages, neighborhoods, and families'. The 'scapes' are not only about fluidity but also, in Appadurai's view (2001, p. 5), it is 'a world of structures, organisations, and other stable social forms'. These apparent stabilities (e.g., stable objects such as 'nation-state, characterised by floating populations, transnational politics within national borders, and mobile configurations of technology and expertise') are usually determined by 'our devices for handling objects characterised by motion'. Higgins (2013) for example argues that all these Appadurai's scapes index multiple meanings associated with each scape, and these scapes intersect to one another, causing the emergence of linguistic and cultural hybridity with new points of references. Martin-Jones & Gardner (2012) similarly suggest that the particular scapes such as ethnoscape, mediascape and technoscape are diversifying and integrating to one another with high volume of speed, resulting in varied multilingual and multimodal literacy.

In other words, linguascape is understood by the combination of translingual resources, saturated by the co-relationship of the scapes - ethnoscape, mediascape, technoscape, financescape and ideoscape. Unravelling the complex relationship between young people's locatedness in different types of 'scapes' and their engagements with transnational linguistic and cultural resources, the idea of linguascape explores how people and their language practices are located in relation to the intersections of different scapes. This notion seeks to illuminate how boundaries of fields of language, demography, finance, media, technology, and ideology intersect, and how

individuals and institutions locate themselves in relation to these fields. In other words, linguascape is not understood in isolation from these scapes, rather it is examined through a commodity of multiple resources and factors of other scapes. This expands the analytic potentiality of recent translingual approaches, by exploring how linguistic resources develop and operate, and ultimately become 'languages' within the current world of flows in conjunction with other social scapes. The conceptualization of linguascape hence makes it possible to rethink about the spread and role of various moving linguistic resources in the current world of flows in relation to other important social, demographic, informational, technological, political, ideological and financial roles embedded within the localizing processes of current scapes.

1.6 INTRODUCING 'URBAN YOUTH CULTURE'

Since the notion of linguascape has been located in the previous section, I will shift to the next important concept used in this thesis - 'urban youth culture' (cf. Chapter 3 in detail), which entails the main factors of 'Who?' and 'What?' are going to be involved in this study. The idea of urban youth culture moves beyond the idea of 'multiculturalism', since it treats its actors not through the established norms of 'multiculturalism', in which they are perceived as 'multicultural' because of their diverse ethnic backgrounds. Instead, actors within urban youth culture are involved with 'multicultural' activities (linguistic codes, cultural modes, diverse international cuisine, music, and so on) via the modes and channels of mediascape, technoscape and ideoscape, no matter where they are from, who they are, and what ethnic backgrounds they are. It is particularly important for young people living in UB to be conceptualized as being part of the urban youth culture, since UB is a capital city, located in the Asian periphery, which cannot be considered to be multicultural or cosmopolitan as other post-industrial cities such as New York, London or Sydney. In other words, urban youth culture examines urban speakers, who are engaged with diverse cultural and linguistic flows through their daily activities and interactions across available cultural resources, rather than external migration and diverse multiethnic settlements.

Inspired by the main youth culture theoretical frameworks of subculture (Hall & Jefferson, 1976; Clarke, 1976a/b) and post-subculture (cf. Bennett,

1999, 2000, 2002, 2005; Miles, 1995, 2000), the notion of urban youth culture seeks to propose a new way of looking at the symbiotic relationship between the urban youth population and their active involvement with current transcultural flows. Urban youth culture (cf. Chapter 3) locates current youth culture as mobile and active, since their daily activities can be unpredictable and unexpected. Young people are the ones who intensively take part in multiple and unpredictable ways within the current global flows of cultures, even though they face strong resistance from other social areas. This concept henceforward seeks to understand the cultural activities of its main actors as one of those 'lived cultures', portrayed in post-subculture, in which everyday lived practices are perceived as essential (cf. Miles, 2000). Following subculture, urban youth culture is not entirely about fluid activities, as it also seeks to understand the relationship between social structure and social class within youth culture, importantly never losing sight of how particular social, ideological, political, and financial factors intertwine with the current youth culture (cf. Blackman, 2005; Shildrick & MacDonald, 2006). That means urban youth culture incorporates all social classes of the youth population.

Many post-subculturalists argue that it is almost impossible to understand the daily practices of young people living in urban settings without understanding their involvement with popular culture resources (cf. Bennett, 2002; Huq, 2006). This is also consistent with the arguments of some recent studies in linguistic anthropology and applied linguistics (cf. Berger & Carroll, 2003; Lee & Moody, 2012; Pennycook, 2007a; Thomas, 2007). Bucholtz (2002, p. 543) for example argues that the use of popular culture among young people is not 'symptomatic of cultural levelling' as often portrayed in terms of its connection with the global spread of popular culture. We should also re-assess popular culture as being used in 'radically different ways' and with creativity and agency. It is the young generation who spend a great deal of time and energy on the current globalized and networked popular culture oriented activities, e.g., specializing in sophisticated technologies (CMC, Facebook, YouTube, Skype experts); re-producing their own versions of certain cultural elements (parodies of popular music video, movies and graphic novels); writing blogs and creating their own worlds; attending various

singing and dancing competitions (Idols, X-Factors and so on) (cf. Thomas, 2007; Alim et al, 2009; Androutsopoulos & Georagakopoulou, 2003).

In line with these points, I suggest that the co-relationship between the two interrelated concepts of 'urban youth' and 'popular culture resources' create the concept of urban youth culture. While these two spheres embody their own boundaries, they cannot also be understood as separate entities. Urban youth and popular culture are dependent on each other and their boundaries are integrated through the interactions of their active participants – the 'producers' and 'consumers' of cultural resources. In other words, the notion of urban youth culture is understood as the youth population living in urban space that are actively engaged with popular culture resources, saturated by the current flows of scapes.

To be more specific, this urban youth population can be divided into two main categorizations – 'the cultural producers' and 'the cultural consumers' (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2009; Brown, 2008), drawing on their daily activities associated with popular culture resources. "The cultural producers' sphere" refers to the urban youth population, including popular music performers, artists, musicians and other public figures, who are actively contributing to the process of producing cultural resources. "The cultural consumers' sphere" on the other hand refers to the urban youth population, including popular culture fans, listeners, audiences and so on, whose daily lifestyle is highly associated with the varied popular culture oriented activities. These actors within the notion of 'urban youth culture' are shaped not only by their 'unpredictable' and mobile daily cultural activities, but also by their relations with and across social, cultural, political, economic and ideological roles embedded within the six scapes, as discussed in the previous Section 1.5. The notion of urban youth culture will further be discussed in detail in Chapter 3, locating the main targets of discussion of this study.

1.7 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In the previous sections, I have located my main theoretical frameworks, including the 'who', 'what' and 'how' factors involved in this study. Bringing together the two primary concepts 'linguascape' and 'urban youth culture' will provide the basis of this thesis – 'The Linguascape of Urban Youth Culture in

Mongolia'. To sum up, 'The Linguascope of Urban Youth Culture in Mongolia' refers to the mobile language practices of the urban youth population in Ulaanbaatar, the capital city of Mongolia, whose daily lifestyle is actively and creatively involved with popular culture resources, expanded by the uneven relationship of the other five scapes identified by Appadurai.

Following this broad frame and context of research, four key research questions have been formulated:

1. To what extent and in what ways are English and other additional languages practiced within the linguascope of urban youth culture in Mongolia?
2. How does the linguascope of urban youth culture in Mongolia operate in conjunction with the other five scapes?
3. What broader linguistic implications may emerge from the notion of linguascope within the current academic discussion of bi/multilingualism?
4. How can discussions of the linguascope of urban youth culture in Mongolia inform the overall foreign language education policy in Mongolia?

These four questions seek to address both micro and macro levels of inquiry: The first question explores the micro level of investigation, in which the complex process of how the actual idea of linguascope is produced through the speakers' language practices. This question seeks to understand what young people do with English and other languages; to what extent and how the movement of these languages are practiced; and what it actually means to use these languages for young people. Consequently, what kinds of identity, aspiration and expressions are embedded within the movement of these languages is interrogated. Each of the four data analysis chapters (from Chapter 5 to Chapter 8) will deal with the first question to interrogate the role and function of global languages embedded within linguascope.

The second question seeks to understand the notion of linguascope in relation to the other five scapes - financescape, ethnoscape, technoscape, mediascape and ideoscape. Without investigating the circumstances incorporated within these scapes, linguascope will not be fully captured. This endeavor thus will be presented in each data analysis chapters (from Chapter

5-8) separately, with the main aim to explore linguascape in relation to its demographic, financial, informational, technological and ideological factors.

The third question addresses macro linguistic implications that may emerge from exploring the linguascape of urban youth culture in Mongolia. In other words, the broader theoretical and practical implications presented in the data analysis chapters will be pulled together in terms of the theoretical implications for the discussion of current youth linguistic diversity. These implications are briefly touched upon at the concluding section of each analysis chapter, leaving the broader implications to be dealt with more extensively in Chapter 9.

The final question will inform the macro practical implications of the linguascape of urban youth culture in Mongolia towards foreign language teaching and learning higher education in Mongolia. Again, Chapter 9 will focus with this question, drawing on the findings discussed in the data analysis chapters.

1.8 THESIS OVERVIEW

Through the next two chapters, I will further develop the main theoretical concepts – ‘linguascape’ and ‘urban youth culture’. Chapter 2 will specifically deal with the notion of linguascape, locating itself as an alternative framework for understanding youth bi/multilingual repertoires in the current globalization, moving beyond the binary of linguistic dystopia and linguistic diversity. Rather than conceptualizing linguistic diversity in the urban youth culture of Mongolia in terms of widespread notions such as bi/multilingualism and code-switching, I shall look at this in terms of linguascape. The notion of linguascape has further been expanded, drawing on the important points embedded within the recent movements of bi/multilingualism.

Chapter 3 expands the notion of urban youth culture, signifying the importance of popular culture resources across the daily lifestyle of young people living in urban settings. The main concepts - ‘urban youth’ and ‘popular cultural resources’, and how these concepts relate to one another and co-constitute each other, producing the overall knowledge of urban youth culture is the central argument of this chapter, following important arguments incorporated within youth culture theories of subculture and post-subculture.

Chapter 4 deals with the research methodology of this study – ‘linguistic (n)ethnography’, discussing how this overall study has been carried out, drawing mainly on online and offline linguistic practices of young speakers. The main research perspective and approach, research design, including pre-fieldwork and post-fieldwork dilemmas and issues, the main analytical frameworks of data and textual analysis, and post-data analysis processes have been thoroughly described in this chapter.

Chapters 5 to 8 look in greater depth to understand what is really going on across the linguascope of urban youth culture in Mongolia. These four chapters are all data analysis chapters, carefully examining the data gained during the (n)ethnographic fieldwork trips. All four chapters seek to deal with the first two main research questions (Q1 & Q2) raised in the previous section, while each chapter is also analyzed in conjunction with Appadurai’s scapes. A central issue in Chapter 5 is to understand the linguascope of urban youth culture in Mongolia in relation to ethnoscape and financescape, in which we can identify how young people with various social backgrounds are linguistically involved with current globalization. The issues of uneven distribution of linguistic capital, and access to linguistic resources emerge during the discussion, although the ideas of linguistic creativity, innovation, and normativity are also present.

Chapter 6 locates the linguascope of urban youth culture in conjunction with two co-related scapes, i.e., mediascape and technoscape, specifically looking at the linguascope of these young speakers from the perspectives of how they recontextualize and relocalize their available resources, saturated by media and technology flows. Dealing with various online/offline retrieved extracts, message board commentaries, and FB discourses, the central argument of this chapter is that transtextual linguistic practices across the speakers tend to operate as norms, and we need to reassess our understanding of diversity and difference through the ordinariness of sameness.

Chapter 7 and 8 deal with ideoscape in relation to linguascope, addressing the central question of how the ideology of authenticity is relocalized in multiple ways across the linguascope of urban youth culture in Mongolia. The ideology of authenticity seems to be one of the most discussed

and widely imagined transnational ideas across both popular music producers and consumers. In Chapter 7, I take the Hip Hop ideology of 'keepin' it real' seriously, in terms of understanding the language practices of popular music performers in Mongolia in relation to authenticity. Popular music producers quest for cultural (musical) authenticity through what they perform, although what it means to be authentic, and correspondingly, the linguistic processes of how this idea is in fact performed and realized, seem to radically differ between artists.

Similarly, Chapter 8 looks at the idea of authenticity in relation to the linguascape of young consumers of popular music. Taking the idea of 'keepin' it real' even further, a central issue in this chapter is to understand how young consumers of popular music not only quest for authenticity in terms of the popular music resources they consume, but also how they seek authenticity in terms of their own mixed language practices. The quest for authenticity seems to be important for these speakers, although what it means to be linguistically or musically authentic again seems to drastically vary between participants. This issue instantly forces us to assess the multiple transtextual perspectives of linguistic realities that young people are fundamentally involved with.

Lastly, in Chapter 9, the various themes and episodes discussed in the previous chapters are pulled together to identify the emerging theoretical implications of looking at the linguascape of urban youth culture in Mongolia as 'linguascaping'. Revisiting the four main research questions raised in the introductory chapter, this concluding chapter will present both the theoretical and practical implications of 'linguascaping' towards the advancement of current academic discussions of bi/multilingualism and the foreign language higher education context in Mongolia.

CHAPTER 2

LOCATING 'LINGUASCAPE'

2.1 'LINGUASCAPE' AS AN ALTERNATIVE CONCEPT

Whilst moving away from the two dominant language ideologies – linguistic dystopia and linguistic diversity, this chapter further develops the idea of linguascape, initially presented in Chapter 1. Based on the complexity of the layers of meanings found in the language mixing practice of young people in Mongolia, this chapter points to the overall inadequacy of concepts such as linguistic homogenization, linguistic imperialism, pollution, destruction or code-mixing, code-switching, diversity and similar terminology in analysing the multiple modes of semiotic resources that occur across and within languages.

Alternatively, this chapter seeks to understand the current spread and role of various languages in globalization from the idea of 'uneven and even localizing processes' (Appadurai, 1996, p.17), in which meaning occurs within and across radical disjunctures between the current modes of globalization (cf. Radhakrishnan, 2003). The notion of linguascape thus is developed as an alternative way of thinking about current languages circling around a world of flows, locating them within a more complex concept of globalization. Understanding languages through linguascape opens up the complicated processes of how the transcultural flows of languages are appropriated, developed and re-created in conjunction with other multiple global factors – 'scapes'. This chapter therefore seeks to expand the notion of linguascape, presented in the introductory chapter, locating it as the main theoretical space for this overall thesis.

2.2 BEYOND LINGUISTIC DYSTOPIA

The questions of global inequalities in linguistic and cultural relations have been widely discussed within the field of language education - the potential threats of linguistic and cultural homogenization (cf. Phillipson 1992, 2008, 2010; Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas 1996, 1999), and the role of the ever-increasing popularity of English as a global language, leading to the

extinction or death of languages (Crystal, 2000; Nettle & Romaine, 2000), and linguistic genocide (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000).

Phillipson (1992, 2010), Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas (1996, 1999) note that the global spread of English is not only leading to the potential loss of linguistic and cultural diversity, but also bringing social, political and economic inequalities in the world. For Phillipson (1992, 2010), English speaking Western nations (the centre) use English to suppress the other non-English speaking nations around the world, a phenomenon that he refers to as 'linguistic imperialism'. English is defined as the imperialistic language because of the constant structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages. The global (and local) inequalities are increasing and the global spread of English is the weapon of capitalism, Americanization and Westernization, while the world is being homogenized by Western and American cultural and linguistic imperialism including media, popular culture, and even food chains such as McDonalds. Linguistic imperialism is a subcategory of cultural imperialism including media imperialism, educational imperialism, scientific imperialism and so on. Skutnabb-Kangas (1997) argue that we need to enjoy basic linguistic human rights, by adapting precise language policies based on ethical human rights values, since English is seen as 'the capitalist neo - imperial language that serves the interests of the corporate world and of the governments it influences' (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2010, p. 82).

In accord with these points, some studies illustrate that the role of English and other languages practiced within local youth culture has been treated as a potential threat towards the national language and culture. Print media in Bangladesh for example criticizes the impact of English and popular western culture on allegedly distorting Bangla, the Bangladeshi culture and nationalism among the younger generations (cf. Sultana, 2012). As Davidsen-Nielsen & Herslund (1999, cited in Jørgensen et al, 2011, p. 33) state, 'The Danish language suffers from the English Disease', lamenting the use of English loans in Danish, especially amongst the youth. As Harissi (2010, p. 8) similarly notes, 'the discourse of English as threat within the Greek context in particular, is a dominant one and the fear that 'Greek' can be under threat (although not necessarily from English only) is a quite popular view [...]'.

Harissi (2010, p. 10) further specifies the discourse towards the Greek language “being ‘harmed’ and also ‘shrinking’ due to ‘linguistic imperialism’ associated with the global spread of English and the ‘foreignisms’ adopted particularly by young people”.

A number of scholars in recent years however propose counter-arguments in terms of envisioning the globalization as the story of dystopia, urging us to look at the other side of the coin, questioning whether ‘globalization’ is indeed a synonym of ‘Westernization’ or ‘Americanization’, or in fact a more complicated process than dystopia. The reassessment of dystopic visions of globalization has suggested, for example, that the status and functions of English in Cantopop are more variable and flexible than an assumed symbol of ‘Western’ culture or identity. Mixing English and Cantonese in Cantopop can instead be understood in terms of fitting into the rhyming scheme, marking text structure, indexing prior texts, and conveying alternative identities (Chan, 2009, p. 107). Likewise, Pennycook (2003) and Moody & Matsumoto (2003) suggest that the mixing of Japanese and English in Japanese popular music produces new meanings beyond obvious connections to the local or global. Such practices redefine the stereotypes of Japanese ethnolinguistic identity, turning Japanese into a more cosmopolitan and globally influential language.

Martin (2007, pp.170-179) refers to mixing between French and English aimed at the younger generation in the context of multilingual advertising in France as ‘youth Frenglish’, suggesting that the omnipresence of English in French advertising is not necessarily understood as a ‘cultural and linguistic invasion’, but rather is often ‘refashioned as a simple form of entertainment’, and that the ‘French linguistic and cultural identity remains very much intact’. Doran (2004, p. 94) points out to the outright denial of the linguistic, cultural, and ethnic diversity within France, and refers to this homogeneous vision of what it means to be ‘French’ as a ‘myth’ and ‘imagined community’ through illustrating a linguistic variety called Verlan - ‘various alterations of Standard French terms, borrowings from such languages as Arabic, English, and Romani, and certain distinctive prosodic and discourse-level features’, which is specifically popular across the multiethnic youth populations living in suburban Paris. Verlan is an alternative

language code and sociolect available to marginalized young people, which stands 'both literally and figuratively outside the hegemonic norms of Parisian culture and language'. It is a mediating tool for marginalized young people, 'who are part of the French landscape but struggle for positive recognition within it' with a means to 'define and express a certain alternative social world within which they could feel at home, in a way they do not when speaking the dominant language' (p.120).

In response to popular discourse in terms of the homogenizing effect of English in the context of Bangladesh, Sultana (2012, p.2) proposes that young adults in Bangladesh are comfortable to use English with Bangla, since English is a strategic appropriation losing its 'affiliation with the colonizers or the native speakers', because they are 'producing, resisting, defying, and rearranging linguistic resources in and through their local linguistic practices'. For Sultana (2012, p. 13), they are 'the postcolonial speakers of English, creatively negotiating the place of English in their lives. English is theirs. They have complex experiences in relation to language and culture because of the historical presence and globalization of English in their social landscape and they bring the experiences in their local language practices'.

From this point of view, globalization 'does not necessarily or even frequently imply homogenization or Americanization' (Appadurai, 1996, p.17), since, according to Appadurai (2006, p. 588), 'for the people of Irian Jaya, Indonesianization may be more worrisome than Americanization, as Japanization may be for Koreans, Indianization for Sri Lankans, Vietnamization for the Cambodians, and Russianization for the people of Soviet Armenia and the Baltic republics'. The United States and the West hence may be 'only one node of a complex transnational construction of imaginary landscapes' (1996, p.31). Appadurai (1996, p.32) further emphasizes that what these views such as Americanization fail to consider is that 'at least as rapidly as forces from various metropolises are brought into new societies they tend to become indigenized in one or other way', which is also 'true of music and housing styles as much as it is true of science and terrorism, spectacles and constitutions'. To this end, the common and traditional model of understanding of the global cultural economy no longer works in terms of the ever expanding and changing cultural flows in this

current era. The earlier theories of separate 'center-periphery models' and 'push and pull (in terms of migration theory)' (Appadurai, 2006, p.588) do not fit with the current cultural movements.

For Pennycook (2007a, p.19), the vision of 'linguistic imperialism' 'presents us only with an image of homogenization within a neocolonial global polity', constantly warning us of the threats of English dominance, failing to look at more sophisticated dynamics and complexities of the current global spread of Englishes. Pennycook (2003; 2007a, p.19) argues that we need to look beyond the vision of homogeneity, because the studies of global English deserve better than this, 'as we need to understand how English is used and appropriated by users of English around the world, how English colludes with multiple domains of globalization, from popular culture to unpopular politics, from international capital to local transaction, from ostensible diplomacy to purported peace-keeping, from religious proselytizing to secular resistance'.

Instead, central to Pennycook's (2007a, p. 47) vision of 'global Englishes and transcultural flows' – the ways in which cultural forms move, change and are reused to fashion new identities in diverse contexts – is the argument that we need to move beyond the understandings of homogeneity or imperialism, and rather focus on 'the communicative practices of people interacting across different linguistic and communicative codes, borrowing, bending and blending languages into new modes of expression'. English is a 'translocal language', a language of 'fluidity and fixity that moves across, while becoming embedded in, the materiality of localities and social relations' (Pennycook, 2007a, p.6). English and other languages are bound up with 'transcultural flows', the languages of 'imagined communities and refashioning identities'.

From a similar perspective, Leppänen et al (2009, p. 1080) have proposed the notion of 'translocal activity spaces or communities of practice', which seek to understand young people's linguistic engagements with the new media not idiosyncratically on the basis of local/national identifications or local/global identifications, but rather through translocal activity spaces, in which 'national identity and language may have less significance here than shared interests, values, and ways of life'. Li & Zhu (2013, p. 519) similarly argue for the idea of translanguaging, which 'captures both the dynamic

nature of multilingual practices of various kinds and the capacity of the de-/re-territorialized speaker to mobilize their linguistic resources to create new social spaces for themselves’.

Canagarajah (1999, 2005a) suggests that the impact of globalization on a local community should not be regarded as a hegemonic colonizing power, but as a complex of interrelationships that are changed, contested, appropriated and negotiated. The power of globalization from this perspective could better be understood by investigating local contexts at the level of local language practices. Objecting to ‘a monolingual orientation to communication’ (p.1), Canagarajah (2013, p. 2) has argued for ‘translingual practices’, in which modern speakers, participating within transnational contacts, are adopting ‘creative strategies to engage with each other and represent their voices’. In this model, Canagarajah (2013, pp. 68-70) treats ‘practices as primary and grammatical norms as emergent’, highlighting the significance of the ‘complexity to processes like pidgins, creoles, and interlanguage’. In other words, ‘intelligibility and communicative success are not predicated on sharedness (deriving from grammar or community identity)’, but rather on ‘the possibility of diversity and the retention of people’s local identities in the contact zone’.

Jacquemet (2005, p. 261) argues that we need to move beyond the dystopic paranoia of linguistic and cultural catastrophe, but rather shift our attention to ‘the progressive globalization of communicative practices and social formations that result from the increasing mobility of people, languages, and texts’. As Jacquemet (2005, pp.264-265) notes, ‘This triangulation of linguistic activities, indexicality, and semiotic codes needs to be complexified to account for how groups of people, no longer territorially defined, think about themselves, communicate using an array of both face-to-face and long distance medias, and in so doing produce and reproduce social hierarchies and power asymmetries.’. Put simply, we need to look at the speakers as members of transnational groups, whose linguistic practices are activated by ‘the co-presence of multilingual talk (exercised by de/reterritorialized speakers) and electronic media, in contexts heavily structured by social indexicalities and semiotic codes’, i.e., ‘transidiomatic practices’.

Following these lines of thought, the notion of linguascape moves

beyond the dystopic vision of language and culture, and shift its interest in how young speakers take up not only 'linguistic innovations with heavy borrowing from English, but any number of other languages' (Jacquemet, 2005, pp.265-266) along with other semiotic resources that are pragmatically and intertextually involved within their daily lives. Put simply, following translinguistic approaches, the notion of linguascape treats language not as a separate code, or self-standing product, but as a translingual language practice, gathering meanings both spatially and temporally, within and across various other modes, saturated by current globalization. This idea can be further expanded in conceptualizing the notion of linguascape.

2.3 BEYOND LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY

Moving away from the dystopian views of language, the obvious next starting point for me was to look at the role of English and other additional languages from the other side of the coin – 'linguistic diversity'. Conceptualizing the idea of linguistic diversity within the notion of linguascape, however, is not always straightforward. This is in accord with an increase in the number of recent youth language studies, which problematize the widespread notions such as bi/multilingualism, code-switching and diversity for falling short in addressing contemporary youth mixed linguistic repertoires, produced from the transnational flows of linguistic and cultural resources in late modernity. Schoonen & Appel (2005, p. 88) for example suggest that it is far less relevant when it comes to understanding youth mixed language practices from the perspectives of code-switching in current globalization, because many young speakers seem to display the signs that they are not actually competent or at least 'competent only to a limited degree' in the various languages they borrow or switch in the context of 'street language' in the Netherlands.

Likewise, drawing on linguistic and cultural mixing practices saturated by media and technology in the context of young adolescents in Bangladesh and Mongolia, Sultana, Dovchin & Pennycook (2013, p.700) argue that rather than analyzing youth linguistic mixture in late modernity in terms of 'code-switching' - 'with a concomitant assumption about distinct codes being switched or mixed', it is far more relevant to view this type of mixture as the

‘integrated forms of stylization’, since these young speakers are involved within the combination of various cultural modes, styles and genres.

Ag & Jørgensen (2012, p. 526) propose that it is highly problematic whether or not, the concept of bi/multilingualism is useful in terms of understanding the real life language use of young people. Bailey (2007; 2012, p. 504) argues that we need to avoid investigating bi/multilingualism as parallel monolingualism as such in code-switching, since ‘constellations of linguistic features that are officially authorized as codes or languages, for example "English" or "Spanish," can contribute to neglect of the diversity of socially indexical linguistic resources within languages’. Since modern youth speakers tend to negotiate social and communicative worlds through language mixing, Bailey (2012, p. 504) adds, ‘it is not central whether a speaker is switching languages [...]’. Bailey (2007, p. 258) further suggests that the mixed language practice of young speakers ‘encompasses both mono and multilingual forms’, opening up ‘a level of theorising about the social nature of language that is not possible within the confines of a focus on code-switching’.

Following Auer’s (2005, p.403) caution not to quickly equate “hybrid” language use with “hybrid” social identity’ and Zuberi’s (2001) reminder to complexify diversity rather than pluralizing it, Otsuji & Pennycook (2010, p. 251) refer to the idea of linguistic diversity including bi/multilingualism trends as the case of ‘romanticising a plurality’ based on the ‘putative language counts’. This may lead to the wrong assumption that ‘clear borders exist between languages, that they can be counted, catalogued with certainty and that, above all, their vitality can be promoted and their disappearance prevented’ (e.g., strict one-to-one connection between language and ethnicity, nation, territory and so on). Following Makoni & Pennycook (2007), they further caution that ‘the enumerative strategy of counting languages’ might lead us to overlook ‘the qualitative question of where diversity lies’ (p.251). The terms bi/multilingualism and code-switching thus tend to signify ‘an unproblematic category of cultural diversity that somehow provides solutions to sociocultural relations and conflicts [...]’ (p.244). As Otsuji & Pennycook (2010, p. 244) acknowledge, ‘we need to avoid turning hybridity into a fixed category of pluralisation, and to find ways to acknowledge that fixed

categories are also mobilised as an aspect of hybridity’.

From these multiple ‘post-bi/multilingual’ perspectives, it can be argued that the main ideologies embedded within the terms such as bi/multilingualism, code-switching, linguistic diversity and so on do not seem to pragmatically work in terms of conceptualizing the idea of linguascape, since diverse moving linguistic resources circling across the transnational boundaries cannot be fully represented along the lines of pluralizing monolingualism and multiple discrete language systems. That is to say, the process of categorizing multiple languages from the views of discrete languages seem to rest on a pre-supposed understanding of language, ethnicity and culture, overlooking other semiotic diffusions, vernaculars, genres, styles, modes and codes, widely used by young speakers. Just as Pennycook (2007a, p. 22) has suggested that the notion of heterogenization of English ‘does not take us far enough and remains as an exclusionary paradigm’, the idea of linguistic diversity may not take us far enough, but to singularize multilingualism or pluralize monolingualism. It is in this sense I take the idea of linguascape further, inspired by the useful ideas embedded within these ‘post bi/multilingual frameworks’ (i.e., translingual frameworks).

That is to say, certain new ‘post-bi/multilingual’ terms such as translanguaging (Blackledge & Creese, 2009; Li & Zhu, 2013), polylinguaging (Jørgensen et al, 2011), heteroglossia (Bailey, 2012; Leppänen et al, 2009), metrolingualism (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010, p. 247), transglossia (Sultana et al, 2014) have started to emerge to capture the rising complexity of recombinant linguistic and cultural practices within young speakers. Inspired mainly by the idea of ‘trans-’ linguistics, not only is it adequate to distinguish linguistic codes according to particular language systems, but it is also obvious that these speakers are actively involved with the fusion of linguistic codes, genres, repertoires and styles, i.e., the semiotic resources that are becoming the lingua franca of their daily interaction. In other words, the common ethos of these approaches suggests that language is organically entrenched with diverse semiotic resources, whilst operating in a linguistically and discursively integrative universe. As Blackledge & Creese (2009, p. 236) put it, meaning-making is a ‘dialogic process’, since these young speakers represent ‘themselves and others in voices that cut across boundaries in

complex, creative, sophisticated ways' (p.252). Transglossic understanding of language helps 'illuminate the differences, variety, alterity, plurality and otherness in language as well as its social, historical and political nature' (Sultana, Dovchin & Pennycook, 2014, p.2). This is also in line with Leppänen et al's (2009, p.1082) definition on heteroglossia that young speakers 'often operate in a multidimensional linguistic and discursive universe where they simultaneously make their choices interlingually—drawing on and combining resources from more than one language—and intralingually—selecting and combining features associated with registers, genres, and styles of one language'.

These translingual approaches are cutting-edge in terms of understanding the natural and qualitative side of youth linguistic diversity in late modernity, prompting me to share much commonality with their critical philosophies. Yet, I would also like to point to the inadequacy of these terminologies in analyzing the ample circumstances of current youth translingual practices. Translingualism has not yet adequately addressed the diversity and locatedness in individuals' language practices in relation with various other scapes. Linguascape thus enhances the analytic potentiality of translingualism, exploring five dimensions of 'scapes' – ethnoscape, mediascape, technoscape, financescape and ideoscape in relation to one's language practice and its locatedness. This approach provides us with a better understanding of differences in young people's translingual practices based on the intersecting dynamics of rural/urban, privileged/unprivileged and other backgrounds, factors and characteristics.

2.4 TOWARDS LINGUASCAPE

Inspired by some of the most useful ideas incorporated within the 'post-dystopic' (cf. transnational language, Section. 2.2) and 'post-bi/multilingual' frameworks (Section. 2.3) discussed in the earlier sections, the notion of linguascape has further been conceptualized from the perspectives of five main characteristics.

First, the notion of linguascape does not treat language as a solitary linguistic variety, since 'post-bi/multilingual' frameworks urge us to re-assess the idea of linguistic diversity investigating through 'separate language

systems', i.e., 'two monolinguals in one body' (Gravelle, 1996, p. 11) and 'parallel monolingualism' (Heller, 1999, p. 271). From this point of view, one of the central arguments of linguascope is to treat multiple mixed language practices from the perspective of 'mobile linguistic resources', instead of a separate linguistic system. It is also slightly different from the idea of polylinguaging, since linguascope focuses on the semiotic possibilities in all its fantastic dimensions, instead of exclusively focusing on 'linguistic features'. The idea of 'mobile linguistic resources' embedded within linguascope refers to the combination of heavy or light borrowing from multiple linguistic resources, diffused by multiple semiotic resources such as codes, registers, features, styles, genres, voices and symbols, moving the notion closer to heteroglossia. In other words, the notion of linguascope can be defined as moving linguistic resources, which mix forms and contents that demonstrate, following Leppänen et al (2009, p.1082), 'the coexistence, combination, alternation, and juxtaposition of ways of using the communicative and expressive resources language/s offer us'. Simply put, linguistic practices with heavy or light borrowing from English or any number of other global linguistic codes mixed and meshed with other semiotic resources are embedded within the idea of 'linguistic resources' in linguascope. The role of transnational linguistic and semiotic resources, which constitutes the idea of linguascope, thus is characterized by 'an emergent property of various social practices' (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010, p. 248) of the relevant speakers, not necessarily by its pre-fixed distinct linguistic systems.

Second, linguascope is constituted by the translocal/transcultural combination of various linguistic resources, inspired by translinguistic movements, which prefer the transnational nature of semiotic diversity, instead of dystopia. Language is not treated in isolation, but rather it is understood in its transgressive complexities of meanings. Following the concept of 'transglossic framework' (Sultana, Dovchin & Pennycook, 2014, p. 3), the notion of linguascope investigates linguistic resources from the perspective of 'the transgressive nature of semiotic diversity', instead of 'just the heterogeneity [...], multiplicity', or 'poly-' as in heteroglossia and polylinguaging. Linguascope is slightly different from heteroglossia, since it treats the fluidity in language, like transglossia, not so much through

heterogeneity of resources, '[...] but rather by unzipping the translinguistic complexities of meanings' (p.3).

To put it differently, linguistic resources are so deeply intertwined and entangled with one another and other semiotic resources, it is futile to understand them in isolation. Linguascape seamlessly absorbs linguistic resources from a wide range of sources, it is therefore almost impossible to distinguish or enumerate certain linguistic codes from others, drawing on specific language systems. This locates the notion of linguascape beyond the established norms of bi/multilingualism, including code-switching/code-mixing, since language is not treated as a discrete system. In accord with this, linguascape seeks to explore language practices not so much through separate linguistic codes (though they remain significant for understanding the nature of the language practices), rather through linguistic resources in which they are culturally involved with.

Third, central to the concept of linguascape is the idea that these flows of linguistic resources should be better understood in terms of their relation between both fixed and fluid linguistic/cultural identifications (cf. Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010); their varied historical, local, discursive, social, ideological and interpretive elements (cf. Bailey, 2007; 2012). No matter how these resources seemingly appear to move freely, they also need to be understood in their operations of local social identifications, since they are 'socioculturally associated with values, meanings, speakers, etc' (Jørgensen et al, 2011, p. 22). These ideas not only accept the questions of fluid understanding of current language practice, whilst never losing sight of the ideological and historical role of language and culture. In a similar vein to metrolinguism (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010), linguascape thus addresses both fixity and fluidity in urban linguascapes, which requires us to go beyond the notions of bi/multilingualism in which by default we consider discrete linguistic features of the language as a norm. It is through this combination of relations, fluidity and fixity, 'language in flux' (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010, p.240) - that the speakers engage in processes of self-production, presenting particular meanings of not only themselves but also their surroundings through time and spatiality provided by the relationship of the scapes to them.

To put it differently, linguascape is not just about motion or world of

flows, since it is highly regulated by the relationship between the other intersecting five scapes – ethnoscape, mediascape, technoscape, financescape, and ideoscape. That is to say, linguascape does not exist as a self-standing product in isolation from these other scapes, since it makes its meaning across a wide range of resources, saturated by these scapes, which have their own histories, conditions and factors. This means that multiple linguistic resources gather meanings across and against fluid and fixed resources in relation to the overall demographic, financial, media-cultural, technological and ideological factors regulated by the relationship of the scapes. This approach seeks to reveal a better understanding of multiple differences and locatednesses in young people's translingual practices based on the intersecting dynamics of rural/urban, privileged/unprivileged and other backgrounds.

Fourth, flowing linguistic resources within linguascape operate in an uneven world, and associate with unequal distributions and access to linguistic resources within the speakers, depending on their particular local context (cf. Blommaert & Dong, 2010b; Heller, 2007). That is to say, the uneven localizing processes of varied resources from the scapes contribute to the formation of linguascape. Linguascape is understood as the evolving motion and flow, regulated simultaneously by different local settings, as well as uneven local situations. It is described through a local language practice (cf. Higgins, 2009a), which takes us back to the power, struggle, evolution and resistance of local contexts. Linguascape is 'not a free-for-all', since 'the balance of rights and norms contributes to the uneven access to resources', one of the characteristics of current globalization. This implies that 'certain ways of speaking are not available to some speakers', since the 'uneven distribution of linguistic features among different population groups is frequently accompanied by an uneven distribution of other resources' (Jørgensen et al, 2011, p. 34).

Finally, linguascape is also understood through the idea of linguistic creativity in which the speakers are actively engaged with. Maybin & Swann (2007, p. 497) argue that we need to draw our attention to the 'everyday creativity in language' (Maybin & Swann, 2007, p. 497) in which creativity is not only a property of especially skilled and gifted language users, but also is

evident in routine everyday practice. The speakers are 'creative designers of meaning', 'recontextualizing' linguistic and other communicative resources rather than just repeating or mimicking fixed rules of language, or separate language systems. On a similar note, when Androutsopoulos (2007) and Pennycook (2010) refer to linguistic diversity in speakers of late modernity, they associate it with linguistic creativity saturated by different semiotic resources, rather than separate language system. As Pennycook (2010, p. 12) puts it, '[although] concepts such as multilingualism appear superficially to overcome blinkered monolingual approaches to languages, they all too often operate with little more than a pluralization of monolingualism [...]'. From this point of view, while the idea of 'recontextualization' (Androutsopoulos & Scholz, 2002) has usefully shown how linguistic and cultural forms take on new meanings in different contexts, relocalization (Pennycook, 2010) takes this argument further.

For Androutsopoulos & Scholz (2002, p.1), European Hip Hop is not merely an imitation of its US model, but the result of a recontextualization process, in which 'a globally available cultural model is being appropriated in various reception communities'. As Androutsopoulos (2010a, p.205) argues, one 'typical case of late modern linguistic globalization' is 'lexis and discourse markers of English origin are 'borrowed' and structurally integrated into the grammar and the pragmatics of recipient languages up to the point of becoming indecipherable to the original speakers'. Once we understand, following Bauman (2004, p.10), that the 'dynamics of recontextualization' allow us to see that successive reiterations of texts change their meanings, then linguistic creativity is not some special case confined to certain skillful performances but rather is pervasive in routine daily practice.

Pennycook (2010, p. 35) argues, however, that the notion of 'relocalization' may work better, since it gives more freedom to understand locality from 'a broader sense of co-occurrence in time and place' rather than the tendency with 'recontextualization' to read 'occurrences of the same things in different contexts'. Understanding language use in terms of 'fertile mimesis' (p.37), relocalization suggests that 'language as a local practice is a form of language repetition that creates difference' (p.42). Repetition here, therefore, is not understood as a repetition of the same thing, as it is not a

question 'for stylistic effect or solidarity, but of repetition as an act of difference, relocalization, renewal' (p.36). Language practices are repetitive performative social acts, which are localized differently each time, and 'create the space in which they happen' (p.128). 'If we accept the possibility that the mimetic enactment of language may radically recontextualize what superficially may appear to be the same, then a use of English, even the imitation of an African American term in global hip-hop may be full of multiple meanings of identification, localization, imitation, and reinterpretation.' (Pennycook, 2010, p.50). As Dovchin et al (in press) argue that 'the translingual language practices of the speakers are understood not only through how they borrow, repeat and mimic certain linguistic resources available to them, but also through the ways they make new linguistic meanings within this complex relocalizing process.'

From this point of view, linguistic creativity is understood in the notion of linguascape through how the speakers generally (1) borrow and artfully/playfully manipulate and consume the resources; (2) re-construct and recontextualize the resources, suited to their own circumstances and contexts; (3) relocalize and create new meanings, which have never been seen before (the creation of new linguistic norms, new meanings, new ideas and new identities and so on) - to achieve their communicative purposes. All of these three processes are relevant and valid within linguascape. In other words, linguascape treats the speakers as 'resourceful speakers' - '[...] having available language resources and being good at shifting between styles, discourses and genres' (Pennycook, 2012, p.99). Linguascape therefore seeks to capture one of the most important moments and dynamics shifted within, across and against semiotic mobility embedded within the speakers' language practice.

Overall, the term linguascape is deployed as the main theoretical framework, which has been reframed as an alternative theoretical and methodological space, disassociating it from the foundationalist and essentialist theories, which are widely discussed in terms of the notions such as linguistic dystopia (linguistic imperialism, linguistic death and so on) and linguistic diversity (bi/multilingualism, code-switching and so on). Moving beyond these established views of language, linguascape seeks to provide an

alternative way of understanding the transcultural flows of languages, circling around the world in an age of globalization. Yet, linguascape also seeks to enhance the analytic potentiality of translingualism by locating individuals' language practices in relation with various other intersecting scapes.

CHAPTER 3

LOCATING 'URBAN YOUTH CULTURE'

3.1 BEYOND MULTICULTURALISM

This chapter locates what constitutes the understanding of 'urban youth culture', as it is one of the key concepts that will be used throughout this thesis. I have conceptualized the notion of 'urban youth culture', by identifying 'who' and 'what' factors are involved. Moving beyond the understanding of 'multiculturalism', the notion of urban youth culture proposes a new way of looking at the symbiotic relationship between the urban youth population and the diverse cultural resources they are involved in. As Vertovec (2010, p. 86) writes, 'With a reworked understanding of new complexities of diversity, the structures and policies meant to deal with diversity – that is, multiculturalism – need to be reworked too.' In accord with this point, the idea of urban youth culture in Mongolia has been conceptualized, which locates the cultural diversity aside from 'multiculturalism', since its participants are not a typical multi-ethnic community. Put differently, the cultural diversity incorporated within this urban youth population in UB does not derive its root from multi-ethnic group identities, particularly of immigrants and ethnic minorities – collectively called multiculturalism (cf. Vertovec, 2010). Instead, the urban youth population in Mongolia is involved with multiple cultural diversity (diverse linguistic codes, cultural modes, international cuisine, music, and so on) via the modes of transnational flows (i.e., the interaction with the various scapes), stratified and differentiated by different social class and socioeconomic backgrounds (cf. Chapter 5). Put simply, urban youth culture looks at urban speakers, who are engaged with diverse cultural and linguistic flows through their daily activities and interactions across available resources, rather than being influenced by their diverse multi-ethnic and multi-racial backgrounds.

3.2 BEYOND SUBCULTURE AND POST-SUBCULTURE

The central discussion of this thesis is to understand the linguascape of modern young people living in urban settings (cf. Chapter 3 (pp.68-69); Chapter 5, pp.116-120), whose daily lifestyles are deeply associated with diverse linguistic resources. The theoretical framework of youth 'subculture' from this point of view has been examined initially, as its main concern deals with the fundamental issues of youth-related cultures and styles. Subcultural theory, proposed by the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) (Hall & Jefferson, 1976; Clarke, 1976a/b), has been regarded as the first systematic social theory in analyzing youth-driven culture. Drawing on the cultural Marxism of Gramsci, and extending the Chicago School's notion of sociocultural deviance, the CCCS explained post-war youth-style centred cultures (e.g., skinheads, teddy boys) as working class youth resistance to the dominant social orders and hegemonic institutions. Subcultures 'became part of a collective critical vanguard, to challenge bourgeois order and celebrate creative resistance to authority' (Blackman, 2005, p.16). The CCCS argued that such a deviant response of youth culture is the cohesive and collective reactions of working class youth, which is referred to as subculture, originating from the experience of subordination. Each subculture is interpreted through its 'creation of meaning as a collective force' (Blackman, 2005, p.6). Youth subcultures have tight boundaries and distinctive characteristics, which are focused around particular activities and geographical spaces, distinguished by age, class and generation (Clarke, 1976a/b). Working class youth life here was specifically determined by mass cultural forms and mass consumerism, the classification which has drawn a large number of criticisms from the next generation of theorists known as the 'post-subculturalists'. The CCCS have mainly been criticized for overtly relying on Marxist theory and its views on working class youth, overlooking the middle class youth cultures (cf. Hollands, 1990); for structurally over determining (cf. Huq, 2006; Bennet, 1999; 2000) and not illustrating, but rather confirming pre-ordained political ideologies and predetermining individual trajectories; and for equating overall young consumers with working

class youth (cf. Bennett, 1999; 2000). As Bennett (2005, p. 257) notes, the theory of subculture has always been used 'to demarcate homogenous and relatively static groupings'.

In order to locate an alternative theory to subculture, post-subcultural theorists have started favoring the theoretical frameworks such as 'neo-tribes' (Maffesoli, 1988/1996; Bennett, 1999; 2000) or 'lifestyles' (Miles, 2000; Bennett, 2000). Post-subculturalists argue that youth culture cannot only be limited to class – based, 'sub' representations, but rather to a wider range of formations. The term subculture itself has been questioned by some cultural theorists, as for example Bennett (1999, p.599) notes, '[subculture has] arguably become little more than a convenient 'catchall' term for any aspect of social life in which young people, style and music intersect'. Subculture theory, for Bennett (1999, p.605), also overtly relies on the grounding belief that 'subcultures are subsets of society, or cultures within cultures'. The term subculture thus is widely used to superficially address any youth related cultures, rather than to complexify the concepts embedded within the youth-related culture. Bennett (1999) further argues that 'subcultural' theory is not very useful in analyzing the contemporary youth styles and musical preferences because the notion of modern youth identity and style is rigidly fixed and composed rather than constructed and fluid. Extending the notion of 'tribe' proposed by Michel Maffesoli, Bennett (2000) argues that youth-driven culture in the post-modern era incorporates varied fluid characteristics, whose activities are increasingly shifting within modern social relations. In this light, Bennett (1999, p. 605) proposes the term neo-tribalism, which can capture the 'unstable and shifting cultural affiliations, which characterize late modern consumer-based identities', focusing on the idea of microgroups of people, structured around the complexity of consumer culture, who share common beliefs, styles, tastes and behavioral patterns. The author takes the urban dance music scene as one of his examples to demonstrate his idea of 'fluidity', 'music generates a range of moods and experiences which individuals are able to move freely between' (Bennett, 1999, p.611). The musical and stylistic fluidity of the urban dance music scene is a space for collective expressions, which represent 'highly fluid and transient modes of collective identity' and 'a means of engaging with and negotiating forms of everyday life' (Bennett, 2000,

p. 84). The neo-tribes thus share collective identities and beliefs; they can also shift themselves into a set of different groups, for example from one musical style to another.

In addition to neo-tribes, the theoretical approach – ‘lifestyle’ (Bennett, 2000; Miles, 2000) has also been proposed. For Bennett (2000, p. 27), lifestyle theory looks at ‘how collective cultural meanings are inscribed in commodities’ that enable young people ‘to construct their own forms of meaning and authenticity’. Young people, ‘whose choice reflects a self-constructed notion of identity’ (Bennett 1999, p. 607), are consumers, who have ‘the opportunity to break away from their traditional class-based identities’, because of ‘the increased spending power of the young facilitating and encouraging experimentations with new, self-constructed forms of identity’ (p.602). For Bennett (2000), young consumers borrow the cultural resources provided by the popular culture industries and select and make meanings attached to those resources as templates by constructing their own forms of identities and authenticity. In a similar vein, Miles (2000, p. 16) argues, ‘lifestyles are not individualized in nature but are constructed through affiliation and negotiation [...]’. ‘Lifestyles are, in effect, lived cultures in which individuals actively express their identities, but in direct relation to their position as regards the dominant culture’. The main concept of the lifestyle theory therefore is that young consumers produce and create their own identities by using commodities in their everyday lives as cultural resources. The cultural resources and commodities play an important role to formulate the modes of youth identities and social engagements. Youth consumer cultures in their everyday lives are always in shifting and temporal forms, unlike subculture theory, which tends to pre-determine the actions practiced by young consumers. The concept of equating youth consumers with working class youth therefore, according to Miles (1995, p. 35), ‘concentrates on symbolic aspects of subcultural consumption at the expense of the actual meanings that young consumers have for the goods that they consume’. Youth, for Miles (1995), thus are not just simply ‘the consumers’, but rather they are independent people who are selective of what cultural productions offer. The idea of young people taking pleasure and having fun with ‘subcultural’ forms and manipulating ‘subcultures’ for the leisure purposes is

also implied. In other words, consumerism allows young people to construct their own alternative lifestyles or identities through local and global resources by appropriating cultural commodities. The theories of post-subculture in this respect are concerned with the issues of youth individual lifestyle and consumption choices as the key factors in identity construction process.

Post-subculturalists however have also been critiqued by recent youth culture scholars for overtly stressing on individual agency and choice, rather than social structure and class. They are criticized for failing to consider the political, resistant, sub-cultural character of youth population (cf. Blackman, 2005), overlooking the potential importance of class and other social divisions in youth culture and the overall less advantaged young people (cf. Shildrick & MacDonald, 2006). Signifying 'the most obviously stylistic forms of contemporary youth culture (whose adherents might be argued to be predominantly drawn from more advantaged social positions) these studies are less likely to be able to uncover evidence of how class, and other social divisions, delimit youth cultural possibilities' (Shildrick & MacDonald, 2006, p.136). As Blackman (2005, pp.16-17) likewise suggests, 'The postmodern [subculture] theory presents an individualized understanding of the subculture as simulacrum, where no authenticity exists and individuals free floatingly signify any identity. Each time subcultural theory moves towards a more individualistic understanding of young people, it becomes over-preoccupied with the particular, either in terms of 'dysfunctionalism' or celebratory hybrid pleasures.'

The notion of urban youth culture I seek to develop here therefore takes up the useful ideas embedded within both subcultural and post-subcultural theories, as it might allow us to broaden the significance of both frameworks within modern youth cultural studies. Like subculture, urban youth culture tends to acknowledge the relationship between social structure and class in youth culture and, particularly, the ways in which, and how particular social contexts and factors intertwine with the unequal and disjunctive distribution of different scapes (cf. Chapter 2) within modern youth culture. Subcultural theory's coherence and explanatory power at the level of the social is incorporated within the notion of urban youth culture.

From post-subculture, urban youth culture finds three useful ideas in reading young people's creative practices. Firstly, understanding youth-oriented culture as 'fluid' is useful, as the modern young consumers tend to shift easily from one culture/style to another due to advanced technology and new media tools. The activities practiced by the youth seem to be 'unpredictable' and 'spatiotemporal', therefore it is also useful to understand youth related culture activities as 'fluid'. Secondly, understanding the consumer culture as one of the 'lived cultures', which are constructed through everyday negotiations is also important. As this thesis examines the youth cultural activities emerging from their everyday practices, it is useful to explore young consumers from the perspectives of 'lived culture' rather than 'pre-ordained culture' such as 'multiculturalism'. Thirdly, investigating young people as 'active' consumers is useful since I deal with a large amount of consumer-produced data in which young consumers act, select, critique, and even create the cultural resources. The combination of these important ideas suggested by both subculture and post-subculture has further been extended within the conceptualization of urban youth culture, which are discussed throughout the next sections.

3.3 TOWARDS URBAN YOUTH CULTURE

Many scholars have previously considered certain 'popular culture resources' practiced by urban youth as part of urban youth culture: The relationship between young people living in urban centers and Hip Hop culture for example has largely been referred to as 'urban youth culture' (Smitherman, 2000; Levy, 2001), while Chinese popular music and its relation to Chinese urban youth have been implied as part of 'urban youth culture' in de Kloet's (2010) study. In a similar vein, the notion of urban youth culture I seek to develop here is also directly associated with how youth population is engaged with the cultural resources, particularly popular culture elements incorporated within the techno and media scapes. Put simply, two key concepts, 'urban youth' and 'popular cultural resources' constitute the notion of urban youth culture.

The first key concept is 'urban youth'. As Hansen (2008, pp. 4-6) notes, 'recent scholarship is trapped in a gulf between youth studies and urban

studies that complicates our understanding of the ongoing transformation of young people's lives in the era of global capitalism', and 'the two concerns are only rarely brought together'. By contrast, the notion of urban youth culture seeks to bring these two concerns together. The understanding of 'urban space' is important here. McQuire (2008, p.17) suggests that traditional cities were dominated by 'the stable disposition of buildings, monuments and public spaces [which] formed a network which held the lives of its citizens', while modern cities 'introduced a new set of variables which altered the nexus between urban space and the reproduction of cultural identity'. The spatial experience of modern social life therefore emerges not only through urban territories for McQuire (2008, p.viii), but also through the complexity of social practices and media. Modern urban space not only provides urban territories of much of our favourite entertainment (e.g., clubs, pubs, concerts, festivals etc), but also is characterized by an influx of modern media and technology. The expansion of media and technology within processes of modern globalization are producing new forms of urban cultures and urban experiences, and extending the existing ones. This 'mobile, instantaneous and pervasive' manner of modern media and technology pushes us to rethink beyond the traditional concept of urban space and reconceptualize the notion of urban space in contemporary cities.

The concept of urban space here thus is understood through how it spatially relates to its citizens via different cultural/technological modes and channels it may contain. Macionis & Parrillo (2010, p.16) argue that urban space is mobilized by its people, as it does not exist in a vacuum, but is 'powered by its people, who represent a particular way of life, or culture', based on particular beliefs, attitudes, worldviews and social patterns within a particular time and space. Urban space is particularly important in terms of understanding the lifestyle of the modern youth population, as it serves as the dominant force in the life of most young people in the world today. The world is undergoing the largest wave of urban growth in its history. The urban population of 'Asia and sub-Saharan Africa will double in less than a generation and young people under twenty-five already make up half the urban population' (Laski & Schellekens, 2007, p. iv).

The concept of 'urban youth' therefore is identified as the youth population living in urban space (e.g., cities, metropolitan areas, capitals, suburban areas where a large number of youth populations are involved), who are actively involved within modern cultural resources provided by urban space, as Valentin (2008, p.94) notes, 'reading the city as a context for social action allows us to examine the specific conditions under which different generations of young people grow up and how they are formed as both individuals and historically produced categories'. 'Urban youth' hence is characterized as an era of new styles, as the new wave of culturally dynamic urban population (cf. Featherstone, 2007), complexifying the past notion of stereotyping the images of mass consumers, dressed similarly and massed together. Modern urban population negotiates and plays with the 'randomness' of the cultural resources provided by urban space (Featherstone, 2007, pp. 93-96), building their lives into a 'work of art' through taking active attitudes towards lifestyle, due to extensive ranges of cultural and leisure pursuits available in the modern cities. 'Urban youth' is understood through Bosire's (2006, p. 192) definition, a 'global urban ethnicity – the urbanite: sophisticated, street smart, new generation', distinguishing the modern urban youth population from other social groups and ethnic communities.

In other words, in contemporary urban space, youth create their identities not only through social institutions such as the family or school, but also through the frequent exposures to cultural products and resources. The threads of modern lifestyle in the 21st century can most evidently be seen in the lifestyles of modern urban youth. Today, everyday practices of the modern urban youth population are closely attached with a range of cultural resources, mediated by the expansion of media and technology. Put differently, the roles played by young people living in urban spaces are culturally dynamic. The lifestyles of young people living in urban settings are deeply involved with the cultural resources produced by urban space (cf. Chapter 5.2.3; Chapter 5.3.2).

For this thesis, the concept of 'urban youth' thus is stretched to young people living in urban space, including not only metropolitan areas such as the capital city, Ulaanbaatar, but also suburban areas and rural areas. By 'city-born' youth population, I refer to the lifestyle of privileged and mostly middle class youth living in the central and metropolitan areas of city. By

'suburban youth', I refer to the less privileged youth population who were born and live in the outskirts of Ulaanbaatar, including the 'ger districts'¹⁵ and shantytowns surrounding the capital. The urban cultural experiences can equally be practiced by the 'rural born [urban] youth population', living in urban space (central city or suburban areas), who were born in rural areas but moved to the city in later life. The sense of 'urban youth', which I am trying to develop here therefore is not exclusively restricted to the city born (UB-born) youth population, as anyone living in urban space, regardless of their rural, suburban and urban background, is captured within the notion of 'urban youth'. To sum up, the concept of 'urban youth' refers to young people living in urban space, who are interconnected through media and technology, and who are actively engaged with cultural experiences provided by urban space. It looks at the lifestyle of all of the youth population situated within urban space, regardless of their central, rural or suburban backgrounds.

The second key concept – 'popular culture resources' within the notion of urban youth culture refers to any popular cultural resources provided by urban space in which 'urban youth' is actively engaged (cf. Chapter 6). In other words, the cultural resources, which are largely practiced by the urban youth population, are the important concept here for two main reasons. Firstly, popular culture is primarily associated with urban space: Storey (1998) emphasizes that 'whatever else popular culture might be, it is definitely a culture that only emerged from industrialization and urbanization' (p.17). Featherstone (2007, pp. 93-96) likewise argues that modern cities are not only cultural centers, containing art treasures and heritages of the past, but also cities are the 'cultural capitals' of cultural productions, and cultural industries of popular culture and leisure. The contemporary cities provide not only the commodities of everyday consumption, but also a range of symbolic products and experiences. The concept of 'urban space' therefore is a dynamic spatiality, in which diverse popular cultural products, resources and experiences are embedded within it. It is in the city that modern youth cultural activities (e.g., clubs, concerts, cinemas, pubs, cafes etc) take place. The

¹⁵Almost half of total UB population live in the 'ger districts', which are situated in the outskirts of Ulaanbaatar, lacking basic access to water, sanitation and infrastructure. Most of the families live in the ger (traditional Mongolian felt dwelling) or small houses.

diversity of modern 'urban space' provides vibrant social and cultural interactions and contacts, which generate dynamic socio-cultural activities.

Secondly, popular culture is largely associated with young people in recent youth oriented literature: Hesmondhalgh (2005) for example notes that the relationship between popular culture and young people is intimate, as the study of popular music equates to an important study of youth culture too. As Hesmondhalgh (2005, pp.21-22) further argues, many key studies have always said something about the role of popular music in the lives of young people, as 'the most famous popular music of the past decades seems to have been created mainly by youngish people for young people'. Similarly, popular culture is associated closely with the everyday life of young people and has essential 'implications for the public spaces and social fabric of a society, including the way that youth conceptualize and enact their roles as citizens' (Dolby, 2006, p.34). Duncan-Andrade (2004, p.313) also writes that popular culture includes 'various cultural activities in which young people invest their time, including but not limited to: music, television, movies, video games, sport, Internet, text messaging, style, and language practices'. The understanding of popular culture in this light is a significant ever-growing spatiality, which can characterize the lifestyles of contemporary young people. Put differently, it is almost impossible to understand the daily lifestyle of 'urban youth' without understanding their involvement with popular culture. It was clearly evident during the fieldwork trip that the majority of research participants were involved within a range of popular culture forms, including writing or listening to popular music, watching movies, TV dramas, making or watching music videos, participating in internet-oriented activities, styling themselves with the latest fashion, reading popular literature and journals, and involved within other location based entertainments (clubbing, party, concerts, sports activities etc). The list, of course, is not exhaustive.

Lastly, popular culture is important for the notion of urban youth culture because of its dynamic role in understanding youth-driven language studies. As Pennycook (2007a, p.81) puts it, 'it is hard to see how we can proceed with any study of language, culture, globalization and engagement without dealing comprehensively with popular culture'. As Auzanneau (2002, p.120) argues, 'the study of rap is a means of examining the relationships between

urban processes and sociolinguistic situations'. Lee & Moody (2012, pp.1-11) note that popular culture is more than entertainment and leisure, as it provides us with an opportunity to see difference within the context of a shared community. Just as popular culture grows and develops across different local contexts, the language used to express those cultures doubtlessly diversifies. The interrelationship between popular culture and its language therefore is important, offering 'justifiably useful resource for analysis in sociolinguistics and applied linguistics' (p. 5). Bennett (2000) likewise argues that popular culture resources such as popular music plays an essential role in creating diverse 'urban narratives', which can illustrate local 'knowledges' of place; Berger & Carroll (2003) acknowledge that the politics and aesthetics of global pop music language can show how young people use the language of popular music not only to express personal and collective emotions, desires, political resistance but also other urgent socio-political issues; Alim et al (2009), Higgins (2009a, 2009b), Sarkar, 2009; Sarkar et al (2005), Lee & Moody (2012) emphasize the various sociolinguistic role of popular music - an important site for the construction of collective and individual youth identities around the world. Looking at the dynamic relationship between popular music and young people can capture the hidden aspects of youth language and identity and may open up the new unexpected spaces where we have never looked before. Popular culture thus can be a productive space, which opens up new possibilities to better understand how the modern linguascape of young people can be formed. Similarly, urban youth can be the dynamic space where the language of popular culture can also be better understood.

These three important ideas constitute the sphere of 'popular culture resources' within the conceptualization of urban youth culture. Firstly, popular culture has been identified as one of the cultural resources, which are deeply associated with urban space. Secondly, youth population has been identified as one of the most active practitioners of popular culture resources. Thirdly, the language of popular resources has been identified as one of the important resources in terms of producing various youth identities. Overall, this sphere is identified by any forms of popular culture resources, mobilized by young people, who live in urban settings – 'urban youth'. Specifically, the language of popular culture resources and its connection with urban youth is examined

within this concept. The key research inquiry of this sphere therefore is identified by the relationship between its language, urban space and the youth population. In the next section, I will discuss how the co-relationship between the two spheres of 'urban youth' and 'popular culture resources' can further be expanded within the notion of urban youth culture.

3.4 THE ACTORS OF URBAN YOUTH CULTURE

The notion of urban youth culture seeks to fill the gap within youth cultural frameworks of subculture and post-subculture, by looking at the youth culture both as the cultural producers and cultural consumers. Both subculture and post-subculture theories tend to focus on the youth-driven cultural practices, from the perspective of consumers' culture. Young people are understood as the consumers of cultural production and cultural industries, although the equally important cultural productions mobilized by the youth are often overlooked or unaddressed in both frameworks. The concerns with the participation of young people in producing cultural commodities (e.g., establishing music bands, song-writing etc) have been overlooked, as if young people only consume culture and media related resources. Young people thus are viewed not as the producers, but simply as the consumers.

The notion of urban youth culture on the other hand seeks to understand youth-driven cultural practices from the perspectives of being both cultural producers and active consumers, following the recent movement within popular culture studies (cf. Andtroutsopolus, 2009; Brown, 2008; Duncan-Andrade, 2004). Harrington & Bielby (2001, p.11) argue that contemporary popular culture studies tend to concentrate on a singular dimension rather than looking at the interplays of popular culture productions and consumptions, suggesting that 'common sense tells us that the popularity of any given cultural text, whether it be music or television or sport, is dependent upon an integrated relationship between producers and consumers'. From this point of view, Harrington & Bielby (2001) have proposed the concept of 'The Circuit of Culture', drawing on the work of du Gay (1997). These scholars for example have criticized The Contemporary Production of Culture approach (Mukerji & Schudson, 1991; Negus, 1997) for predominantly focusing on the issues of culture as a manufactured product,

and identifying consumers as neither 'active' nor 'creative', or criticize this approach for giving too much attention to the production of the culture, and ignoring the meaning making systems of consumers. Moreover, the scholars have further criticized the Cultural Studies approach (Fiske, 1989; Nelson, Treichler & Grossberg, 1992), for paying too much attention on active consumers and the audiences' active engagements with popular culture texts, marginalizing the negotiations of power between production and consumption. Extending these ideas, Harrington & Bielby (2001) opt for 'The Circuit of Culture', following du Gay (1997, p.10), 'cultural meaning making functions less in terms of a "transmission flow" model from producer to consumer and more like the model of a dialogue. It is ongoing process'. The critical view of this approach is that cultural meanings are 'produced at a number of different sites and are circulated through a complex set of reciprocal processes and practices' (Harrington & Bielby 2001, p.11). For this approach, production and consumption are key sites for meaning-making, but other sites serve important intermediary functions. Five major cultural processes are emphasized in studying 'The Circuit of Culture', including representation, identity, production, consumption, and regulation to study an object or text culturally, 'one should at least explore how it is represented, what social identities are associated with it, how it is produced and consumed, and what mechanisms regulate its distribution and use' (du Gay 1997, p.3). The Circuit of Culture 'can begin with any moment or site that one chooses; while they might appear to be distinct categories, they overlap and articulate with one another in myriad ways' (Harrington & Bielby 2001, p.11).

This main idea of 'The Circuit of Culture' approach, which prioritizes the interplay between producers and consumers, is useful in developing the concept of urban youth culture further. The complexity of this symbiotic relationship between production and consumption allows us to fully understand the urban youth relationship with popular cultural resources. This co-relationship between two concepts, 'urban youth' and 'popular culture resources', will investigate the circulating processes around the cultural resources produced by the producers and their relation to consumers; the cultural resources reproduced by consumers and their relation to producers (e.g., consuming and reappropriating the producers' production); the cultural

resources produced by consumers (e.g., amateur productions) and so on. In order to capture the insights of popular cultural resources created by the co-relationship between producers and consumers, it is also important to identify the main actors behind this circuit. One of the central questions of urban youth culture is therefore to identify what social identities are associated with the production and consumption processes. I have in this respect identified 'urban youth' as one of the main 'popular culture resources', i.e., 'the producers (cf. Chapter 5; Chapter 7) and consumers' in late modernity (cf. Chapter 6; Chapter 8).

Popular culture is identified as one of the everyday practices of young people's daily life within the conceptualization of 'urban youth as cultural producers and consumers'. Connell & Gibson (2003, p.1) argue that 'popular music is spatial, which is linked to particular geographical sites, bound up in our everyday perceptions of place, and a part of movements of people, products and cultures across space'. Following this argument, I look at the concept of 'urban youth as producers and consumers' as one of the main actors who mobilize the popular culture resources based on their everyday practices. This is in line with Browne's (1996, p. 25) argument that popular culture should be seen beyond the concept of entertainment or the culture of entertainment of large groups of people but rather needs to be examined through the daily lives of people in the society. Popular culture study therefore is the scholarly exploration of everyday cultures, whether it is 'liked or disliked, approved or disapproved'. In a similar vein, Fiske (1989, p. 6) proposes that popular culture texts are 'completed only when taken up by people and inserted into their everyday culture', and 'relevance can be produced only by the people, for only they can know which texts enable them to make the meanings that will function in their everyday lives'. The notion of urban youth culture' within this study therefore looks at popular culture as the cultural resources, which is practiced by the everyday lifestyles of young people. Young people can either produce or consume the cultural resources. That is to say, not only young people can produce popular music resources by writing songs, singing, dancing and performing, but also productively consuming popular culture resources by evaluating, critiquing or producing their own versions.

Within the understanding of urban youth as 'cultural producers', I refer to young people living in urban settings who make cultural production possible. As Duncan-Andrade (2004, p. 313) emphasizes, 'central to a discussion of youth popular culture is the point that culture is not just a process of consumption (critical or passive); it is also a process of production, of individual and collective interpretation (meaning making) through representations of styles, discursive practices, semiotics, and texts'. In line with this argument, the notion of urban youth culture thus refers to young producers as creative young people who contribute to popular culture productions. For example, young songwriters, musicians and Hip Hop artists are perceived as people who mobilize the cultural resources and connect with other young people – the consumers. The notion looks at the cultural production site from the perspective of creative young people who are actively involved in producing meaningful cultural discourses. Young people produce cultural resources from everyday lifestyle practices, not necessarily as cultural producers who produce 'cultural industries'. Put another way, young people play important roles to create the cultural resources available in the modern world. It is however important not to forget that the cultural productions produced by the creative young people might be used as cultural products by the cultural industries. My interest thus is not so much about the cultural industries as cultural producers, but rather young people themselves as cultural producers.

Within the understanding of young people as 'cultural consumers' on the other hand, I refer to young people living in modern urban spaces, who are avid or casual consumers - users, audiences, participants, receivers and fans of popular culture productions. By consumers, I further refer to young people, who reproduce what cultural productions have offered to them (e.g., amateur productions), and who positively learn from the cultural resources by appropriating them to their everyday lives. In other words, they can manipulate cultural resources available to them according to their tastes, interests and styles. The weblogs and fan pages created by the consumers in relation to their favorite everyday activities; or amateur productions including the activities of uploading their own songwriting/productions online; or just simply creating the space where they show how they reproduce the resources

adapted from the producers' sphere. All these activities are identified as the 'consumers' within this study.

Looking at young people as popular culture consumers is also important, since the majority of recent studies in the field of bi/multilingual youth studies have focused on the language practices of young people as popular culture producers (Alim et al, 2009; Lee & Moody, 2012; Terkourafi, 2010). The studies on language practices of young people as consumers are still largely overlooked (excluding Androutsopoulos, 2009; Garley, 2010; Mattar, 2003). As Androutsopoulos (2009, p.44) reminds us that language-centred studies on Hip Hop tend to specifically focus on the production sphere (rap lyrics etc), whilst the consumers' sphere seems to be somewhat ignored. Androutsopoulos (2009, p.44) further emphasizes the urgent need to consider an integrative view on language and Hip Hop through incorporating 'a much wider range of discourse practices, such as talk at work among rappers, writers, and breakers; the discourse of Hip Hop magazines and broadcast shows; artist-fan communication during live events; and an array of everyday talk and computer mediated discourse in what is often termed the Hip Hop Nation'.

Unlike the Frankfurt School's claim of youth as vulnerable and passive mass consumers, susceptible to the strategies of powerful market industries and producers, the position of urban youth culture approach is to look at young consumers as 'active'. Recent youth popular culture studies (e.g., Bird, 2003; Huq, 2006) widely acknowledge that young people are active consumers of popular culture productions: Young consumers use popular culture resources in creative ways in their lives, not just to consume passively (Dolby, 2006); young consumers are particularly creative in integrating popular culture resources into their lives (Bird, 2003); young consumers not only receive popular media resources but they are also the most creative participants in producing popular culture production itself (Drotner, 2000). Greenhow (2010) acknowledges the importance of young people as online consumers, 'although studies have conceptualized the Internet as an information repository and young people as knowledge recipients, fewer studies have emphasized youth's role as producers of multimedia content and their participation online through multimedia artifacts they create and share'

(p.57). As Greenhow (2010, p.55) further explains, 'Young people are producing online content for an innovative, topic-focused social networking application within Facebook.com. Links between youth's online contributions and their interest, self expression, social connections, and civic involvement are presented.'. France (2007) on a similar note acknowledges the importance of digital technology, as it is bringing about a 'net generation' or 'Y generation' – youth mostly born between the 1980s and 90s, who are skilled consumers of the new media and proficient at assimilating new technologies into their daily practices faster than any others. This consumer generation is an integral part of the modern new media revolution.

Extending the ideas acknowledged by these scholars, the notion of youth as cultural consumers therefore is conceptualized as 'active', rather than passive victims of cultural industries. Young consumers are selective in terms of cultural productions as they can choose when to actively integrate or just passively observe the forms of popular culture. This is in line with Huq's (2006, p. 163) suggestion that while popular culture/media resources have a significant influence on young people, modern consumers 'are not simply prepared to accept what is foisted upon them' by the productions, and 'even through youth are targeted by sophisticated marketing strategies, youth consumers still have the final say'. From this point of view, this thesis looks at young consumers as the influential critics to evaluate the cultural resources produced by their fellow young cultural producers. As Fiske (1989) proposes, the consumers have the power to judge what is popular or unpopular, as they can routinely resist and reproduce the favored meanings of cultural resources. The notion of urban youth culture hence refers to 'urban youth as consumers' as the arena for youth to understand and explore their identities, creating and reproducing cultural resources through engaging in popular culture/media practices in their daily practices.

To sum up, the co-relationship between two main concepts – 'urban youth' and 'popular cultural resources' within the notion of urban youth culture is characterized by the urban youth population whose daily lifestyles are actively engaged with popular culture. Urban youth can act both as cultural producers and consumers while experimenting with popular cultural resources within their everyday lives. Although the lifestyle of young people living in

urban space is associated with the cultural and media consumerism as post-subcultural theorists claim, they can also be the actual cultural resource producers. Young people living in urban space therefore will be investigated from the perspective of active 'producers and consumers of cultural resources' within the notion of urban youth culture.

3.5 REFRAMING URBAN YOUTH CULTURE

Putting aside the perspective of multiculturalism, and adapting useful ideas embedded within the theoretical frameworks of youth subculture and post-subculture, the notion of urban youth culture has been developed. Like post-subculture, urban youth culture examines youth-driven cultural activities as active and fluid, although it never loses sight of social structure. This means that the creativity among both the privileged and underprivileged youth population (e.g., city-born and rural born etc) will be considered. That is to say, young people living in urban space and their involvements with popular culture resources, regardless of their social and class backgrounds, are considered within the notion of urban youth culture.

By deploying the concept urban youth culture within this thesis, I refer to the co-relationship between 'urban youth' and 'popular culture resources'. By 'urban youth', I refer to young people living in urban space, who are actively engaged with various cultural resources powered by urban properties such as modern media and technology. Rural or suburban youth are also considered within this concept as long as they are both physically (rural-urban migration) or spatially (media and technology) involved with urban space. By 'popular culture resources', I refer to any popular cultural resources, which have an intimate relationship with urban youth, including popular culture forms, which are closely engaged with the daily lifestyles of young people living in urban space. The co-relationship between 'urban youth' and 'popular culture resources' has further identified the main actors of urban youth culture - 'the cultural producers and consumers'. This understanding has been explained through the everyday practices of young people who are actively engaged with popular culture activities. The urban youth population as cultural producers are young people living in urban settings, whose everyday lifestyles are involved in producing cultural resources (e.g., writing songs; establishing

music bands etc); whilst the urban youth population as cultural consumers refer to young people living in urban space, whose daily lives are productively involved with listening, watching, and evaluating the cultural productions performed by young cultural producers. Cultural consumers can also be creative: They can also play the roles of producers, as they may produce a large amount of content through their own creative participations and amateur productions.

Overall, I suggest that the co-relationship between two interrelated concepts 'urban youth' and 'popular cultural resources' creates the concept of urban youth culture. While these two spheres embody their own characteristics, they cannot truly be understood as separate entities. In short, urban youth and popular culture are dependent on each other and their boundaries are integrated through the interactions of their actors – 'producers' and 'consumers'. The concept of urban youth culture I imply here seeks to capture young people living in urban space, engaged with the popular culture recourses both as producers and consumers, saturated by transnational scapes (cf. Chapter 2). It can also be concluded that the linguascape of urban youth culture will be investigated through the cultural lens of popular culture, and the linguistic role of urban youth will particularly be identified from the perspectives of urban youth as popular culture producers and consumers.

CHAPTER 4

LOCATING 'LINGUISTIC (N)ETHNOGRAPHY'

4.1 INQUIRY THROUGH 'LINGUISTIC (N)ETHNOGRAPHY'

This chapter discusses the research methodology employed in order to examine the linguascape of urban youth culture in Mongolia. It presents my research perspective, research design and fieldwork, including the various data collection strategies, and post-field data analysis practices. In addition, the ethical, analytical and interpretive issues, which emerged during the course of the study, are also identified. This methodology chapter seeks to elaborate the scope of domains of life to be examined in the thesis, including popular music, social media, interviews and group discussions with the research participants. Young people both as the producers and consumers of popular culture as part of the broader concept of urban youth culture will also be discussed in this chapter.

Many recent scholars note the importance of conducting ethnography, since it involves direct engagement with public and social life, including both culture and language (cf. Heath & Street, 2008). Ethnography is 'a qualitative field of research intended to construct in-depth depictions of the every day life events of people through active researcher participation and engagement' (Crichton & Kinash, 2003, p. 102). Duff (2008) suggests that the ethnographic approach can shed light on understanding language socialization, including discourse used and adapted in a variety of contemporary activities, whilst never losing the larger sociopolitical, economic, and cultural insights, and most importantly, the participants' evolving identities and language possibilities. Blommaert & Dong (2010a, p. 5) refer to ethnography as a 'full intellectual programme' that progresses towards 'a perspective on language and communication, including ontology and epistemology, both of which are of significance for the study of language in society, or better, of language as well as of society'. This is also in line with Blommaert's (2005, p.16) 'ethnography of text', in which an ethnography provides both micro and macro analysis of texts.

Bearing this in mind, the obvious starting point for me was to follow the

'ethnographic paradigm' (Blommaert, 2007, p.687), in order to better understand young people's multiple engagements with English and other languages. Once this initial ethnographic approach was chosen for accessing the linguascape of urban youth culture in Mongolia, I then turned to certain methods in order to develop a more useful framework, which may open up a fairly transparent portrayal of what is really happening in cultural and linguistic events produced by young people living in urban Mongolia. From this point of view, I have developed the framework of 'linguistic (n)ethnography', based on two main methodological frameworks – 'linguistic ethnography' (LE) (Creese, 2008; Rampton et al, 2004) and 'netnography' (Kozinets, 1998, 2002).

Let me visit the notion of linguistic ethnography first. Rampton et al (2004, p. 2) suggest that linguistic ethnography mutually shapes language and social life, and the 'close analysis of situated language use can provide both fundamental and distinctive insights into the mechanisms and dynamics of social and cultural production in everyday activity'. Rampton et al (2014, p. 20) further deny that LE is a cohesive school, referring to LE as a "'discursive space' and a 'site of encounter', bringing people with fairly mixed interests and backgrounds together in broad alignment with the two tenets [...]– contexts for communication should be investigated rather than assumed, and to grasp the significance of semiotic data, its internal organisation has to be addressed [...]'. As Blommaert & Rampton (2011, p.1) note, 'The combination of linguistics and ethnography produces an exceptionally powerful and differentiated view of both activity and ideology.'. According to Creese (2008, p.232), 'ethnography can benefit from the analytical frameworks provided by linguistics, while linguistics can benefit from the processes of reflexive sensitivity required in ethnography'. In other words, LE 'shares much in common with other approaches to research in sociolinguistics in making linkages between language, culture, society and cognition in complex ways which are not easily amenable to the application of strictly controlled a priori analytic categories'. Put simply, LE attempts 'to combine close detail of local action and interaction as embedded in a wider social world' (p.233). Tusting & Maybin (2007, p. 581) argue that understanding language drawing on ethnographic data may 'open linguistics up', which can further allow 'an improved explanatory warrant for statements about language on the basis of

systematically collected data about a real social and cultural context'. Following Hammersley, they further suggest that understanding linguistic practices through ethnography, i.e. linguistic ethnography may make 'statements about social reality that are more accurate than either ethnography or linguistics alone can offer'. These scholars further acknowledge the importance of methods such as 'participant-observation' and 'ethnographic interviews' to inform the analysis of language, where the researcher may directly involve in all the social practices under study, or by alternatively, asking participants to record their own practices.

From this point of view, recent language researchers who are specifically interested in youth language and style, urban language diversity and so on seem to draw on various linguistic ethnographic methods. Roth-Gordon (2009, p. 63) has acknowledged the importance of an ethnographic research in understanding how Hip Hop culture can influence the daily linguistic practice of Hip Hop fans, who integrate 'particularly catchy refrains into conversations, singing rap songs together and quoting well-known lyrics'. Androutsopoulos (2009, p.47) was involved with the ethnographic engagement to understand the 'various facets of Hip Hop' language. Using various elements of linguistic ethnographic methods in different sites and settings, including observation of online Hip Hop activities, interviews with web authors and editors, journalists and event organizers, hip hop consumers and fans, the researcher has developed the theoretical framework, which can potentially examine the 'three spheres of hip hop language' (producers, media actors, and consumers). Izon (2008) used LE to understand how language constructs multiple identities within a group of urban young people in Australia. As Izon (2008, p. 65) puts it, 'LE brings together in a flexible but cohesive fashion these and other interpretive resources applied by previous researchers, but additionally seeks to define a strong theoretical base for ethnography', since its 'centrality of context and emphasis on situated language use [...] means Linguistic Ethnography goes beyond field work methods and description to offer real critical potential which [...] may also offer the opportunity for practical interventions'.

Meanwhile, many recent youth language studies have looked at the online language practice of young speakers in late modernity in order to understand

the multiple semiotic resources they are involved. Overall, these studies reveal that it is equally important to investigate the linguistic practices of young people in an online space, since multiple 'new forms of semiotic codes [are] emerging in the context of technology-driven globalization processes' (Blommaert, 2011, pp. 2-3), a language practice referred to as 'the dialect of the supervernacular'. Sultana, Dovchin & Pennycook (2013, p.687) argue that modern young adults 'use linguistic and cultural resources in their online interactions as part of a complex and emergent stylization of place', which needs to be carefully examined. Danet & Herring (2007) illustrate how the Internet has already become one of the most popular public forums, in which multilingualism is evidently practiced. The collection of various orthographies, the specific features of local languages, code switching within various languages, including English, is, for these scholars, currently the language of the Internet around the world.

Following these lines of thought, I have adopted the methodology of netnography to understand the diverse online linguistic behaviors experienced by young people in Mongolia. Netnography (Kozinets, 2002) is an ethnographic framework, which specifically looks at the behaviors of online users, employing a natural and unobtrusive manner. According to Kozinets (1998, p.366), netnography is a qualitative research methodology, 'an interpretive method devised specifically to investigate the consumer behavior of cultures and communities present on the Internet'. It can be defined as 'a written account resulting from fieldwork studying the cultures and communities that emerge from on-line, computer mediated, or Internet-based communications, where both the field work and the textual account are methodologically informed by the traditions and techniques of cultural anthropology'. It is an adaptation of 'the qualitative methods utilized in consumer research [...], cultural anthropology [...], and cultural studies [...], with the express aim of enabling a contextually-situated study of the consumer behavior of virtual communities and cyberculture'. It mainly involves 'an immersive combination of cultural participation and observation'.

I have defined two methodological frameworks, linguistic ethnography and netnography, which have been used as the main research frameworks in this thesis. Together, they are coined in terms of what I have called 'linguistic

(n)ethnography'. The idea of linguistic ethnography embedded within linguistic (n)ethnography allows the researcher to physically interact and communicate with the research participants, while the notion of netnography provides a means to examine young people's linguistic dynamics situated in online space.

4.2 LINGUISTIC (N)ETHNOGRAPHY AS MACRO AND MICRO INQUIRY

Generally speaking, linguistic (n)ethnography is understood both at the macro and micro levels. Following Fife's (2005, p.1) experience as an ethnographic researcher in Papua New Guinea, two key terms, 'context' and 'pattern', and two main questions, 'how much context do I have to cover?' and 'how will I recognize a pattern when I see it?' are primarily addressed in this paradigm. As Fife (2005, p.1) puts it, 'The goal of ethnographic research is to formulate a pattern of analysis that makes reasonable sense out of human actions within the given context of a specific time and place'. Similarly, Blommaert (2006, p. 4) highlights the importance of context and pattern in ethnography, "There is no way in which language can be 'context-less'", because '[t]o language, there is always [...] an identifiable set of relations between singular acts of language and wider patterns of resources and their functions'. As Creese (2008, p.229) similarly acknowledges that it is useful to look at '[...] the interplay between language and the social, the patterned and dynamic nature of this interplay and the processual nature of meaning-creation in the making of context'.

Highlighting Fife's two questions, linguistic (n)ethnography examines both 'context' (the urban youth culture of Mongolia) and 'pattern' (linguascape), which can lead to an empirically valid argument in terms of understanding the overall picture of linguascape of urban youth culture in Mongolian society. 'Context' can be referred to as a 'macro' level of approach, i.e., overall socio-cultural inquiry, since looking at the specific patterns of language practices in particular context, as suggested by (Blommaert & Dong, 2010a), is not sufficient to interpret individual actions as if the speakers have established exclusively isolated or separated linguistic and cultural entities. Studying language, according to Blommaert & Dong (2010a), means studying society, where equal attentions need to be given to non-linguistic matters. The social value of language is an essential part of any language practice, since each

act of language may articulate the certain social situation of these acts. That is to say, 'The social dimension of language is precisely the blending of linguistic and metalinguistic levels in communication: actions proceed with an awareness of how these actions should proceed and can proceed in specific social environments.' (Blommaert & Dong, 2010a, p.5). From this point of view, every language act is fundamentally socio-historical, which brings out the context level of ethnography. In a similar vein, Fife (2005) argues that every individual action within ethnography needs to be interpreted within its larger social, cultural, and historical context, since it provides us with useful knowledge about the types of relationships that exist between the particular acts and other social formations or groups inside the context. This understanding is accordingly referred to as the 'macro level of research' (Fife, 2005, p.4), i.e., the macro level of linguistic (n)ethnographic (online and offline) perspective in this thesis, in which the overall local socio-cultural context of urban youth culture in Mongolia and its relation to language is carefully investigated.

The macro level of linguistic (n)ethnographic paradigm however cannot be fully understood without considering the 'micro level of research' (Fife, 2005, p.4) – 'pattern' (the actual practices that create the linguascape), in which they are incorporated. The co-relationship between macro and micro is important in constructing the full knowledge of inquiry, as 'both a processual and a historical dimension to every act of language-in-society' (Blommaert & Dong, 2010a, p.9) needs to be addressed. As Blommaert (2006, p. 4) puts it, 'Language in this tradition is defined as a resource to be used, deployed and exploited by human beings in social life and hence socially consequential for humans.'. As Rampton (2007, p. 585) notes, the '[...] analysis of the internal organisation of verbal (and other kinds of semiotic) data is essential to understanding its significance and position in the world [...]'. Inquiry into 'pattern', i.e., the micro level of linguistic (n)ethnographic study therefore focuses on the epistemology of linguascape itself - varied linguistic practices and resources that create the notion of linguascape. In this micro level of inquiry, language is treated as moving transnational linguistic and semiotic resources, in which they are understood through how they are consumed, borrowed and relocalized for the speakers' communicative practices (cf.

Chapter 1, Chapter 2). I will discuss in the next two sections how the macro and micro level of inquiry was conducted in this linguistic (n)ethnographic study.

4.3 THE MACRO LEVEL OF LINGUISTIC (N)ETHNOGRAPHY

Prior to the actual fieldwork trip to Mongolia, I became particularly focused on the examination of how linguascape can be understood inside the larger society and culture, including its relationship with its actual 'context'. Under this category, the macro understanding of inquiry has been addressed, starting from an overall past to present socio-historical and cultural inquiry of the urban youth culture and their relation to foreign languages in Mongolia. In other words, the linguascape of urban youth culture in Mongolia has been investigated in both a historical and contemporary socio-cultural context.

Firstly, the socio-historical understanding of the context of urban youth culture in Mongolia has been investigated, since historical awareness of our present circumstance should always be examined, and 'situat[ing] text in sociohistorical context' is an important mode of analysis (Canagarajah, 2002, p. 19). Fife (2005, p. 17) emphasizes that concentrating on learning the socio-historical accounts of that particular research context during ethnography 'can create an adequate, if not ideal, platform upon which to generate an understanding of the most important historical trends affecting the special area of research interest'. That is to say, it is impossible to understand the language practices of the speakers, without understanding the overall local socio-historical context formation (cf. Bailey, 2007; 2012). As Bailey (2012, p. 506) also acknowledges, 'Patterns and meanings of multilingual talk at the local level' can be 'linked to larger sociohistorical questions in ways that are not possible with a more formal approach'. Each linguistic utterance in the present therefore needs to be understood through 'sociohistorical relationships that give meanings to those utterances'. Correspondingly, understanding the socio-historical aspects of the research context has become the initial mission of this (n)ethnographic study as part of the pre-fieldwork preparation, since it was crucial to locate and understand the historical development of the present linguascape.

During this stage, I specifically examined the socio-historical implications

of the Post-Soviet era since 1990, including Mongolia's peaceful transformation from a communist to a democratic regime, accompanied by the shift from a centrally planned economy to a new market economy (cf. Chapter 1). This social, political and economic change has dramatically influenced the cultural and linguistic patterns of the current context. I examined a plethora of source documents, both in print and online materials (newspapers, academic writings, journals) written in Mongolian, archived in the central libraries of UB. Being an insider researcher proved to be extremely advantageous given that the majority of the material was written in Mongolian, with only a handful of documents being available in English. As Kanuha (2000) notes, 'being an insider researcher enhances the depth and breadth of understanding a population that may not be accessible to a nonnative scientist' (cited in Dwyer & Buckle, 2009, p.57). The careful examination of these source documents provided a sufficient basis for me to understand the important socio-historical background information, influencing the current area of the research context.

From here, I shifted to the contemporary socio-cultural context, which has been categorized into three main stages. Firstly, a rich amount of secondary data sources (mostly print materials – academic writings, government statistics and documents, newspapers and journals) provided a view of the current social, political, economic, cultural and linguistic circumstances within modern Mongolia. Again, most of the materials were only available in Mongolian, although a small number of English academic sources, investigating popular music (Marsh, 2006; 2010), language and cultural ideologies (Billé, 2008; 2010); and language attitudes (Cohen, 2004; Beery, 2004) were also available. Popular language ideologies, linguistic attitudes and varied discourses surrounding the role of English and other languages in modern Mongolian society were investigated in this stage.

During this stage, I also undertook the casual conversations and discussions with some members of the older generation in Mongolia both via offline and online modes, in terms of better understanding the linguistic and cultural situation of pre-1990 Mongolia. The members included my parents, relatives, friends' elder brothers or sisters, colleagues and so on. These discussions were intended to find out about the daily lifestyle, popular music, linguistic and cultural practices of the people lived in the era of communist

Mongolia. In order to broaden the scope of my data, there were also some additional adult research members, who only briefly participated in the study, via the mode of semi-structured interviews. However, the importance of the data collected from these particular participants (cf. Appendix 11) should not be underestimated, as they provide valuable macro insight into the context inquiry. For example, the comments provided by the professor of linguistics from the National University of Mongolia, reflected the popular language ideologies in Mongolia (cf. Chapter 1; Chapter 6); while a middle aged professional, Batsaikhan's comments were something of a historical backdrop (cf. Chapter 2), by sharing the experience of his teenage years during the Soviet era in Mongolia. Similarly the administrator of widely popular music website (www.khantulga.com), Khantulga provided some important views towards Mongolia's current popular music scene (cf. Chapter 8).

Secondly, I have dealt with contemporary scholarly literature within youth bi/multilingual studies, with the specific aim to locate my own theoretical space. As Fife (2005, p. 37) puts it, 'Scholars should be conversant with the major theoretical trends in their topic before they begin their fieldwork', since it will be essential if the researcher is going 'to create a personal theoretical orientation that will guide the on-site study', which will 'eventually result in collecting the kind of evidence that will allow for a proper ethnographic argument to be constructed after the work is completed'. During this stage, I have dealt extensively with the most recent literature in terms of the language of popular music, multilingual urban youth language and identities in real life situations, globalization and the global spread of language and culture, multilingual online practices, and youth subculture and style. This preliminary literature review played a key role in defining where I stand as a researcher. The theoretical and methodological frameworks, including the real life data examples, discussed in contemporary scholarly sources, allowed me to take a cross-cultural comparative look at bi/multilingual youth speakers. This comparative investigation further allowed me to determine any research gaps and limitations, and identify a statement of the problems.

Thirdly, the Internet provided rich sources of qualitative data (cf. Markham & Baym, 2008) to observe the linguascape of urban youth culture. As Sade-Beck (2004, p. 46) proposes, 'Vast amounts of data and links to additional,

related sites provide a huge storehouse of available information; thus, the Internet is a technological innovation tightly linked to social change'. From this point of view, some of the most obvious mixed language practices, presented on public display generated by urban youth speakers have been closely monitored in this stage as part of the context level of netnography. Kozinets (1998, pp.369-370) notes that one of the most important methods incorporated within netnography is 'prolonged engagement', 'persistent observation' and 'vigilance' when the researcher is online. In other words, the set of 'observational and hermeneutic skills' of interpretive ethnographic researchers may even open up the possibility for the researcher to feel 'for a time and in an unpredictable way, an active part of the face-to-face relationships in that community' (p.366). Extending this idea, I visited websites such as YouTube, Facebook, personal blogs and other commercial websites to carry out 'persistent observation' and then 'post-interpretation' over the obtained initial data. For example, YouTube (cf. Chun & Walters, 2011) allowed me to observe state-of-the-art local popular music videos, concerts, interviews, song lyrics, fan behaviors and communications, providing a set of data, which was clearly representative of the diversity of language practices in both the producers' and consumers' spheres (cf. Chapter 1, Nominjin's music video 'Ülemjiin Chanar' and its YouTube discussion board). The discourses of linguistic dystopia and linguistic diversity in Mongolia were widely circulating around the discussion boards, FB posts and other weblogs of Mongolian websites during this stage.

The commercial websites of certain musicians allowed the opportunity to gain insight into the particular artists' biography, social background, ambition, and future plan, including chart history, album history and other highly detailed information. Facebook has also become an instant tool to observe how young speakers are involved with varied language practices through manipulating various resources within their daily online activities (cf. Cunliffe et al, 2013; Honeycutt & Cunliffe, 2010; Lee, 2011). This initial 'online vigilance' method embedded within netnography built up a solid background and clear picture of where to start and how to proceed further in understanding the linguascape of urban youth culture in Mongolia.

Overall, the combination of these socio-historical and contemporary

preliminary stages created the opportunity to formulate my research questions, and further to create my own theoretical orientations such as ‘linguascape’ and ‘urban youth culture’ (cf. Chapter 1, 2, 3), before starting the actual fieldwork trip. These themes, which emerged during this macro level of research, have later guided me to enter into ‘pattern’ – the actual fieldwork trip, in order to define the ontology of linguascape.

4.4 THE MICRO LEVEL OF LINGUISTIC (N)ETHNOGRAPHY

With the pre-field preparations, conducted as part of the macro level of linguistic (n)ethnography completed, I travelled to Ulaanbaatar twice between July – November, 2010 and April – June, 2011 as part of the micro level of inquiry with regard to exploring the varied ‘micro patterns’ that may create the notion of linguascape. Here, the research participants were identified following the conceptual framework of ‘urban youth culture’, in which participants were found to be members of the youth population living in urban space, Ulaanbaatar, who were actively engaged with popular culture resources. The obvious starting point therefore was to conduct a (n)ethnographic research with representatives of both “the producers’ and consumers’ sphere” (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2009; Brown, 2008; cf. Chapter 3). It is also worth noting here that this linguistic (n)ethnography was neither ‘a canonical (in-depth, long-term) ethnography of a [...] community’ (Androutsopoulos, 2009, p. 47), nor a ‘full-scale ethnography’ (Ramanathan & Atkinson, 1999, p. 50), which seek to examine the linguascape of urban youth culture in Mongolia as a whole. Rather my aim was to adopt ‘an [n]ethnographic perspective’ and use ‘elements of [n]ethnographic method in various sites and research settings’ (Androutsopoulos, 2009, p. 47).

4.4.1 THE PRODUCERS’ SPHERE

Androutsopoulos (2009, p. 46) has examined the language practice of Hip Hop in Germany through the lens of the producers’ sphere, which ‘encompasses all productions which originate (or are accessible) in a particular country, together with their corresponding video clips and other broadcast performances’. The main research methodology used by Androutsopoulos (2009, p. 48) in this sphere was the contextual analysis of

the rap song lyrics based on its 'genre profile' including four main categories – 'song topics, speech act patterns, rhetorical resources, and linguistic variation'. What is however missing from this method is the actual interviews with the rap artists, which may better reveal the multiple meanings embedded within Hip Hop, as the language of Hip Hop cannot be exclusively interpreted through discourse analysis alone. Yet, many ethnographers, who looked at the youth language in relation to popular music, have conducted interviews with the actual performers (cf. Pennycook, 2007a; Pennycook & Mitchell, 2009; Sarkar, 2009). Overall, these scholars have illustrated how interviews with popular music artists not only offer valuable insight into the dynamics of the popular music discourses, but also provide key information in developing the research dynamics.

Extending Androutsopoulos's (2009) method of contextual analysis of online video clips, song lyrics and other broadcast performances, accompanied by interview methods suggested by other scholars, linguistic (n)ethnography method was developed in this producers' sphere. This sphere was divided into two stages – netnography and linguistic ethnography. Firstly, I retrieved a large collection of online music videos, song lyrics, broadcast performances, interviews, biographical information and documentaries through the 'online vigilance' method embedded within netnography (e.g., mainly through the utilization of Facebook, YouTube and www.asuult.net; www.hantulga.com and other personal commercial websites of the artists). As I collated this data, I started 'mini-contextual analysis' in terms of the data collected, where I specifically investigated, following the methods of Androutsopoulos's (2009, p. 48) 'genre profile', the 'song topics, speech act patterns, rhetorical resources, and linguistic variation'. I also validated these sets of data in relation to the artists' 'already available online interviews', through integrating interview accounts with their performances. Even though I did not meet the artists face-to-face, this netnographic method opened up a clearer picture of 'who is who', 'what he/she does perform', and 'what languages he/she does incorporate in their musical performances'. More importantly, many new interesting issues and questions were raised, including 'Why would he/she use specifically English here?', 'Why is she using English when she is singing something very nationalistic?' and so on. Consequently,

drawing on this available information via netnography, I started to identify and re-categorize the artists according to their genres, use of English and other languages, and all other relevant modes. This netnography was actively conducted on daily basis around 2-3 hours over the course of initial two years, until and during the actual fieldwork trip in UB (from July 2009 – October 2010). I also identified the names of 14 artists that I was eager to pursue for the next stage of my study. This was the beginning of the second stage of the (n)ethnographic research, which I refer to as ‘linguistic ethnography’.

Through ‘linguistic ethnography’, I adopted one of its main methods, face-to-face interviews with the research participants. I conducted ‘semi-structured interviews’ with the research participants, since the strength of this interview method is often acknowledged by ethnographers (cf. Silverman, 2013), for allowing a freedom for both the interviewers and interviewees to open up easily, avoiding strict restrictions in terms of questions and answers. This freedom can also assist interviewers to alter their questions within actual interview contexts, and to the interviewees. The advantage of using open-ended questions can also provide a two-way communication, in which the interviewee is given the opportunity to shape and expand on their own responses (cf. Fife, 2005).

Of the 14 artists that I had initially shortlisted, I was able to establish communication with only six of them (cf. Appendix 4). Additionally, there was one particular artist (cf. Chapter 7, Section 7.2) whom I did not have the chance to meet face-to-face, whilst in UB. However, we were able to conduct an interview via Facebook chat correspondence. These six artists were evidently popular in Mongolia, having topped the local charts, and initial contact was established through my own networking of friends, friends’ of friends, Facebook and personal website contact emails and telephones. During these initial correspondences, the research aim, methods and contexts were introduced. Later, during the actual face-to-face meetings, all participants were provided with a set of research information letters and research consent forms. These documents clearly stated the purpose and procedure of the study, including participant’s expected level of commitment, potential risks, privacy and confidentiality matters. A majority of the popular music artists insisted on using their stage names for this study, and preferred

verbal consents to be digitally recorded rather than providing written statements. They were also quite excited about the prospect of using their names and performances for publishing purposes in the Western world, since they all wanted to be famous not only in Mongolia but also in Australia.

The capital city of Mongolia, Ulaanbaatar was deemed as the main physical location where all of these producers of popular music resources were located over the course of the fieldwork trip. Despite the same city location of the subjects, the scheduling and undertaking of interviews proved to be a surprisingly challenging issue. Many interviews and appointments were canceled or postponed at short notice, due to a variety of factors arising from the 'night-owl, rock n roll' lifestyle of the participants including over-fatigue, hangovers, or other spontaneous occurrences.

During the course of voice-recorded interviews, the research participants were asked to express their thoughts on given issues and questions, with each interview lasting between 90 and 120 minutes. Each interview contained ten general questions, which were directed at finding out how and why the artists are engaged with the use of English and other additional languages in their music, and why they mix cultural modes, linguistic codes, styles, lyrics and other features used in their music videos and audio recordings (cf. Appendix 5). Their overall ambition, desire and aspiration in relation to their musical performances were also discussed (cf. Chapter 5; Chapter 7). These general questions were expanded on during the semi-structured interview sessions, as the conversations followed a largely casual and informal manner. The interviews would often be held at the venues where the artists spent a large part of their time including recording studios, local pubs or even backstage before and after a performance. All of the interviews were conducted in Mongolian, and translated into English later by myself. In contrast to those of the consumers' sphere, the research participants within this sphere were quite accustomed, and generally comfortable with the idea of giving interviews. I observed that most of the participants appeared to be quite relaxed, open and informative throughout the process, i.e. experienced in giving interviews when compared to their consumer sphere counterparts.

Following the interview sessions (mostly the next day), I cross-checked my note-taking and listened to the interviews again. This provided the basis for a

series of new follow up questions. As the artists often did not have time to re-schedule another interview, I adopted netnography, whereby I contacted them via their Facebook, email and Skype to get the answers for my follow-up questions (cf. Brondani et al, 2011), although some of the participants were either unable or unwilling to answer my request. I also repeatedly re-visited the artists' personal websites to integrate the new interview accounts based on their biography, musical history, music videos, song lyrics and so on. This integration process of interview accounts (linguistic ethnography) with the rich material obtained from online space (netnography) created the overall picture of linguistic (n)ethnography in the producers' sphere (cf. Chapter 5; Chapter 7).

Managing the gap between 'insider and outsider researcher' (Kanuha, 2000) was a challenging task for me during the interview stage. At times, I experienced a sense of isolation from the interviewees, whilst on other occasions I identified very closely with the participants. On the one hand, an insider researcher, who shares the same ethnic, cultural and language identity with the research participants helped me avoid 'sensitivity concerning cultural [and linguistic] differences that may exist between the researcher and the participants' (van Wijk & Harrison, 2013, p.574). On the other hand, being an insider researcher is often criticized for knowing too much or sharing the same experience with the research participants (cf. Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). My initial expectation as an insider researcher was that I would be able to integrate smoothly with, and be easily accepted by, the participants. However, the reality of my experience was somewhat different, and at times I felt like a complete outsider, with many of the artists treating me as a researcher from Australia, rather than as Mongolian. A consequence of this was that the participants could be quite careful and perhaps even cynical with their answers, particularly in the early stages of the interviews. However, as the interviews progressed, it was noticeable that some of the participants became much less guarded with their responses. Also, in stark contrast to those participants that initially perceived me as an outsider, there were also a few artists, who viewed me as a clear insider and as 'one of them'. This created a different set of problems in the early part of the interviews, whereby the participants would offer playful or even sarcastic answers to my questions,

tease me and make jokes.

Overall, linguistic ethnography helped me to conduct face-to-face interviews with the artists in terms of their own linguistic practices, while netnography became the basis to obtain the crucial online information and documentary evidence such as the artists' biography, musical history, chart history, music videos, song lyrics, interviews on websites and so on. Netnography also opened up the possibility to establish further communication with them for follow-up questions and discussions mainly via email and FB correspondences. These two methods – linguistic (n)ethnography has directly assisted me in creating the overall portrayal of linguascape within the producers' sphere.

4.4.2 THE CONSUMERS' SPHERE

Garley (2010) notes that the Internet discussion forums are a large collection of natural language material produced by Hip Hop fans, where the natural presence of language practices is common. Similarly, Androutsopoulos (2009, p. 46) has defined the language of the consumers' sphere in his ethnographic study of Hip Hop as 'all speech events' aiming towards 'Hip Hop fandom' and fan productivity, including 'enjoying a concert, discussing music, or making a Hip Hop homepage'. In order to better understand the language of Hip Hop consumers, Androutsopoulos (2009, p. 54) opted for a less explored area - computer-mediated communication (CMC), which is extensively used across the consumers as an additional means of participating in 'message boards and other platforms of online talk extends Hip Hop focused interaction, and making a homepage or weblog extends practices of fan productivity'. Androutsopoulos (2009, p.55) did his research on the German-speaking web, in which he systematically observed online Hip Hop activities, including an analysis of 'written representations of colloquial speech'.

From this point of view, Androutsopoulos and Garley's method of researching the linguistic practices of popular music consumers mainly focused on the interaction produced by 'CMC', while other ethnographic possibilities such as interviews, or participant observation methods in real life contexts were put aside. Yet, in many other youth language studies, the

linguistic ethnographic researchers have acknowledged the importance of conducting various face-to-face discussions, casual conversations, and interview methods. Roth-Gordon (2009) for example recorded the daily linguistic repertoires of young Brazilian Hip Hop fans, whose languages are produced by the creative practices of recycling and sampling Hip Hop song lyrics, the method she refers to as 'conversational sampling'. This method 'provides a ready example of intertextuality, where speakers recycle song lyrics, using these linguistic recontextualizations to make new statements about their participation in both local communities and the world at large' (Roth-Gordon, 2009, p. 64). Godin (2006, p. 126) has noted the importance of the interview method in investigating the urban youth language of Sweden. The scholar interviewed some representatives of immigrant young people in Stockholm in order to understand how urban youth language is practiced as 'a means of creating an identity for themselves', and how the situation of modern Sweden has affected the overall use of Swedish language by this youth population.

Extending on these lines of thought, the linguascope of the consumers' sphere in Mongolia was investigated through linguistic (n)ethnography, in order to understand the linguascope of urban youth culture in Mongolia in terms of their online and offline language practices. In turn, this process consisted of two main components linguistic ethnography and netnography.

4.4.2.1 CONDUCTING LINGUISTIC ETHNOGRAPHY

Upon arrival in Ulaanbaatar, I visited the National University of Mongolia to recruit potential research participants. Being a former lecturer at the university, assisted greatly in gaining the necessary permissions to access the students at NUM. I received a warm welcome from my former colleagues, who also generously provided a spare desk and computer to assist me with my research. I was also welcomed by some of my former students, who offered to participate in the study, and provided opportunities for me to access their extended networks of friends, and friends' friend to also take part. To expand my data range, I also approached several other groups of students across the campus, found sitting in the library, chatting in the university cafeteria or halls.

Overall 34 students from the National University of Mongolia (NUM)

volunteered to participate in the research (cf. Appendix 6). In order to make my data more representative, it was important to incorporate as various social backgrounds as possible. Bearing this in mind, I distributed 'self-reporting' (Fife, 2005, p.107) questionnaire among the potential research participants, in terms of understanding the background of each potential participant, including their social, class and regional background, childhood and current lifestyle, leisurely out-of-school activities, hobbies and interests, favorite music, sports and movies, future plans, their language knowledge and attitude towards their local language and any other languages they use, the current social problems and issues they are concerned with, and so on (cf. Appendix 7). Drawing on the outcome of these questionnaires, I eventually selected the potential research participants. To this end, these research participants' socio-economic and regional backgrounds were diverse, varying from affluent to poor, from rural to urban, and from underprivileged to privileged and so on, before they gained admission to the university and came to live in Ulaanbaatar.

In order to enhance the group dynamics, I also incorporated a gender mix, although the numbers of females outnumbered the males in the areas of culture, language, art and humanity studies; while the males were outnumbered the females in the areas of engineering, IT and electronic studies. I finalized the research participant group to consist of 13 males and 21 females. In terms of age, the range was between 18 and 25, which I considered to be still young enough to participate within playful, creative and active daily cultural and linguistic activities.

I provided a detailed description of the research procedure so that potential participants had the sufficient knowledge needed to make an informed decision whether or not to participate in the study. The written consent from university authorities, and verbal/written voluntary consents from students were obtained, and the representatives of the university administration had no objection whatsoever against the proposed activity, since students volunteered to participate in the study effectively out-of-school, in an informal environment, which goes beyond the university's formal activities. Most of research participants did not want to reveal their true identities, hence pseudonyms were arranged for those participants, in order to

respect and maintain anonymity, confidentiality, and the privacy requested by the participants. All participants were entitled to withdraw from the research at any time.

The main activities in this stage took place between August and October 2010, and May 2011 by the time I finished the interview sessions with the producers' sphere. This stage was divided into two main sub-categories – 'focused group discussions' and 'casual group discussions', with the main aim to explore the linguistic practices of young speakers through linguistic ethnography. Firstly, the 'focused group discussion' (cf. Chapter 8, all sections; Chapter 9) was the main method to generate data in terms of 'finding out a group's shared understandings, perceptions, feelings, and common knowledge about a topic and exploring the degree of consensus' (Peterson et al, 2007, p.140). The groups consisted of three to five participants and the discussions were held in a casual manner, conducted in Mongolian (and translated into English by myself later), lasting around two hours each day, and held mainly at spare classrooms provided by the University, or nearby cafeterias or eateries. Overall, 495 minutes of individual and group narratives embedded within the focused group discussions were recorded across five groups, although only one-third of them were used in the thesis (cf. Chapter 5, Section 5.2.2; Section 5.3.1; Chapter 8 all sections; Chapter 9, Section 9.2). Most of the data here was voice-recorded, although 'fieldnotes' were also written to record information about the location, date, environment, atmosphere, non-verbal behaviours, and other eccentric verbal communication, when I was not digitally recording.

The main purpose of conducting focused group discussion was twofold: First, to understand the shared and individual opinions towards the spread of English and other foreign languages in Mongolia, and the role of these languages within the group's daily lifestyles, including both out-of-school and in-school language practices (cf. Appendix 8). Second, to explore their attitudes towards the certain media, technological and popular culture resources that the participants consume. Here, I presented certain music videos produced by the local popular music artists, who were predominantly my research participants from within the producers' sphere. Upon watching

the music videos, I provided the consumer members with specific topics in terms of the various linguistic codes and modes used in the music videos, and probed their general opinions towards the actual performers, in order to find out their general cultural and linguistic attitudes towards the popular culture resources they consume. Each discussants were then asked to give brief oral narratives individually and collectively in terms of the given discussion topics (cf. Appendix 9).

The group discussions were effective, since the group setting provided each individual the opportunity to listen to the ideas of others in order to reflect upon their own views. I encouraged the participants to engage in relaxed, full and meaningful conversations with the other members of the groups to achieve as natural a dialogue as possible. Subsequently, some of the narratives produced in the group discussions were later used as the examples of linguistic patterns (cf. see all sections in Chapter 8), investigating the narratives from the perspectives of phonetic, stylistic and linguistic patterns (cf. conversation/narrative pattern in Blommaert, 2007). This is often associated with the unexpected language practices emerge from the context of interaction, when the speakers were specifically involved with various playful and creative linguistic shifts and moments.

Secondly, the 'casual group discussion' was an important method to generate data, since it was important to have access to the participants 'natural' behaviors to understand the unobstructed sides of the speakers' everyday language practices. In this stage, the casual group discussions among students were recorded during recess times in places such as coffee shops, cafeterias, university halls, Internet cafes and other out-of-school environments. Overall, 26 hours of casual conversation scenarios were voice-recorded, and transcribed into text and translated from Mongolian into English as part of this research project, although only one-third of the total transcript was presented in the actual thesis as small extracts, depending on their topics, multiple linguistic variations and speech acts (cf. Appendix 10; Chapter 5, Section 5.2.3; Section 5.3.2; Chapter 6, Section 6.3.1; Section 6.3.2).

Tusting & Maybin (2007, p.579) note that in linguistic ethnography, data collection strategies can be included through 'participant-observation and

ethnographic interviews' in which for example participants can be asked to record their own practices, or alternatively, 'the researcher might be directly involved in all the social practices under study, with the implications of this involvement being carefully considered throughout the analytic process'. Following this point of view, the casual group discussions in this stage produced by the participants were voice-recorded either by the research participants themselves or directly myself.

On some occasions, I was there with the participants, since I was invited by many of them to attend picnic, birthday party, night club, lunch, sports activities, and so on. During these activities, I deployed an ethnographic 'participant-observation' method (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011, p. 1), in which 'a researcher takes part in the daily activities, ritualism interactions, and events of a group of people as one of the means of learning the explicit and tacit aspects of their life routines and their culture'. When I was not digitally recording the voices, I was conducting the fieldnotes during this stage. As for digital audio-recording, I first entered the research sites with firm ideas of how I would record the casual conversations and discussions, being very mindful of the fact that my voice should not be present in the conversation extracts, fearing a question with regard to the representativeness of the research. My main aim was to be a 'silent observer' and a 'silent voice-recorder', who prefer to record as 'natural' conversations as possible, with a strict pre-supposed vision that the researchers' role and voice in the data may disturb the conversations, and ultimately, the interpretation of findings.

During my participation in the actual research environments, it became obvious that my presence cannot be just blatantly ignored. My research participants repeatedly asked about my research, my personal background, my future plan, my views on popular culture, English and other languages, about Sydney, Australia and so on. The participants within this sphere had never experienced ethnographic research methods before. At times, they were quite reserved and shy; some were quite ignorant of the research procedures, mocking or ridiculing the subject of matter; some were argumentative and rude to each other; some were more interested in Australia rather than the research questions. The question of how to set 'researcher-participant boundaries' – 'the distinction between professional and researcher

roles' emerged (Morrison et al, 2012, p. 418). Carolan's (2003, p.12) approach of 'reflexivity' in qualitative research, in which she used the method of 'reciprocity' – 'the practice of exchanging things with others for mutual benefit' was useful. It is more likely that the research participants seem to expect a certain amount of reciprocity from the researcher, since the researcher is in fact a human being. Morrison et al (2012, p. 418) note that the qualitative researchers need to establish a 'relationship with participants through building comfort, trust, and ultimately rapport between the participant and the researcher'.

From this point of view, I had no choice but to have genuine interaction with my research participants, which directly increased the overall atmosphere of 'rapport' between the research participants and myself. In other words, silent observation has created a situation of 'no intimacy without reciprocity' (Carolan, 2003, p.12), and investing some of my personal identity in the rapport with my research participants definitely helped me to 'open up' my participants. I tried to encourage the participants (their perspectives and accounts) to feel safe, important and relaxed, whilst seeking to establish mutual trust and support. I also did my best to 'ensure that information about the research is communicated in a way that is meaningful to the individuals concerned' (van Wijk & Harrison, 2013, p.574). This is however not to say that my relationship with my research participants were beyond the boundary of researcher-participant relationship, considering ethical issues such as 'respect, fairness, and dignity for all those who are involved in' (van Wijk & Harrison, 2013, p. 573). I at least tried not to show any signs of being critical or cynical towards what they say (e.g., swearing, cursing, gossiping, mocking) or how they behave (e.g, drinking, smoking, being rude to each other and so on).

Because of this reflexive research approach, some of the extracts used in this thesis incorporate my voice as a co-discussant (cf. Harissi, 2010, p. 115) – the 'researcher-researched interactional co-construction', i.e., '(e.g. moment just after the recording of an interview has started or moment just after I had offered certain research details)' (cf. Chapter 5, Section, 5.3.2; Chapter 6, Section 6.3.2). This is however not to say that all the conversation extracts are incorporated with my voice, as in some other occasions, my research participants were provided with their own digital voice recorders, in order to

document their own communicative encounters, without my presence. They were asked to record their own conversations in their own terms whenever they spent time with their peers (cf. Chapter 5, Section 5.2.3; Chapter 6, Section 6.3.1). They were also provided certain questions provided in Appendix 8 and 9 to discuss as a group without my presence. This means that the exact number of research participants (34) have been increased to 37 (cf. Appendix 11), because of their socializing and networking to their extended friends, relatives, family members and so on. Some of these 'extended friends' were also introduced to me and added to my Facebook. A majority of them agreed to have their conversations recorded or their Facebook texts used later for publishing purposes, although most of them did not wish to commit themselves as actual research participants (attending group discussions, interviews and so on). Pseudonyms have also been used for these 'extended friends' to protect their privacy (cf. Chapter 5, Section 5.2.3; Chapter 8, Section 8.4; Section 8.5).

Drawing on these recorded 'focused' and 'casual' group discussion transcripts, certain individuals were later chosen for 'post-interviews' (cf. Appendix 12, Appendix 13), due to their specific language behaviors observed and voices heard during the ethnographic engagement. Following 'the participant as transcriptionist' method, suggested by Grundy et al (2003, p. 23), certain selected transcripts/texts retrieved from ethnography were re-introduced to the participants (cf. the discussion on the contribution of research participants' review of transcripts in Mero-Jaffe, 2011) to ensure the transcripts were accurate. After this procedure, the selected individuals were interviewed, with the intention to reflect their own interpretations and perspectives towards their own speech acts, and linguistic features that they have used (cf. Maybin, 2006). Following Blommaert's (2005, p. 14) reminder to focus on 'what language use means to its users', these selected members were later invited for another one-on-one meeting, in which they provided 'reflexive, ethnographic analyses of their own speech behavior' (Alim, 2009b, p.221- 222). This method helped the students 'to be able to analyze their own communication behavior in their everyday environments, from their actual lived experiences'. This is broadly in line with Maybin's (2006) ethnographic method, in which the data was 'tuned into' the speakers' perspectives on

interpreting why they used the particular language. In other words, they were broadly involved within 'metalinguage' (cf. Jaworski, Coupland & Galasiński, 2004) analysis, in which their own language practices were discussed or examined by their own interpretations. Jaworski et al (2004, p. 3) suggest that metalinguistic analysis includes 'the study of folk beliefs about language, language attitudes and language awareness', which has established its own histories within sociolinguistics. Metalanguage enters 'public consciousness and come to constitute structured understandings, perhaps even 'common sense' understandings – of how language works, what it is usually like, what certain ways of speaking connote and imply, what they *ought* to be like'. Consequently, it can 'work at an ideological level and influence people's actions and priorities in a wide range of ways, some clearly visible and others much less so'.

From this point of view, the research participants were encouraged to interpret certain linguistic features from these ethnographic transcripts/texts, focusing on questions such as 'Why did they use it?', 'How often they use it?', 'What are the main implications to use it?'. This method later helped me to understand the broader socio-cultural implications of using certain languages in the particular contexts. Overall, 20.7 hours of interviews were audio and FB (chat) recorded elsewhere (cafeteria, classroom, university hall and so on), conducted in Mongolian and translated into English later by myself (cf. Appendix 13; cf. Chapter 5; Chapter 6; Chapter 8), although not all interview accounts were included in the thesis.

4.4.2.2 CONDUCTING NETNOGRAPHY

Closely following Androutsopoulos (2009) and Garley's (2010) online observation methods of engaging with music discussion boards of consumers and fans discussed earlier, the 'online vigilance' method embedded within netnography was carried out in this stage, with an aim to discover other linguistic possibilities which cannot be fully captured during the linguistic ethnographic stages. Considering Androutsopoulos's (2009, pp. 50-55) emphasis on the role of CMC within online message boards - 'an arena of public discourse', 'characterized by anonymity and a reduced responsibility of authorship', and Battles's (2010, p.35) reference to the Internet based

message boards - 'publicly available, unsolicited information, which technically might not have required permission to use', online space became one of the most useful sites to engage with the speakers in 'real time', allowing me to have a direct access to the linguascape of youth consumers in Mongolia.

During this stage, I visited a few number of online websites (namely YouTube and other Mongolian-speaking popular music websites such as www.asuult.net and www.hantulga.com) to carefully observe to what extent linguistic diversity was being practiced across the young online consumers of Mongolia. My results were not disappointing, as I encountered large numbers of text examples and samples, which were produced by the combination of a broad range of linguistic and semiotic resources (cf. Chapter 1, e.g., 'Ülemjiin chanar' by Nominjin, and its discussion board on YouTube was an obvious example; Chapter 6, Section 6.2.1). I spent approximately 3 hours on daily basis on these websites during my micro research stage.

YouTube (cf. Lee, 2011) is a particularly dynamic website for accessing to understand not only the linguistic varieties practiced among young people, but also the overall interaction between consumers. It is a website where the users can share videos with each other by uploading and sharing music videos, movies and recordings. The contents can be uploaded by amateur individuals, and both unregistered and registered users can view the material. It is a transitional space or meeting point, where producers can upload their productions while the consumers can actually consume the cultural productions and express their thoughts and opinions in return. It is also the open space where uncensored discourses are constantly occurring due to its anonymous nature: The message boards for the uploaded contents are used as an area where they express their likes/dislikes and agreements/disagreements. It is widely used by both local popular music producers and consumers to upload various song recordings and music videos. Correspondingly, its message board is extensively used by its consumers to critique, review or evaluate the uploaded music videos. The viewers have the opportunity to leave their views and thoughts related to the given contents, which makes the whole YouTube linguistic experience both dynamic and enriching. Meanwhile, Kozinets (1998, p.367) notes that

netnographic data is 'particularly focused upon textual data'. From this perspective, although netnography offered me an extremely expedient way to gather online text data, it nevertheless provided me with only situated contextual analysis of the textual data. In other words, YouTube's message boards include 'limitations on the data collected, including inability to ask follow-up questions and incomplete access to demographic [and background] details' (Battles, 2010, p.35). To this end, data samples retrieved from Youtube, which were later incorporated in the thesis, were only contextually analysed, focusing on its situated linguistic variations and patterns (cf. Chapter 1, Section 1.1; Chapter 6, Section 6.2.1) rather than its consumers' subtextual backgrounds.

Netnography, however, worked quite well in terms of social networking website – Facebook (FB). My main research participants were immediately added to my own FB account, customized within a special group, as soon as they decided to become part of research project (cf. Appendix 14). This allowed me to carry out netnography, observing not only offline but also online linguistic activities of the speakers throughout the entire research project, i.e., it increased the chance of investigating two-facets of the selected speakers' 'online and offline' language practices (cf. Chapter 5, Section 5.2.2; 5.3.1; Chapter 6, Section 6.2.2; all sections in Chapter 8). In other words, this combination gave me a chance to study 'the same virtual community' (Kozinets, 1998, p.370) in 'the same real life community'. During this stage, I have simultaneously monitored and observed my research participants' online linguistic behaviors. A majority of the research participants were active on their FB, opening up new possibilities to understand the overall language practices of the particular speaker in different settings. The FB texts, supported by the speakers' social background and offline language examples, became an important method to shape the speaker in multiple perspectives.

Drawing on these FB texts, certain individuals were chosen for 'post-interviews' for metalanguage analysis (cf. Appendix 13; cf. Chapter 5; Chapter 6; Chapter 8). Certain selected FB texts retrieved from netnography were re-introduced to the participants with the intention to reflect their own interpretations and perspectives towards their own FB linguistic acts and practices that they had been involved with. These selected members were

further contacted throughout the entire project via their Facebook for follow-up questions and clarifications.

4.5 COMBINING MACRO AND MICRO

4.5.1 TRANSLITERATION/TRANSCRIPTION

Following the fieldwork trip, I commenced with my data analysis procedures, starting with the preliminary technical process of data coding, transcription and translation. As Crichton & Childs (2005, pp. 41 - 42) suggest, 'labeling and sorting the various items into a type of order' allows the researchers 'to make sense of what is there and begin to group items into categories'. Since 'the grouping' starts, it will give researcher 'a sense of what is there, what is missing, and whether the data-gathering phase is nearing completion'. They further note that it is during this process that 'patterns begin to emerge and themes arising from the researcher's previous work or literature review are supported or rejected'. In this light, data sources collected specifically during the micro level of research were primarily sorted and organized. The song lyrics were obtained from CD covers and the Internet lyrics websites, or alternatively some artists provided me with copies of their own lyrics directly. Later, the lyrics were fitted into tables, accompanied by the language identification guides in Appendix 2 (cf. Chapter 7), with simultaneous English translation attached in the written transcription. The raw audio files in the voice digital recorder (e.g., interviews) were all initially exported to my Macbook Pro's iTunes' library, coded and labeled accordingly as "the producers' and consumers' spheres".

Processing the data associated with the producers' sphere was relatively straightforward. All the song lyrics and voice-recorded interviews were transcribed into transliterated Roman Mongolian first. All the Mongolian texts used in the whole thesis are Romanized in order to make it possible for a non-Mongolian speaker to read the Mongolian text (cf. Appendix 3). The Roman alphabet draws on the 'International Phonetic Alphabet' commonly used in phonemic transcriptions within linguistics and phonetics, and the new standard Romanization of Mongolian Cyrillic letters, approved by the National Advisory of Standardization of Mongolia in 2012 (MNS 5217:2012). All other

different languages (French, Japanese, Korean, German, Russian and so on) used in this thesis, except Mongolian and English, were Romanized based on ISO (International Organization for Standardization) standards for transliterations of romanizations (cf. Appendix 2). This transliteration method also applies to data extracts used in the consumers' sphere.

Meanwhile, data within the consumers' sphere was more complex than the producers' sphere, since it involved various types of conversations/discussions and online texts. All raw audio files were exported into MacBook Pro's iTunes library, and coded accordingly under three categorizations – 'focused group discussions', 'casual group discussions' and 'online text'. Data related to the first two categories were retrieved and re-edited as clipped audio-files for the next stage of the data analysis. They were all transliterated into Roman Mongolian script (cf. transliteration convention in Appendix 3). This method of 'Roman Mongolian' transliteration was used in the overall face-to-face group discussion samples used in the thesis, in a similar vein to that of the producers' sphere.

All group discussion samples were then transcribed, following the suggestions of many ethnographers, who have noted that the importance of transcribing spoken utterances into text is more than just writing (cf. Halai, 2007), since it involves the rigorous process of 'fixing on paper of fleeting events' (Duranti, 1997, p. 27) that also incorporates colloquialisms, expressions, utterances and signs. Bucholtz (2007, pp. 785-786) argues that analysing discourse means capturing the process of 'the fluidity of social interaction on the printed page', since spoken discourse is 'a movable object that can be transferred to new contexts'. It is in this sense, 'conceptualizing diversity in transcripts as a kind of linguistic variation' (p.784) is important, as transcription is not a strict system, rather it needs to be understood through its variability based on its new contexts. In a similar vein, Jaffe (2007, p. 831) argues that 'the transcription is a representation in which variability within and across versions is subject to social or even cognitive analysis'. Following these suggestions, I devised my own transcription system (cf. Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998) – a combination between the conventional transcription system used in CA, developed by Jefferson (1985; 1996), since it was useful to adopt it as primary guidance; and my own transcription system, which

represented various specific dynamics and characteristics illustrated within each example, which needed to be addressed in certain ways, without following any conventional guidance (e.g., various linguistic codes, specific regional dialects and so on) (cf. transcript convention in Appendix 1).

During the transcription process, I repeatedly moved back and forth between audio files and transcripts to ensure that all relevant information was covered (cf. Ashmore & Reed, 2000). This whole process of repeated examination of audio files helped me expand the data analysis process, since even a single utterance sometimes became an interesting twist to expand the transcript (cf. Mondada, 2007). It is also important to note here that my transcripts are not a full representation of other factors which contribute to the group discussion extracts, including body language, facial expressions, eye contacts and so on. I have however tried my best to accurately incorporate some of the important non-linguistic expressions, which I found useful or relevant (cf. Bucholtz, 2000).

Finally, raw data collected from online space - 'online texts' were initially documented via Macbook Pro screen shots for future references. All online texts were presented in the thesis without any alterations such as transcription or transliteration, since they provide 'already transcribed' (Kozinets, 1998, p. 367) data texts – i.e., 'genuine oral speeches' in written form. In order to align with the thesis presentation of data extracts, the online texts were later retrieved through 'copy and paste' method into a Microsoft word document, and fitted into tables, identified by the language guide in Appendix 2 and the Mongolian-English translations.

4.5.2 TRANSLATION

After the completion of transcriptions, each piece was translated from Mongolian into English. Slembrouck (2007, p. 825) notes that 'the question of translation-of/in-transcription can be expected to become even more central to discourse and social science research', because of the rise of multilingual complexities in the modern world. As an insider researcher, who shares the same linguistic and cultural identity with my research participants, I did not generally encounter the problems noted in the literature, in which the main languages used by the research participants are not the researcher's native

language (cf. Moerman, 1996; Vigouroux, 2007). The translation method was conducted under certain suggestions from the previous literature: Choi et al (2012, p.656) for example propose that the translator's main role is 'to develop accurate and meaningful transcripts that minimize potential threats to the validity of the data'. The translation needs to involve multiple layers of meanings, rather than directly translating the words or sentences. Regmi et al (2010) suggest that it is challenging to fully capture the accurate and meaningful translations because the meticulous equivalence or meaning may not exist in other language or culture. It is therefore important, wherever possible to come up with a similar meaning relevant within the cultures of both languages. Halai (2007) opts for the strategy of translation, in which the researcher should initially examine whether the source language has any equivalent words or expressions in a target language. When the source language has no equivalent expressions to make it difficult to translate, then the strategy of using quotes in source language, accompanied by target language translation or explanation.

Since I was extensively involved in the translation process from Mongolian into English, all of these suggestions were useful on many levels. There were many occasions, in which the words and phrases specifically associated with traditional Mongolian elements had no direct equivalent words in English (e.g., '*ger*', '*yatga*', '*shanz*', '*airag*', '*deel*', '*khuuchir*', '*morin khuur*' and so on). Following Halai (2007), I used quotes in Mongolian, followed by the explanations in English. In some cases, the speakers were involved with eclectic language mixing practices, in which various different linguistic codes were involved; in-group expressions that were exclusive; new eccentric expressions; the song lyrics which were complicated to comprehend. It was indeed on occasion quite a challenge to arrive at an equivalent translation in English. The most useful ways to deal with these issues were to involve the research participants as part of meta-data analysis processes, so that they can be the interpreters of their own speech and language practices. Keeping in touch with them even after the fieldwork trip was thus very important. CMC tools, including Facebook, Yahoo Messenger and email correspondence played an essential role in contacting them during the post-fieldwork data analysis sessions.

4.5.3 THE TEXTUAL ANALYTIC PROCEDURE

Once the first stage of processing the raw data, including the methods of coding, transcribing and translating, were completed, it was time to classify the preliminary data with regard to the bigger picture. As Fife (2005, pp.120-123) puts it, 'The point of [data] analysis is to build up an ethnographic picture that links human behavior in specific human environments to larger patterns of social, cultural, and historic importance' - 'the analysis of analysis'. The main goal in this stage was to bring together the macro and micro levels of research in order to derive an understanding of if and how they related to the broader theoretical framework and analytic concept of the study. In other words, the questions such as how the analyzed data can shed light to the linguascape of urban youth culture; how it can further expand the main theoretical concepts of the thesis were raised in order to form a larger analysis of the patterns of human linguistic behavior.

The classification process of this analyzed data was one of the most challenging processes of the entire data analysis stage, as I was trying to correlate the data in terms of the broader theoretical concepts, relevant literature reviews, and my own interpretations. At this point, I also started to see which extracts were most likely to be of interest as points of reference in supporting the emerging themes in both the producers' and consumers' spheres.

My crucial point of my research objective was to explore youth language practices not so much through separate linguistic codes, but rather unzipping the translanguistic complexities of meanings. From this point of view, the data examples used throughout the thesis were carefully selected in order to clearly demonstrate how diverse linguistic and semiotic resources may be integrated within one's linguistic repertoire, achieving intricate other meanings. Some of the most diverse and complex data samples thus were specifically selected in order to create an academic argument in the use and role of English and other languages in the context of Mongolia.

4.5.3.1 THE PRODUCERS' SPHERE: TRANSMODALITY

After the completion of the preliminary data analysis stage within the producers' sphere, I started compiling lists of music videos and song lyrics aligning with the interview transcripts. The notion of 'transmodality' (Pennycook, 2007a) has been deployed as the main textual analytic framework to better interpret the findings. Transmodality is not only deployed 'as a way of thinking about language use as located within multiple modes of semiotic diffusion' (Pennycook, 2007a, p.44) but it also suggests that certain modes cannot be viewed as discrete items outside other meaning making practices, e.g., 'bodies, texts, contexts and histories in which they are embedded' (p.49). Even though 'transmodality' is greatly influenced by the notion of 'multimodality', it is also distinctly different. Similar to the notion of multilingualism, which tends to pluralize monolingualism rather than complexifying it, the notion of multimodality (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001) tends to signify the use of a plurality of modes rather than a transgressive mixture of modalities. As Pennycook (2007a, p.49) puts it, 'not only are languages not discrete entities in relation to each other but the separation of language from the complexity of signs with which its use is associated has limited our understanding of a broader semiotics'. Transmodality thus points to the ways in which meaning 'occurs across modes of meaning-making in ways that transgress established beliefs in discrete channels'.

From this point of view, the multiple modes (traditional Mongolian elements, background music, lyrics, images and bodily movements and so on) used in the music videos were for example analyzed through transmodality, in which linguistic performances (lyrics) cannot be viewed as discrete items outside other meaning making practices (cf. Chapter 7). Similarly, the song lyrics retrieved from the CD covers were also analyzed in integration with the performers' social background, linguistic skill, desire and aspiration. This transmodal analysis was however supported and integrated by the interview accounts of the actual performers in the meantime.

During this process, different themes started to emerge. One of the most popular themes observed during this stage was the ideology of 'authenticity'.

The majority of the performers mentioned in their interview accounts that they wanted to create something '*authentic*' and '*original*' to make their audiences and fans not only happy, but also to express their musical identity, i.e., who they are as performers. Under this theme, the question of 'what it means to be authentic' started however to radically differ, based on one's musical genre, world outlook, linguistic skill, and cultural exposure. All these themes were pulled together to make a conceptual argument for a potential chapter, which was later categorized under the broader category – ideoscape (cf. Chapter 7).

4.5.3.2 THE CONSUMERS' SPHERE: TRANSTEXTUALITY

Upon the completion of raw data analysis stage in the consumers' sphere, I started compiling lists of the group discussion transcripts and online text data, accompanied by the post-group discussion interview transcripts, with an aim to integrate them for use as potential chapters. I, however, encountered a problem of identifying the most useful data examples, since many data transcripts seemed to be relevant, as Blommaert & Rampton (2011, p.7) remind us that any mixed language practices' novelty to the outside analysts may mislead them into thinking that they are 'a creative innovation for the local participants'. To fill this gap, it may take 'a good deal of close analysis to identify exactly how and where in an utterance an artful innovation emerges – in which aspects of its formal structure, its timing, its interpersonal direction, its indexical resonance etc, and in which combinations' (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011, p.7). In accord with this suggestion, I sought to capture the comprehensive aspects of these data examples, deploying the analytic framework 'transtextuality' (Pennycook, 2007a, p. 53), in order to unzip the multiple meaning making layers of texts/signs/modes/codes embedded within the data. Transtextuality emphasizes that texts and signs '[...] have meaning not in themselves but only when used; they need to be understood productively, contextually and discursively; because they have histories, they are contextually influenced, and they occur within larger framework of meaning'. The data examples therefore were analyzed through transtextuality to investigate the textual relations constructed within and across different 'scapes', 'as a way of looking at texts and signs within the historical, local,

discursive and interpretive elements of context' (Pennycook, 2007a, p.44). The transtextual analysis framework examines pretextual history, i.e. socio-historical associations of the text; the contextual relations, i.e., the physical location, the participants, the indexical pointing to the world; subtextual meaning, i.e., the ideologies, cultural frames, and relations of power that enable the interaction, the intertextual echoes, i.e., the covert and overt references to other signs and texts and the posttextual interpretations, i.e., the speakers' interpretations of their language practices – 'the meanings participants read into the sign' (cf. Pennycook, 2007a, pp. 53-54). This framework not only reveals the textual processes by which the speakers use their own personal, social, and historical elements in relation to broader social scapes, but it may also unravel their various sophisticated ways of connecting 'social semiotics of transignification'.

Drawing on the analytic framework of transtextuality, I started to analyze the group discussion transcripts, online texts and interviews, supported by the participants' background information. Firstly, various linguistic practices were analyzed based on their pretextual history (e.g., in what circumstances did the discussion and online text start), and the contextual analysis (e.g., what linguistic codes and semiotic resources were used in the particular context), and then the subtextual analysis was carried out to better interpret the contextual analysis (e.g., interview accounts and the speakers' backgrounds). Upon this analysis process, the multiple themes started to emerge, which were thematically categorized (e.g., linguistic themes - AAVE, parody in English, German, Korean, filmic speaking, music speaking, Internet specific speaking; social themes – linguistic rights and norms, identities, desires and aspirations, ideologies, uneven resources and so on). These themes were later grouped under five larger thematic categorization – financescape, ethnoscape, mediacape, technoscape, and ideoscape based on research question (Q2), and divided into potential three chapters (cf. Chapter 5, 6, 8).

4.6 FROM ETHNOGRAPHY TO LINGUISTIC (N)ETHNOGRAPHY

Blommaert & Rampton (2011, p.7) argue that it is ideal for researchers 'to align their sense of what's special and what's routine with their informants, but there is no insulation from the intricacies of human ingenuity, deception and misunderstanding, where people speak in disguise, address themselves to interlocutors with very different degrees of background understanding etc.'. This point reminds us that we as researchers cannot be always dependent on singular pre-supposed research perspective or methodology. Rather, we need to look for other alternative possibilities and opportunities in order to better understand what is really happening in the socio-cultural and linguistic reality of our informants in late modernity.

Following this point of view, it can be argued that the method of linguistic (n)ethnography - the deployment of two frameworks, linguistic ethnography and netnography, is useful in identifying the overall linguascape of urban youth culture in Mongolia. Linguistic (n)ethnography gives us a chance to understand the linguascape of urban youth culture not only through the speakers' real life linguistic repertoires, but also through their virtual 'second life' (Boellstorff, 2008). Linguistic (n)ethnography, integrated with the textual analytic frameworks of 'transmodality' and 'transtextuality' further pushes us to consider other multiple social, cultural and historical factors which need to be reflected in understanding the complexity and multi-perspectiveness of linguascape.

All in all, linguistic (n)ethnography can be understood as a critical research methodology that integrates the varied methods embedded within linguistic ethnography and netnography, including the socio-cultural historiography, biography, interview accounts, group discussions, online vigilance and metalinguistic interpretations, which opens up the clear portrayal of what is linguistically and culturally occurring in the linguascape of urban youth culture. It allows us researchers to engage with our participants as active cultural producers and consumers of the particular society, revealing the speakers as critical voices of their own culture and language. This approach helps us to understand the fact that young speakers' themselves are indeed the producers of rich linguistic and cultural sources, and the active

consumers of varied and rich bodies of knowledge, and examiners of their socio-cultural linguistic reality beyond their boundaries. Not only does linguistic (n)ethnography immerse the researcher in the modern media and technology savvy world through its netnography, but also it engages the researcher in the traditions and methods of classic ethnography through its 'linguistic ethnography'. As the flows of linguistic resources continue to progress, it is possible that linguistic (n)ethnography may evolve to become a useful tool of investigating the creative language practices of young people in late-modernity.

CHAPTER 5
LINGUASCAPE IN RELATION TO
FINANCESCAPE AND ETHNOSCAPE

5.1 UNDERSTANDING LINGUASCAPE IN RELATION TO FINANCESCAPE AND ETHNOSCAPE

This chapter will examine the linguascape of urban youth culture in Mongolia in relation to financescape and ethnoscape. In doing so, I first revisit these two notions. According to Appadurai (1996; 2006), financescape refers to capital and money flows across national boundaries in the wake of globalization. Ethnoscape refers to transnational human migration, including immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers, and other moving groups and individuals. Appadurai (1996; 2006) also reminds us that the movement in these scapes is deeply local and uneven, which needs to be understood through complex, overlapping and disjunctive order. Put simply, different societies take up the multiple resources of globalization differently.

From this point of view, many recent language scholars acknowledge the weight of financescape and ethnoscape, which continues to be deeply embedded in uneven localizing processes across different social groups (cf. Blommaert & Dong, 2010b; Blommaert & Rampton, 2011; Heller, 1992; 2007; 2010a; Jørgensen et al, 2011; Piller & Takahashi, 2010). Heller (2010a, p. 349) for example suggests that '[we are living] in a period of capital expansion which allows the movement of basic primary resource extraction and manufacturing production' into diverse zones. Consequently, 'new conditions for the production of language practices and forms and new challenges to current ways of thinking about language' seem to emerge. These new conditions for language productions need to be however reimagined as, 'communicative resources, socially constructed in uneven, unequal, distributed social spaces', since these circles also flow 'unequally – through social networks and communicative archipelagos, in ways which make them more or less accessible to speakers, as the latter have greater or lesser interest in mobilizing them in their own communicative action' (Heller, 2010a, p.361). As Heller (2007, p. 2) puts current global linguistic flows, following

Bourdieu, as 'a set of resources which circulate in unequal ways in social networks and discursive spaces, and whose meaning and value are socially constructed within the constraints of social organizational processes, under specific historical conditions'. In other words, linguistic capital is not 'equally distributed in any given community, despite the fact that all members of the community might share (at least along some dimensions) the same scale of values' (Gumperz cited in Heller, 1992, p.125). The diverse forms of linguistic resources are distributed unevenly across the speakers, since individual members will have 'a verbal repertoire which draws on part, but rarely all, of the forms in circulation'. This uneven distribution of resources ultimately becomes the driving force of the operation of the marketplace, reproducing relations of language power and language capital.

Central to Blommaert & Dong's (2010b, p.368) assessment of the sociolinguistics of mobility in current globalization, in which 'language - in - motion', constituted by various spatiotemporal frames interacting with one another, i.e. 'scales', is the idea that language patterns are organized around different levels of layers. Here, '[a]ccess to, and control over, scales is unevenly distributed', since 'it is a matter of power and inequality'. Clear examples of this uneven distribution can be demonstrated within resources for access to the higher scales – 'a sophisticated standard language variety, or advanced multi - modal and multilingual literacy skills'. Moreover, Blommaert & Dong (2010b, p. 369) note that transnational migration is '[...] an enduring change in the spatial organization of one's life'. When people leave their home place and settle in another, they tend to take their languages and other cultural belongings with them, although the 'separation from the land of origin and the permanent nature of migration were likely to put them under pressure to accommodate to the host society'. Piller & Takahashi (2010, p.549) acknowledge that migration continues to cause the unequal distribution of access to economic and social capital, specifically 'gender inequalities both in the countries of origin and in the destination countries'. The scholars here specifically refer to labor migration, in which the migrants' rights 'often fall through the cracks, as they are backed neither by the developing (or even failed) states from which they originate nor by the receiving countries for which they often are little more than a human resource in their marketplace

and disposable non - citizens' (pp. 544-545). Jaworski & Thurlow (2010, pp. 259-260) similarly note that 'movement through space of linguistic and communicative resources affects the value of the linguistic skills and repertoires of speakers', as for example, "a bilingual migrant from eastern to western Europe (that is, from the 'periphery' to one of the 'centers' of the continent) who cannot communicate in one of the 'host' languages may be described as having 'no language.'". As Blommaert & Rampton (2011, p. 2) note, 'migration makes communicative resources like language varieties and scripts globally mobile, and this affects neighbourhoods in very different corners of the world'.

All in all, many of these scholars agree on the inconsistency and disparity of rights and norms, contributing to the uneven distribution and access to linguistic and communicative resources, one of the key characteristics of current globalization. That is to say, not all speakers have control over or access to certain resources, since the uneven localizing processes of certain linguistic resources is often caused by an uneven distribution of other resources, whose meanings are socially, ideologically and historically constructed, depending on the specific local circumstances. This unequal distribution of resources across modern speakers further causes new linguistic rights and norms, and new social power relations.

From this point of view, Mongolia has already been part of these transnational capital and human movements since 1990, with its transformation from a communist to a democratic society. Meanwhile, it is by now a truism that Mongolia's integration with transnational capital and migration has not always been smooth or pain-free. The uneven localizing processes of the transnational flows of capital and resources are also prevalent in contemporary Mongolia. In terms of financescape, Mongolia, for example, has completely opened its internal market to the rest of the world, allowing economic liberalization, complemented by the free flow of goods and capital in the country. Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) has flourished in recent years, particularly in the mining resource and agricultural sectors. According to Javkhlanbaatar Sereeter (2013), the Director of Foreign Investment Regulations and Registration Department, the Ministry of Economic Development of Mongolia, approximately 'ten thousand foreign entities' have

been established, and about '10 billion USD net investment has been raised' since the Mongolian government established its open policy. Despite the claims by some economists that the overall economic performance of Mongolia has started looking stronger during the last 5 years 'nearly doubling of GDP, driven primarily by mining gains' (World Health Organization, 2013, p. 2), the weight of financescape continues to be deeply embedded in increased local income inequalities across different population groups. As Marsh (2010, p. 349) puts it, "The 'classless' society that was said to exist during the socialist era is now increasingly divided between the relatively rich and poor sectors of society. While there are many who are benefiting from the new opportunities in the Mongolian economy, particularly entrepreneurs and the highly educated, there are many more, such as those in the public sector, who clearly are not.". That is to say, the gap between rich and poor has started to widen, resulting in obvious uneven social class positions in society, as '[t]he richest 20 percent of the population consumes five times the amount consumed by the poorest 20 percent of the population' (Mongolian Economy Journal, 2013, para.2). This increasing inequality divides the current households in UB as "wealthy", "better-off", "average", "middle-income", "poor" and "very poor" (Mongolian Economy Journal, 2013, para.3). Interestingly enough, although the Mongolian population has been subject to uneven financial and income processes since 1990, the urban youth culture of Mongolia still seems to participate in the transnational flows of language and culture, despite their income disparities in access to capital. How do we understand this practice? Do the transnational flows of language and culture, after all, turn out to be even, despite the income inequalities?

Examining ethnoscape, Mongolia has already integrated itself as part of transnational community, opening up its once closed border policy by welcoming an influx of human migration within and across borders since 1990. The movements of human groups, including both the arrival of foreign tourists, volunteers, expats, missionaries, and professionals, and the increased ability of local citizens to travel overseas (cf. Algaa, 2007) have dramatically increased in the last two decades. It is important to note that many people are quite mobile, as several of the research participants have significant experience touring and living outside of Mongolia, and several of

the university students have also lived and studied abroad. However, Mongolia is still far from being considered as a 'multicultural' or 'multi-ethnic' society, invoked by transnational migration. It is still in the peripheral position in terms of ethnoscape, despite its open policy towards human migration. Despite Mongolia's peripheral position within transnational mobility, its young generation seems to nonetheless participate in the global flows of linguistic and cultural diversity. Again, how do we understand this phenomenon? Why is it that young Mongolians are so actively engaged with the transnational flows of linguistic and cultural diversity in a similar vein to their multi-ethnic counterparts, whilst the country is yet located within the periphery in terms of ethnoscape?

Following these questions, this chapter seeks to understand the linguascope of urban youth culture in Mongolia in relation to financescope and ethnoscope by raising the question of to what extent and in what ways English and other additional languages are distributed and practiced across the linguascope of urban youth culture in Mongolia. To put it differently, the question of 'How do we understand the uneven localizing processes of the transnational flows of capital and human movement in relation to the linguascope of young people in Mongolia?' will be the main inquiry of this chapter. In order to better understand these questions, this chapter presents the linguascope of young people living in UB with diverse socio-economic backgrounds, i.e., from affluent to underprivileged, from rural-born to city born and so on.

5.2 THE LINGUASCAPE OF AFFLUENT YOUTH

5.2.1 CREATING A HIP HOP IDENTITY

EXTRACT 1

Lyrics ¹⁶	Translation ¹⁷
1. ...Sometimes some unknown so called phony hommies	
2. They actin' like they know me	
3. In fact, none of' em know me...	
4....Anyone going against me	
5. I'm provin' ya that I am better	
6. Lyrical monster's killin' yo 'n writing you the death letter	
7. With ma official signature 'n cubically stamped on it	
8. There's nowhere you can survive from me	
9. Stamp on it...	

The pretextual history of this extract is understood through the song lyrics 'The Other Shiet', written and performed by Range (22, male, UB born), a young and aspiring Mongolian Hip Hop artist, working on his first independent studio album. The majority of Range's performances ('Hold it down', 'Da Foreign Influence', 'Other Shiet', 'Trouble on my mind', 'Drop it Lo') were produced containing heavy borrowing from AAVE (African American Vernacular English, cf. Sarkar, 2009) and Hip Hop Nation Language (HHNL) (cf. Smitherman, 1997). From this perspective, Range's use of English in the context of extract 1 is interpreted as the intertextual echoes of certain HHNL resources (line 1 - '*hommies*'; line 5 - '*ya*'; line 6 - '*yo*'; line 7 - '*ma*'), comprehensively performed by the heavy AAVE accent. When I heard his

¹⁶ The lyrics used in this section were retrieved from <http://forum.asuult.net/viewtopic.php?f=130&t=187379>. Last viewed August 18, 2013. Refer to transcription convention in Appendix 1, language guide in Appendix 2, and transliteration guide in Appendix 3 for all lyrics extracts used in this thesis.

¹⁷ The song was originally written in English.

songs for the first time, I was unable to assert whether or not he was in fact Mongolian, since his stylization with AAVE was impressively convincing.

Range's skill of writing his own lyrics and stylizing it with a convincing level of AAVE is most likely associated with his direct access to relevant resources. In Range's view¹⁸, he was initially exposed to AAVE via access to media and technology, *'I learned rapping through mimicking 2Pac and Eminem's songs on the Internet. They were my idols'*. On top of this, we also should take note that Range's parents are wealthy business-driven people, who sent their son to a reputable private high school in Shanghai, China, and later to the University of Utah, USA. Range was on his summer holiday break in UB, when I first interviewed him. Obviously, his long-term stay in the US significantly contributed to his skill in acquiring AAVE. Put simply, it is Range's overall high-income level, perpetuated by his parents' wealth that made it possible for him to have direct access to AAVE through the course of his travel, education and media/technology opportunities.

This is, however, not to say that Range is the stereotypical 'spoilt little kid', who has all this money and privilege, trying to transform himself into an American rapper. The subtextual references of the lyrics in extract 1, for example, reveals his objection to such labeling by his critics, *'People should not judge me, because they do not really know why I sing in English'*. *'What I do now is nothing like American Hip Hop artists. It has much deep and underground meaning'*. In line 6 Range refers to himself as the *'Lyrical monster'*, indexing his creativity in writing his own lyrics, while line 7 signals that his lyrics are *'original'* (*'With ma official signature 'n cubically stamped on it'*), validated by his own *'signature'* and *'three dimensional stamp'*.

Overall, Range insists that his use of AAVE is *'original'*, not the mimicry of American Hip Hop. Here, Range posttextually raises 'meta-Hip Hop' (Lee, 2010, p.157) discourse, where Hip Hop artists speak about other Hip Hop artists. He creates a counter-ideology against the American rappers, *'I'm more educated than most of American rappers, because I can rap in English. American rappers can only rap in their native English, but I can rap both in*

¹⁸ Interview with Range was conducted on August 17, 2010, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia. All interview data transcripts used in this thesis were translated from Mongolian into English by the researcher.

Mongolian and English. That's why I'm different from Americans'. For Range, rapping in English grants some kind of superiority, since he feels more linguistically powerful than his American counterparts.

This sense of linguistic superiority is also directed at critics of Mongolian rappers, *'I use English because I want to show the world that Mongolian rappers can be educated and different, since rappers are often tainted as "the bad boys"'*. This comment shows why Range specifically prefers rapping in AAVE, because he simultaneously seeks to break the common negative stereotypical ideologies against Hip Hop artists circulating around the world (e.g., 'shallow', promoting 'ghetto lifestyle and violence' and so on). Range further notes, *'There are so many Hip Hop artists in Mongolia, who can rap like me in English. It is actually not that surprising. So I want fellow Mongolians to understand that we are doing this because we are trying to positively represent Mongolian Hip Hop in the world'*.

From this point of view, on the one hand, Range signals the wide popularity of using English by Mongolian Hip Hop artists. This is also understood through the social background of most of Hip Hop artists in Mongolia, since they are often recognized as being middle class youth. As Marsh (2010, p.355) puts it, 'In fact, many of the rap artists and groups now working in Ulaanbaatar do appear to come from the emerging middle class. Most have graduated from high school, some from college, and more than a few have studied art or music or travelled to the United States or Europe.'. Some rap artists have informed Marsh (2010, p. 355) that 'becoming a rap artist is not something the poor in their society can do because of the amount of capital they would need to get started in the business'. On the other hand, Range specifically addresses some Mongolian critics, who often blame 'English singing Mongolian Hip Hop artists' for distorting the Mongolian language and culture. He conveys the message that what they do is intended for the positive representation of Mongolian Hip Hop in the world, instead of distorting the Mongolian language and culture. Overall, the subtextual reference of relocalization of AAVE by a Mongolian artist here is better understood through multiple meanings, since the artist strategically aims to perform in AAVE to inject certain new meanings towards Mongolia (to inform Mongolians that his intention is for the better), the USA (to indicate linguistic

superiority to American rappers) and global Hip Hop (to show the world that Hip Hop is not all about negative images).

All in all, this extract shows how the relocalization of AAVE cannot be directly interpreted as the identity of American Hip Hop, as it becomes fluid in the moment when Range starts injecting his own background, education, language skill and class position, invoked by his direct access to capital. AAVE here produces new meaning – middle class, higher education and so on opportunities, crossing the boundaries of the fixed ascriptions attached with AAVE. Range is playing and negotiating with identities through heavy borrowing from AAVE as ‘an attempt to break the connection between one language and attached ethnicity and cultural background in order to create a new tie between another ethnic/cultural background and language’ (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010, p. 250). Here, on the one hand, Range performs a somewhat borderless identity, a Mongolian Hip Hop artist, performing in AAVE, and yet on the other, by claiming Mongolianness against American Hip Hop artists, he also produces a new Mongolian Hip Hop identification. Once Range’s desired Hip Hop identity is formed through relocalizing AAVE, new meanings are on display: non-American, English rapping, middle class, educated, Mongolian Hip Hop artist - a new Hip Hop identification in the doing – ‘a cultural producer’. This is, however, a direct consequence of his increased access to resources, including media and technology, education and travel opportunity and so on.

5.2.2 CREATING ‘THE ROCK PREACHER’

EXTRACT 2

Facebook Text ¹⁹	Translation ²⁰
<p>1. Өчигдөр HBO-оор Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows Pt.2 үзэж байсан чинь нэг ийм хэсэг гарав. Нөгөө Harry Potter маань үхээд нэг диваажин шиг</p>	<p>There was a particular scene, when I was watching Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows Pt.2 in HBO. Harry Potter dies and goes to heaven,</p>

¹⁹ Refer to Appendix 14 for all FB extract dates used for this thesis. Refer to language guide in Appendix 2 for all online (FB and YouTube) texts used for this thesis.

²⁰ All online texts used in this thesis were translated from Mongolian into English by myself.

<p>газар очоод Гандольфтой ярилцаад.</p> <p>Гандоль Харригаас:</p> <p>Чи биднийг хаана байна гэж бодож байна? гэж асуусан чинь.</p> <p>Харри: Well, it looks like King's Cross station. Only cleaner and without all the trains.</p> <p>- гэж хариулсан чинь доор нь гарч байгаа Монгол субтитр нь: Манай төмөр замын буудал шиг харагдаж байна. Нэг цэвэрлэгчтэй.... гэж авдаг юм даа.</p> <p>Ямар сайхан гар нь ингэж орчуулдаг байнаа?</p> <p>Only cleaner = Нэг цэвэрлэгчтэй???</p> <p>Fuck you and learn some proper English whoever translated this movie!!!</p>	<p>speaking to Dumbledore.</p> <p>Dumbledore asks Harry:</p> <p>Where do you think we are?</p> <p>Harry: Well, it looks like King's Cross station. Only cleaner and without all the trains.</p> <p>The Mongolian subtitle for this goes as: It looks like our train station. With one cleaner [referring to person who cleans].</p> <p>What kind of dumbhead has translated such non-sense?</p> <p>Only cleaner = A cleaner???</p> <p>Fuck you and learn some proper English whoever translated this movie!!!</p>
<p>2. Cultural evening. Enjoying ballet Giselle in its fullest. Magnificent and beautiful experience.</p>	<p>Original text in English.</p>
<p>3. Төрсөн өдрийн мэнд хүргэе Виктор Цой. Өнөөдөр тэр 51 нас хүрэх байж. RIP bro.</p> <p><i>С днём рождения брат, мы помним тебя. Ты не умер, ты просто вышел покурить.</i></p>	<p>Happy Birthday Victor Tsoi. You would have been 51 today. RIP bro. Happy Birthday brother, we remember you. You are not dead. You have just gone out to smoke.</p>

The pretextual history of this extract is associated with the Facebook (FB) wall posts, updated by my research participant, Üugii (28, male, UB born) (cf. Lee (2011) for discussion of Facebook update). Üugii is a loyal fan of heavy metal rock, with long dark hair, dark outfits assorted by the images of skeletons, lots of metal accessories, including chains, layers of rings and necklaces. He is quite active on his FB, updating his wall status at least once a day, although many of his FB texts may also represent the sentiments moving beyond the stereotypical image of heavy metal rockers.

Contextually, the texts from lines 1 to 3 in Extract 2 are the combination between the linguistic resources of English, Mongolian and Russian. The text embedded in line 1 represents the combination between English and Mongolian, although both linguistic resources are better understood through 'filmic speaking' (cf. Sultana, Dovchin & Pennycook, 2013). Here, Üugii intertextually echoes certain lines borrowed from the movie 'Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows', since he is criticizing the quality of English-Mongolian translation incorporated within the Mongolian subtitle of English movie. Üugii breaks the stereotypical image of heavy metal rockers not only through watching Harry Potter movies, but also, like Range in the previous section, presenting linguistic and educational hierarchy over so called professional Mongolian movie translators, correcting their translations and calling for them to learn '*proper English*'.

In line 2, Üugii uses heavy borrowing from English. In a similar vein to line 1, Üugii breaks the stereotypical image of rockers, announcing his pleasure over attending a ballet performance. Although ballet performances are popular with the general population in Mongolia, originating back to the Soviet era, the current ballet audiences are often perceived to be filled with dominant females or the elder population. Specifically heavy rock oriented and masculine young males can be generally understood as quite rare audience members for any ballet concerts performed in Mongolia.

In line 3, Üugii opts for Russian resources to honor the birthday of his music idol, a popular Korean-Russian rock musician – the late Victor Tsoi. This text is further expanded by the English sign '*RIP*', the abbreviation of 'Rest In Peace' commonly used on gravestones – a widely used expressions for online users in Mongolia for one's passing. Instead of using long

Mongolian expressions, online users often opt for shorter version, simply using three letters, '*RIP*' (cf. Chapter 6). On a similar note, the abbreviation of English 'brother' - '*bro*' has been used, although '*bro*' can also be widely heard within the offline context, because it is often perceived as a stylish way of speaking across the urban youth culture of Mongolia.

All in all, the extract illustrates how Üugii's heavy borrowings from English and Russian linguistic resources are further meshed with other semiotic resources, including movie genres and other norms of stylish symbols (e.g., '*bro*'; '*RIP*'). Subtextually, Üugii's offline language practice has also been produced by the incorporation of French resources, in addition to English and Russian during my participant observation events. He constantly recycles French terms '*petite amie*' ('girlfriend') and '*ma chérie*' ('darling'), when generally referring to females, a '*habit*', according to Üugii²¹, of friendly and platonic way of referring to females (something like 'dear' in English).

These borrowings from English, Russian and French linguistic resources indicate Üugii's direct access to linguistic and cultural capital, based on his level of income. Üugii is a public figure, well-known under the name – '*Rock Nomlogch*' ('The Rock Preacher'). This name is an umbrella term, which only superficially represents his 'rock' stage image, because he is well known among his fans beyond the sense of 'rockness', as his fans call him '*romantic*', '*sophisticated*', '*cool*', '*educated*' and so on. He works as the head of the cinematography department within one of the most popular Mongolian television broadcasting stations – Channel TV 5; as the main host and the producer of the most popular summer music festivals – 'Playtime' and 'Nis Nis', in which large numbers of current music artists and young audience members gather; as the lead singer, producer and songwriter of the underground metal rock²² group, 'Prophets'; as a political activist, who raises

²¹ Interview with Üugii was conducted on August 30, 2010, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia.

²² Underground rock is an 'umbrella term that encompasses a variety of imported rock music genres on loud side of the spectrum', which includes, 'hardcore, punk, death metal, "Oil" (skinhead music), grindcore, ska, gothic, grunge, and black metal' (Wallach, 2003, p.55). There are relatively a few numbers of 'underground' rock musicians in Mongolia (Prophets, Silent Scream, Greenwood and so on), who produce a high number of original English songs. They are self-efficient, as they are not keen to sign up with any recording companies, because they enjoy their freedom, aligning with the characteristics of underground musicians noted by Wallach (2003), '[underground musicians] record and release albums on their own,

his voice speaking out against the current politicians and their political activities, sentiments which are also often expressed in his websites and his songs. Üugii also hangs out with the Expat community in Mongolia, as he is the main administrator of the biggest Facebook group for foreign nationals, 'Expats in Mongolia'.

His present public activities are closely associated with his past experience: As an adolescent, he attended one of the most prestigious Russian high schools (# 3) in Mongolia, where generally only upper/middle class or elite background children have been enrolled at since the Soviet time. He also studied English and French at the National University of Mongolia, and has travelled regularly throughout the USA and Europe. Üugii also explained that he was glued to MTV and Cable TV when he was younger. Subsequently, the combination of his past and present exposure to a wide range of linguistic resources, strongly influenced Üugii as the person we see today.

Posttextually, the heavy borrowing from the various linguistic resources, however, is not a random or fleeting experience for Üugii, *'I'm a public figure. I want more fans. I would like to sell myself to the public through my multilingual skill, not necessarily through my "rock" image. People seem to, for example, like hearing some French'*. From this point of view, the relocalization of various linguistic resources is 'commodified' (cf. Heller, 2010b) by Üugii to promote his public image. Üugii commodifies his skill of English, Russian and French to attract more fans. Üugii's endeavor to commodify his linguistic skills is interpreted on multiple levels by his fans, *'I heard him singing at playtime last year, I was in AWE the way how he was singing, especially in English on that level... then I met him a couple of times, he's a true act of simply high class.. so polite, cultured, cool and educated...he's not just a "rock" face...lol'* (cited in <http://www.alpha.mn/content?id=2427002>, last viewed May 6, 2012), writes online user Aanyam in response to Üugii's interview on online journal. Not only does this consumer value Üugii's English skill, but also he/she appreciates Üugii's overall behavior and personality combined with his use of English. *'Does he speak French? That is very romantic and sexy. What kind*

with whatever resources available to them, instead of waiting to obtain a recording contract with a large record company' (Wallach, 2003, p.59).

of rocker speaks French?’, explains another consumer Khongorzul (Focused Group Discussion, September 5, 2010, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia). Here, Üugii’s skill in French is not very important, but rather the stereotypical value attached to French in Mongolian society is emphasized (French being a ‘romantic’ and ‘sensual’ language, cf. the discussion of language stereotypes in Piller, 2001). Put differently, for many young Mongolians, the certain role of language ‘occupy an embodied, socially and culturally inflected third place in language, filled with memories of other languages and fantasies of other identities’ (Kramsch, 2006, p. 97).

Drawing on these various interpretations of values and fantasies attached to these linguistic resources, Üugii’s overall public image has so far been constructed. Üugii is perceived by his fans as being a ‘cool’, ‘educated’, and ‘romantic’ persona. This public image, accentuated by the combination of his linguistic skill, his public behavior, his public message and so on, however, is directly associated with his past and current direct access to relevant resources, including availability of media and technology, attendance of prestigious educational institutions, his social networking with other foreign nationals in Mongolia, opportunities to travel abroad and so on.

5.2.3 CREATING AN URBAN TALK

EXTRACT 3

Transcript ²³	Translation ²⁴
1. Oldokhbayar: ...Oroi yamar plantai khairaa? Önöö oroi bolovsrol channel deer <u>Kurisowagiin</u> “ Seven Samurai ” garna gesenshüü. HIGHLY RECOMMENDED!	What’s your plan for tonight, love? Kurisowa’s “Seven Samurai” is on tonight at Education channel. Shall we watch in my place? Highly recommended.

²³ Refer to transcript convention in Appendix 1, language guide in Appendix 2, and transliteration guide in Appendix 3 for all group discussion extracts used in this thesis. For the ease of reading, the Mongolian texts in all casual and formal group discussion transcripts presented in the thesis have been modified by the researcher (e.g., the abbreviations and omissions (‘zeroshdee’ (colloquial form), instead of ‘zeroshuudee’ (standard written form) etc) that are extensively used for colloquial Mongolian language), in order to vividly portray the actual colloquial forms which have been used in spoken conversation.

²⁴ All group discussion transcripts used in this thesis were conducted in Mongolian and translated into English later by the researcher.

2. Naran: “ <u>HAI GANBARIMASU!</u> ” (solemn/firm tone)	Yes, I will try!
3. Oldokhbayar: ((laugh)) “ <u>HAI MIMASU!</u> ” (solemn/firm tone) geech <u>ganbarimasu</u> gedeg chini khicheeey gesen üg baikhgüi yu ɾ ((giggles))	Yes, I will watch! You have to say! Ganbarimasu means ‘to try’.
4. Dorj: ʌ((Khüüy!)) Muu:sa:iin <u>samuu:rainuu:daa:: DUUGUI</u> BAITSGAA! ((burst into laughs all three))	Hey silly Samurais! Shut Up!
5. Naran: I’m zero-headed in Japanese (pause) you know that shüüdee tegeed yamar khel deeriin?	I’m zero-headed in Japanese you know that. So what language is it on?
6. Oldokhbayar: Original Japanese with no stupid translations by so called translators.	Original Japanese with no stupid translations by so called translators.
7. Naran: Tekh. Much better (pause) gehdee my Japanese is zeroshdee ɾ ((giggles))	Yes. Much better. But my Japanese is still zero.
8. Oldokhbayar: ʌ English subtitle is on, ok? No lost in translation then ((giggles))	English subtitle is on, ok? No lost in translation then.
9. Naran: Makes more sense, tee? Neeren, “ Lost in translation ” goy kinoshüü ((deep sigh))	Makes more sense, right? In fact, “Lost in translation” is my favorite one.
10. Oldokhbayar: Tekh...Erteed neg baagii “ ALRIGHT! ” gesniig bügd “baruun tiishee” gej orchuulaad büür tataagaad khayatsiishdee ((laughter overlaps))	Yeah. That weirdo made me laugh so hard last time, because he translated “Alright!” into Mongolian “Everyone! Go to the right side!”.
11. Naran: ((laughter overlaps)) Funny but sad too (pause) yagaav “ No Strings Attached ” gekhiig “ Sex Friends ” getsen baisiishd ((laughter overlaps))...	Funny but sad too. Remember? “No Strings Attached” was translated as “Sex Friends”.

The pretextual history of this extract is associated with the casual group discussion (cf. Appendix 10) between three speakers (senior students,

majoring in business administration at NUM) during their classroom break time: Oldokhbayar (21, male, UB born) and Naran (22, female, rural born), a young couple, who have been in a romantic relationship since the first year of their university, and their classmate, Dorj (20, male, UB born) (cf. Appendix 6, Appendix 11).

Contextually, in lines 1 to 4, the speakers move in and between movie resources, as they role-play against Japanese movie, positioning themselves in a 'kineikonic mode' (Mills, 2011) - borrowing various semiotic modes from film. Whilst responding to her boyfriend's invitation to watch the classic Japanese movie, 'Seven Samurai', by Akira Kurosawa, Naran (line 2) makes intertextual echoes of Samurai, although simultaneously displaying and recreating new meanings by her parodic imitations of samurai-sounding Japanese. Through employing solemn and firm tones, impersonating a male voice, Naran parodies 'bushido' – 'the way of the warrior' (see also the weblog of Koichi in <http://www.tofugu.com/2008/02/09/how-to-talk-like-a-samurai/>, in which the author demonstrates how people speak like Samurai – using Samurai grammar, vocabulary, etc., but also act like Samurai), using '*Hai ganbarimasu*' ['Ok, I will try']. Oldokhbayar (line 3) however corrects Naran's use of Japanese, suggesting another version, '*Hai mimasu*' ['ok, let's watch it'], again parodying a bushido like somber tone. This role-play of Samurai is further interrupted by the third voice, Dorj, teasing them for acting like Samurais (line 4). Dorj playfully commands them to stop immediately, recycling a derogatory (cf. Hedger, 2013) Mongolian reference to a Japanese person, '*muusain samuurainuudaaa*', ['silly Japanese people']. The literal meaning of this derogatory reference can be translated into English something like, 'the pervert Samurais', although its meaning has been relocalized, referring to a Japanese person in general. The relocalization of 'Samurai' here thus is not interpreted as the 'warrior-like' spirit associated with the cultural identification of 'Samurai', rather it is mobilized by the speakers through making derogatory reference towards the sense of Japaneseness in Mongolia. The subtextual derogatory reference of this phrase is associated with the war between Japan and Mongolia in 1939, known as the battles of Khalkhiin Gol, named after the river which passes through the battlefield in Mongolia. The war was provoked by the undeclared Soviet–Japanese border

conflicts, engaging the Soviet Union, Mongolia and the Empire of Japan, ultimately resulting in defeat for the Japanese Army. Many old Mongolian movies, which depict this war, use many derogatory references against their former enemy, the Japanese army, including *'muusain samuurainuudaaa'*. The main theme of this conversation, the Japanese movie *'Seven Samurai'*, leads to a fluid and playful role-playing interaction, including bushido style talking between the speakers, mobilizing at the same time the terms borrowed from the old Mongolian movies, depicting the war between Japan and Mongolia.

The incorporation of Japanese codes here, however, does not necessarily mean that the speakers profess fluent Japanese language skills. In fact, Naran repeatedly emphasizes, *'I'm zero-headed in Japanese'* (lines 5, 7). From this view, Naran seeks to move beyond her current linguistic boundaries (she speaks intermediate level of English), challenging herself with other available semiotic resources. Meanwhile, the lines 5 to 11 halt the role-playing, diverting the topic into a different facet, the lack of quality, regarding foreign movie translations in Mongolia. This critique also reminds us Üugii, whom in the previous section, was also highly critical of the translators understanding of English. Naran's use of *'I'm zero-headed in Japanese'* (lines 5, 7) relocalizes a popular Mongolian slogan, *'Noiliin nagoon teg'* (something like 'empty-headed' in English, with literal translation 'Nil Green Zero'), which is widely used by young Mongolians to refer to someone who is lazy or less hard working. Mongolian parents also tend to use this phrase frequently when addressing their children for not doing their homework. This Mongolian sentiment therefore is captured in English, almost as if Naran is speaking Mongolian in English. In a similar vein, in line 5, Naran Mongolianizes the English phrase 'you know that', by adding the Mongolian suffix '-shüüdee', creating a Mongolian term *'you know thatshüüdee'* [meaning 'you kind of know that']. Here, it makes no more sense to categorize 'you know that-' as directly English, since it only achieves a meaningful communicative implication in touch with the Mongolian suffix '-shüüdee' [meaning 'kind of']. The invention of *'plantai'* ['with plan'] in line 1 is also similar. An English stem 'plan' plays a role here, but makes a proper meaning only in the context of Mongolian suffix 'tai' ['with'].

Since Naran's Japanese skill level is 'zero', the speakers opt for English subtitles, avoiding Mongolian translations or Mongolian subtitles, because they seem to get *'lost in translation'*. Note that while Oldokhbayar uses the term *'lost in translation'* to imply the poor quality of Mongolian film translations, his girlfriend immediately refers to the Hollywood movie, *'Lost in Translation'* as a particular favorite (lines 8 and 9), speaking through the 'filmic genre' (cf. Sultana, 2012). In line 9, Naran uses a Russianized Mongolian term, *'kinoshüü'* ['movie is'], combining the Russian stem word 'кино' ['movie'] with the Mongolian suffix '-shüü'. Yet *'kinoshüü'* has to be understood as part of Mongolian language and culture, since Mongolians have been using the Russian word 'кино' as part of foreign originated Mongolian vocabulary for many years, since the Soviet era.

The speakers then start mobilizing the fixed understanding towards other Mongolian translated foreign movies, which are often generalized as being of 'bad quality', elaborating the cases of wrongful Mongolian translations executed for foreign movies (lines 10, 11). Oldokhbayar discusses the case where the English word, *'Alright!'* ['OK', 'fine'] has been translated into Mongolian as *'Everyone go to the right side!'*. Naran adds the example, in which the movie title *'No Strings Attached'* has been translated into Mongolian as *'Sex Friends'*. Both speakers therefore prefer English subtitles to Mongolian translations/subtitles, with English playing the mediating role to understand the original content better, cracking the code of Japanese cultural mode.

The contextual analysis shows that Naran's language practice is produced from diverse linguistic resources. The subtextual reference, however, illustrates that Naran's use of diverse linguistic resources is associated with her access to available resources, saturated by her movement from the rural to urban context. Naran is one of those post Soviet era, rural-to-city migrants, who moved to UB back in 2004. She previously resided in Dalanzadgad, Ömnögobi, a small rural town situated in the Gobi region, approximately 1000km away from the capital. Naran's parents are considered as being relatively well off herders in the countryside (they own around 30 camels, 60 sheep, 10 horses, and a few goats), and they operate a

small agricultural business, in which they sell wool, meat and other dietary products to the local supermarkets.

When Naran arrived in UB, she started to feel outdated because of the general attitudes of her urban counterparts towards rural people. There is often a sharp tension between the urban and rural populations in Mongolia. Multi generational city dwellers tend to blame rural people for many of UB's current social and environmental problems such as the chronic overcrowding created by the expansion of the ger districts in the city, causing both severe traffic congestion and also magnifying problems with air pollution, particularly during the winter months. Many urbanites also accuse the rural migrants of harming the city image with their anti-social behavior (spitting, littering, pissing in the street) and also mock them for popularizing 'zokhioliin duu'²⁵, ['country songs'].

Many of my research participants believe that urban people are 'cool', and rural people are '*khödöönii khöösön mantuu*', a derogatory reference to a rural person, literally meaning '*stupid rural bun*'. This tension affected Naran when she first moved to the city, causing her to make lifestyle changes in order for her to fit in. This for example included changing her appearance and how she dresses, '*I wanted to get rid of my tacky looking "Made in China" platforms, as I was advised to wear Converse trainers instead because they were considered cool within my urban classmates*'; what music she listens to, '*I needed to go to cool pop concerts instead of going to cheesy comedy shows. They would often laugh at me when I listen to "zokhioliin duu"*', '*People from UB would call their preferred music as "cool music" while they would label "zokhioliin duu" as awkward and cheesy*'²⁶.

Most importantly her rural accent had become a problem, as Naran posttextually interprets her repertoire, '*When I opened my mouth, I started feeling the tension because I had this heavy rural accent. Urban people would speak these different languages while I was only sticking to my rural sounding Mongolian. I didn't want to sound like a 'stupid rural bun'. I wanted to be one*

²⁵ 'Zokhioliin duu' ('country song'), a distinctive country style musical genre, which is quite popular among the rural population, with monolingual lyrics often written in Mongolian, glorifying about the love for homeland, mother's love, or the love for great horses, often performed by singers originating from rural areas.

²⁶ Post-Group Discussion Interviews with both Naran and Oldokhbayar were conducted on September 22, 2010, UB, Mongolia.

of the proper modern members of the city'. This account is also compatible to Blommaert & Dong's (2010b, p. 377) reminder of a growing internal migration from rural areas to the cities in the context of China due to the country's economic boom. This internal migration tends to reorder the linguascape in the city, in which 'certain accents mark a metropolitan, sophisticated identity, while others mark rural origins, low levels of education, and marginal social – economic status'.

By incorporating these changes, Naran started to adjust to city life. Her parents still send her money quite often, which helps her to afford the city centre lifestyle. Naran, however, adds that she worked hard to become part of the proper urban youth community, *'I did my best to transform myself. I started looking at all different opportunities to change my old self. I didn't want to lock myself in the room. I wanted to go out and be there'*. This includes her socialization with mostly 'middle class' and 'city' classmates, and the student accommodation in the heart of the city, *'I used to live with many students in my university dormitory. It is conveniently located in the city centre, and we have direct access to what the city has to offer. We do everything together: going out, clubbing, cinemas and concerts. So this networking and socializing helps me a lot to become familiar with current UB in every aspects'*. Currently, she lives with her 'city' boyfriend, Oldokhbayar, who plays an important role in forming her urban lifestyle, *'When I first moved to UB, I was obsessed with Japanese TV drama, and Tepei [referring to the main male character of Japanese TV drama, 'Love Generation', performed by the Japanese pop idol Takuya Kimura]. He's the epitome of the perfect male for me, because of Tepei now I'm a huge fan of 'SMAP' [referring to the famous Japanese boy band, in which the actor Takuya Kimura is one of the five members]'*, *'I only started dating Oldokhbayar because he used to look like Tepei [...]. Since I started dating Oldokhbayar, I was influenced by the way he talks. I mean using lots of English. We started watching long movie sessions in English, listen to English songs and then would use those movie words to have fun. I learn so much from him'* (FB correspondence, July 18, 2012). Here, we can see how Naran' starts to change through being in a relationship with her city-born boyfriend. Naran's boyfriend, Oldokhbayar is an avid sportsman, who has traveled to Japan occasionally, to compete in international Taekwondo

competitions. This nurtured an interest in Japanese culture. Since the start of his university, he claims to have started taking English classes seriously, although he also claims that his level of English is strongly associated with watching movies in English. In terms of his language practice, Oldokhbayar explains, *'When I travel, there is a stereotype about Mongolia as backward or isolated. I'm rebellious in nature. I want to break that [stereotype]. Maybe I want to show them that young Mongolians are capable of speaking any languages. We are not totally backward as others imagine. We are able to use English like everyone else'*. Here, Oldokhbayar relocalizes the established ideologies against Mongolianness through his use of English and perhaps Japanese and it is in this interplay, Oldokhbayar claims a wider cosmopolitan identity to break the stereotype against Mongolians.

Naran further acknowledged via her FB that her previous activities whilst living in the countryside has nonetheless influenced her current linguistic competence, *'Even though I was living the Southern Gobi, I used to hang out in the central Internet café in town, just to get the hang of the Internet, email and chat. Once I was more exposed to the Internet, I started surfing various websites, watching my favorite stuff. So the use of English has actually started back at home, when I started using the Internet'* (FB correspondence, July 18, 2012). Naran's account here can be associated with what Lamb (2013) has suggested in terms of rural young people's access to English, 'Increasing geographical mobility and the rapid spread of mobile and Internet technology facilitate the flow of English into local society, provide new ways of learning and reasons to use it' (p.27). Despite her isolated geographic location, Naran has been exposed to English through the introduction of the Internet, in a small and seemingly remote town of the Southern Gobi province. Naran started to participate in an online space to 'mess around' (Horst et al, 2010, p.53), 'a transition zone along a continuum...between interest-driven and friendship-driven participation' (p.76), where young people '...are tinkering, learning, and getting serious about particular modes or practices' (p.76). This exposure to the Internet and English can therefore be interpreted as one of her 'sedimented' (Pennycook, 2007a, p.63) activities in the past, which has been mobilized in her future language practices.

Overall, Naran is involved in identity play (Thurlow et al, 2004; Thomas, 2007; Vaisman, 2011) and identity tourism (Nakamura, 2002), in which ‘one needs to create a persona (which may or may not be akin to one’s embodied self) to project a sense of self to other’ (Thomas, 2007, p.18). Here, Naran’s identity was initially conditioned by the ideologies of what it means to be rural and urban. Her speech style has started to change since ‘people have varying language abilities – repertoires and skills with languages – but [...] *the function and value of those repertoires and skills can change as the space of language contact changes.*’ (Blommaert et al. 2005, cited in Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010, p. 260).

The role of diverse linguistic resources in her language practice is associated with her struggle and strong determination to transform herself, and to become a proper urban citizen. This was achieved by her access to urban resources, since her arrival in UB, saturated by her city boyfriend, her parents’ financial advantages, and her networking with middle class ‘city’ friends. In addition, her previous access to media and technology, whilst living in the countryside also counts. Relocalizing certain urban characteristics within her speech style, Naran also produces a new sense of ‘urbanness’ – ‘fundamentally’ a non-urban person, claiming urban membership. This further shows that how one’s language practice can be expanded and diversified through the exposure of available linguistic resources. Naran seems to have adjusted to the linguistic norms of city speakers with high speed and volume, so much so that she shows strikingly similar characteristics to those of her upper/middle class city counterparts, although there is much more socio-economic meaning attached within this piece of textual analysis. This section ultimately shows how one’s language practice cannot be directly judged, solely based on one’s birthplace, territory and location.

5.3 THE LINGUASCAPE OF UNDERPRIVILEGED YOUTH

5.3.1 CREATING AN IMAGINARY MIDDLE CLASS TALK

EXTRACT 4

Transcript	Translation
1. Naidan: ...Minii bodloor bol Geegiin duunuud ilüü amidrald oirkhon yüm shigee. Bold bol YOU KNOW (pause) zügeer yamaa shig gunshaa khooloigoor orilool aimar “ REKLAMNAYA PAUZA ” shüüdee, YOU KNOW ((Giggles)).	In my opinion, Gee’s songs are more practical. Bold is, you know, just screams with his annoying nasal voice. He is such a show-off, you know.
2. Dolgormaa: ((YOOOOY!)), Chi neeren “ YOU KNOW - YOU KNOW - ” gekhee boli tekhüü!!! Aimar teneg sonsogdkhiin.	Hey! Can you please stop saying “you know” “you know”? Sounds really lame and stupid.
3. Naidan: Yu genee? (pause) Chamaig I duuraij yarijiishd. “ YOU KNOW! ”.	What? I’m actually trying to be like you. “YOU KNOW!”.
4. Dolgormaa: Khüüsh! Bi khezee tegj yarij baisiin, naadakh chini khotsrogdsiishdee odoo. ((Laughs)) Aim:ar teneg sonsogd:iishd. NEVER!	Hey! When did I talk like that? That’s really outdated. Sounds really lame. NEVER!
5. Naidan: (Pause) ((PAAAAH!)) Chi neeren aimar demii yümand sanaa zovokh yümaa. Argagui I neg <i>paa:lantai</i> jorlon, <i>paar:tai baishingiin</i> khüükhed möndöö mön...	You worry too much about nothing. You are certainly the spoiled kid, who lives in an apartment with ‘enamel toilet’ and ‘central heating system’.

The pretextual history of this extract is associated with two classmates (Naidan, 19, male, UB born; Dolgormaa, 18, female, UB born), whose conversation took place during the classroom break. The speakers are sharing their opinions on some Mongolian popular music artists.

Contextually, in line 1, Naidan uses certain popular culture oriented resources: the use of Hip Hop genre specific term, ‘*Geegiin*’ [‘Gee’s’], combining the Mongolian Hip Hop artist, Gee’s name with the Mongolian suffix, ‘-giin’ [‘-s’]; an intertextual echo of the discourse snippets from Russian TV programs where the Russian hosts announce the next commercial breaks with the phrase ‘*reklamnaya pauza*’ [‘time for commercial break’]. The use of

Russian '*reklamnaya pauza*' is however used as a linguistic norm across the urban youth culture of Mongolia, since its meaning has been relocalized, in which it renders a new linguistic meaning, referring to the narcissistic people who are obsessed with '*showing-off*' the Self. In this context, Naidan recycles the relocalized version of '*reklamnaya pauza*', referring to the Mongolian popular music artist, Bold as a '*show off*'. Naidan, however, creatively and purposefully parodies this phrase, '*reklamnaya pauza*', with distinctive Russian pronunciation, impersonating Russian TV hosts. The English phrase, '*you know*', has been used repeatedly by Naidan (lines 1 and 3) to imply the meaning of 'you know what I mean'.

In line 2, Naidan's interlocutor Dolgormaa predominantly uses Mongolian, although the English phrase '*you know*' has been repeated; in line 3, Naidan explains in a tongue-in-cheek way that using English colloquial, '*you know*' repeatedly in his own speech is purported to create a parody of Dolgormaa's style of speech, subtextually referring to her extensive English mixing practices in her daily linguistic repertoire. In line 4, the linguistic parody towards her speech style is immediately rejected by Dolgormaa, because using a simple English colloquial such as '*you know*' is already perceived as '*outdated*' and '*lame*' by her. Dolgormaa indicates that she hardly ever uses '*you know*' in her daily speech, accentuated by distinctive British pronunciation '*Never!*' - '[nevə]', rather than American sounding ['nevər], leaving out last consonant [r].

The subtextual reference of this contextual analysis between these two speakers should be understood through both speakers' access to linguistic resources. Naidan's intertextual use of English phrase '*you know*' is better understood through '[...] the social expectations with respect to language use that speakers administer to each other, and the rights of language use which people assign to each other' (Jørgensen et al 2011, p.34) In other words, Naidan parodies Dolgormaa's extensive linguistic mixing practice through simple, '*you know*', because that is what he imagines about or expects from Dolgormaa's linguistic repertoire, which is immediately rejected by Dolgormaa, because her linguistic norm is beyond what Naidan parodies.

Put differently, Naidan's social and linguistic expectations towards his interlocutor Dolgormaa plays an important role here. Dolgormaa is a typical

middle class girl, who lives with her parents in an apartment block, situated in the city centre. Dolgormaa is known in the classroom as a top student, whose English language skill is highly valued. She lived in the UK for about one year as an exchange student. For these reasons, she is well known amongst her classmates for her extensive linguistic mixing practice between English and Mongolian in her daily speech. This general linguistic behavior of Dolgormaa is subtextually parodied by Naidan's posttextual interpretations, his imagination towards Dolgormaa's general speech style.

By contrast, for a middle class girl, who speaks good English like Dolgormaa, using simple *'you know'* no longer works, as she later suggests that there is another linguistic norm within her own circles of friends, where they use *'more sophisticated [English] expressions'*²⁷. In fact, using *'you know'* used to be quite popular in earlier times amongst urban speakers, since many speakers wanted to sound *'natural'* and *'colloquial'* when using English, although it is now perceived, in her view, as *'outdated'* by many of her middle class friends, because it sounds *'khödööniikh yüm shig'* (*'countrysidish'*) or *'Modon Angli khel'* (*'Frozen English'*). This also shows that *'the use of features or "languages" by specific speakers may be deemed improper by some speakers who believe themselves specially entitled to grant rights of use'* (Ag & Jørgensen, 2012, p.527).

In line 5, Dolgormaa's rejection towards Naidan's parody further causes Naidan to make a kind of sarcastic subtextual reference towards her comfortable lifestyle. Naidan suggests that Dolgormaa has nothing to worry about, because she lives in a comfortable apartment with *'paartai baishin'* (house with central heating system) and *'paalantai jorlon'* (enamel flush toilet), incorporating the Russian and Chinese oriented linguistic resources. *'Paartai baishin'* is a Russianized Mongolian phrase, rooting back from the Russian term, *'Паровой башня'* (*'House with the heater'*), mixed with the Mongolian preposition suffix, *'-tai'* (*'with'*); while *'paalantai jorlon'* is a Chinesized Mongolian term, in which a Chinese stem, *'falang'*, *'法琅'* (*'enamel'*) has been combined with a Mongolian stem *'jorlon'* (*'toilet'*) (cf. Nadmid, 2011, p. 46), and the same suffix *'-tai'*. These terms however are deeply embedded within

²⁷ Post-group discussion Interviews with Dolgormaa and Naidan was conducted on September 30, 2010, UB, Mongolia.

Mongolian language and culture, dating back to the Soviet era. They are already perceived as local terms in modern Mongolia.

By this comment, Naidan refers to Dolgormaa's comfortable lifestyle, so much so that Dolgormaa is worried about superficial things. Naidan subtextually refers to his financially and socially marginalized background, where he lives in the ger district without a central heating system, using their own manual coal stoves, and outdoor wooden toilets, pitched on dug pits. Naidan was born and raised in the outskirts of UB, Yarmag district, one of the biggest 'ger districts' in UB. Naidan's mother is a single parent, who is raising five more kids, with Naidan the eldest one. He has never traveled abroad, and his access to the Internet and TV is very limited due to living in the ger district. Naidan is studying at NUM, because he wants to gain a higher education, and is currently reliant on the government's higher education loan system.

The comment by Naidan however is not to de-valorize Dolgormaa's affluent lifestyle, but rather is intended to tease her, because Naidan is extremely proud of his humble background, *'I like to tease my classmates who live in the modern apartments, because they have no idea how life can be hard in the ger districts. I mean who became the Olympic Champions and made the whole Mongolia so united and proud? They were all from the ger districts'*. Here, Naidan refers to the Beijing Summer Olympic Games of 2008, in which Mongolia recorded its most successful games in its Olympic history²⁸, winning two gold and two silver medals in judo and boxing, surpassing the previous haul of two silver and two bronze medals from the 1980 Moscow Olympics. Many of these medalists originated from the ger districts.

The parody of *'you know'* by Naidan in this context therefore directly relates to his socio-economic background, and his imagination towards his middle class classmate's speech style. This also signals the popularity of heavy borrowing from various linguistic resources by more financially and socially privileged youth, so much so that Naidan is creating his own parody to tease his interlocutor. Even though Dolgormaa has rejected Naidan's parody, she nevertheless accepts the fact that the use of English among her peers


²⁸ Out of 87 nations that won medals at the Beijing Olympics, Mongolia ranked 16th by medals per population. After these wins, Mongolians celebrated the success, gathering in the main square, singing national anthems, waving national flags and so on.

(i.e., privileged youth) is a norm, suggesting even more sophisticated linguistic resources moving beyond the use of simple *'you know'*.

Overall, the contextual analysis of this extract shows that the combination of various linguistic resources is more prevalent in the text produced by Naidan – the underprivileged youth representative, while his interlocutor Dolgormaa, the member of privileged youth, has predominantly used Mongolian. Meanwhile, the subtextual analysis illustrates that the use of various linguistic resources by Naidan is highly strategic, and needs to be understood on level of semiotic resources. Naidan used those varied linguistic resources (e.g., English, Russian, Chinese and so on) not because he speaks those languages, but rather he only used English (*'you know'*) because he wanted to create a parody against his discussant. Likewise, his use of Russian (*'paartai baishingiin'*, *'reklamnaya pauza'*) and Chinese (*'paalantai jorlon'*) resources are semiotics that are perceived as part and parcel of the local language and culture, which have been used for many years in Mongolia.

By contrast, although Dolgormaa may not have used as extensive linguistic resources as her interlocutor in the context, she has nevertheless used distinctive British English sounding, *'Never!'*, which sounds more 'foreign' and 'English' than Naidan's repertoire. Neither is *'Never!'* a term that has been used by Mongolians for many years, nor is it a parody like Naidan's *'you know'*. Here we are talking about two young people with distinct socio-economic backgrounds, Naidan with limited access to linguistic resources, and Dolgormaa with extensive access to linguistic resources, with the differences based down to their financial income. Because of this access to and control over available linguistic resources, both speakers seem to negotiate different linguistic norms, with Naidan creating a linguistic parody against his middle class interlocutor, whilst with Dolgormaa rejecting his parody as outdated, re-creating her own linguistic version. Let us now closely examine these speakers' online linguistic repertoires in the next section.

EXTRACT 5


Facebook Text	Translation
1. Зурагчны ур чадвар зураг авхуулж буй хүмүүсийн хөдөлмөрт хэдэн лайк өгөх вэ? Таалагдвал LIKE & Share. '	How many likes would you give to the hard labor of the cameraman and his subjects? If you like it, LIKE & SHARE
2. Намрын налгар өдрүүдээ гэж ...ккк —  feeling wonderful.	Nice autumn day

Facebook Text	Translation
3. UB-d weather tiim muu bgamuu, flight hoishlogdloo, just wandering around, but saw an Absolute Hunk! Girls! *Wink wink*	Is the weather that bad in UB? My flight has been delayed, just wandering around, but saw an Absolute Hunk! Girls! *Wink wink*
4. Paul Walker is dead?!? WTF??? Ma BF-iin idolshuudee. What's gonna happen with the next franchise now? Plzzz tell me noo ppl!	Paul Walker is dead?!? WTF???. He was my boyfriend's idol. What's gonna happen with the next franchise now? Please tell me no people!

The pretextual history of Extract 5 is associated with Naidan and Dolgormaa's online language practices, both retrieved from their FB wall posts accordingly. Lines 1 and 2 illustrate Naidan's FB wall updates, although Naidan is inactive most of the time on his FB. Lines 3 and 4 show Dolgormaa's FB wall posts, who is by contrast very active, updating her wall posts multiple times daily.

Contextually, lines 1 and 2 show Naidan's frequent orthographic FB practice, in which he frequently uses Cyrillic Mongolian. In Line 1, Naidan posts a photograph, which portrays a group of people sitting together with a beautiful landscape in the background, posing for a photographer, accompanied by the text in line 1 embedded within the caption. Naidan's language practice here is produced by the intertextual echoes of FB-specific terms such as 'лайк', 'LIKE & Share'. The use of English therefore is understood through what Sharma (2012, p. 506) suggests, 'English on a Facebook page is to use it in multimodal form by default, because any

Facebook page is already multisemiotic with images, hyperlinks, and other verbal resources'. The use of 'like button', a FB feature where the users express their support and enjoyment to certain content, has been creatively Mongolianized by Naidan, 'лайк', transforming English version into Cyrillic Mongolian, and further recontextualizing within the predominantly Mongolian sentence. In a similar vein, FB feature 'LIKE & Share', referring to press the 'like button' and further 'share' on one's own FB wall, has been used in its original form, without being transliterated into Cyrillic Mongolian. Here, Naidan illustrates one of the most widely used online language practices across FB consumers, appropriating FB default languages within their own context. So much so that some of these FB default languages can be heard even in the context offline speakers, 'Minii zurgiig like khiigeechee!' (Why don't you 'like' my photo?). That is to say, rather than using 'English', Naidan is following the FB linguistic norm here.

In line 2, Naidan also uses Cyrillic Mongolian, accompanied by yet another FB feature  'feeling wonderful', when the users have the option of choosing certain situated moods by pressing the FB button 'What are you doing?' under the section of 'What's on your mind?'. Although this FB feature looks English, the consumer is more regulated by FB's default language system. This sentence is further expanded by the popular onomatopoeic expression of 'kkk', widely used by online consumers in Mongolia - an expression of giggle (not loud laughter like 'haha') when oral expression is not available. All in all, Naidan's FB language has been mostly produced in the Mongolian text, although it has also been combined with FB semiotic resources, which are also used by thousands, if not millions, of other FB consumers.

By contrast, in lines 3 and 4, Dolgormaa uses more heavy English borrowings on her FB wall posts, compared to Naidan. In line 2, Dolgormaa combines the abbreviated version of Ulaanbaatar, 'UB'; the English stem words 'weather' and 'flight' incorporated within the Mongolian sentence; accompanied by the full English sentence 'just wandering around, but saw an Absolute Hunk! Girls! *Wink wink*'. Here, Dolgormaa indicates that her flight has been delayed due to bad weather in and around UB, and whilst she is

waiting at the airport, she spots and uploads a photo of 'Absolut Hunk', a famously posed nude photo of actor Jason Lewis, used in the American TV show, 'Sex and the City' - a fictitious ad, in which he lies naked on a bed with a bottle of Absolut vodka positioned deliberately between his legs, appearing in one of the episodes in the show as a Times Square billboard. Dolgormaa dedicates this photo to her FB female friends, sarcastically adding the expression 'Wink wink', instead of just using emoticon 🤗. In doing so, Dolgormaa sends a message to her girlfriends that she thinks the guy on the ad is attractive. Overall, this FB post hints that not only is she privileged enough to jet set across the world, but also she is familiar with the American TV show 'Sex and the City', which is particularly popular across affluent females in Mongolia.

In line 4, Dolgormaa expresses her shock about the sudden death of Hollywood actor, Paul Walker, heavily borrowing from the English symbols, 'WTF' ('What The Fuck'), 'BF' ('boyfriend'), 'ppl' ('people') and 'plzz' ('please') – the abbreviated versions of English stem words, a popular choice of online orthography for many transnational online users. Dolgormaa also uses an Anglicized Mongolian 'ma', which is perceived as a stylish way of saying English 'my', followed by an Anglicized Mongolian term, 'idolshuudee' ['idolshüüdee' meaning 'is idol'] – the mixture between English word 'idol' and Mongolian suffix '-shüüdee' ('is'). Here, it makes no more sense to demarcate an 'idol' as English, since it only fulfills proper communicative meaning in combination with the Mongolian linguistic feature, '-shüüdee'. This post shows that not only is Dolgormaa resourceful enough to remain up to date with the latest news of what is going on around the world, but also she and her boyfriend are familiar with cast of the 'The Fast & Furious' Hollywood franchise. Overall, Dolgormaa's online language practice has been produced by the combination of various semiotic resources expanded by heavy borrowing from English, embedded within Mongolian text.

What is important to note from these two cases is that the combination of various linguistic resources is present in both contexts, although the amount of semiotic diversity and variety incorporated within the texts of each consumer weighs more on one than the other. Naidan's repertoire for

example is restricted to more or less dominant Mongolian resources, expanded by genre specific expressions such as FB defaults, while Dolgormaa's online text demonstrates far more sophisticated semiotic diversity than Naidan's. This shows that linguistic creativity such as recontextualization/relocalization is present across both speakers although its semiotic diversity and sophistication is shaped by the users' access to resources, and their overall 'symbolic competence' (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008) – the capacity to manipulate various symbols for one's desired linguistic performance. Dolgormaa's online language appears more diverse and complex looking because of her heavy borrowing from English resources, since she is privileged and resourceful enough to have a direct access to English, media, technology and popular culture resources. By contrast, Naidan is underprivileged enough to have a direct access to English and other media/technology saturated resources, *'I have a very busy lifestyle. I have too many daily chores to deal with and I don't even have time to watch TV'*. Here, Naidan's *'busy lifestyle'* is better associated with his ger district lifestyle, in which he is involved with numerous subsistence activities such as collecting fresh water from water trucks, picking up coal and other fuels for heating, looking after his siblings and so on. Naidan however expresses his desire to learn English, *'I would love to learn English if I had an opportunity, I know it's very important'*, following the influential role of bi/multilingual skills promoted in the society. From this point of view, it can also be concluded that the various linguistic resources are present in both speakers' repertoires, although their diversity and sophistication are uneven because of one's greater access to the available communicative resources, saturated by the symbolic and linguistic competence when compared to the other. This access is mainly shaped by the speakers' socio-economic background, i.e., their access to the movement of resources.

5.3.2 CREATING A ‘G-KHOROOLOL’ TALK

EXTRACT 6

Transcript	Translation
1. Researcher: ...Chi Facebookgüi yümüü? Nemekh kheregtei bna.	Don't you have Facebook? I need to add you.
2. Battsetseg: Noshüüdee . Bi ter Pe:::sbookiig yostoi meddeggüi. Manaikhan “PEE:::SBOOK PEE:::SBOOK!” ‘AAAAAAAAAAAA:::!’ ((impersonating loud pitchy female voice)) geel amia ügchikh geel baidiin ((laughter))	Kind of no, I have no idea what FB is. My classmates just die for it, ‘Facebook Facebook!’ ‘AAAAAAAAAA!’
3. Researcher: Bi zaaj ögökhüü? Süüld kholbootoi baikh kheregtei baina.	I can teach you, if you want? I need to contact you later.
4. Battsetseg: ((Eeeeeee:::!)) Yostoi medekhgüidee. Bi gertee enternaatgüi bolokhoor yostoi goshin yüm bolokh baikhaa	I'm not sure about that. I don't have Internet at home, so it would be hard.
5. Researcher: Za za ööröö I med. Emailee tegüül? Chatand khir ordog yüm?	Well, it's up to you then. How about your email address then? Do you chat sometimes?
6. Battsetseg: ((Aaa:::n)) Khaayaa shalganaa bas ((giggles)), eemelgü hün gej yü baihav ((giggles)). Kharin chatad bol orokhgüieeee zav ch baikhgüi orood baikh confuu:::tar ni ch _baikhgüi	Sometimes. Everyone has emails, come on! I don't chat though, I have no time and no computer.
7. Sünderiya: ^L Manai Battsetseg aimar zavgüie:::. Aimar khol avtobusaar yavdiin khöörkhii!	Our Battsetseg is really busy. Poor her! She travels by bus long distance.
8. Battsetseg: Ödört avtobusaar yavna gedeg chini temtselshüüdee ene khotod. “G-khoroolold” amidarna gedeg chini ödör tutmiin temtselshüüdee!	It is such a big struggle to travel daily by bus in this city. Living in the “G-(ger) district” is a daily struggle.
9. Researcher: Za za bayarlaa okhidoo.	Alright then, thank you girls, I'm done.

Duuslaa. Ta nar odoo yü khiikh gej baina?	What are you up to now?
10. Battsetseg: Bid nar kharin <i>kimbaab</i> ddag yüm bilüü geel...	We are thinking of going for kimbap.

The pretextual history of this text is associated with the casual conversation (cf. Appendix 10) occurring during the end of focused group discussion session, in which I addressed each research participant, with an intention to collect their Facebook, Yahoo messenger and email addresses for potential future correspondence. Two speakers are involved in this conversation, although I will specifically focus on Battsetseg's account.

Contextually, it can be analyzed from the extract that Battsetseg moves across certain varied linguistic codes, including English, Russian and Korean. It is, however, important to note that she does not necessarily speak those different languages. In fact, she neither speaks English, nor Russian/Korean. As for her use of English, it needs to be understood in terms of Internet specific terms in her Mongolian dominated speech [*'Peesbookiig'*, *'enternaatgüi'*, *'eemelgü'*, *'chatad'*, *'confutar'*], intertextually echoing widely popular Mongolianized Internet terms used within Mongolian society. It is worth noting that these terms are not only restricted to young speakers, but also commonly used across the middle-aged population. In this particular context, these terms, however, are affected by Battsetseg's heavy 'regional dialect', which is considered as a 'rural speech style' in UB. For example, when she says *'Peespüükiig'*, she refers to *'Facebookiig'*, in which an Internet stem 'Facebook' is mixed with the Mongolian suffix modifier '-iig', creating the term 'Facebookiig' ('Facebook is'). According to Battsetseg, *'Facebookiig'*, however is transformed as *'Peespüükiig'*, where she pronounces initial '[F]' as '[P]'; middle '[b]' as '[p]'; middle diphthong '[ei]' as enunciated '[e:]'. Similarly, when she says *'confutar'*, she means 'computer', where the middle '[m]' is replaced by '[n]' and middle '[p]' pronounced as '[f]'. The terms, *'enternaatgüi'* ('without Internet') and *'eemelgü'* ('without email') are similar, in which 'Internetgui', the combination between Mongolian suffix preposition '-gui' ('without') and English stem, 'Internet', is transformed as *'enternaatgüi'*; 'emailgüi' ('email' + 'güi' = 'emailgüi') is pronounced as *'eemelgü'*. Here, the

combination between Internet semiotic resources and Mongolian resources is so seamlessly mixed and transformed, it is almost impossible to classify *'eemel'* ['email'] or *'enternaat'* ['Internet'] as English.

Battsetseg's style of pronouncing stop consonants and diphthongs is often regarded as *'country style'* by many city dwellers in Mongolia, who criticize rural people for distorting *'the foreign originated Mongolian words'* (cf. Chapter 8). Her classmates for example informed me that Battsetseg is often ridiculed for her heavy rural accent by some of her classmates. The accent of this speaker clearly illustrates some of the very clear rural accent indexicality observed by city speakers. This implies that 'space is [...] modified by people's semiotic behavior [...], and linguistic signs will also bear indexical values involving scalar relations', including 'shifts in accent, topic, or communicative event may invoke (or index) different scales: local, national, private, public, and so on' (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010, p. 260). This is also in accord with Blommaert & Dong's (2010b, p. 381) argument in terms of migration, '[...] accents [...] become very much a part of the speech repertoires of people, and they reflect the spatial and social mobility that is a central feature of the experience of migration. They also become part of indexical repertoires, as accents 'give off' rich meanings about who one is and how one talks'.

Meanwhile, semiotic diversity is present here. The speaker for example uses a Russianized Mongolian term, *'avtobusaar'* ('by bus') (line 7), with the Russian stem word *'автобус'* [avtobus] ('bus') mixed with the Mongolian preposition suffix *'-aar'* ('by'). This term, however, has been localized in Mongolia for many years, and is commonly used as part of local vocabulary. Battsetseg further creatively transforms the English phrase 'no' into Mongolian by integrating it with the Mongolian suffix *'-shüüdee'* ('-is'), creating *'Noshüüdee'*, meaning 'No!' in Mongolian (line 2). *'Noshüüdee'* should not be however understood as a novel expression here, since the term is generally very popular across young Mongolians. On many occasions, I have witnessed how young Mongolians opt for *'noshüüdee'* during the course of my (n)ethnographic participant observation stage. The Korean food name, 'kimbap' (line 10) is also Mongolianized here (line 10), combining it with the Mongolian suffix *'-ddag'* ('to go for'), creating a new expression, *'kimbapddag'* ('to go for kimbap'), subtextually referring to the wide popularity of Korean

food chains and restaurants in Mongolia since 1990. Again, the term '*kimbapddag*' should be understood as a widely popular term in UB, from the middle-aged to youngsters, because of the popularity of Korean food.

Linguistic creativity and playfulness is also present. The speaker for example parodies against her friends who spends so much time on FB (line 2), by uttering '*PEESBOOK, PEESBOOK!*' [referring to 'Facebook'] using loud and pitchy noise to sound like female voice, followed by the loud exclamation '*AAAAAAAAA*', playfully impersonating screaming girls. Battsetseg further uses the English alphabet, 'G', referring to '*G-khoroolol*' ('ger district'), pronouncing the alphabet distinctively in English '*/dʒi:/*' (line 8). Later in the interview²⁹, Battsetseg posttextually interpreted that the ger district youth often refer to 'ger district' as '*G-khoroolol*' to make it sound more stylish, and that they call themselves as '*G-giikhen*', meaning 'from ger district'. The youth population of city centres are not familiar at all with these terms, as they are almost solitarily used within the circle of 'ger district' youngsters.

Subtextually, Battsetseg's language practice is better understood through her access to resources. Battsetseg (18, a first year math student at NUM) is originally from Bulgan province, although her family moved to UB in 2006, because they lost all their livestock in 'zud'. Her family has been living in the 'Dambadarjaa' ger district of UB, since their migration from the countryside. The migration from the rural area has not been smooth, as Battsetseg notes, life in UB is still hard, '*Bid nar khoyor idej khooson khonohgui l baina*' ('*We don't eat twice, but we don't eat nothing*'). Her father is still struggling to find a proper job in UB, whilst her mother is working part-time as a cleaner in the local school. She has never traveled abroad. Battsetseg was admitted to the National University of Mongolia, because she won the high school 'math Olympiad', which allowed her to study at the NUM, fully funded by the government. Battsetseg however has admitted that she skips her classes on many occasions, due to her long travel from the ger

²⁹ Post-group discussion Interview with Battsetseg was conducted on October 9, 2010, UB, Mongolia.

district to the city by public transport, which is often gridlocked by severe traffic jams³⁰ in Ulaanbaatar.

Overall, at one level, Battsetseg's linguistic repertoire can be interpreted as 'diverse' because of her usage across various linguistic resources, including English, Russian and Korean. Although, at another level, her repertoire may also be interpreted as 'less diverse', once we compare it with the linguascope of other privileged youth speakers used in this chapter. The semiotic resources within her language is less diverse and sophisticated compared to her rural counterpart discussed in the previous section (Naran), mainly due to her restricted access to media and technology, and her harsh living conditions. The speaker is mainly involved with the diversity through her intertextual echoes across semiotic resources that are already considered as the linguistic norms across the urban youth culture of Mongolia, e.g., some already widely used Internet terms, Russianized Mongolian and Koreanized Mongolian terms and so on. However, the speaker also uses certain unconventional terms, which are not necessarily known within the linguascope of affluent youth, suggesting that linguistic creativity is not only restricted to affluent youth. This means that certain linguistic resources moving across the 'ger district' are not necessarily available within the circle of city centre youngsters and vice versa. Hence, the flows of linguistic resources are uneven.

5.4 CREATING LINGUASCOPE THROUGH UNEVEN RESOURCES

This chapter looked at the linguascope of urban youth culture in UB in conjunction with the notions such as financescope and ethnoscope. It has been argued that despite its uneven income across the society, the linguascope of urban youth culture in Mongolia is nonetheless subject to the transnational flows of linguistic and cultural diversity. Likewise, despite its peripheral position in transnational migration, the linguascope of urban youth culture in Mongolia is still actively engaged with current transnational linguistic and cultural flows. The question of 'to what extent', 'how far' and 'in what ways'

³⁰ Traffic jam in UB is considered as one of the worst problems in the city since 1990, mainly due to poor urban planning. There are no highways or subways to accommodate increasing city population, and the main roads were initially constructed by Russians during the Soviet time, designed for the city with population over only 300.000.

these flows of linguistic and cultural diversity are distributed, localized, taken up and practiced have been central to this chapter, drawing on the examples of young people with varying socio-economic backgrounds.

Bearing this in mind, three main points are addressed in this chapter. Firstly, the data examples used in this chapter illustrate that the linguascape of different members of urban youth culture is produced by the combination of transtextual resources for creating manifold meanings, desires, and identities, despite their local level of income inequalities, and their peripheral position within the ethnoscape. The use of transtextual resources incorporated within one's linguistic repertoire is often deeply strategic and localized, depending on one's communicative purposes in favor of them. We have for example witnessed how the linguascape of financially and socially privileged youth (cf. Üugii, Range, Naran) is creatively produced by a wide variety of heavy and sophisticated borrowings from linguistic resources such as English, Japanese, Russian, French, expanded by other semiotic resources such as various movie genres, music styles, and cultural modes. These skillful and resourceful speakers are not only restricted to their current linguistic boundaries, as Naran in Section 5.2.3 for example seeks to go beyond her competent skill of Mongolian and English, incorporating various other semiotic resources from Japanese movies.

The creativity, however, is not entirely reserved for privileged youth, since we have also witnessed how some representatives of financially and socially marginalized youth are also engaged with transtextual semiotic/symbolic codes and linguistic resources such as English, Korean, Russian, Chinese, despite their limited access to linguistic capital, be it the intertextual echoes/recontextualization of the Internet or Facebook genres, or the parody of prior utterances. In some cases, a simple parody of utterances seems to incorporate more complex subtextual references (parody against one's social background). This means that the notion of linguistic creativity is interpreted as part and parcel of young people's everyday creativity.

Secondly, linguistic resources are not distributed evenly across the speakers; rather it is an uneven or overlapping localizing process, which needs to be understood in relation to the subtextual references of the speakers' access to resources. That is to say, the majority of youth actors,

who seem to afford or have direct access to linguistic resources or other diverse media/technology and popular culture oriented semiotic resources, are creating more diverse and complex meanings that go beyond their linguistic and cultural boundaries. In other words, they are privileged enough to intensify the diversity, creativity and variety of linguistic resources they are involved with. Their income level ultimately makes it possible to have a direct access to linguistic resources, including access to travel across national boundaries, mixing and mingling with foreign nationals in Mongolia, enrolling at prestigious educational institutions, enjoying media and technology and so on. One's struggle, determination and dedication of achieving his/her desired linguistic performance also count.

By contrast, the linguascape of underprivileged youth seem to lack the diversity of linguistic resources, which comes hand in hand with other unexpectedly sophisticated semiotic resources. As argued earlier, the creativity is there, but the diversity is scarce. This is also associated with their socio-economically disadvantaged backgrounds and lifestyles, which prevent them from fully participating within the multiple activities that their advantaged counterparts are frequently involved. Most of them have not traveled across borders, and they lack sufficient time and access to media/technology, education and so on.

Because of this uneven localizing process, new linguistic norms, rights, and boundaries seem to emerge within the linguascape of urban youth culture, as Blommaert & Dong (2010b, p. 368) suggest that movement across space is always 'filled with norms, expectations, conceptions of what counts as proper and normal (indexical) language'. That is to say, 'the movement of people across space is [...] never a move across empty spaces'. The data examples in this chapter thus demonstrate that the tension between the privileged and underprivileged is 'stratified, controlled, and monitored ones – in which language 'gives you away', because '[b]ig and small differences in language use locate the speaker in particular indexical ascriptive categories', such as rural, urban, ger district, city-centre, middle class, marginalized and so on. To put it differently, there are 'multiple layers of normativity in the form of self-, peer- and state-imposed norms', in which 'diversity is controlled, ordered and curtailed'. As Varis & Wang (2011, pp. 71-72) note, 'new forms of

meaning-making are accompanied with new systems of normativity'. From this point of view, the moving linguistic resources embedded within linguascape are highly monitored and scrutinized practice by the relevant speakers, due to its uneven distribution of resources, leading to new linguistic norms and rights.

Thirdly, although linguascape is understood as an uneven process, which may demonstrate the characteristics of inequality, norm and disparity, it is nevertheless observed through its fluidity – the flows of resources across the speakers. On the one hand, linguascape can be interpreted as open to all, since the speakers are engaged with the complex process of exploiting available resources to them. The idea of 'available resources', on the other hand, is crucial here, because no matter how the speakers may be restricted to certain resources due to their socio-economic circumstances, they are at the same time involved with other available communicative, linguistic and semiotic resources at their disposal. One may lack access to certain resources, although they are simultaneously involved with certain other resources circulating across time and space. A member of underprivileged youth for example may experience inadequate access to linguistic resources, or media/technology channels or modes, but he/she may nevertheless diversify one's language practice across other available resources in the context of interaction (cf. 'YOU KNOW!'; 'G-khoroolol' and so on). In another case, a member of privileged youth may be perceived as a proper 'bi/multilingual' speaker, although his/her language practice is expanded and transformed by the exposure through the movement of other communicative resources, just like their underprivileged counterparts, which move beyond their current linguistic boundaries. In other words, linguascape is produced by an 'uneven' (e.g., the resources used by affluent youth are not available within underprivileged youth and vice versa) and 'overlapping' (e.g., both affluent and underprivileged youth use the Internet oriented terms) disjuncture of moving linguistic and semiotic resources, which needs to be understood through speakers' access to communicative resources.

CHAPTER 6

LINGUASCAPE IN RELATION TO MEDIASCAPE AND TECHNOSCAPE

6.1 UNDERSTANDING LINGUASCAPE IN RELATION TO MEDIASCAPE AND TECHNOSCAPE

This chapter will investigate the linguascope of urban youth culture in Mongolia in relation to technoscape and mediascope. Technoscape refers to moving technologies, i.e., the flows of technology, which connect across parts of the world, including both mechanical and informational technologies, while mediascope refers to the transnational flows of information and image distributions including newspapers, magazines, satellite television channels and so on (cf. Appadurai, 2006).

Many recent language scholars have acknowledged the importance of the transnational flows of media and technology in the language practices of young people in late-modernity. The idea of media and technology is mostly understood as co-related and co-constructive. When they talk about media flows, they simultaneously talk about technology flows and vice versa. When Leppänen et al (2009, p. 1102) for example highlight the importance of the Internet in young people's lives, they refer to them as 'media savvy young people' who are 'capable of and keen on surfing in as well as shaping the media environments for their specific semiotic, cultural, and social purposes'. This co-constructive relationship, according to Varis & Wang (2011, p.71), has made it 'increasingly easy to transgress one's immediate life-world, extend it to and beyond the screen, and engage in local as well as translocal activities through previously unavailable means' (cf. Thomas, 2007; Leppänen, 2007; Leppänen et al, 2009). While 'hanging out' or 'messaging around' (Horst et al, 2010, p. 41) within online space, young people seem to consume the given media text to discuss their tastes and preferred styles through 'hypersocial' social exchange. They often hide their offline or real identities through recreating abstract online identities (e.g., fake nicknames), resembling what Thomas (2007, p. 18) has suggested in terms of online identity play, 'one

needs to create a persona (which may or may not be akin to one's embodied self) to project a sense of self to others... One can become older, younger, wiser, an object, an animal, a thing, or somebody of the opposite sex'.

All in all, the role of these two scapes and their inter-relationship has been noted in recent youth language studies through three main points. Firstly, some scholars have noted the outstanding role of media and technology flows in producing 'linguistic diversity' within the language practices of youth speakers in late-modernity. As Androutsopoulos (2007, p. 207) puts it, 'linguistic diversity is gaining an unprecedented visibility in the mediascapes of the late twentieth and early twenty first century' (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2011). When Androutsopoulos (2010a, p.205) refers to diversity within 'mediascape', he implies semiotic resources and their mobility situated within the web – 'a large and complex repository of images and narratives'. That is to say, 'a novelty of the web 2.0 era is the capacity it creates for a large number of people to become 'intertextual operators' who digitally modify multi-modal text, for instance by adding subtitles, by replacing the original audio track [...] and so on. This large source further enables the speakers with 'adequate technological access and competence to actively appropriate signs and texts, thereby acting as mediators between global resources and local audiences'. Pool (2010, p. 142) similarly emphasizes the importance of considering the technological flows, which may facilitate the 'development of tools and resources usable for the maintenance and cultivation of low-density languages and the creation of viable communities out of linguistic diasporas'. Such progresses, according to Pool (2010, p. 142), 'could allow linguistic diversity and globalization to thrive together'.

Secondly, another group of literature suggests that this well-discussed linguistic diversity further incorporates the practices of 'linguistic creativity', i.e., stylization, recontextualization and relocalization, in which new meanings and new texts are also attached. Sultana, Dovchin & Pennycook (2013, p. 695) for example argue that young people extensively relocalize various resources from media and popular culture, and re-produce 'both creative and highly stylized' linguistic practices, involving 'a playful awareness of the exaggerated and mixed cultural and linguistic resources used to present their stylized [...] selves'. Varis & Wang (2011, p.71) refer to online space as - 'a superdiverse

space *par excellence*' - 'a space of seemingly endless possibilities for self-expression, individual life projects and community formation'. To this end, 'The World Wide Web opens up entirely new channels of communication, generating new linguistic and cultural forms, new ways of forming and maintaining contacts, networks and groups, and new opportunities for identity-making [...]'. Blommaert & Rampton (2011, p.7) propose that within this 'creativity and linguistic profusion', saturated by 'ethnic outgroups, new media and popular culture', we are able to observe 'linguistic norms being manufactured, interrogated or altered, or to see norms that have changed and are new/different in the social networks being studied'.

Lastly, there is a group of language scholars who argue that this so-called diversity and creativity should not be treated or celebrated as exotic or unique practices, but rather is better understood through being part and parcel of young people's basic daily activities and norms. As Androutsopolous (2007, p. 208) suggests, '[i]n the era of digital technologies, the sampling and recontextualization of media content is a basic practice in popular media culture', in which young rap artists for example 'sample foreign voices in their song', 'entertainment shows feature snatches of other language broadcasts for humour', and 'internet users engage in linguistic bricolage on their homepages'. Ag & Jørgensen (2012, p.528) argue in terms of polylingual language use amongst the Danish youth population, 'The use of features from several "different languages" in the same production may be frequent and normal, especially in-group interaction, even when the speakers apparently know very little material associated with several of the involved "languages".'. This norm has been established not only across youth population's everyday interaction, but it is also accepted and even employed by some of their parents. Leppänen et al (2009, p.1099) suggest that the online community members in a Finnish discussion forum tend to inject English elements into Finnish, borrowing from English extreme sports jargon, producing integrative and unconventional forms of Finnish and English. This practice however is better considered as a norm, since 'it has become a part of their linguistic repertoire', and they seem 'to expect familiarity with it when interacting with each other'. That is to say, for these online members, two separate codes

'English' and 'Finnish' is perceived as one, because it is simply how they talk, i.e. 'their own style of text and talk'.

As Pennycook (2010, p. 85) also proposes, 'As language learners move around the world in search of English or other desirable languages, or stay at home but tune in to new digital worlds through screens, mobiles and headphones, the possibilities of being something not yet culturally imagined mobilizes new identity options. And in these popular transcultural flows, languages, cultures and identities are frequently mixed. Code-mixing, sampling of sounds, genres, languages and cultures becomes the norm.'. To this end, we need to look at '[...] the same item being different, while an understanding of difference as the norm and sameness as in need of explanation turns the tables on assumptions about diversity' (Pennycook, 2010, p.50). That is to say, '[r]ather than a view of diversity that simultaneously supports the view of core similarity on which it is based', we need to understand difference as the norm, which 'requires similarity to account for itself'. Following Higgins & Coen (2000), Pennycook (2007a, p.95) further argues that we need to take the idea of 'the ordinariness of diversity' seriously, since '[d]ifference and diversity, multilingualism and hybridity are not rare and exotic conditions to be sought out and celebrated but the quotidian ordinariness of everyday life'. Here, Pennycook (2007a, p.95) agrees to the fact that not only 'consumer capitalism subverts differences into lifestyles as commodities', but also 'diversity is the given reality of human social action'. As Pennycook (2010, p.51) further argues, 'Language creativity is about sameness that is also difference, or to put it differently/similarly, language creativity is about sameness that is also difference.'.

From this point of view, it is more relevant to think of linguistic diversity and creativity as a normative and basic way to understand the linguascape of urban youth culture in Mongolia in relation to both mediascape and technoscape. It makes much more sense to analyze non-conventional linguistic profusions circulating across young people as a way to recognize the same world differently. As Androutsopoulos (2010a, p. 204) notes, following Blommaert (2005, p. 139), '[...] globalization creates a reorganization of norms in which 'mobile' codes 'become local resources, embedded in local patterns of value - attributions'.

Building on these lines of thought, this chapter will investigate the linguascope of urban youth culture in Mongolia in conjunction with the transnational flows of media and technology. Since 1990, when Mongolia embraced the new market economy, the mediascope and technoscape of the country quickly expanded their boundaries, thanks to the emergence of satellite TVs, urban radio stations, followed by the wide spread use of the Internet, mobile phones and computers. Considering the relatively small population, the statistic report of May 2013, by the Mongolian Press Institute shows that there are 135 newspapers, 99 magazines, 166 television stations, 84 radio stations, and 68 websites operating in Mongolia (cf. <http://www.infomongolia.com/ct/ci/5977>). Under this impressive media and technology network, young Mongolians are the most active, highly literate, and techno-savvy part of the population living in UB.

This chapter therefore will seek to understand to 'what extent' and 'how' and 'why' the flows of media and technology are used within the linguascope of urban youth culture in Mongolia, particularly focusing on 'the cultural consumers' sphere'. As I have conceptualized in Chapter 2, while the notion of 'urban youth culture' is the juxtaposition of two spheres – 'urban youth' and '[popular] cultural resources', which embody their own characteristics, they cannot be properly understood as separate entities. They are inter-dependent and their boundaries are co-constructed through the interactions of their participants. To this end, I suggest that it is almost impossible to understand the daily lifestyle of ordinary young people (the consumers) living in urban settings without understanding their involvement within popular culture as consumers.

Lastly, it is also worth noting here that these two scapes have been used together in this chapter for an important reason, since they are in an overlapping and co-constructive relationship, i.e., always seem to travel hand in hand, specifically in the field of youth related language and culture. To this end, these two notions will mostly be understood through their co-relation across this chapter.

6.2 LINGUASCAPE IN RELATION TO TECHNOSCAPE

6.2.1 MEANING MAKING ACROSS YOUTUBE TEXTS

EXTRACT 1

YouTube Text	Translation
1. chinggis khan: LOLZGONO! Yostoi ASA avraga maani laajishd. huumiification, morinhuurification ntr ni cool shuu. Amarkhüü's us ni yatsiin be? looks like korean drama baagiii rawfl DUH!	chinggis khan: LOLZGONO! The champion ASA (Asashoryu) is rocking it. huumiification, morinhuurification et cetra are cool. What happened to Amarkhuu's hair? looks like korean drama weirdo rawfl (ROFL) DUH!
2. mongolgirl mongol: shut up! Hujaa shig I haragdahgui bval bolooshd. korean drama uzej uildaggui yum shig. Chanvuu shig I haragdjiiishd	mongolgirl mongol: shut up! At least he is not looking Chinese. You sound like you don't watch Korean drama and cry. He looks like Chanvuu
3. mongolgirl mongol: this is honto ni subarashi ne.. u make us so proud all the time erhem hundet avraga mini. ene suuliin ued avragiin ner hundiig gutaagad bgaa yumnuud just need to disappear ntr..あなたは英雄です！あなたは私たちはとても誇りに思う！日	mongolgirl mongol: This is really wonderful. u make us so proud all the time of our dear champion. Some people who are trying to hurt the champion's reputation need to disappear etc. You are a hero! We are very proud! Mongolians living in Japan

The pretextual history of this extract is understood through a Pepsi TV commercial featuring Asashōryū, former Yokozuna (横綱 Grand Champion) of Professional Sumo Wrestling in Japan, and Amarkhüü, one of the members of the popular Russian boy band, 'Premier Ministry' (Pepsi Commercial, 2011) (cf. Sultana, Dovchin & Pennycook, 2013). Asashōryū³¹ (Mongolian name Dolgorsürengiin Dagvadorj), a Mongolian-born sumo wrestler, became the first Mongolian Yokozuna. Amarkhüü Borkhüü on the other hand is a Mongolian pop singer who resides in Russia. Having moved from Mongolia to Russia with his parents as a child, he rose to popularity in Russia after winning Narodniy Artist 3 (in 2006), the Russian version of Pop Idol. He is currently living in Moscow, and is the frontman of well-known Russian boy band Prime Minister. The Pepsi Commercial is set in a traditional Mongolian dwelling 'ger', where Asashoryu and Amarkhüü are dressed in traditional Mongolian clothes 'deel' and playing 'dembée', a traditional Mongolian 'hand-and-song' game, which involves two opponents sitting opposite each other singing 'dembée' songs while using different hand gestures (something like 'rock-paper-scissors'). When one of the opponents wins, he will drink the Pepsi as a reward.

Contextually, this extract shows how the speakers are involved with both media and technology: Media text – the Pepsi TV commercial is discussed by its consumers across the Internet, in which YouTube becomes the space for online consumption. The commercial has evidently attracted many viewers on YouTube, who have left their responses on the discussion board. Overall, most of the viewers express collectively positive views,

³¹ Asashōryū (Mongolian name Dolgorsürengiin Dagvadorj), a Mongolian-born former sumo wrestler, became the first Mongolian Yokozuna in 2003 in the Japanese Professional Sumo Wrestling. He was one of the most successful *yokozunas* ever, winning all six official tournaments in a single year, and winning overall 25 top division tournament championships. Asashoryu is also known as the inspiration for the next generation of sumo wrestlers in Japan: the current reigning Mongolian champions in Japanese professional sumo world, Hakuho and Harumafuji have both noted Asashoryu as their main inspiration.

suggesting that the commercial is one of those productions, which is '*purely Mongolian*' and '*locally tasteful*'. Most of the commentators seem to illustrate the sense of being a proud Mongolian, when they explicitly express their appreciations towards the use of traditional Mongolian modes used in the commercial.

Two YouTube consumers chinggis khan (CK) (based in Ulaanbaatar) and mongolgirl mongol (MM) (based in Japan) are having a discussion about the Pepsi commercial. In line 1, CK expresses his appreciation towards Asashōryū's performance, and his dislike towards Amarkhüü's hairstyle. CK intertextually echoes a few popular Internet specific phrases ('*ntr*', '*RAWFL*') that are widely used across young Mongolians, which can also be considered as online linguistic norm. '*Ntr*' for example is an expression, which is exclusively used in an online environment by young Mongolians, meaning 'for example or et cetera'. It is an abbreviated form of Mongolian expression 'ene ter', produced by the omission of vowel 'e'. '*Ntr*' is still unfamiliar to non-virtual space users [my mother for example did not know its meaning], but it is widely used by young online users. So much so that the expression has already become a basic practice, i.e. a linguistic norm, since almost every young Mongolians participating within online communication seem to incorporate '*ntr*'.

CK further echoes the universally popular Internet acronym 'ROFL' ('Rolling On Floor Laughing'), replacing its middle vowel, 'O' with 'AW', creating his own alternative way of pronouncing '*RAWFL*'. The take up of Internet acronyms such as 'ROFL', 'LOL' ('Laughing Out Loud'), 'BRB' ('Be Right Back') and so on are also widespread for many online consumers, since these acronyms are used as default onomatopoeic expressions.

The ubiquitous 'LOL' (Laugh out loud) has been relocalized here, adding the Mongolian suffix '-lzgono' onto the end of the word 'LOL' (with a single 'l', '*Lolzgono*', instead of double 'll' 'Lollzgono'). CK creates here a new linguistic meaning - '*Lolzgono*', implying that the given subjects are not only simply funny, but also tastefully funny. This is subtextually associated with the Mongolian suffix '-lzgono', which is most often used to imply the botanical term for a berry. The Mongolian word 'ulaalzgana' ('red currant') for example is constructed through integrating the suffix '-lzgana' into the core Mongolian word 'ulaan' ('red'), omitting the last consonant 'n' from the word 'ulaan' (the

vowels used in the suffix are consistent with the vowels in the core word). The suffix 'lzgono' is here added to the acronym LOL, coinciding with the main vowel 'o', rendering a Mongolian version of laughing out loud. The use of the suffix for berry, 'lzgono', integrated with acronym 'LOL', therefore produces a new meaning – 'tastefully funny', as berries are regarded as one of the tastiest fruits in Mongolia. Whilst following the established linguistic norm across transnational online users by using the ubiquitous 'LOL', CK at the same time relocalizes the expression through injecting Mongolian subtextual meaning, creating further new terms.

The combination of Mongolian semiotic features with English is one of the most common language practices within both online and offline environments within the urban youth culture of Mongolia. '*Coolshuu*' ('So cool!'), intertextually echoed by CK, is one of those examples, in which the English core word 'cool', is mixed with the Mongolian suffix '-shuu' (used as an intensifier for adjectives and nouns) creating the unconventional 'coolshuu'. As discussed elsewhere (cf. Chapter 1, Chapter 5), it makes no more sense to demarcate 'cool' as English, since it fulfills proper communicative meaning in contact with the Mongolian linguistic resource, '-shuu'. '*Coolshuu*' is further better understood here through one of those common local linguistic jargons used by young Mongolians, since on many other occasions (both online and offline), I observed many young Mongolians using this term. That is to say, rather than categorizing '*coolshuu*' as perhaps 'Mongolian English', it makes much more sense to look at it as part of local linguistic repertoires, where the speakers manipulate it for their own communicative purposes.

Inserting English features into core Mongolian words is also a common linguistic norm across young Mongolians, a practice that can also be observed within CK's comment. This practice is particularly popular across some specific Mongolian terms, which cannot be directly translated into English, including words for example associated with traditional Mongolian elements. Following this linguistic norm, CK here relocalizes the core Mongolian words, 'huumii' (throat singing) [khöömii] and 'morin khuur' (horse

headed fiddle)³², mixed with the English suffix ‘-ification’, producing new terms – ‘*huumiification*’ and ‘*morinhuurification*’, referring to the cultural practice of playing something globally popular (such as the Pepsi commercial) through local musical instruments. This particular creation seeks to pay respect to the traditional musical elements such as morin khuur and khöömii in a way that avoids their common English translations (horse headed fiddle and throat singing) while still using English suffixes to relocalize these terms discursively.

Lastly, CK intertextually echoes a widely used Mongolian colloquial ‘*laajiishd*’, following the linguistic norm within Hip Hop performers and fans in Mongolia, in which it is a very common practice to syllabically reverse certain phrases and expressions to make new meanings, in a manner akin to French street slang, *verlan*, which also uses syllabic inversion (*méchant* mean ⇒ *chanmé*; *fatigué* ‘tired’ ⇒ *guétifa*; *tout à l’heure* ‘just now’ ⇒ *leurtoute* etc; see Doran, 2004). These types of inventions can also be widely found across Hip Hop driven Mongolian websites such as ‘*www.asuult.net*’, in which many Hip Hop fans seem to use syllabically inverted Mongolian within their online language practice. Unlike second-generation immigrants in France, whose language practices derive in part from multilingual urban contexts, these Mongolian youth derive their mixed language practices through current, diverse global linguistic and cultural flows. Today, syllabically inverted playful language practice is being used beyond Hip Hop diaspora in Mongolia, as many ordinary young people seem to illustrate the examples, whilst participating online: ‘*gostuu*’ [‘*sogtuu*’ ‘drunk’], ‘*dökhööniikh*’ [‘*khödööniikh*’ ‘rural’], ‘*damidral*’ [‘*amidral*’ ‘life’]. Not only Mongolian is at play, but also non-Mongolian resources are involved, as ‘English’ for example used as ‘*Genlish*’; an Anglicized Mongolian word ‘*sexdeh*’ (‘to have sex’), the combination between Mongolian suffix ‘-deh’ and English stem word ‘sex’, becomes ‘*dexseh*’.

‘*Aljiishd*’, is a colloquial Mongolian, widely used within online Mongolian Hip Hop fans, meaning ‘Rocking it!’ or ‘Nailing it!’, which is an abbreviated form of the Mongolian expression ‘*alj baina shüüdee*’ (‘[he/she/you/they] is/are

³² ‘Morin khuur’ is a well-respected traditional Mongolian musical instrument, known as the ‘national heritage’ in Mongolia. It is a two-string instrument, approximately sounding similar to violin and cello.

killing it'), the present continuous simple form of the Mongolian verb root 'alah', meaning 'to kill'. Here, the writer shortens the expression 'alj baina shüü dee' into a single word 'aljiishd', replacing the last part '-j baina shüü dee', simply with 'jiishd'. These abbreviated forms of writing style are also demonstrated within the commentaries of the second consumer, '*bolooshd*' ('bolno shüü dee' 'it can be happening'), '*haragdjiishd*' ('haragdaj baina shüü dee' '[he/she/it] is looking'). This abbreviation is taken further by then reversing the syllables, since aljiishd is inverted into laajiishd, producing a novel colloquialism.

In response to CK, MM (line 2, 3) shows a strong sense of being a proud Mongolian, although this sentiment has been created by the combination of English, Mongolian, Korean and Japanese semiotic resources. In line 2, MM defends Amarkhüü's hairstyle, suggesting that he looks like '*Chanvuu*', making a subtextual reference towards Sung Chan-Woo, a popular male character in Korean TV drama ('First Love'), who became a household name in Mongolia in the 90's, portrayed by the famous Korean actor Bae Yong Joon. The popularity of Korean dramas in Mongolia is important here, as the style, dress, hair and melodrama involved within this cultural text have become a significant point of reference for some young Mongolians. Subtextually, Amarkhüü is a very well known public figure in Mongolia - another Mongolian export, even though most of Amarkhüü's songs are produced in Russian for Russian audiences. Amarkhüü has a very big female fan base in Mongolia, and was invited to act as a judge in the 'Universe Best Songs – 2012' competition, one of the most popular reality TV shows currently in Mongolia. Most of the viewers of this commercial for example demonstrate their love and affection specifically towards Amarkhüü ('*yooo bi Amarkhuu. d aiiiiiiiiir hairtai!!!!~::~*' by otgoo147/ 'I Love Amarkhüü so much!'). For MM, Amarkhüü looks more like her favorite Korean actor than someone Chinese, a '*hujaa*', a derogatory Mongolian reference to a Chinese person (subtextually reflecting the common anti-Chinese sentiment in Mongolia; see Billé, 2008).

In line 3, MM pays her respect to Asashoryu, heavily borrowing from the Japanese linguistic resources alongside English and Mongolian. This speaker perhaps seems to heavily borrow from the Japanese resources because of her physical location in Japan. Her YouTube account shows that she is located in Tokyo, Japan. Here, the speaker also makes a subtextual

reference towards Asashoryu's popularity in Mongolia, as she expresses a strong sense of pride and respect towards Asashoryu. This is a common sentiment in Mongolia since he is admired for popularizing Mongolia not only in Japan, but also around the world. Because of Asashoryu, sumo has become one of the most watched and played sports in Mongolia, inspiring the next generation of Mongolian sumo wrestlers in Japan (the current reigning Mongolian champions in Japanese professional sumo world, Hakuho and Harumafuji). Asashoryu has also received considerable negative publicity in recent years, as a result of various events and accusations. This is referenced by MM's suggestion that those criticizing Asashoryu should '*disappear*'. By paying respect to Asashoryu, MM hence illustrates demonstrates her sense of being a proud Mongolian, a very common sentiment among young Mongolians.

Also worth noting here, like many other comments on this site, is the use of Roman script. Here it is used for Mongolian (lines 1, 2, 3) and Japanese (line 3), though Japanese scripts (kanji, hiragana, katakana) are introduced later. Subtextually, this practice can be interpreted as an online orthographic norm for young Mongolians, as the prevalence of Roman over Cyrillic can be found elsewhere from text messaging to other forms of exchanges mediated by new technologies, including not only globally popular sites such as YouTube or Facebook, but also the comments left on locally popular sites such as olloo.mn and sonin.mn (Billé, 2010). This practice seems to be 'a conscious choice insofar as computers in Mongolia will be in Cyrillic input mode by default, thus requiring the user to toggle to Latin before entering text' (Billé, 2010, p. 244). There is also of course certain ideologies of modernity, and a way in which Roman script is allied to English, that renders this script as the preferred option for online chat environments. Cyrillic Mongolian, however, is starting to get more popularity in recent years, with many young Mongolians opting for Cyrillic Mongolian instead of Roman.

If we however transliterate the Mongolian above into Cyrillic script, a further consideration emerges: 'LOL3ГОНО! Ёстой АСА аврага маани лаажийшд. хөөмийfication, моринхуурification нтр ни соолшvv. Амархvvгийн vc ни яацийн бэ? looks like korean drama баагий rawfl DUH!' (Mongolian Cyrillic Transliteration). While the terms 'хөөмийfication' and

‘моринхууification’ perhaps achieve greater salience as overtly mixed Mongolian traditions with English modifications (to use Cyrillic for the ‘ification’ suffix seems to make little sense), the difficulty needed for this form of script-switching acts against the preference for the fluidity of mixed codes. In online environments, where writers often operate in a form of written orality, a graphic representation of such mixing becomes inhibitive.

EXTRACT 2

YouTube Text	Translation
1. lovey dovey: Not Freestyle! Tohirson namiig ni helj uguhu? RIPSTYLE! Absolute disgrace to Mongolian Hip Hop , daldruul taaarna, yu rapalj bgaga oij bgam bolvuda, go to hell n stop morinkhuuring in diz shiaaaaaathole.	Not Freestyle! Shall I say its suitable name? RIPSTYLE! Absolute disgrace to Mongolian Hip Hop, need to disappear. Do they actually understand what they are rapping about? Go to hell n stop morinkhuuring in diz shiaaaaaathole.
2. Justin Timberlake: Hehe ter <u>tsupariddag</u> heseg ni ok ch yumshig ugui sh yumshig.. ter cola uuj bgaa chick ni <u>kawaiich</u> yum shig ugui ch yum shig, johon fat ch yumu huurhiiduu gej	Hehe that part where the [rapper] portrays some ‘tsupari’ looks ok or maybe not... that chick who is drinking cola looks sort of ‘kawai’ or maybe not, maybe she looks a bit fat, poor girl

This extract is also one of the clear examples, in which the relationship between technoscape and mediascape plays an important role in the linguascape of urban youth culture. The pretextual history is associated with the posttextual interpretation of Mongolian Hip Hop music video ‘Freestyle’, produced by Hip Hop band Lumino on Youtube (Freestyle, 2009). ‘Freestyle’ is a popular Mongolian Hip Hop music video, produced in 2005, in which various cultural modes (traditional Mongolian musical instruments, Japanese sumo, Western dances) and linguistic codes (French, English, Mongolian) have been incorporated (cf. Chapter 7). Extract 2 thus is a set of online texts, retrieved from the YouTube discussion board for ‘Freestyle’.

Contextually, one of the most popular discourses circulating around ‘Freestyle’ online consumers is whether the performers have produced authentic cultural texts (cf. Chapter 7). Lovey dovey (LD; line 1) for example intertextually echoes various AAVE and HHNL phrases, identifying himself as

a loyal Hip Hop fan. LD uses the alternative orthographic versions for the word 'this' as 'diz', approximating one of the common orthographic substitution norm noted in young German Hip Hop fans, who seek to identify with global Hip Hop community through using the characteristics from AAVE, by offering alternative versions 'tha' or 'da' for the definite article 'the' (cf. Androutsopoulos & Scholz, 2003; Berns & Schlobinski, 2003). 'Shiaathole' is a form of 'shit hole', inserting the prolonged vowel 'a' in the middle syllable, a linguistic transformation commonly noted within HHNL, in which words like 'bitch' for example is euphemized as 'biatch' (Urban Dictionary, <http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=biatch>).

LD further idiosyncratically relocalizes the title of the music video, 'FREESTYLE', mixing it with semiotic sign, 'RIP' ('Rest in Peace') (cf. Chapter 5, Section 5.2), intertextually echoing the English phrase used on gravestones. LD creates a novel linguistic meaning here, combining 'RIP' and 'STYLE', 'RIPSTYLE', expressing double meaning that 'Freestyle' should either 'Rest in Peace' or is 'ripped off style copied from the American and French Hip Hop'. This new expression however is immediately picked up and re-appropriated by other commentators, as some seem to celebrate the expression, 'HAHAHA! RIPSTYLE! GOY HELJEE' ('HAHAHA! RIPSTYLE! NICELY SAID'), or seem to disregard it, 'Chi uuruu RIPSTYLE! Zail tsaashaa' ('You are RIPSTYLE! [not Lumino] Just go away!'). From here, online consumers seem to expect familiarity from each other when using unconventional terms. This shows how certain new linguistic meanings can be re-appropriated by the relevant interlocutors, and further becomes part and parcel of current linguistic norms.

We can also see how LD illustrates a strikingly similar language practice observed in Extract 1, i.e. the combination of English and Mongolian semiotic features, to make new meanings. An English stem 'name' for example is relocalized through mixing between the Mongolian suffix '-iig ni', creating 'nam[e]jiig ni' ('name is'). The mixture between English word 'rap' and Mongolian suffix 'laj', which transforms into 'alj' when used colloquially (rap+laj= raplaj), creating an Anglicized Mongolianized word, 'rapalj' ('to rap'), is one of those popular phrases used across Hip Hop culture in Mongolia. LD also illustrates another common linguistic norm, which was shown in the

previous section, in which the words that represent the traditional Mongolian elements that have been Anglicized. The use of *'morinkhuuring'* for example relocalizes the Mongolian stem *'morin khuur'* (horse head fiddle) in combination with the English suffix, *'-ing'*, creating a novel *'morinkhuur+ing=morinkhuuring'* to present the new idea of *'playing morin khuur/to perform morin khuur'*.

The next commentary (Line 2; Justin Timberlake: JT) is aimed at interpreting the aesthetic effects used in the music video - the scenes where the main rapper impersonates a sumo wrestler, and a girl drinks Coca-Cola. Not only does the commentator here intertextually echo universally popular signs, *'cola'* and *'ok'*, but he also relocalizes the Japanese semiotic resources (*'tsupariddag heseg'*, *'kawaiich'*) in the context of Mongolia. It does not however mean that this online user speaks Japanese. This is because a term *'tsupariddag heseg'* for example needs to be subtextually understood through the widespread popularity of Japanese sumo in Mongolia. With the arrival of Japanese sumo in Mongolia in 1991, many Japanese sumo-driven words have been invented in Mongolia (following the norm to insert Mongolian features into non-Mongolian features). Most of the male research participants declared their *'passion'* and *'obsession'* with Japanese sumo, due to the reigning Mongolian champions in the professional Japanese sumo-wrestling world. *'Tsupariddag heseg'* therefore is one of those expressions, followed by the wide popularity of Japanese sumo in Mongolia. Relocalizing a Japanese stem, *'tsupari'* – a popular Japanese Sumo wrestling move, where an open hand strike is directed at the face or the trachea, is combined with the Mongolian suffix *'-dag'* (the past simple form of the verb *'to be'*), creating a local expression, *'tsupariddag heseg'* (*'tsupari scene'*), contextually referring to the music video scene, where the performer parodies the Japanese sumo move *tsupari*. From this analysis, it makes no more sense to delineate *'tsupari'* as a Japanese linguistic code, since once it is in contact with the Mongolian linguistic resources, it starts making a new, locally meaningful communicative implication.

The commentator further relocalizes the Japanese word *'kawai'* (*'cute'*), adding the Mongolian postfix *'-ch'* (colloquial way of saying *'kind of'*), producing a Japanized Mongolian adjective, *'kawaiich'* (*'kind of cute'*), which

contextually serves to describe its subject, *'chick'* ('the chick is kind of cute'). It is however also important to note that Japanese *'kawai'* is a popular slogan used across young Mongolians, specifically via the wide popularity of Japanese TV youth dramas, in which the movie characters can often be heard using *'kawai'*. Similarly to their Korean counterparts, where the female characters can often be portrayed as using the phrase *'oppa'* ('elder male', 'older brother', 'unrelated elder male') (cf. Extract 4), referring to male characters. Both *'kawai'* and *'oppa'* are now repeatedly used among young Mongolians as linguistic norms. Note also that the commentator uses the English colloquial *'chick'*, referring to a 'girl'. The use of *'chick'* is not necessarily as multilayered as *'kawaiich'* or *'tsofariddag heseg'* yet it is perceived as a stylish way of speaking for many young Mongolians.

6.2.2 MEANING MAKING ACROSS FACEBOOK TEXTS

In the previous section, I have looked at the language practices of online users, in which meanings occur across and against media texts such as a PEPSI TV commercial and a Hip Hop music video on the YouTube discussion board. In this section, I will look at the episodes in which semiotic mixing practices occur across the social networking website, Facebook (FB).

EXTRACT 4

Facebook Text	Translation
Selenge: Zaa unuudriin gol zorilgo bol ' Oppa ajaa ni Gym-yum style ' Guriineee kkkkk	OK, today's main aim is 'Your lady is in the mode of Gym-yum style'. Keep on doing!

The text embedded within this extract has been produced by the interaction between mediascape and technoscape, in which the speaker borrows from the song lyrics and the lyrical meanings from the K-pop media texts, and puts it on display across FB wall post. The pretextual history of this FB extract is directly associated with a Korean cultural mode – one of the most popular current Korean pop artists in Mongolia – PSY, and his latest

musical performances. PSY is well known in Mongolia (and elsewhere) as the 'King of YouTube', because of his music video 'Gangnam Style' (2012) (which exceeded more than 1.5 billion views on YouTube) and its follow up 'Gentleman' (more than 500,000 views on YouTube). After the release of these music videos, certain lines from the lyrics have become widely quoted and further relocalized by young consumers in Mongolia. The example therefore demonstrates the intertextual references to the wide popularity of Korean artist PSY and his performances within the local context.

Contextually, this extract from the research participant, Selenge (female, 18, UB-born, a first year student at the National University of Mongolia) has been retrieved from her Facebook status update, and shows particular types of music intertextuality. From the netnographic observation, Selenge can often be seen regularly updating her FB wall posts, deploying mainly Korean and English oriented mixed resources. Selenge here uploads her 'selfie' photo on her wall, in which she is seen to be rigorously exercising at the gym, with the caption that is illustrated in Extract 4.

Not only does Selenge combine three different linguistic resources (Korean, English, Mongolian), but also she creatively uses certain signs (an onomatopoeic expression of giggling, popular among Korean and Mongolian online users 'kkkkk'), locally relevant youth slang ('*Guriinee*' ('Keep on doing!')), and the orthographic choice of Roman script. The combination of these texts and signs however is better understood through its transtextual relations: The newly invented '*Gym-yum style*' here is clearly associated with 'Gangnam Style'. Across the urban youth culture of Mongolia, 'Gangnam Style' is mostly associated with a series of strong claims, which accuse PSY of stealing one of the most eye catching elements of 'Gangnam Style' – the famous 'horse ride dance' movement – from the traditional Mongolian dance, 'Jalam Har', whose dance routines incorporate a depiction of galloping horses on the wild steppes of Mongolia. Like many others around the world, young Mongolians have started to produce various local parodies³³ of 'Gangnam Style', ranging from comedians to amateur dancers, portraying for example a group of Mongolian dancers in Mongolian traditional clothes, deel (Mongolian

³³ Mongol Style (Gangnam Style Parody) in <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MnUnQfYhWZc>
GANGNAM STYLE in MONGOLIA in <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kJI8gWF18II>

traditional dress) and zodog shuudag (Mongolian traditional wrestling outfit), doing a traditional dance move called *jalam har* in front of a Mongolian traditional dwelling, *ger* (cf. Sultana, Dovchin & Pennycook, 2013).

Since the popularity of ‘Gangnam Style’, many online users have also started inventing their own versions of ‘Gangnam Style’, relocalizing its lyrics, funny and humorous excerpts from the music video and so on. As Selenge’s³⁴ posttextual interpretation is, *‘Everyone has started making their own versions of Gangnam Style since its release. So why not me?’*. Following this recent widespread cultural norm within the transnational youth culture, Selenge relocalizes ‘Gangnam Style’ through recycling the most popular catchphrases embedded within its lyrics, ‘오빠 강남 스타일 (Oppan Gangnam style)’, reproducing her own version, *‘Oppa ajaa ni gym-yum style’*. Here, Selenge borrows from the Korean semiotic resource, ‘Oppa’ (‘elder male’, ‘older brother’, ‘unrelated elder male’), accompanied by the Mongolian term ‘ajaa’, which refers to an elder sister. These nouns are accompanied by the Mongolian word, ‘ni’ (‘нь’, ‘is’), linking with the noun phrase ‘gym-yum style’. The first Korean part ‘Gang-’ is replaced by an English word, ‘Gym’; the last part ‘-nam’ is replaced by English word ‘Yum(my)’, denoting its contextual relation as, according to Selenge’s own interpretation, *‘Your lady is in her favorite gym mode’*. In other words, Selenge here seeks to invent a novel expression - *‘Oppa ajaa ni gym-yum style’*. Put differently, Selenge reflects the popularity of ‘Gangnam style’ in Mongolia through recycling its lyrics within her daily linguistic creativity.

Subtextually, the use of Korean popular culture elements is also strategic here, *‘Even before “Gangnam style”, I was a Korean pop fan. My favourites are Brown Eyed Girls, BOA and now of course PSY. I’m planning to participate in “Universe Best Songs” [referring to ‘Mongolian Idol’] next year to sing a Korean song’. ‘I like them [Korean dramas], because they are so romantic, warm-hearted and light compared to Hollywood and Western stuff. Maybe I’m Asian, so I feel more comfortable and close watching Korean dramas’*, explains Selenge.

³⁴ Interview with Selenge was conducted via Facebook correspondence on March 2, 2013.

From this perspective, the use of Korean-inspired cultural modes within her daily lifestyle is apparently motivated by the sentiment of *'feeling closer to Asian culture, because we are Asians anyway'*, contradicting both the claim by Billé (2010) that Mongolians try to distance themselves from Asia, and are 'predominantly orientated westwards' (p.243), as well as other media/academia-saturated popular discourses (cf. Terbish, 2006), in which young Mongolians are often accused of being too westernized/Americanised. Selenge also illustrates the contextual reference of 'Gangnam Style' through relocalizing its lyrics in reference to her situated activity within the particular physical location: that is, exercising at the gym.

Moreover, relocalizing PSY's music modes has become an extremely popular practice among young Mongolians, so much so that his follow up single, 'Gentleman' (2013), became the next target. FB user Bayar (21, male, UB born, a recent graduate of NUM) for example borrows his favourite song lyrics, PSY's 'Gentleman', *'Humuusee gadaa yu boljiinaa? Mother Father Weatherman! Yoooh!'* ('People! What's happening outside? Mother Father Weatherman! Phew!'). Relocalizing its popular refrain – *'mother father gentleman'* into *'mother father weatherman'* – Bayar, on the one hand, makes subtextual reference to the popularity of 'Gentleman', as he has posted this FB status, coinciding with the much anticipated first release date (April 13, 2013) of the music video on YouTube. On the other, through transforming the last *'gentleman'* into *'weatherman'*, Bayar³⁵ makes a new contextual reference, signalling his surprise at the unusual weather condition in Ulaanbaatar, where it snowed heavily during the middle of April. Note also that the language practice here is produced by the transtextual relations of certain linguistic codes (English and Mongolian); cultural modes (Korean popular culture); and paralinguistic signs (a Mongolian expression of relief, *'Yoooh!'*, which often denotes one's sense of relief after fatigue or tiredness, something like 'Phew!' in English).

³⁵ Interview with Bayar regarding his FB text was conducted via FB on April 15, 2013.

6.3 LINGUASCAPE IN RELATION TO MEDIASCAPE

6.3.1 MEANING MAKING ACROSS WESTERN MEDIA TEXTS

In the previous ‘technoscape’ section, I have looked at the linguascape of young consumers involved with Internet-driven communication modes, i.e. YouTube and Facebook. The majority of the texts produced by the participants have been analysed in conjunction with ‘mediascape’, since they have been involved with varied popular culture resources through manipulating technological resources available to them. By contrast, this section will look at the linguascape of urban youth in Mongolia in conjunction with the mediascape, drawing mainly on the examples, in which young speakers are actively engaged with media resources, without the help of technological modes, i.e., face-to-face casual conversations. The extracts used in this section were retrieved from the stage of linguistic ethnography during the fieldwork trip in UB.

EXTRACT 5

Transcript	Translation
1. Bataa:...Khüüe hon::ey! Chi odoo wacko jacko shig tsav tsagaan boltson baikhiin kheterkhii tsagaan kharagdjiin hon:ey ((giggles))	Hey honey! You look like wacko jacko! Too white honey, looking way too white.
2. Narantsetseg: YAGSHD! Chi tegüül waity katie medüü: ɿ ((bursts into laughter))	Yeah, Right! You are Waity Katie then.
3. Bataa: ʌPEE:SH! Yaa::diin doroga:ya! Ugaasaa khariu ud ku irnee cracko whacko mini duugüi bai... ((Laughter overlaps Bataa & Narantsetseg))	Peesh! (exclamation). That’s alright, darling! I’m sure I will get a reply from him very soon. You cracko whacko just need to shut up!

The pretextual history of this conversation is associated with two best friends Bataa (20, UB born) and Narantsetseg (19, UB born), classmates at the National University of Mongolia. The conversation took place during their

participation within the casual group discussion session (cf. Appendix 10), although they were not discussing the questions provided to them by the researcher. Rather their conversation revolves around the topics of make-up and romantic relationship.

Contextually, the conversation is an example of 'interactional poetics' (Maybin & Swann, 2007, p.506), an episode where the speakers play with words through manipulation of linguistic form as part of their everyday linguistic creativity, and 'immediate co-construction' of semantic formation (responding quickly through re-inventing new phrases) through intertextually echoing phrases associated with American/British celebrities, portrayed within Western tabloid media. The collaborative humorous manner and common shared knowledge as they playfully relocalize the derogatory celebrity names point to the close relationship between the speakers.

Bataa teases his friend for applying heavy ('too white') make up base, looking as unnaturally white as Michael Jackson (line 1). Here, the speaker intertextually echoes the derogatory English tabloid nickname for the late Michael Jackson, '*Wacko Jacko*', often associated with allegations of excessive plastic surgery and other eccentric behaviors. The accused responds quickly to her friend's allegation, immediately echoing another English phrase, a derogatory nickname for the Duchess of Cambridge, '*Waity Katie*', dubbed by the British tabloid media to mock Kate Middleton for her long wait for Prince William to propose (line 2). Here, Narantsetseg teases her gay friend Bataa, for waiting too long for his boyfriend's reply to his SMS.

These norms of English derogatory phrases, used prevalently within Western tabloid journalism, are further relocalized by Bataa's reference to his friend '*Oh Shut Up, cracko wacko*', based on a popular term coined by the late American singer Whitney Houston, '*crack is whack*'³⁶ (line 3). The use of '*crack is whack*' therefore is relocalized here through integrating the interfix 'o' ('*crack(o)*', '*whack(o)*'). Narantsetseg is a loyal fan of Whitney Houston, and Bataa is manipulating this situation through teasing her as '*cracko whacko*' for

³⁶ During her candid interview with Diane Sawyer on Primetime, 'Whitney Houston was denying her drug addiction by citing the simple fact that she can afford to do BETTER drugs: 'First of all, let's get one thing straight. Crack is cheap. I make too much money to ever smoke crack. Let's get that straight. Okay? We don't do crack. We don't do that. Crack is whack.'. (<http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=crack%20is%20whack>).

listening to music like Whitney Houston, because the singer is apparently perceived as *'cheesy and corny'*³⁷ by Bataa. The borrowing of these popular derogatory Western celebrity names has been relocalized in this conversation, following their subtextual norms associated with these derogatory references. That is to say, both consumers seem to be aware of the derogatory references of these names, which are creatively reflected within their own contexts.

The combination of not only English and Mongolian, but also Russian resources is evident in this extract. Bataa for example takes up not only the English *'honey'* but also the Russian *'dorogaya'* ('dear, darling, sweetie') repeatedly to refer to his female friend during the conversation (lines 1; 3). The way he pronounces the words is also worth noting, as he demonstrates strong syllabic stresses (highlighted with the sign '), stressing consonant 'n' in *'hon:ey'* and enunciating vowel 'a:' and 'ya:' in *'doroga:ya:'*. Calling the opposite gender 'honey' or 'darling' is a rare linguistic practice among young Mongolians, unless the speakers are involved in a romantic relationship. Here, Bataa, despite being male, is using those words platonically to his female friend, posttextually making reference to his being gay, *'this is one of the characteristics of me being a proud gay person'*. Bataa also seems to follow one of those 'homonormativities' (Leap, 2010, p. 556), established within the gay community in Mongolia, since I have witnessed many of Bataa's gay friends affectionately referring to each other as *'honey'*, *'darling'*, *'dear'* and so on in both Mongolian and English, during my participant-observation stages of ethnography (cf. Kiesling, 2001).

Bataa further uses the Russian-influenced Mongolian adverb *'udku'* ('soon') for his gay subtextual reference – the Russian morpheme '-ku' replacing the Mongolian morpheme '-ahgui', producing *'udku'*. The Russian suffix '-ku' is often used in combination with other Mongolian vowels, '[k]a', '[k]i', '[k]o' as the vowels used in the suffix are consistent with the vowels in the core word (e.g., 'Bat+ka=Batka' (male Mongolian nickname); 'Nomin+ko=Nomiko' (female Mongolian nickname)). Many of the male research participants in the group discussion claim that the practice of using

³⁷ Post-group discussion interview with Bataa was conducted on September 10, 2010, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia.

the Russian suffix '-ka' with Mongolian words is '*only for girls*' (only girls speak like this to sound more '*babyish*', '*childish*' or '*cute*'), associating the linguistic practice with the construction of gender identity. This is perhaps related to the fact that the Russian suffix '-ka' is often added at the end of the Russian female personal names (Masha+ka= Mashka) to show affection. This is confirmed by some female participants, '*I tend to put the Russian '-ka' at the end of my words when I feel 'feminine', or 'beautiful'. It's like when I'm getting dressed up, putting my make up on, wearing high heels and so on*' (Bolormaa, Post-Group Discussion Interview, September 25, 2010, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia); '*When we are trying to flirt or seduce men*' (Mandukhai, Post-Group Discussion Interview, September 25, 2010, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia), associating the use of Russianized Mongolian words with a '*feminine way of talking*'. This way of talking however is not new in Mongolia, as many '*pre-1990's Mongolian women used to play with the Russian suffix '-ka' to sound different or distinctive*', says Prof. Nyamjav (Interview, August 4, 2010, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia). The use of '*udku*' in this particular conversation then is implemented through 'gender-bending' (Danet, 1998) practice, where the male gender is using female-oriented words in daily linguistic practice to perform a different gender identity. The use of Russian semiotics '-ku' therefore may subtextually refer to Bataa's gay identity, following the long established language norm going back to the Soviet era.

The touch of Russian semiotic resources incorporated within one's language practice further raises the subtextual references of one's class position and education. This has been identified by the interview accounts of several other classmates of the speaker Bataa, '*We all know he is gay but we absolutely respect him. He has his own class. He's very sophisticated and educated. He knows pretty much about everything. So we call him our 'encyclopedia'. I think he's like that because he speaks fluent Russian and was educated at the Russian secondary school*' (Erdenesaikhan, Post -Group Discussion Interview, September 11, 2010, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia). Bataa was introduced as one of the top 'A+' students in his class. He is seen as well-educated and sophisticated amongst his classmates because of his attendance at the Russian secondary school, before starting his degree at university. This is also related to the fact that when Mongolia was a

communist nation, the children who used to attend prestigious Russian high schools would often be known as ‘elitists’ (e.g., the parents were often diplomats, or other high ranking officials). This tradition is still alive with Russian high schools still considered amongst the most prestigious educational institutions in Mongolia.

Overall, this conversation extract illustrates how derogatory English phrases, commonly used within Western tabloid media, are relocalized presenting different meanings from the original (cf. Hedger, 2013) through the playful and humorous mode of friendly teasing, and the relocalization within the context of girls’ make up and gay men’s relationship issues. The speakers create new linguistic norms, in which they ‘negotiate meanings to co-construct situated new norms’ (Canagarajah, 2013, p.106) by manipulating Western tabloid media texts.

The role of English is further intertextually entangled with the Mongolian and Russian linguistic resources, with the combination of Russian/English subtextually illustrating part of the speaker’s sexual identity, whilst the use of Russian mixed with Mongolian and English may also present part of the speaker’s class/education background: the transtextual relations of this extract therefore illustrates the particular speakers’ identity repertoire. Playing around with English phrases and relocalizing them within their casual interaction also shows how young speakers are involved with the process of ‘playful linguistic creativity’ (Leppänen, 2007, p.167).

6.3.2 MEANING MAKING ACROSS MIXED MEDIA TEXTS

EXTRACT 6

Transcript	Translation
1. Bold: ...Ta Australia:s irsen gelüü?	I heard you were from Australia
2. Researcher: Tiim- Sydneygees.	Yes, from Sydney.
3. Bold: WOW! Crocodile Dundee: giin landaas irsiin bainashd. “G’day mate, I’m from kangaroo: land” ((Caricatured Australian English – sounding accent)). Auss:ie nar neg iimerkhüü yaridiin baina	Wow! You’re from Crocodile Dundee’s land. G’day mate, I’m from kangaroo land. Aussies speak like this, don’t they?

lee tee? ((Group Laughter))	
4. Orgil: ((Laughter)) Chi yag Dun:dee:: shig yarij bainashd ((Group laughter)). I LO::VE AUSSIE ACCENT! Avstrali yavj uzekh yumsan tend goyüü? Mongol- Mongolchuud ikh yavdag bolson gesen-	You sound exactly like Dundee. I love Aussie accent! I really want to go to Australia, is it nice over there? I heard many Mongolians go there.
5. Ganaa: Bi irekh doloo khonogt German nislee. Tanii sudalgaand oroltsoj chadakhgüindee: üünee:s khoish. Sorry :shüü! -	By the way, I'm going to Germany next week, which means I can't participate in your research anymore... Sorry about that!
6. Bold: ^L "Khü ACHTUNG di ZACHTUNG böz ACHTUNG _ɸ biz ACH -" ((caricatured German-sounding accent))	One has an elder brother and deel has a collar. Lice is biting and body is itching.
7. Orgil: ... ^L "Biz ACHTUNG ". " EINS ZWEI POLIZEI-, DREI VIER GRENADIER "-((Group Laughter)) gej "Minii meddeg german khel üügeer düüslaadaa!"	Body is itching. . "One two police, three four grenadier". "This is where my German language journey ends".
8. Ganaa: ((Laughter)) ((PAA:H!)) Ta nar yag german officer üüd sonsogdjiishd ter " Schindler list ", " Pianist " ed nar deer gardag shig I ...	Woa! You guys sound really similar to those German officers in 'Schindler's list' and 'Pianist'.

While the previous section has looked at certain examples of genre-specific (Western tabloid journalism) text, this section will examine how young speakers recontextualize and further relocalize mixed media texts, including popular culture resources such as movie and popular music texts. The pretextual history of this casual conversation extract is associated with one of those episodes in which I was a researcher - participant, during the casual group discussion sessions (cf. Appendix 10), held in the cafeteria of the university (cf. Chapter 4). The main topic of the casual group discussion was about the influence of popular culture resources within the daily lives of these speakers, although the participants started the session, asking questions about Australia (cf. Appendix 6 for backgrounds).

Contextually, in this extract, a group of young male Mongolians are mimicking certain linguistic resources such as German and English. Many ‘caricatured’ or ‘parodic’ accents transgressing through English, German and Mongolian ‘for particular effect’ (Harissi et al, 2012, p.531) are hence illustrated. A very heavy caricatured Australian English sounding accent employed by Bold (line 3) is directly associated with one of the most popular subtextual images of Australianness among Mongolians: the popular Australian expression, ‘G’day mate’; exotic animals such as kangaroos and koalas; the Australian movie ‘Crocodile Dundee’ which was a big hit in the early 90’s in Mongolia. Bold here produces a parodic Australian accent: at one point, Bold is in ‘kineikonic mode’ (Mills, 2011), i.e., filmic mode, impersonating the Australian accent popularized by Australian actor Paul Hogan in ‘Crocodile Dundee’, while at the same time, creating his own version of what an Australian accent might sound like (cf. Harissi et al, 2012). Later in the interview³⁸, Bold posttextually informed me that it was quite normal for them to use certain parodies or accents against others, *‘Me and my mates love copying certain famous people’s accents. It is just so funny. We do it all the time and have a good laugh about it’*. During the interview, Bold and his friends have started producing more parodies towards the linguistic repertoire of a popular Mongolian public figure, Argo Bagsh (Teacher Argo), a self-claimed ‘*multilingual*’ public persona, who has learned English and French in ‘10 days’; and towards the Indian accent of a popular judge member of the reality TV show - ‘The Universe Best Song’ (something like Mongolian version of ‘X-Factor’), an Indian Singaporean, English speaking Reghu, who often speaks Mongolian with Indian accent during his public appearances.

Not only is English at play but also a caricatured German accent (cf. Rampton’s, 2006, discussion of *Deutsch*) within non-German (Mongolian) (lines 6, 7). This German sounding Mongolian parody however has been widely popular across young Mongolians even during the Socialist Mongolia, as my auntie, who is in her mid 40’s seems to recognize this parody straight away. During the Socialist time, German language was not as strictly restricted as English, since Mongolia had a friendly relationship with East

³⁸ Post group discussion interviews with Bold, Orgil and Ganaa were held on May 20, 2011, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia.

Germany. This traditional way of stereotyping the German accent during the Soviet time in Mongolia, i.e. speaking Mongolian through German, therefore has been recontextualized by this particular young speaker.

The German accent parodies are intertwined with two popular Mongolian slogans: Firstly, a traditional Mongolian proverb, 'Khün akhtai deel zakhtai' ('One has an elder brother; Deel [Mongolian traditional garment] has a collar'), which metaphorically means 'One has to respect one's elders'; secondly, a Mongolian saying about 'lice' - 'Böös khazna, Bie zagatnana' ('Lice are biting, Body is itching'). The apparent similarity between the German 'ach-laut' (/X/) in words such as 'achtung' (picked up from German films) and the Mongolian 'kh' have led to this playful use of 'achtung' to replace 'akhtai'. Mongolian 'khün [man] akhtai' becomes '*khü-achtung*', with 'akhtai' ('has an elder brother') replaced by German 'achtung'; the German version of Mongolian 'deel zakhtai' is '*dizachtung*'. Mongolian 'böös khazna' is replaced by Germanized Mongolian, '*böz-achtung*', with Mongolian 'böös' ('lice') as 'böz', and 'khazna' ('is biting') as 'achtung'; Mongolian 'bie zagatnana' is replaced by Germanized '*bizachtung*' respectively.

The German parody further continues by 'musical speaking' (line 7), as Orgil intertextually creates a different version of Germanness among Mongolians through recycling from the once popular single in mid 90's Mongolia ('Eins, Zwei, Polizei', - a 1994 single recorded by Italian dance group MO-DO, which achieved great success in many European countries), '*Eins Zwei Polizei, Drei Vier Grenadier*'. Here, Orgil relocalizes musical genres, using the most familiar German words he knows, recycled from his favorite German song. The musical speaking then is immediately exaggerated by 'kineikonic speaking' once again, relocalizing the popular line from an old classic Mongolian movie, 'Serelt', '*Minii Oros khel üügeer duuslaa*' ('My Russian language ends here'), with '*Minii meddeg German khel üügeer duuslaa*' ('My German language knowledge ends here'). This signals that Orgil does not necessarily speak German, but rather imports the sense of Germanness through the German song he is familiar with.

These German parodies produced by young Mongolians are then interpreted by the next speaker as 'kineikonic sounding', likening them to '*German officers*' depicted in WW2 epic movies such as 'Schindler's list' and

'The Pianist' (line 8). This shows how the speakers invent a new way of speaking German or English, drawing on the available old resources to them, even though they have no real knowledge of either German or English. We should also note here that these styles of 'kineikonic speaking', 'musical speaking' or 'accent parodies' and so on seem to be functioning as the linguistic norm, which has already become part of their own linguistic repertoires, as they have also been noted elsewhere (cf. filmic speaking within young people in Bangladesh (Sultana, 2012, Sultana, et al, 2013; Sultana et al, 2014); accent parodies in the context of young Greeks (Harissi et al, 2012)).

Overall, this transtextuality within linguascape illustrates how the speakers deploy various mixed genres ('filmic speaking', 'musical speaking', 'parodic speaking' etc.) from popular culture resources, while also manipulating a variety of semiotic resources, expanded by their intertextual, contextual and pretextual references. The German and Australian English parodies cannot be fully understood without considering the pretextual, contextual and intertextual references to their Mongolian counterparts. Likewise the modes of filmic, musical and parodic speaking cannot be fully understood without understanding the textual relations, the particular linguistic/cultural and stylistic language practice, and the available resources provided by a wide range of mixed genres. In other words, these speakers seem to create their own versions of Australian and German parodies, although they have recycled it from the established linguistic and cultural ideologies towards Australia (kangaroo, mate etc), and the established linguistic norm towards the German accent, which originated in the old communist society.

6.4 TRANSTEXTUAL PRACTICES AS NORM

In this chapter, the linguascape of urban youth culture Mongolia has been understood in relation to two closely related scapes, mediascape and technoscape, specifically investigating the linguascape of cultural consumers. Four main points were identified, drawing on the data examples used in this chapter. Firstly, linguascape in relation to mediascape and technoscape should be understood as 'diverse'. When I say diverse, I refer to linguistic

profusions, produced by a wide variety of semiotic resources incorporated within the linguascope of young speakers. There is no doubt whatsoever that English and other linguistic resources are there, although other additional transtextual semiotic resources are also found on display. This linguistic diversity however cannot be understood as pluralized monolingualism, since they make meaning not in isolation, but 'in integration'. When we discuss the usage of English, we also need to talk about Russian, Japanese, Korean, German modes, and other caricatured accents and parodies, and genres. Language plays a role here but always in the context of other semiotic resources. English here plays a mediating role in the context of these other cultural and linguistic codes. It may equally be a means to decode other cultural forms. It is thus futile to look into the linguistic codes as separate discreet entities. The Asian (Korean, Japanese) cultural/linguistic elements may be given equal weight to their Western counterparts, since Asian (Korean, Japanese) cultural/linguistic resources have already become part of the various linguistic/cultural flows circulating around Mongolia (cf. Dovchin, 2011), suggesting the need to rethink some of the common critiques that assume the hegemonic dominance of Western media. Put simply, the transtextual layers of identities, references, meanings, ideologies, histories, socio-economic and cultural situations are embedded within the diverse linguistic resources incorporated within linguascope. As Bakhtin puts it (1981, p. 272), 'Every concrete utterance of a speaking subject serves as a point where centrifugal as well as centripetal forces are brought to bear. The processes of centralization and decentralization, of unification and disunification, intersect in the utterance.'

Secondly, this linguistic diversity goes hand in hand with linguistic creativity, in which the speakers are actively involved with their available media cultural resources (cf. Kääntä et al, 2013), i.e., various linguistic codes mixed with various semiotic resources, including hashtags, emoticons, signs, posts and links; expressing one's emotions and moods by prolonging and transforming the word sound and shape; syllabically reversing and inverting the words; transforming standard English, Mongolian, Japanese and so on, through mixing bits and parts (suffixes, prefixes, affixes) of each language producing novel expressions; abbreviating, omitting and shortening the

specific words and terms and so on. This interrelationship between linguistic diversity and creativity, practiced by young speakers seems to result in ‘the emergence of new linguistic repertoires’ (Corona et al, 2013, p.182), and further new terms and identifications. Young people might be repeating and mimicking those available resources, but it is in these complicated processes of constant borrowing and blending that they achieve new modes of expression. As Perullo & Fenn (2003) suggest an alternative way of understanding the acts of copying as ‘enacting’, because the meaning of language lies ‘not in the semantic realm but in a participation-through doing that is socially meaningful’ (p.45). In other words, when young consumers borrow popular culture resources, they are at the same time involved in a fundamental practice of semiotic reproduction. Although they are actively engaged with various Eastern and Western (and beyond) cultural flows, they at the same time radically relocalize those resources based on the ‘contemporary social experiences of [Mongolian] youth’ (Perullo & Fenn, 2003, p.41), producing new locally relevant linguistic meanings.

Thirdly, these creative transtextual processes such as recontextualization, semiotic reconstruction and relocalization embedded within linguascape should not be understood as fleeting and random practices, since ‘each opportunity for creativity goes hand in hand with normativity that is multiply layered and operates on different scale levels’ (Varis & Wang’s, 2011, pp. 71-72). Contrary to those popular discourses which position youth as passive recipients of global culture, young consumers here are better understood as actively and powerfully engaged (cf. Huq 2006) with media/technology texts through the process of critiquing and resisting, pushing the boundaries of modern cultural/linguistic flows. Most importantly, linguascape serves multiple serious purposes, in which they seek to achieve certain communicative aims (e.g., seeking for authenticity and aesthetic values; displaying sense of pride towards home country and traditional elements; performing one’s sexual, class and education repertoire, playfully teasing each other and so on). These creative linguistic practices allow young consumers on the one hand to perform as members of a new generation of creative language users who can use and manipulate multiple linguistic resources while on the other, to restate their investment in what it means to

be Mongolian. This shows that the mixed language practices of young speakers are not a random choice, but highly strategic. In other words, linguistic creativity comes with its own social and historical associations, which are constructed through strategic relationships within the speakers. Thus, what is important to conclude here, is that this creative practice and its implication towards the emergence of new possibilities should be better understood by 'the unique historical and cultural relationship individuals have to a foreign language and its speakers' (Cutler, 2003a, p.344). Put differently, creativity should be considered as 'a cultural event, or a class of such events, in which Speaker and Hearer manage Text/Talk in strategic relation to the evolving Situation, thereby co-constructing Meaning', '[...] involving several constituent elements and factors in complex and dialectic relationships' (Shi-xu, 2010, p.427). As Jaworski & Thurlow (2010, p.259) propose, 'sociolinguistic items, be they language codes or subtle phonological variants, may be strategically deployed as indexes of specific identities, but their projection and interpretations are always filtered through a plethora of objective and subjective dimensions of self - and other - perception, uptake, interpretive frames and communicative goals [...], and the political economy of difference [...]'.

Finally, transtextuality (i.e., linguistic creativity and semiotic diversity) embedded within the linguascope of urban youth culture in Mongolia observed in the data examples should also be understood as linguistic norms for these young speakers. Put differently, it has been more than two decades since Mongolia embraced democracy and a free market economy. Under this more open Post-Soviet society, the linguascope of urban youth culture in Mongolia has evolved immensely. The process of relocalization of various semiotic resources, crossing their own boundaries, and making new phrases and meanings in conjunction with technoscape and mediascape, has already been established as the new linguistic norm since 1990 in the urban youth culture of Mongolia. This kind of 'new linguistic norm' (established only from 1990), or kind of 'old linguistic norm' (it has already been practiced in the society for more than two decades now (24 years)), has already become young people's basic practice, one of those ordinary things young people do within their daily lives. In other words, young speakers already seem to orient to an established

linguistic norm, in which they manipulate available resources, saturated by both mediascape and technoscape. From this point of view, it can be argued that those so-called spontaneous, new, fresh, creative and innovative linguistic practices, produced by the urban youth culture of Mongolia should be better understood as part of its broader established linguistic norm, which has been evolving through young people's interaction with technoscape and mediascape, since the society first opened itself up to the outside world in 1990.

Put differently, there is nothing 'new' or 'exotic' about the unconventional mixed language practices observed in the linguascape of young speakers in Mongolia, since they are just following the current linguistic norm. The creative processes are better understood as their basic practices, in which the imitation, repetition, mimicry and copy is the norm, while English and other languages are used along with other linguistic and cultural resources for pleasure, difference and identity repertoires. Some of the mixed language practices for example have already been widely used before, which has simply been intertextually echoed in the specific contexts ('ntr', verlan, Internet genre words and so on); while some intertextual echoes have further been relocalized, creating further new and unexpected meanings. As Bailey (2012, p.499) puts it, 'Our words have already been used by others, accruing social associations, and our use of these words continues the process of accruing and shedding meanings'. That is to say, online speakers seem to create new spontaneous meanings, following certain old linguistic norms, which have already been established within their communicative diaspora ('LOLZGONO', '*morinhuurification*'; German parodies recycled from the Soviet era and so on). New meanings emerging from the context of interaction therefore need to be understood in relation to its old linguistic norm practiced within the particular community, which in turn, need to be understood as the sameness of differences or the ordinariness of the diversity. This is also in line with van Lier's (2008) ecological approach, which describes 'the need to consider the development of new languages alongside the development of existing languages' (cited in Creese & Blackledge, 2010, p.104). These creative linguistic meanings and new possibilities are always reproduced or re-invented as part of the broader linguistic norm, which has already been

established in the society. Linguistic diversity therefore becomes linguistic normativity.

CHAPTER 7

LINGUASCAPE IN RELATION TO IDEOSCAPE: THE PRODUCERS' SPHERE

7.1 THE LINGUASCAPE OF THE PRODUCERS' SPHERE IN RELATION TO IDEOSCAPE

Both Chapter 7 and the following Chapter 8 will examine the linguascape of urban youth culture in Mongolia in relation to ideoscape. Chapter 7 will specifically focus on the linguascape of 'cultural producers' as part of urban youth culture in Mongolia, whilst Chapter 8 will investigate the 'cultural consumers' sphere. Ideoscape is understood, following Appadurai (1996; 2006), as the transnational flows of widespread ideas or ideologies, creating sources of vision and imagination for the individuals (cf. Martínez, 2012; cf. Chapter 1). Following this concept, this chapter seeks to understand the linguascape of urban youth culture in Mongolia in conjunction with the movement of ideas and ideologies travelling across the national boundaries.

Many scholars in recent youth language studies acknowledge that one of the most prevalent ideas embedded within the ideoscape of transnational popular music is the ideology 'authenticity' (cf. Cutler, 2003b; 2009; 2010; Lee, 2010; Pennycook, 2007a; 2007b; Terkourafi, 2010). Hip Hop culture is for example particularly preoccupied with the mantra of 'keepin' it real', which literally refers to 'represent oneself, one's abilities and one's background as authentic' (Terkourafi, 2010, p.332; see also Morgan, 2005; Rickford & Rickford, 2000). It is also often interpreted as 'real talk' and 'straight talk' (Alim, 2004, p. 86), 'not only is you expressin yoself freely (as in "straight talk"), but you allegedly speakin the truth as you see it, understand, and know it to be'. As Cutler (2010, p.301) puts it, 'In hip-hop culture, great value is placed on being true to oneself, one's local allegiances and territorial identities, and one's proximity to an original source of rap'. It is 'a mantra in hip-hop embodying the idea that people should be true to their roots, and not 'front' or pretend to be something they are not' (Rickford & Rickford, 2000, cited in Cutler, 2010, p.301). Epitomizing this ideology, many transnational Hip Hop artists seek to claim authenticity through 'both form (music samples and

language varieties used) and content (topics and genres referred to, and attitudes expressed)' creating multiple and conflicting ways of what it means to be authentic (Terkourafi, 2010, p.7; cf. Stylianou, 2010).

For many artists, claiming authenticity for Hip Hop culture can be interpreted as 'a linguistic imperative to keep it real to the genre's Black inner city roots through the adoption of African American English (AAE) linguistic conventions, that have gone on to define a new global Hip Hop Nation Language (HHNL)' (Terkourafi, 2010, p.8). For example, a female white contestant in a popular Hip Hop show in the USA claims authenticity through semiotic forms of expressions, including the use of AAVE, talking about coming from the 'hood'; calling herself 'bitch' and so on (Cutler, 2010, p.322); In French rap, using AAVE becomes 'some sort of a reminder of the origin, the base, the lingua franca by which French rappers build solidarity with the larger, global hip-hop community while rearticulating and localizing it to attest to the authenticity of the *banlieue*³⁹ culture' (Hassa, 2010, p.57).

Using local language for the musical performances also renders the sense of authenticity for some artists: In the United States, the Korean Hip Hop artist, Tiger JK, from Drunken Tiger establishes authenticity through rapping in his native language, Korean, in order to position himself as a bilingual 'authoritative orator' (Lee, 2010, p.145), who is familiar with both the USA and Korea; Norwegian teenagers are more likely to rap in Norwegian than in English, using their own dialect of Norwegian. In doing so, they seek for the expressions of "'credibility', 'authenticity', 'self experience' and 'belonging to a local place'" (Brunstad et al, 2010, p 230). On a similar note, a popular German Hip Hop group Fantastische Vier urges the fellow German rappers 'to stop borrowing from the Americans and instead turn to "deutsche Sprechgesang" (German chanting speech)' (Larkey, 2003, p.140), since 'they question the authenticity of those German rappers who in their view promote and idealize ghetto image and lifestyle'. Fantastische Vier for example insists on 'replacing English terms that call for audience response with German ones: "heb die hand hoch" instead of "put your hands in the air" and "hey Leute, was

³⁹ The French rap scene, which has become associated with the culture of the 'notably immigrant families and the offspring of immigrant parents who are searching for identity' (Hassa, 2010, p. 46).

geht ab?” (Hey people, what’s up?) instead of “say ho”. In doing so, this group declares that the playful language function can also be accentuated well through their mother tongue – German, ‘urging their fellow countrymen to maintain their linguistic self confidence and self-awareness’. Likewise, Survilla (2003) notes that the ideology of authenticity is also prevalent across the popular music scene in Belarus, where the promotion of using ‘only-Belarusian’ language is important to maintain one’s national identities and the local cultural self-awareness. Due to the long period of Russian domination in Belarus, where Belarusian language and culture have endured aggressive censorship under the Russian Empire, mixing between English/Russian expressions within Belarusian rock music is perceived as the anti-national identity markers. Many young popular music artists in Belarus therefore quest for authenticity through their own language choices.

From these perspectives, it can be argued that this transnational ideology of authenticity moving across the language of global popular music artists should be better understood as ‘a multivalent notion’ (Terkourafi, 2010, p.12). As Terkourafi (2010, p.13) puts it, ‘These multiple interpretations of authenticity are not either/or options; rather, they co-exist, often challenging one another, and serving as constant reminders that reality is not one-way, but emergent and discursively constructed’. Put differently, Hip Hop pushes us to confront some of the multiple contradictory ideas about authenticity. Although these multiple views on authenticity may easily be understood ‘as the global spread of particular individualist take on what counts as real’, we should also take note that this sense of authenticity may ‘only operate according to the local horizons of significance that connect to a wider world’. This is to say that the notion of ‘the global spread of authenticity’ (Pennycook, 2007a, p.98) in Hip Hop culture applies here – a tension between ‘the spread of a cultural dictate to adhere to certain principles of what it means to be authentic and [...] a process of localization that makes such an expression of staying true to oneself dependent on local contexts, languages, cultures and understandings of the real’. As Pennycook (2007a, p.115) notes, ‘[...]authenticity[...] is not a question of staying true to a prior set of embedded languages and practices but rather is an issue of performing multiple forms of

realism within the fields of change and flow [...]. These are, according to Pennycook (2007a, p. 103), 'the multiple realities that hip-hop presents with us'. In other words, '[g]lobal real talk, while easily glossed as keepin' it real, is better understood as a global ideology that is always pulled into local ways of being' (Pennycook, 2007b, p. 112). By investigating authenticity in this way, 'we can understand the hiphop ideology of keepin' it real as a discursively and culturally mediated mode of representing and producing the local' and the real. This alternative way of understanding authenticity in relation language challenges 'ortholinguistic practices and ideologies, relocating language in new ways, both reflecting and producing local language practices' (2007b, p. 112). Put simply, understanding of authenticity is a 'discursive accomplishment, rather than as a preexisting quality inherent in any individual speaker' (Coupland, 2003 cited in Higgins, 2009b, p. 98).

From this point of view, this chapter will look at the musical practices of popular music artists in Mongolia from the perspective of 'what' they mean in terms of authenticity and the process of 'how' they say it. Put simply, the notion of authenticity will be understood 'as a dialogical engagement with community' (Pennycook, 2007a, p. 103). The main focus of this chapter thus is, following (Pennycook, 2007a, pp. 100-101), 'neither an insistence on a particular form of identification (an insistence that authentic hip-hop needs to follow certain narrow forms) nor the globalization of an individualist philosophy (keeping it real is being true to oneself without other considerations), but rather an insistence on exploring different horizons of significance in order to make things local'. That is to say, the focus is on how discourses on authenticity and its processes of localization constitute different realities, cultures and histories, i.e., how the 'project of realism' (Pennycook, 2007a, p.103) is enacted.

The ideoscape of urban youth culture in Mongolia, through its popular music producers, has long been part of this transnational ideology of 'keepin' it real'. Since 1990, Western style popular music was the primary inspiration for many local artists, leading to direct comparisons with their Western counterparts in Mongolia: Pop diva, Sarantuya was dubbed as the 'Mongolian Whitney Houston', Ariunaa as the 'Mongolian Madonna; and the boy band Camerton as the 'Mongolian Boyz to Men'; girl band Spike as the 'Mongolian

Spice Girls', grunge rock band 'Nisvanis' as the 'Mongolian Nirvana' and so on.

In the meantime, the question of 'What is real Mongolian popular music?' became the subject of much debate, as the consumers' sphere started to question the quality of the producers' performances. As popular Mongolian music composer Balkhjavi (2008) puts it, '*...Western music has had a significant impact on my music, and Mongolian pop music in general. Of course, pop music began in the West, and Mongolia had heard pop music before the Democratic Revolution. But after 1990, Mongolians started to make the music unique to Mongolia, with characteristics specific to our country and history [...]*'. Although it has been over two decades since the Mongolian popular music scene has really diversified (cf. Chapter 1), the ideology of authenticity is still one of the most controversial issues. According to media outlets, academics and even young consumers, Mongolian artists are famous for '*artistic stealing*': '*I haven't so far encountered any single Mongolian pop artist, who hasn't stolen from the foreigners*', complains my research participant, Alimaa (Focused group discussion, September 3, 2010, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia); '*What happened to Mongolian music? Where is the originality? How come they steal from others? Why can't they create their own?*', ask my research participants during the focused group discussion stages; '*Shameless clowns*', '*jokers*', '*monkeys*', '*fake posers*', '*the masters of the frauds*', '*rippers*', '*thieves*', '*brainwashed by Americans*' and so on – this is a non-exhaustive list of derogatory references, circulating around YouTube, Facebook and other websites, given for Mongolian popular music artists by their fellow young consumers. In other words, the quest for authenticity seems to be one of the most popular discourses in relation to the performances of Mongolian popular music artists, specifically targeted at young musicians whose performances incorporate extensive semiotic resources.

This chapter will therefore seek to understand this popular ideology of authenticity flowing across the linguascope of urban youth culture in Mongolia, specifically focusing on the linguascope of 'cultural producers' as part of the notion of urban youth culture (cf. Chapter 3). During the fieldwork trip in Mongolia, I have noticed that my research participants, representing the producers' sphere (i.e., popular music artists), take the quest for authenticity

seriously. They seem to be creating a counter-ideology towards inauthenticity, i.e., authenticity is the hallmark of all successful artists, as each and every single research participant revealed that their ultimate goal is to create something authentic. The question of how they want to achieve this degree of authenticity, however, seems to radically differ, depending on the particular performer's aspiration and desire.

Building on these lines of thought, this chapter will investigate the linguascape of popular music artists through how they seek to establish the ideology of authenticity whilst moving across and between various linguistic codes, modes and other resources. Although these artists are preoccupied with the idea of establishing musical authenticity (following certain ideologies such as 'keepin' it real'), the data also reveals that they present us with a diverse understanding of what it means to be authentic in relation to their use of various resources, depending on their own unique socio-cultural settings. The linguascape of participants thus will be analyzed here through the framework of transmodality (cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.5.3.1), following the argument of Pennycook (2007a) that the meaning is transmodal, and it is not just about different linguistic codes (i.e., lyrics). Here, the notion of 'transmodality' is deployed to think about the language performance as located within 'multiple modes of semiotic diffusion' (Pennycook, 2007a, p.44). That is to say, the linguistic performances of these artists will be interpreted not only through the relevant contextual multiple modes such as body movements, background music, signs, symbols, and texts, but also through the subtextual social, historical and ideological modes in which they are embedded. Put simply, I will look at the ways the young artists move beyond their mode of linguistic performance (i.e., lyrics), and enrich it with layers of other meanings from different modes, producing their desired ideology – 'authenticity'.

I further seek to push the boundaries of this Hip Hop ideology of 'keepin' it real', through presenting not only the linguascape of the Hip Hop genre, but also other popular music genres (e.g., alternative rock music), mixed with various other modes, since the need for authenticity within modern musical performances in Mongolia seems to be widespread across other musical genres. In other words, the ideology of authenticity seems to be the

epicenter of young Mongolian musicians, whose linguascape is widely produced by the extensive use of various semiotic resources, irrespective of what specific genre they are engaged with. Data used in this chapter therefore presents four different episodes, including Mongolian Hip Hop artists, Lumino, Gennie and B.A.T; and the alternative rock music artist, Temuulen, from the group A-Sound.

The following three episodes of this chapter, will deal specifically with the Hip Hop genre: Hip Hop first started gaining attention in Ulaanbaatar mainly through the efforts of amateur break dancing groups formed by groups of teenagers, taking part in various local dance tournaments. Soon after these groups started establishing their own Hip Hop groups, with pioneering acts such as Har Sarnai, MC Boys and Har Tas. There has been a dramatic increase in the number of Hip Hop groups since the mid 1990's, including artists such as Dain Ba Enkh, Lumino, Mon-Ta-Rap, Ice Top, Gee, Quiza, B.A.T, Tatar, Click Click Bloom, LA Face, BBChain, Rokit Bay, Oppozit, Tulgat to name but a few. Today, Hip Hop artists in Mongolia tend to perform either hardcore (gangsta) (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2010b; Littlejohn & Michael, 2010; Newman, 2009; Stylianou, 2010) style rap, which is 'typically upbeat and aggressive in delivery' (Stylianou, 2010, p.196) with harsh lyrics, criticizing social injustice, or 'softcore' style Hip Hop, covering the 'light-hearted' (cf. Cutler, 2010, p. 323) themes and lyrics, with soft and light touches, mixed with soft pop tunes. In the meantime, the borrowing from AAVE, French Hip Hop, Spanish popular music and Russian Hip Hop within the Hip Hop scene of Mongolia is a norm (e.g., Tulgat 'Patient', 'Big Fish', 'Short lived sanity'; Oppozit and Mc Gantulga 'I dreamed a dream', Rokit Bay 'No Tomorrow'; B.A.T 'Be Reborn', Gennie 'Don't Cry', Quiza featuring Bold 'Crazy Fashion', BBChain 'Why why'; Lumino 'Freestyle', 'Uvul', 'Seven Vowels' and so on).

The last episode will deal with the rock genre: The rock genre in Mongolia can be sub-divided into the categories of mainstream 'heavy metal rock (Khürd, Kharanga), 'soul rock' (Chinggig Khan, Niciton), 'alternative rock' (A-Sound), 'grunge rock' (Nisvanis), 'punk rock' (Mohanik); and also the more independent and amateurish 'underground' rock music division. Some rock groups in Mongolia such as, Kharanga, Niciton, Chinggig Khaan are referred

to as the ‘veterans’ of the modern Mongolian popular music scene, inspiring many other rising young artists. Borrowing from English tends to be a norm within this genre, with many young rock artists produce English lyrics, including one of the most popular Mongolian alternative rock bands of all time, A-Sound, whose well-known singles (‘Crying’, ‘Forever’, ‘Shine on’) incorporate English lyrics.

7.2 LUMINO: CREATING ‘A REAL MONGOLIAN HIP HOP’

Lumino, which was founded in 1996, with three members, MC Beatz, Baji and Cuthberth, is one of the most commercially successful Mongolian Hip Hop bands, well known for its numerous chart-topping hits. The group is also renowned for performing the first-ever live Hip Hop concert in Ulaanbaatar, and releasing Mongolia’s first-ever independent Hip Hop album. ‘Freestyle’ (2009) is a music video, which was released in 2005, as part of Lumino’s commercially successful album, ‘Lambaguain Nulims’ (‘Lama’s Tears’). Although the linguistic performances of the rappers in this music video are created by French, English and Mongolian resources, the lyrics must be interpreted in conjunction with other transmodal meaning making modes within the performance. In other words, the lyrics should not be viewed in isolation, if we are to derive their true meaning and value. Following this view, the music video was carefully analyzed.

The music video starts with the transmodal combination of various semiotic resources, making meaning in relation to against and across one another – English introductory symbols, representing the producers of the video (‘*Mongolian Star Melchers*’, ‘*Lemon Production*’, ‘*Lumino*’, ‘*Freezstyle*’); a young man dressed in baggy jeans, with a bandana around his head, performing on a ‘morin khuur’ (‘the horse headed fiddle’); a young girl dressed in Western Style skimpy skirt and long boots, performing on a traditional Mongolian musical instrument, ‘shanz’⁴⁰; rhythm and beat of Hip Hop style music and so on. For Lumino, the incorporation of traditional Mongolian instruments is to achieve ‘*a comprehensive set of traditional Mongolian*

⁴⁰ ‘Shanz’ is a traditional Mongolian musical instrument often played by a female performer. It is a three string plucked instrument, which sounds similar to the traditional Japanese musical instrument, Shamisen, and Chinese instrument, Sanxian.

musical instruments with modern Hip Hop aspects, in order to honor and re-popularize the Mongolian traditional art', says Baji⁴¹, the band member.

Subtextually, the practice of incorporating traditional Mongolian modes within the modern popular music scene is in fact very common. 'Hybrid Mongol-Western music' is the 'forms of popular culture music that is fashioned after Western popular song genres and yet retains uniquely Mongolian sounds and styles' (Marsh, 2006, p.135). It can also sound 'traditionally Mongolian and yet distinctly modern', evoking 'images of a perceived Mongolian traditional heritage' (Heins, 2011, p.7). Rock&Roll group, Mohanik for example has released a few songs with Mongolian rhythms through '*five-note (pentatonic) scale typical of traditional music*', with lyrical themes that focus on '*nature and a connection to land*' and '*a Shaman-like chant*' (Knapp, 2012, para.8-11). Enerelt, the frontman of Mohanik, whose music also incorporates a hint of punk, rock&roll and traditional Mongolian music, defines their music in three words, '*...Mongolian music, Western rock n roll/rock, and everything else. Mix these three, let us five play, and it will sound something like Mohanik...*' (Enerelt cited in Offenther, 2012, para.11, <http://www.shanghai247.net/music/features/mohanik-interview>). '*We think it's like youthful, energetic, Mongolian-flavored rock 'n' roll...We went to our roots and said, 'This is where we're from and these songs and melodies are coming from Mongolia and that's where we're from...'*' (Enerelt cited in Knapp, 2012, para.7). 'Folk rock' band, Altan Urag, mix both traditional Mongolian and Western music elements to reclaim the uniqueness of Mongolian tradition and culture (cf. Heins, 2011). Hip Hop artist Gee and folk rock band 'Jonon' co-produced an album, 'Mongolz' in 2011, mixing two completely different genres, with Jonon playing various traditional Mongolian instruments, whereas Gee performing gangsta style rap, with harsh lyrics.

Whilst traditional Mongolian musical instruments are playing in the background, three members of Lumino, all dressed in African American Hip Hop Style outfits, accessorized by Hip Hop style 'bling' - 'flashy jewelry of all kinds: neck chains, dental grills that adorn Hip Hop artists' (Omoniyi, 2009

⁴¹ Interview with Baji was conducted via Facebook on December 6, 2010.

p.128), start rapping in turns. The rappers are surrounded by several expensive cars and a group of girls dressed in American basketball cheerleader and other provocative Western style outfits. MC Baji starts rapping in French,

Lyrics ⁴²	Translation ⁴³
1. ... <u>Tu dois comprendre moi putain je t'en merde</u>	...You have to understand me, Fuck you
2. <u>Group NTM ca veut dire nick ta mere</u>	The Band NTM means motherfucker
3. <u>Hey connare pute va t'en putain</u>	Hey bastard whore get the fuck out
4. <u>J'aime bien m'habiller ches Louis Vuitton...</u>	I like to dress in Louis Vuitton...

The French rap in this song is a separate verse, consisting of four lines, performed during the intro. Line 1 urges their listeners to understand what they are singing '*Tu dois comprendre moi putain je t'en merde*' (You have to understand me, Fuck you); line 2 explains that French Hip Hop group NTM means '*motherfucker*'; line 3 'disses' [an idea in Hip Hop to insult others through their song, cf. Cutler, 2009] the '*bastards*' [referring to people who do not understand their music] to disappear, because Lumino likes to '*dress up in Louis Vuitton*' in line 4, signaling the Louis Vuitton fashion house's huge popularity in Mongolia since 1990, and its deep connection with France.

French rap lyrics are not necessarily making rational sense to address the main message of the song, as it contains extensive vulgar expressions (Lin, 2009), featuring several curse words (line 1, 2 and 3), although it also makes the transmodal meaning in relation to its 'ornamental effect', in which it has no 'denotational' function or 'traditional semantic meanings' (Sergeant, 2009, p. 78; cf. Sergeant, 2005). From this point of view, although the French lyrics make no particular meaning towards the main message of the song, it nevertheless helped the song to top the chart in 2005, because incorporating French rap was something that was not so common within the

⁴² The lyrics of 'Freestyle' were retrieved from <http://www.xyyp.mn/a/iP3mkTRYq2/>, last viewed, 20 August, 2013.

⁴³ The lyrics presented in this extract are translated by Jean Ritchy from French into English.

scene of Hip Hop groups in Mongolia, whose linguistic creativities were mostly restricted to only English and Mongolian. In terms of these French lyrics, Baji explains that not only has he been inspired by French Hip Hop, but also he finds using English '*already boring*', because '*English is not as "exotic or cool" as French*'. Baji has also revealed that he basically prefers French Hip Hop to American Hip Hop, as he feels closer to French artists, due to his interest in overall French culture. The transmodal meaning of French by these performers is thus better captured by Kramsch's (2006, p. 102) suggestion, "Seduced by the foreign sounds, rhythms and meanings, and by the 'coolness' of native speakers, many adolescent learners strive to enter new, exotic worlds where they can be, or at least pretend to be, someone else, where they too can become 'cool' and inhabit their bodies in more powerful ways."

Subtextually, in addition to English, using other linguistic resources, including French, Spanish, Russian, Chinese and Japanese, is spreading throughout the popular music scene in Mongolia. Pop diva, Naran for example released her single 'City Night', featuring DJ Shaman, mixing French rap with English and Mongolian; R&B singer, Mede, released an album 'Mi Amore', including the same titled single which mixed Spanish with Mongolian; Russian is also mixed with Mongolian in 'Uvul' ('Winter') by Lumino; 'Welcome to my heart' by pop diva Naran, is a popular song, mainly due to its multilingual covers in five languages – Mongolian, English, Russian, Japanese and Chinese. The use of other languages besides English is often seen to be associated with the performers' desire to go beyond the cultural and linguistic norm, in which English has already been widely used. These artists are experimenting with various linguistic codes other than English, placing themselves in yet another world. This may also imply that using English in the local popular music scene is already so deeply 'entrenched' (Blommaert & Backus, 2011, p.6), it is no longer considered to be as 'modern' or 'creative' as using other linguistic codes. This is of course moving beyond the common views, in which English and the sense of modernity within the local popular music scene is often symbolically associated (cf. Lee, 2004; 2006; Park, 2012; Wong, 2002). The use of other linguistic resources aside from English becomes as equally modern as the incorporation of English, attaching the

sense of uniqueness and attractiveness more than English for many local artists. English therefore is better understood as part of their transmodal performances, i.e., one of those common linguistic resources, co-existing with other modes, for young artists to achieve the desired expressions.

As 'Freestyle' further continues, MC Cuthberth appears on screen dressed as a Japanese sumo wrestler, comically demonstrating specific sumo wrestling movements, adding a lighter playful tone to the music video, since he looks decidedly unflattering dressed only in a 'sumo mawashi' – the loincloth style belt. This scene is illustrated repeatedly, transmodally signaling the subtextual popularity of Japanese sumo wrestling in Mongolia (cf. Chapter 6). More broadly, many young Mongolian artists have been influenced by and taken up various Asian cultural modes within their performances, e.g., the music video of 'Erkh Saran' ('Naughty Moon'), pop diva Serchmaa can be seen wearing a Japanese kimono, portraying Japanese 'geisha', and the segments of Japanese fighting spirits, including Japanese samurai, aikido and ninja in her Japanese-themed music video. Some of my research participants/artists (e.g., Gennie, MC Range) have suggested that Asian cultural flows have been playing important roles within their performances, as MC Range for example suggests, *'It is very inspiring to see Asian rappers, as I'm an Asian rapper too. I like Drunken Tiger, Dynamic Dual from Korea, MC Hotdog from China. Vietnamese rap is also good. They all sound great to me'* (Interview, August 17, 2010; Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia). The presence of these other cultural modes besides Western ones demonstrates how not only American or Western, but also other Asian/Eastern cultural/linguistic flows are already part of the Mongolian popular music producers' circuit.

'Freestyle' continues with a female rapper, Una, co-featured in the music video, rapping in English, while certain scenes flash on the screen: Young people drinking '*Luca-Cola*', (resembling Coca-Cola, with replacement of 'Coca' into 'Luca' to approximate the band's name 'Lumino'), and eating '*LURS*' chocolate bar (changing 'MARS' chocolate bar's name into 'LURS' to make it sound more similar to "LU"MINO'),

Lyrics
<p>What, it must be Una on the mic</p> <p>The butter P honey got the sugar got the spice</p> <p>Roll the L's tight keep the rhymes right</p> <p>I just made this motherfucker up last night</p> <p>I'm the rookie on this all-star team</p> <p>Me and LU is getting cream</p> <p>Like Thelma & Louise but on chrome</p> <p>Never leave that Brooklyn shit alone</p>

The extract of English rap lyrics is directly borrowed from American female rapper, Lil Kim's – 'Not Tonight (Ladies Night)' lyrics, modified by Mongolian MC Una, replacing 'Angie' into female rapper's own name '*Una*', and 'Kim' into '*LU*' [referring to Lumino]. The adoption of this English rap within the music video perhaps seems to reinforce the popular discourse against young musicians for '*artistic stealing*'. For Lumino however the act of borrowing English lyrics from American Hip Hop artists has its transmodal meaning – its own strategic purposes, i.e., (1) to ornament the music video via incorporating the first female rapper who can rap in English in the history of Mongolian Hip Hop; (2) to pay respect to American Hip Hop artists – the main inspiration of these artists.

The act of '*artistic stealing*' therefore is better understood through the act of incorporating the first-ever female English rapping performer - a concept that was absent in the local music scene at the time. When this music video was first released in 2005, it gained much attention because of the female rapper, becoming part and parcel of Lumino's struggle to become the pioneers in the field. The purpose of incorporating a female rapper, combined with English ultimately is supposed to 'ornament' the music video, '*to add a little bit of spice*'.

The act of '*artistic stealing*' may also be interpreted by the interpretation of Hess's (2010, p. 164) concept of 'mimicry of American Hip Hop', in which young Hip Hop artists in Greece are 'manipulating the formal

conventions of American rap music and reformulating its linguistic and political content’, whilst paying homage to the influential role of American Hip Hop within the Greek context. In a similar vein, Lumino directly borrows the lyrics from American Hip Hop, referring to it as *‘inspirational’*, showing respect to its important weight within the ‘Global Hip Hop Nation’ (cf. Alim, 2009a, p.3), ‘a multilingual, multiethnic “nation” with an international reach, a fluid capacity to cross borders, and a reluctance to adhere to the geopolitical givens of the present’.

Overall, borrowing from the French and English semiotic resources in the music video does not necessarily express the foremost messages of the song, but rather they seem to make a transmodal meaning in relation to Lumino’s own performative desire – to add ‘exotic’ (cf. Kramsch, 2006, p. 102) and ‘ornamental’ (cf. Seargeant, 2005) effects to the overall performance, presenting Lumino as a modern Hip Hop group that has already been exposed to the various global cultural/linguistic modes.

As the video continues, Lumino starts rapping in Mongolian, combined with some AAVE resources,

Lyrics ⁴⁴	Translation
1.Tavan khorom chikhee naagaad sonsooroi za	Listen to me carefully for 5 minutes
2.Khelsen бүкхен mini busdaas ontsgoirono za	Everything we say will be unique and different from the others
3. Oh Hip Hop philosophy aguulj Rap duulaya	Oh Let’s Rap, keeping Hip Hop philosophy
4.Ner khündee ösgöj chamaig sharkhduuliya	Let’s promote our reputation by hurting yours
5. Freestyle , bodson sansanaa üglechii	Freestyle, Let’s rap whatever I feel
6. Ene minii Freestyle, Real Hip Hop	This is my Freestyle, Real Hip Hop

These Mongolian lyrics are repeatedly played throughout the course of the song, transmodally presenting the key message of the song – the transnational ideology of Hip Hop - ‘keepin’ it real’. In lines 1 to 2, Lumino

⁴⁴ All Mongolian lyrics used in this thesis were Romanized from the Mongolian Cyrillic system, and translated into English by myself.

urges people to take seriously what they sing, because it is something *'unique'* that people have never heard before. Mixing Mongolian with AAVE here and there, Lumino at the same time is 'dissing' other Hip Hop groups through promoting themselves (line 4), signaling a kind of 'meta-Hip Hop' (Lee, 2010, p.157), where Hip Hop artists speak about other Hip Hop artists. These ideas are further strengthened through self-declaring themselves as singing *'Hip Hop philosophy'* (line 3), further asserting what they sing is *'real Hip Hop'*, associating themselves with the Hip Hop ideology of 'keepin' it real' (line 6).

Overall, we have witnessed here how multiple modes make transmodal meaning in relation to one another in the music video in conjunction with other modes associated with the local society, culture, history and ideology (e.g., using French is exotic, using English is boring etc). The linguistic performances of these artists in the music video are understood from the perspective of transmodality, as a way of thinking about the lyrics as part of multiple modes of semiotic diffusion. This semiotic diffusion – meaning making across American and Western cultural modes (*'Luca-Cola'*, *'Lurs'* chocolate bar, basketball cheerleaders; Mercedes Benz car), Eastern and local cultural modes ('Japanese sumo wrestling', 'traditional Mongolian musical instruments') and AAVE, French and Mongolian lyrics - ultimately produces the music video – 'Freestyle'. This transmodal performance is, according to Baji (FB correspondence, April 5, 2013), directly associated with the ideology of 'keepin' it real' - *'Our ultimate goal was to produce a real Mongolian Hip Hop, which would sound and look different from others'*. Generally speaking, the concept of 'Freestyle' in Hip Hop is 'a rap performance that involves unplanned, spontaneous composition of lyrics' (Terkourafi, 2010, p.330). 'Freestyle' within this context however moves beyond the standard Hip Hop concept of 'Freestyle', because the overall transmodal performance is interpreted as *'freestyling'* for this band, *'everything you see in the video means 'freestyling', not only the lyrics. We wanted to show how we can express ourselves freely through using various elements'* explains Baji. Lumino therefore is seeking authenticity through Hip Hop's main transnational mantra, 'keepin' it real', manifested by *'freestyling'* – the transmodal performance across multiple semiotic resources.

7.3 GENNIE: HIP HOP HAS ALWAYS BEEN MONGOLIAN

Gennie is one of the few female Hip Hop artists in Mongolia, who self-identifies herself as an ‘underground Hip Hop’ artist (cf. Tsujimura & Davis, 2009). In 2010, Gennie was invited to participate in an international Hip Hop festival, ‘Hos Ayaz’ (‘Double Tune’) in France, where she collaborated with two French rappers to perform her song, ‘Let’s establish the history’. Gennie performed the song in Mongolian; while two French rappers backed her up in French with the Mongolian ‘morin khuur’ playing in the background. Gennie was also featured as one of the main characters in the documentary, ‘Mongolian Bling’, by Australian filmmaker, Benj Binks, which achieved international acclaim in 2012 with its portrayal of the Mongolian Hip Hop scene. Gennie⁴⁵ states that her main musical inspirations are not necessarily American Hip Hop artists, but rather Asian female rappers, *‘Asian female Hip Hop artists inspire me because Asian culture is closer to Mongolian culture. Looking at Asian female rappers helps me to determine the level of my music quality within the region of Asia. American rappers are already on the top, so it’s boring to see them sometimes, whereas Asian rappers are very creative and innovative. I learn many things from these and Asian style rap is definitely reflected in my music as I’m an Asian too’*.

The music video, ‘Don’t Cry’ (2010), performed by Gennie, featuring MC Mo and Ochiroo in 2010, is also one of those ‘Western-Mongolian hybrid’ style Hip Hop songs, mixing both traditional Mongolian tunes and modern Hip Hop elements. Unlike, Lumino’s ‘Freestyle’, ‘Don’t Cry’ is predominantly portrayed through the Mongolian cultural and linguistic modes, although English also remains present. The linguistic performances of these artists are however understood in relation to other meaning making modes, following the similar transmodal analytic framework discussed in Section 1.

The music video starts with the transmodal combination of various modes: A quote from Genghis Khan, written in the old Mongolian script, followed by a female voice, performing a traditional singing form – ‘urtiin

⁴⁵ Interview with Gennie was conducted on August 17, 2010, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia.

duu'⁴⁶ ('the long singing'); various English symbols such as '*Don't Stop!*', '*Adobe Universal Leader*', '*PICTURE*'; the rappers dressed in African American Hip Hop style outfits and Hip Hop 'bling' and so on. Modern Hip Hop rhythms and flows then follow 'the long-singing' with segments, featuring Mongolian symbols and landmarks such as Mongolian national flags; a statue of Genghis Khan; the parliament building of Mongolia; traditional sports such as archery, wrestling, horse racing; Shamans chanting; girls clad in distinctly native dress, performing traditional elements of Mongolian dance and also incorporating local musical instruments such as the 'yatga'⁴⁷ and 'khuuchir'⁴⁸. The song begins with the main chorus, a combination between AAVE and Mongolian resources,

Lyrics ⁴⁹	Translation
1. Don't Cry, Don't Don't Don't, Don't Cry Don't Don't Dont	Don't Cry, Don't Don't Don't, Don't Cry, Don't Don't Don't
2. Bidnii Mongol bidnii Mongol shantrakhgüishüü	Our Mongolia, our Mongolia, Don't give up!
3. Bügd Nairamdakh Mongol Ard Ulsiin irgen Mo, Gennie, баг Ochiroo	The citizens of People's Republic of Mongolia, Mo, Gennie and Ochiroo
4. Bid ard түмниикhee өмнөös үgee төлөөлөн khelj baina	We are speaking for our people
5. Bid bol gangsta, supasta erchtei khüchtei sonirhdog duugaa duulj baina	We are gangsters, superstars, energetic and strong, singing our favorite song
6. Mongol khümүүs omogshooroi Sonsooroi, People of Mo, People of Mo, People of Mo, MC Mo	Mongolians! Be courageous! Listen! People of Mo, People of Mo, People of Mo, MC Mo
7. Erkh chөлөөnii төлөө, Yadarsan зүдersen arduudiin төлөө, Shantarch baina, Zalkhaj baina	For liberty, for our impoverished people, who are on the verge of giving up
8. All my people, Don't Stop! All my	All my people, Don't Stop! All my people,

⁴⁶ 'Urtiin duu' – 'long singing' is a type of Mongolian traditional song genre, where each syllable of a word embedded in each line of the lyrics is sung for an extended 'long' duration.

⁴⁷ 'Yatga' is a plucked zither, with multiple strings attached to narrow, tall and hollow wooden box, sounding similar to a harp.

⁴⁸ 'Khuuchir' (Sihu) is a traditional Mongolian bowed string instrument, made of wooden sound box, covered by snakeskin.

⁴⁹ The lyrics of 'Don't' cry' were transcribed by myself, although Gennie checked the accuracy by herself.

The amount of AAVE used in this song is restricted to its main chorus, as the main verses are all in Mongolian. The role of AAVE plays a 'subsidiary' and 'background' (Chan, 2012, p.41) role, whilst the Mongolian texts deliver the main ideas. The song is titled 'Don't Cry' in English, and the repetition of '*Don't Cry*' (lines 1; 8) in the background transmodally overlaps with the combination of foreground rapping and traditional Mongolian musical elements. Here, the use of an English title serves not only as an 'eye/earcatcher' (Chan, 2009, p. 121), i.e., 'attention-getter for stylistic purposes' (Lee, 2004, p.446), but also recurrently appears during the entire music video, calling for Mongolians not to give up despite the hardships that they face in their everyday lives, reinforcing the main message of the song.

In line 5, HHNL such as '*gangsta*' (referring to 'gangster') and '*supasta*' ('superstar') have been inserted within the verses, although these terms seek to make the transmodal meaning in relation to portraying themselves 'as energetic as superstars' and 'as strong as gangsters', the idea that is immediately supported by the next Mongolian expressions in line 5, '*erchtei*' ('energetic'); '*hüchtei*' ('strong'). Gennie explains, '*...using these English words portrays us as young people who are energetic. Superstars in our own terms. But we are not afraid to speak for our people, like good-willed and strong 'gangsters', someone like Tsakhiur Tumur*'. These vernaculars thus make meaning in conjunction with the heroic Mongolian fictitious outlaw Tsakhiur Tumur, whose legacy is well known for his bravery and good-will despite his acts of robbery: that is, robbing the horses from the rich and giving to the poor, in a popular Mongolian novel, 'The Crystal Tamir River', by Lodoidamba.Ch [someone like Robin Hood]. Thus, the 'gangster' image is metaphorically used by the rappers to portray themselves as modern Hip Hop 'gangsters', who speak on behalf of their impoverished people. The similar ideology has also been noted in the context of South Korean rappers, who consider that "being an outlaw or acting tough is portrayed as 'a cool thing'" (Lee, 2010, p.158).

The long-singing and traditional musical instruments are continuously performed in the background, while the artists start to rap the verses

predominantly in Mongolian. This is repeated with the three MCs each taking turns in rapping their specific verse,

Lyrics	Translation
1. ... Ödör bolgon khudlaa khutsaad l	Everyday you're barking like a dog
2. Tegeed khiigeech khiigeech khurdan khiigeech	Just take actions quickly
3. Tsag aldaad l medrelteed l	Stop wasting time and acting like the retards
4. Öngö möngönii khoinoos khöotsöldsön ulaan bandi nar	You guys are like kids who run after money
5. Ard түмний amidralaar togolson novshnuud...	You guys are rubbish who play with your people's lives...

Taking inspiration from Western politically oriented groups such as Public Enemy, one of the most controversial rap groups of the mid to late 1980s, there are many transnational Hip Hop artists who opt for incorporating politically conscious messages within their songs. Some Brazilian Hip Hop artists for example focus on the daily realities of Brazil's social inequality, 'crime, drug use, police brutality, and racism' (Roth-Gordon, 2009, p. 63); Hip Hop artists in Hong Kong convey 'some serious messages of social or political critique' (Lin, 2009, p. 165). Similarly, while situating on the periphery, Mongolian artists have simultaneously turned to transnational Hip Hop for a re-articulation of their politically conscious messages. From this point of view, the main verses, exclusively performed through Mongolian texts, transmodally feature anti-sentiments towards the Members of Parliament in Mongolia. The rappers strongly criticize the MPs for deceiving their citizens. As the rappers perform the verses, visual segments that portray images of drunkenness, beggars, prostitutes, street children living in the sewers of Ulaanbaatar are run in the background, intensifying the message of the song. The Mongolian lyrics are understood through employing colloquial Mongolian words '*hutsaad l*' (line 1) ('barking like a dog' ('talking bullshit')); '*novshnuud*' ('rubbish', referring to 'losers' in line 5); '*medrelteed l*' ('acting like the retards', implying 'acting foolish' in line 3) to express their anger towards the MPs. Gennie

explains, *'The people of Mongolia are angry, frustrated and stressed because of the current chaos in the society. We wanted this tension to be reflected in our song'*. The vulgar words therefore have been used as 'emotion-intensifiers' (Lin, 2009, p.168; cf. Lin, 2012), or as self, feelings and emotive expressions. The song therefore appears to be a politically and socially conscious rap, which conveys strong anti-sentiments towards the current Mongolian politicians, and their perceived failure to address urgent social problems.

Subtextually, for many young Mongolian rappers, the genre of Hip Hop is often regarded as *'erkh chүүлүүний hugjim'* (*'the music of free expression'*) (Gennie, B.A.T, Range, Kobe). It is indeed quite common for Hip Hop artists to incorporate socially and politically conscious rap speaking against the current politicians, whilst addressing urgent social issues. Similar to 'Don't cry', Hip Hop bands Ice Top and Dain ba Enkh, co-produced a song '76', harshly criticizing the 76 Members of Parliament in Mongolia, for being selfish and corrupt, *'speaking pretty words, when the real life is like a nightmare and hell'*. To this end, Gennie explains, *'Today's top authorities are enjoying their own luxury, while the people of Mongolia are getting more impoverished everyday. This is heartbreaking as many kids are still living in the street, many people are homeless. Mongolia shouldn't be like this. We have a great country, inherited from our ancestors'*. That's why, *'I want to shed light on the reality, to speak the truth and to speak for our people'*. In a similar vein, Damdinbazar Manlai from Ice Top, says, *'We want to get a message to the corrupt upper class'*; Kobe, lead singer of Ice Top, says, *'We only sing the truth, we tell the truth'*. In this light, *'we are influential. In that sense, we do have political influence through song'* (Damdinbazar Manlai and Kobe cited in Lim, 2009).

It is well discussed in the literature that transnational Hip Hop culture is also largely driven by an ideological pledge to nationalism. Akindes (2001) for example discusses the context of Hawaiian Hip Hop, where groups like Sudden Rush, *'deliver messages of Hawaiian nationalism in a musical format that speaks to Hawaiian youth'* (p.93). The idea of 'Black nationalism, various forms of Islam and Afrocentrism [...], and a race-consciousness that centered Blackness' has also been well documented (Alim, 2009a, p.13). Gennie and her crew is also one of them. For example, many lines from the main verses in 'Don't Cry' transmodally feature a strong sense of nationalism - *'Munkh*

tengeriin door üürd orshikh Mongol ('Immortal Mongolia under the eternal blue sky'); *'Bi bol Mongol khün* ('I am Mongolian'); *'Chinii minii zürkh Mongoliin tölöö tsokhilno* ('You and me, Our hearts beat for only Mongolia'). In these lines, the rappers emphasize a strong sense of pride and respect towards their home country, referring to Mongolia as *'immortal*', highlighting their national identity, *'I'm Mongolian*', and declaring their love for Mongolia. These lines are further strengthened with the verses referring to Genghis Khan, the emperor of the Great Mongol Empire in the 13th century, one of the most respected national identities. Emphasizing the fact that Genghis Khan established the largest contiguous land empire in human history, *'Bid nar delkhiiin taliig ezelsen shüüdee* ('We have conquered almost half of the world'), reflecting the popular ideologies across many Mongolians, who believe that only a leader like Genghis Khan might re-construct Mongolia, *'Bid nart Chinggis Khaan shig udirdagch kheregtei baina* ('We need a leader like Chinggis Khan), self-identifying themselves as *'Chinggisiin Mongol Chinggisiin Mongol*', ('Chinggis's Mongolia, Chinggis's Mongolia'), accompanied by the images of Genghis Khan and the armies of horses flashing in the background. As Gennie states, *'I'm Mongolian and I'm proud of it. I'm hoping to instill young Mongolians with feelings of pride in Mongolia*'.

Similarly, the sense of being 'a proud Mongolian' embedded within modern popular music in Mongolia is gaining much popularity within young artists, as a well-known Mongolian music producer, Khaliun sums it up, *'Mongolians are proud of their homeland and of being a Mongolian person and it's starting to influence the music*' (Khaliun cited in Knapp, 2012). The ultimate goal of the music video, 'Don't cry' therefore is *'to speak reality for the people of Mongolia, and to show how proud Mongolian I am through what I can do best, Hip Hop*', according to Gennie. It can therefore be argued that young musicians in Mongolia seem to perform what it means to be Mongolian through 'cultural nationalism' (McCann & Laoire, 2003, p.259), a form of nationalism that can be characterized by local cultural elements such as musical form. Gennie strives to deliver her strong sense of Mongolian nationalism through a modern Hip Hop format that speaks to Mongolian youth, yet retains specific Mongolian cultural and national identity.

There are a series of ideas flowing across transnational Hip Hop culture, where many Hip Hop artists claim that Hip Hop has always been local. Aboriginal Australian Hip Hop artist Wire MC for example claims that Hip Hop has always been 'a part of Aboriginal culture' (Pennycook & Mitchell, 2009, p.30). In a similar vein, Senegalese Hip Hop group Daara J claim 'Hip Hop as their own, not merely as an act of appropriation but rather as a claim to origins'. MC Faada Freddy for example explains that 'the traditional Senegalese form of rhythmic poetry, tasso is the original form of rap' (Pennycook & Mitchell, 2009, p.34).

Gennie's view on Mongolian Hip Hop was similar to these claims, when I asked her why she specifically used an English title 'Don't cry' for a clearly nationalistic themed song. Gennie explains, '*There is no such a thing as real or unreal Mongolian Hip Hop, because Hip Hop has always been Mongolian. Hip Hop can be perceived as a traditional Mongolian art*'. Gennie associates this idea with some elements across Hip Hop culture, '*In Mongolian culture, we have a traditional dancing called 'bielgee' which looks like Hip Hop break dancing; traditional throat singing, which sounds like DJ beats; and the Mongolian traditional calligraphy looks similar to graffiti*'.

Subtextually, this idea of 'Hip Hop has always been Mongolian' is also widespread across other Hip Hop artists in Mongolia. As Sukhbaatar Amarmandakh, who started Mongolia's first Hip Hop/Rap techno band, Black Rose in 1991 says, '*Some say hip-hop comes from Africa. But I think it also comes from the way the shamans used to chant in the Genghis Khan period. The shamans use a drum, and those rhythms are similar to today's hip-hop*'. Here, Amarmandakh reclaims himself to be a descendant from a line of shamans, claiming Hip Hop singers in Mongolia as modern-day shamans, '*I have a calling, and that's why I'm sitting here creating. The hip-hop spirits called me to this*' (Amarmandakh cited in Lim, 2009, para. 11). Hip Hop artist, B.A.T also connects modern Hip Hop to the Mongolian older generation, claiming, '*I've realized that the older generation in Mongolia relates to Hip Hop fairly easily, as Hip Hop has many similarities with traditional Mongolian folk arts, such as 'erööl magtaal khelekh', 'tuilakh', bökh zasakh' and 'mori tsollokh*' (Interview, August 27, 2010, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia). Here, B.A.T relates modern Hip Hop to the older generation of Mongolia, through highlighting

some genres of traditional ‘vocal arts’ of Mongolia: ‘*erööl magtaal khelekh*’ (‘a praise song’) is a form of singing in Mongolia, which features poetic lines about nature, landscape and nomadic lifestyle; ‘*tuilakh*’ (‘epic telling’) is an epic-like hymn, originated from Shamanistic chanting; ‘*bökh zasakh*’ (‘fixing the wrestler’ – *zasuul*⁵⁰), wrestler fixer chants a poetic praise of his wrestler to open a challenge; ‘*mori tsollokh*’ (‘praising the horse’), singing/chanting poetic praise about the winning horse after the horse race.

This is however not to say that Hip Hop was directly originated in Mongolia. As Pennycook & Mitchell (2009, pp. 30-35) remind us that these artists are not directly suggesting that Hip Hop was invented by for example Indigenous Australians. Instead, we need to consider the fact that ‘what now counts as Aboriginal Hip Hop is the product of a dynamic set of identifications—with African-American music, style, and struggle—and a dynamic set of reidentifications—with Indigenous music, style, and struggle’. In other words, it is not so useful to ‘pursue the true origins of Hip Hop, as if these could be found either in the villages of Africa or the ghettos of North America, but rather to appreciate that once Hip Hop is taken up in a local context, the direction of appropriation starts to be reversed’. As Pennycook & Mitchell (2009, p. 35) further argue, ‘No longer is this a cultural form that has been localized; now it is a local form that connects to several worlds: Australian Aboriginal Hip Hop does connect to African oral traditions but not as much as it connects to Australian Aboriginal practices.’. Ultimately, ‘Global Hip Hops do not have one point of origin (whether that be in African griots, New York ghettos, Parisian suburbs, the Black Atlantic, or Indigenous Australia) but rather multiple, co-present, global origins.’ (p.40).

This perspective urges us to look at Hip Hop in Mongolia from the multidirectional investigation, i.e., not necessarily from center to periphery, but rather how multiple transmodal elements have re-produced already relocalized Mongolian Hip Hop. In other words, what it means to be authentic for Gennie is the re-identification of origin of already localized Mongolian Hip

⁵⁰ ‘Zasuul’, (literally referring to a ‘fixer’) is a sort of coach or motivator of the wrestler, whose role is to hold the hat of his wrestler while he is wrestling and give him encouragement and advice on the match field. In case the match gets too slow, *zasuul* can slap the buttocks of his wrestler to motivate him more. *Zasuul* therefore is not directly a coach, but rather is someone who is elder or a friend of the wrestler to serve for the wrestler.

Hop, associating it with certain Mongolian traditional elements. English, from this perspective, transmodally serves as part of this 'Mongolian Hip Hop music', one of the common linguistic resources, which may help create the overall performance. As Gennie claims, *'Many people actually criticized us for using English in this song. What they don't understand is the fact that we used English for our little experiment of artistic creativity. After all, you can't be "radically nationalistic" when you are living in the globalization'*. What it means to be nationalistic for Gennie thus is to be an open-minded, yet a proud Mongolian. English is a mode, part of her Hip Hop *'artistic creativity'*. English is also part of young person living in the modern world, who seeks to re-challenge global Hip Hop forms and origins through combining it with traditional elements, and claiming it to be always Mongolian. As Gennie further asserts, *'English does not manipulate me! I manipulate English for Mongolian Hip Hop'*. Put simply, these Hip Hop artists are the '21st century artists who draw on and change traditional, cultural forms' because 'they are part of the global Hip Hop movement, identifying with and also rejecting different aspects of its global formation; they benefit from and participate in the rapid flows of music and ideas made possible in the digital age' (Pennycook & Mitchell, 2009, p.26).

Overall, the combination of these various modes which transverse to one another – traditional Mongolian musical elements, contemporary Mongolian social and political portrayals, English title and AAVE, nationalistic Mongolian lyrics, Hip Hop rhythm and flows – makes not only transmodal meaning in conjunction with one another in the music video, but also move beyond the diaspora of the music video (e.g., AAVE for example makes a subtextual meaning in relation to the Mongolian outlaw hero; in relation to artistic creativity; as part of already local Mongolian Hip Hop and so on). This transmodal performance ultimately seeks to create the idea of 'Mongolian Hip Hop', which has always been part of the Mongolian culture.

7.4 B.A.T: BEING 'DIFFERENT' IS AUTHENTIC

B.A.T is one of the most successful rappers in Mongolia, whose performances are well known for the incorporation of various linguistic resources. Many of his successful independent albums 'Be reborn' (2004) ('Money', 'Gone crazy'; 'Back in the days') and 'Khemnel ba khelleg' ['Rhythm and Phrase'] (2005) ('Shoot', 'Tango', 'C'mon'; 'Action'; 'Sexy Crazy'; 'Tell me wacha want') include a wide collection of English/Mongolian lyrically mixed songs, some entirely titled in English. His latest hit single, the English titled 'Big Fish' (2013, co-featured with rappers Tulgat and Rokit Bay), featuring extensive English rap parts, was produced as the main theme song for the popular new Mongolian movie 'Big Fish'.

The music video, titled 'Nüd chini khair kharuulna' ('I can see love in your eyes') (2006), is one of the R&B ballad classics of 2005, performed collaboratively by RnB pop musician, Bold, B.A.T and Quiza. The linguistic performance of this music video is mixed between English and Mongolian lyrics, although these codes make better sense if we interpret them through the layers of transmodal meanings across other modes. The music video starts with the transmodal combination of various Eastern oriented modes, and a Mongolian girl playing the traditional musical instrument 'shanz' (cf. Section 7.2). As the tune of 'shanz' starts blending with RnB style music, a group of girls dressed in colorful Indian saris start performing Indian classical dancing. The next scene gradually transforms into a girl dressed in Japanese kimono, with the traditional 'shimada' hairstyle [the hair is pulled together at the crown of the head], holding a 'sensu' folding fan, sitting in an old style Japanese temple house, 'shoin-zukuri'.

These Eastern inspired modes make a transmodal meaning in relation to one another, as the combination of these multiple modes is interpreted as moving beyond the norm of using the dominant Western modes in the context of popular music in Mongolia. As B.A.T puts it, '*We should not be idolizing only the West. We need to appreciate all the different cultures. Eastern culture is so rich and beautiful*'. Indeed, as discussed earlier in the previous sections, young Mongolian artists seek to break the norm in society by experimenting with various other cultural and linguistic resources. Just like Lumino's use of

French lyrics in 'Freestyle' was intended to go beyond the boundary of English (because Lumino considered English as being '*boring*'), these artists incorporate Eastern inspired modes to expand the boundaries of the popular music scene in Mongolia, which is often perceived as dominated by Western modes.

In the meantime, the front singer, Bold dressed in Western style outfit (reminds me of American RnB singer Usher's style) sings in Mongolian, telling of his romantic longing for his love interest and his desire to fly to the moon with her,

Lyrics ⁵¹	Translation
1. Khos dalavchaaraa deven deseer	With our wings spread
2. Chamtaigaa bi sar luu nisne	I want to fly to the moon with you
3. Tendees chamdaa khairtai gej kheleed	From there, I want to say that I love you
4. Tengerees tsetsgeer boroo oruulna	I want to send the 'flower-rain' from the sky

The Mongolian lyrics portray the singer's emotion through romantic, poetic and reserved way as illustrated in expressions such as '*I want to fly to the moon with you*' (line 1), or '*I want to send the 'flower-rain' from the sky*' (line 4). These lyrics, transmodally entangled with the classic Indian dancing, the tune of the Mongolian 'shanz', and the slow jam of R&B ballad, create the atmosphere of absolute romance and passion. These romantic scenes then transform into an unexpected scenario, when 'fusuma', a sliding door made from wood and paper in the Japanese old temple style house slowly opens.

Behind the doors, two rappers B.A.T & Quiza, surrounded by several semi-naked dancing girls, appear, the scene being reminiscent of many American Hip Hop videos. Barkman (2006, p.6) however cautions us that these outrageous scenes are 'fictitious', which need to be seen as 'the realm of fantasy rather than reality'. That is to say, '[h]alf-naked women, regardless of what is shown on MTV, do not constantly surround rappers' outside of the music video. Similarly, this scene used in the music video of Bold, B.A.T and Quiza is fictitious, where the artists strive to enter the fantasy worlds of

⁵¹ The lyrics of this song were retrieved from <http://www.justsomyrics.com/416238/bold-nud-chini-hair-haruulna-lyrics.html>.

transnational Hip Hop, ‘seduced’ by the ‘coolness’ of American Hip Hop artists (Kramsch, 2006, p. 102). As B.A.T⁵² explains, ‘*we were quite young when we did this music video, so we thought it would be cool to be surrounded by girls just like American rappers*’. Yet, the discourse of ‘keepin’ it real’ is still apparent here, as these artists trying to ‘keepin’ it real’ with reference to a fictionalized ‘realness’ of American Hip Hop which does not necessarily replicate their own experiences, yet connects to the perception of the American Hip Hop genre. Meanwhile, Lee (2004, pp.436-437) notes that young South Korean pop artists ‘exercise freedom of expression by voicing what is considered “alarming to Korea’s moralistic censors”’, which is a ‘discourse of an explicit sexual nature’. In a similar vein, these artists also seek to express their ‘desire to enjoy freedom as an adult’ (Lee, 2004, p. 437). As B.A.T stresses, ‘*It is not like we were teenagers or something. We wanted to celebrate our manhood as well by trying something controversial, which might get the attention of many people*’. Surrounded by girls, B.A.T starts rapping in English,

Rap Lyrics
1. I’ll give you everything right here right now
2. Cuz you’re so beautiful, so sexy and unbelievable
3. Lay down, Hang on, Dance
4. This is a love song
5. Come and fly with me
6. East to the West, Girl, Girl, Girl!

Like the Mongolian lyrics earlier, the main message of the English lyrics is to express the singer’s emotion for his love interest. However, the emotion embedded within English lyrics slightly differs from the Mongolian lyrics. Whilst the tone of Mongolian lyrics combined with the varied Eastern modes is more poetic and reserved, declaring how his love for the girl is eternal and precious, the English rap act invoke more physical and sexual images such as ‘*Cuz you’re so beautiful, so sexy and unbelievable*’ (line 2), or ‘*Lay down, Hang on, Dance*’ (line 3), combined with the half naked girls dancing around the rappers. Using English to ‘depict intimate experiences and

⁵² Interview with B.A.T was conducted on August 27, 2010, UB, Mongolia.

sexual fantasies', while using local language to depict innocent love and romance has also been noted in the context of K-pop (Lee, 2004, p. 437).

It is well documented that the role of English in terms of transnational popular music is diverse. In K-pop, functions of English mixing with Korean are 'varied from a simple attention-getter for stylistic purposes to assertion of liberated self and exercising freedom of speech' (Lee, 2004, p. 429). In Cantopop, Chan (2009, p.124) suggests that 'English does not symbolize a "Western" identity but deviance – a refusal to succumb to pressure and challenges.'. English can also serve a 'symbolic' role, 'showing the singer differentiating himself from others' (p.125). From this point of view, the use of English rap should be understood in its transmodal meaning across other modes, beyond this music video. B.A.T explains that his use of English rap is not at all symbolizing a 'Western' identity, but rather serves a 'symbolic' role to accentuate himself different from others, i.e., as a *'proper English rapper'*, *'There are many kids nowadays who think that adding one or two English words within their song makes the song cool. It is wrong. I try to rap in English properly'*. What it means to be a *'proper English rapper'* thus is interpreted through his linguistic skill, which was acquired through residing in the UK for a few years. Mongolian society idolizes bi/multilingualism, which is mainly promoted by the idea of *'proper'* English. From this point of view, B.A.T 'commodifies' (cf. Heller, 2010b; cf. Chapter 5) his English skill in the popular music, *'There are so many cheesy rappers in Mongolia who try to use English. I don't want to be one of them, because I want to produce a high quality English rap performance'*. Overall, this account indicates that B.A.T's 'bilingual' status as a rapper has located him in a powerful position to get accepted as a proper rapper in his own circle (cf. Lee, 2010). For B.A.T, using 'proper' English is perceived as 'real', and from this perspective, his English rap is different from that produced by some of his peers.

It is commonly discussed in the literature of transnational popular music that language mixing may convey 'poetic' message, when embedded within local popular music. Davis & Bentahila (2008, p.2) argue that language mixing in popular music lyrics may 'serve a poetic function, contributing to the aesthetic and rhetorical effects of discourse that is not spontaneous but carefully constructed'. Chan (2009, p. 118) notes that 'the choice of English in

Cantopop [...] creates poetic effects and intertextual links, conveying inferences or implicatures'. Similarly, B.A.T further seeks to integrate with different genres of popular music, starting from pop, rock, RnB and so on, through bringing up the poetic sense of English, '*I want to integrate English rap with other genres of music, because when English rap is properly performed and written, it has a power to lift up the whole aesthetics of the tune. I'm perhaps invited to work with artists from different genres because my English rap is considered as sophisticated, because I use proper English*'. Indeed, his English skill has earned him multiple collaborations with various artists from all genres, including this music video. He lends his voice to various other musical genres, featured within the performances of other popular divas and state honored artists (pop diva Ariunaa 'Party with us', RnB King of Mongolia, Bold, 'Nüd chini khair kharuulna' and 'Bonita').

When B.A.T finishes his English rap performance in the music video, it transforms back to the scene of the Japanese girl wearing a kimono and the Indian dancers, moving in the tune of 'shanz', while Bold starts singing back to romantic Mongolian lyrics. All the romantic scenes reoccur. The music video concludes soon after. The transmodal performance of these varied modes – a traditional Mongolian musical instrument, an Indian classical dance, the portrayal of Japanese woman blended with English rap, half naked dancing girls, and the Mongolian R&B ballad – seeks to create a '*sophisticated*' Mongolian music, which is '*different*' from others. It is also important to note that these multiple modes make meaning not only in relation to each other, but also in relation to other social, cultural and ideological modes beyond the diaspora of the music video. What it means to be authentic for these artists therefore is being '*different*'.

Overall, B.A.T's desire to be '*different*' is not only restricted to this music video. Spanish titled, 'Bonita' (2008) – the collaboration between RnB soloist Bold, B.A.T and MC Quiza, is one of the most controversial music videos in Mongolian popular music history, with its unexpected incorporation of a graphic lesbian scene, performed by a number of Mongolia's top models.

Lyrics ⁵³	Translation ⁵⁴
1. Chicks no <u>BONITA</u>	Hot chicks
2. Chicko girls no <u>MAMACITAS</u>	Very hot chicks and girls
3. Beautiful, gorgeous everything is perfect	Beautiful, gorgeous everything is perfect
5. Straight like a chopstick <u>SISTA BOMASITA</u>	Straight like a chopstick, sexy lady
6. <u>UNO, DOS, TRES, CUARTO</u>	One, two, three, four
7. She must be single...	She must be single
8. Khervee chamaig yavaad ögvöl <u>MUCHAS EXTRANOS</u>	If you go, I will miss you
9. Khervee chamaig üldvel <u>GRACIAS, TU ER ES HERMOSO...</u>	If you stay, Thank you, You're beautiful

B.A.T characterizes his incorporation of Spanish lyrics as a ‘*unique*’ way to praise the beauty of Mongolian girls. The incorporation of Spanish resources works here as ‘an exemplar of the way local cultures can refashion foreign influence to produce something unique’ (Seargeant, 2005, p. 315). Spanish is better understood through its transmodal meaning in relation to the overall Spanish cultural modes, because the Spanish lyrics are not directly decipherable by the general audience. Performing in Spanish lyrics does not mean that B.A.T speaks as much Spanish as he speaks English. He does not have any direct connection with Spanish culture. In fact, he does not speak Spanish at all, yet he manages to use Spanish linguistic resources, which also need to be interpreted through his ‘symbolic competence’ (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008) – his capacity to manipulate semiotic resources for his desired performance. From this view, just like other youngsters, B.A.T seeks to move beyond his current linguistic boundaries, challenging himself with other semiotic resources.

Meanwhile, it is the exotic sense of Spanishness that makes the song popular. As Kramsch (2006, p. 107) puts it, ‘non-native speakers who have not been socialized in the target culture make quite different associations, construct different realities from those of socialized native speakers.

⁵³ The lyrics of ‘Bonita’ were retrieved from the album cover of ‘Only one’ by Bold.

⁵⁴ Translation from Spanish into English was provided by B.A.T.

Newcomers to the language apprehend the linguistic system in all its fantastic dimensions: the sounds, the shapes, the unfamiliar combinations, the odd grammatical structures. And they give meaning to all [...]. In a similar vein to Lumino's use of French lyrics in 'Freestyle', the transmodal meaning of Spanish is interpreted through its 'exotic attractiveness' (cf. Kramersch, 2006) attached to the stereotypical view towards Spanish culture in Mongolia. As B.A.T explains, *'We wanted to portray Mongolian women as hot as Spanish women. That's why, we used Spanish'*. Indeed, Spanish women are perceived as 'exotic' and *hot-blooded* in Mongolia, hence the use of Spanish language is also considered as 'exotic'. This value attached to this Spanish culture – its 'exotic' attractiveness thus is supposed to transmodally exoticise the whole Mongolian tune, whose main message is to praise the beauty of Mongolian women. From this point of view, the Spanish lyrics are no longer 'proper' Spanish, but the re-localized version of 'Spanishness', defined by its social stereotype. Such absorption of Spanish can be seen as unique stylistic resources for authentic expression for B.A.T.

7.5 A-SOUND: BRITISH ENGLISH IS AUTHENTIC

A-Sound was established in 2006, and dubbed by its fans and critics as being either the 'Mongolian Radiohead' and/or the 'Mongolian Coldplay', whose songs are mostly written in English. A-Sound is often referred to as the role model for young Mongolians, as the band members have been awarded the prestigious medals of 'Youth Leader', and 'The Glory of Labour' by the Youth Union of Mongolia. Their album 'Release' (2008) topped the local music charts for a record breaking consecutive nine weeks. Their leading singles such as 'Crying', 'Forever', 'Shine on', 'Hey there' from the 'Release' album and 'Sometimes I get', 'You cast your Spell' from the album '100 years' are all written in English, and are highly popular within the local consumers' sphere.

It is by now a truism that many popular music artists around the world heavily borrow from English to perform their songs. Chik (2010, p.518) for example displays the examples of 'original compositions' written completely in English in the context of Hong Kong popular music – a new style of Cantopop in English. As the genres of Cantopop-style English songs are starting to increase in Hong Kong, the creativity of English needs to be equally

examined. From this point view, it is also important for Mongolia to investigate the rising popularity of Mongolian-rock style English songs, which are exclusively written and performed by the local artists. With this in mind, I will particularly look at one of A-Sound's biggest hits, the song 'Forever' (2007), from the album, 'Release' (2008). The music video of 'Forever' is not analyzed here, since its music video only displays the scenes borrowed from the Mongolian movie '9009' as part of its soundtrack. Rather, I will particularly look at the use of English in relation to its transmodal meaning with other modes.

Lyrics ⁵⁵
1. ...You're gonna leave me here forever
2. and I'm gonna be waiting for you forever
3. You wanna see me here forever
4. I'm gonna be waiting for you forever
5. You think so
6. That's not so
7. and I will be waiting waiting waiting ever
8. Ever ever ever ...

Like A-Sound's other songs, this song is an original English composition written by the band's frontman, Temuulen. The English used here, however cannot be understood in isolation from other modes, since it makes more sense when we look at its transmodal meaning - its phonetic attractiveness, subtextual histories, origins of alternative music and other relevant desires and expressions. Firstly, Temuulen defines his writing style as simple and minimalistic - the form of 'simplistic' writing style (cf. Turner, 2009), which covers light-hearted topics such as love, relationship, romance, broken heart or just simple everyday activities. According to Temuulen⁵⁶, one of the main reasons for writing in English is, *'I feel much more natural and comfortable writing in English, because for an alternative rock music, it is hard to write in Mongolian. It just feels different'*. The similar idea has also been

⁵⁵ The lyrics of 'Forever' were provided by Temuulen, the frontman of A-Sound.

⁵⁶ Interview with Temuulen was conducted on August 19, 2010, UB, Mongolia.

noted in the context of alternative rock musicians in Hong Kong (cf. Benson & Chik, 2012, p. 23). Some of these rock musicians have acknowledged that it is easier for them to present a story in English because Cantonese lyrics can be ‘too personal’, ‘too raw’, ‘too tonal’, ‘too powerful’, ‘too direct’, ‘too mushy’ and so on. Some also avoid writing in Cantonese because it can “easily sound ‘uncool’ if the writer lacks literary skill”. Similarly, Temuulen notes that writing in Mongolian is ‘too complicated’, ‘too unnatural’, and ‘unsuitable’ for performing the alternative rock songs.

Secondly, one of the most striking characteristics of the band’s English-produced songs is the fact that they are performed with strong British pronunciation. The idea of incorporating British pronunciation has also been noted in the discussion of other transnational popular music artists, as American punk rock group Green Day, for example, uses British – ‘Estuary English features’ in its music (Cutler, 2003a, p.341) to sound different. In other words, the phonetic appeal of British English makes an important transmodal meaning here. From Temuulen’s point of view, strong British pronunciation is performed through illustrating non-rhoticity to pronounce the words ‘forever’, ‘ever’, ‘here’ as /fəˈrɛvə/, /ˈɛvə/, /hɪə/, omitting /r/ at the end of a syllable when sung, as some dialects of England do (lines, 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8). The linguistic practice of following ‘the typical British pattern of “r-lessness”’ has also been noted in the context of French pop-rock group Montecarl (Cutler, 2003a, p. 333). The word ‘waiting’ is pronounced as /ˈweɪtɪŋ/ (lines, 2, 4, 7), intensifying intervocalic /t/ phoneme, and diphthongs ‘ei’, rather than pronouncing /ˈwātiŋ/, common in General American pronunciations. The words ‘gonna’ and ‘wanna’ are pronounced as /ˈgɒnə/ and /ˈwɒnə/, stretching the vowel lengths of /ɒ/, avoiding the General American pronunciations such as /ˈgônə, ˈgənə/, /ˈwônə, ˈwänə/ (lines, 1, 2, 3, 4). In order words, the vowel lengths are highlighted through British pronunciation between each musical notes and rhythms, making it sound more British.

The British pronunciation also makes a transmodal meaning across other modes beyond this music video: *‘Not only Mongolians, but also almost everyone else is trying to use some sort of American accents, but our music is more British. That’s why, our music is more successful than other artists, because the audience wants to hear something unique’* explains Temuulen.

Temuulen seeks to move beyond the established norm of transcultural popular music, in which the American accent is often expected as the norm for many world musicians (cf. Simpson, 1999). Anderson (2012, para 1) for example writes, *'Though Adele speaks with a strong London accent, her singing voice sounds more American than British'*. By contrast, for Temuulen, the phonetic idolization of British English in the Mongolian society is reflected (just like B.A.T in the previous section, who wanted to manipulate the values attached to *'proper English rap'* and the exotic attractiveness of Spanish). Many young Mongolians fantasize about the British English as being *'Queen's English'*, *'Princess Diana's English'*, *'royal English'* and so on, associating the British English with 'upper class' and 'royalty'. Because of this widespread ideology on British English, A-Sound's songs are perhaps highly valued in the society, compared to other Mongolian artists performing in English.

Meanwhile, Cutler (2003a, p.341) has noted that American rock groups like Guided by Voices and Green Day 'appropriate stereotypically British pronunciations in their music', in order to 'identify themselves with certain British musical traditions'. Similarly, Temuulen explains, *'Alternative rock genre was originated in the UK, so it is better expressed through British English'*. Using British English therefore transmodally means to sound more close to the origin of alternative rock music. It is not so much because the artist wants to copy directly from those British artists, but rather it is the case where these local artist wish to sound more close to alternative music in the UK. The resemblance of British pronunciation embedded within Temuulen's musical performances appear to be performing the characteristics of 'alternative rock' genre, associating himself more with the 'alternative rock' tradition in the UK, rather than directly claiming British identity.

Moreover, composing in English means associating himself with other transnational alternative rock musicians in the periphery, who also produce their songs in English (cf. Benson & Chik, 2012). Temuulen notes, *'There are many alternative rock bands like us who prefer to write in English because of its association with the origin of alternative music'*. This sentiment has also been noted in the context of metal rock artists in Mongolia: Üugii (cf. Chapter 5), the frontman of metal rock group, Prophets, says, *'Sepultura for example is from Brazil, but their songs are written in English. They are like the biggest*

group of all time' (Interview, August 30, 2010, UB, Mongolia; cf. Chapter 5). From this point of view, Üugii writes his lyrics in English to identify with other metal rock pioneers in the world, illustrating the example of non-English metal rock group, Sepultura from Brazil (which is referred to as perhaps the most important heavy metal band of the '90s by MTV), who nonetheless uses English.

Overall, the role of English for A-Sound serves transmodal meanings beyond its contextual meaning of the song lyrics, as it is also needs to be examined in conjunction with its other transmodally relevant subtextual social, historical and ideological factors. What it means to be authentic for Temuulen therefore means to stick to the 'original' language of alternative rock music – British English. In other words, in Temuulen's view, British English is the language of alternative rock music – the continuation of the alternative music tradition: hence, A-Sound's British English compositions are claimed as 'authentic'.

7.6 CREATING AUTHENTICITY THROUGH TRANSMODALITY

In this chapter, I have examined the linguascape of urban youth culture in Mongolia in relation to ideoscape, specifically focusing on the language practices of the producers' sphere, i.e., the transmodal performances of young local musicians. One of the most popular ideas moving across the ideoscape of transnational popular music is the idea of seeking authenticity. Unsurprisingly, this idea of authenticity is also flowing across the ideoscape of popular music artists in Mongolia. Following this trend, this chapter has investigated the ideology of authenticity in relation to the linguistic performances of the popular music artists in Mongolia.

The data analysis suggests that the meaning making process is transmodal and it is not just about different linguistic codes. When we talk about French or Spanish codes, we also need to talk about their subtextual values, desires, identifications attached to these particular cultures. When we talk about English, we also need to talk about its local social, historical, ideological, traditional and cultural circumstances. Investigating the role of English means investigating the subtextual ideas and values attached to AAVE or British English and so on. Talking about the usage of Mongolian

lyrics also means talking about the subtextual layers of other social, political and cultural meanings and ideologies. Similarly, understanding the incorporation of Japanese cultural modes means understanding the transmodal local meanings attached to it.

Moreover, when we talk about the lyrics, we also need to talk about other modes used in the context. Singularizing particular linguistic performances from other meaning making modes such as bodily movement, symbols, signs and background music does not necessarily seem to make proper meaning. An array of semiotic resources orchestrated together renders their use of English/French/Spanish/Mongolian as 'transmodal', as they exponentially increase the meaning-making potentiality of the particular performances. Understanding a particular mode without understanding its relation to other modes no longer works here, as the true meanings emerge in the complexity of the integrated relations with other modes. The transmodal performances of these young artists therefore suggest that language does not make coherent meaning in isolation. Young artists make meanings in the complexity of transmodal meanings of resources such as lyrical, musical, visual and bodily aspects of their performances. The music space becomes a new space for the transcendence of those modes, and the language becomes the embodiment of the semiotic and stylistic meaning. The notion of 'transmodality' thus helps us understand how young producers of popular culture make meanings through the constant processes of borrowing and renewing other various modes available to them. In other words, multiple modes used in the music videos make meaning in transition to each other, and this overall transmodal performance creates the overall desire and aspiration of the artists – the ideology of 'keepin' it real'.

These transmodal performances further push us to re-consider the fact the ideology of authenticity embedded within the ideoscape of transnational popular music is not unidirectional, but rather multidirectional. Popular music artists largely adhere to the transcultural ideology of 'keepin' it real' in that young artists relate their understandings of what is 'authentic' to multiple other cultural/linguistic ideologies. Put simply, what it means to be authentic means multiple other ideas and ideologies moving across the ideoscape of urban youth culture. For example, earlier Lumino had commented on 'authentic' Hip

Hop being a 'real' Mongolian Hip Hop. Here, Lumino does not necessarily employ 'authentic' in the sense of pure Mongolian modes to address its message. In its place, Lumino employ a kind of mixture of a more local (traditional elements) and a more global voice (French, English rap), which, I argue, is unique in its own way. Similarly, for Gennie, being authentic means to stick to one's own tradition. Hip Hop from this perspective has always been Mongolian for Gennie, as she seeks to re-identify the origin of Hip Hop, drawing on the already relocalized Mongolian Hip Hop. The use of English here is understood as part of relocalized Mongolian Hip Hop, which, I also suggest, unique in its own way. For B.A.T, being authentic means '*being different from others*'. The combination of Spanish, English, and other Western, Mongolian/Eastern inspired modalities, including his commodification of English skill acquired in the UK, ensures his performance as '*unique*' from his peers. As for A-Sound, what it means to be authentic is to closely follow and stay true to the origin of alternative rock music. That is, their use of 'British English', which is perceived as the original language of alternative rock music, originating from the UK.

These multiple co-existing ideologies illustrate how various cultural and linguistic resources are relocalized through adhering to the particular global cultural ideology of 'keepin' it real', producing further multiple layers of views and ideologies of what it means to be authentic. These manifold interpretations of authenticity, i.e., the global spread of authenticity, co-exist, often contradicting each other, whilst forcing us to re-consider the fact that the linguistic and cultural relocalization processes of these performers are not pure or static, but discursively and culturally constructed, and that the socio-cultural and linguistic realities are multiple and multidirectional. As Terkourafi (2010, p. 5) proposes, 'With sampling and mixing at its very core, hip hop provides an expressive vehicle that is flexible enough to accommodate the multiple origins and concerns of increasingly interconnected and mobile populations.'. As Pennycook (2007a, p. 115) rightly puts it, 'The authenticity that hip-hop insists on is not a question of staying true to a prior set of embedded languages and practices but rather is an issue of performing multiple forms of realism within the fields of change and flow made possible by transmodal and transcultural language use.'.

Lastly, I would like to conclude that it is hard to demarcate the Mongolian popular music scene as the mimicry of an American/Western music culture, because of its locally relevant new developments. The popular ideology of inauthenticity against young Mongolian artists should be interpreted as to what Marsh (2010, p.354) has suggested, 'To dismiss Mongolian hip-hop as inauthentic because it cannot claim any direct connection with these locations or experiences, however, is also to dismiss the experience of the Mongolian youths who believe rap to be both authentic and real in their home country.' In other words, to dismiss the authenticity of popular music artists in Mongolia is to also dismiss a norm within the popular music scene elsewhere - the practice of honoring traditional cultural identities through modern style music (cf. Akindes, 2001). This 'hybrid Western-Mongolian' style music had already gone from subculture to being legitimized as 'authentic Mongolian' by the general population, as for example one of the most successful Mongolian RnB artists, Bold Dorjsuren's album, 'Mongol Pop' in 2011, was honored by the President of Mongolia. Bold's album/website/music videos feature the transmodality of traditional Mongolian art elements including the musical instruments such as 'morin khuur', Shamanistic inspired drums, the Mongolian Harp known as 'yatga', traditional singing styles – 'khöömii' ('traditional throat singing') and 'urtiin duu' ('the long-singing'), traditional clothes (e.g., the singer himself wearing a 'deel' (traditional Mongolian garment), 'mongol gutal' (traditional Mongolian shoes), and 'loovuuz' (traditional Mongolian fox skin hat)), traditional dance routines, running herds of horses and traditional felt layer dwelling for nomads, 'ger'. The album 'Mongol Pop', thus, is to create the particular genre of 'Mongolian Pop' by incorporating traditional Mongolian elements into modern pop style music, in order to, *'introduce the uniqueness of Mongolian folk art not only to modern young Mongolians, but also to the world by creating a national level pop genre'* (Bold, 2011, para.1-3). Upon the release of his album and concert 'Mongol Pop', Bold was awarded by the President of Mongolia, Elbegdorj Tsakhia with the highest 'State Prize' ('Turiin Soyorholt'), for making a great contribution to the *'intellectual and cultural knowledge of the Mongolian people for creating the new musical genre, "Mongol Pop", which maintains the unique style of mixing modern popular music with traditional Mongolian folk*

music' (Elbegdorj, 2011, para 3-4). For the first time in the history of Mongolia, a young popular music artist in his early 30's was awarded with this high-ranking prize from the President; an honor, which was previously, only associated with the supposed 'high and elite culture' representatives such as classical music composers, renowned classical literature writers or scientists and academics. This prize has become an important milestone for popular music artists in Mongolia, as the popular music genre has finally been recognized and rewarded by the President of Mongolia as '*truly Mongolian*'.

CHAPTER 8

LINGUASCAPE IN RELATION TO IDEOSCAPE: THE CONSUMERS' SPHERE

8.1 THE LINGUASCAPE OF THE CONSUMERS' SPHERE IN RELATION TO IDEOSCAPE

In the previous Chapter 7, I have looked at the linguascape of urban youth culture in Mongolia in relation to ideoscape across the cultural producers' sphere. It has been argued that young popular music artists in Mongolia seek to achieve the cultural ideology of authenticity, sticking to the widespread transnational popular music ideology of 'keepin' it real'. The processes of achieving this ideology of however seem to radically differ, depending on particular musical genres, local language and the cultural realities. The quest for authenticity therefore has been investigated through the notion of 'the global spread of authenticity' (Pennycook, 2007a, p. 98) - a clear example of the tension between a cultural ideology to maintain particular principles of keeping things authentic/real, and the localization processes, which make this ideology dependent on local contexts, languages, cultures, and understandings of the real.

In this chapter, I seek to progress this idea of 'the global spread of authenticity' further, drawing on the examples provided by the consumers' sphere, as part of the notion of 'urban youth culture' (cf. Chapter 3). In other words, the linguascape of urban youth culture will be explored, focusing around the language practices of young urbanites, as the consumers' of popular culture. Whilst Chapter 7 examined linguascape in detail in relation to ideoscape from the producers of popular culture, this chapter will look at linguascape through how young consumers relocalize the idea of authenticity in relation to language, whilst participating in the consumption process of local popular culture resources.

As discussed in Chapter 1, there is a widespread anti-youth discourse in Mongolia, in which their linguascape is often negatively portrayed as 'inauthentic' by certain areas of society. During my fieldwork trip, I realized that there is a widespread counter-ideology against inauthenticity among the

urban youth culture of Mongolia. In other words, young consumers of popular music resources for example profoundly quest for authenticity – ‘keepin’ it real’, just like their fellow producers. Many of my research participants within the consumers’ sphere have noted that they have been bored with *‘imported music’*, and *‘artistic stealing’*. As Khantulga puts it, *‘We have sharp ears and eyes and a big mouth. Sometimes too loud because we are super interested and super aware of what is going on around us. So give us something real. We are not stupid’* (Interview, August 24, 2010, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia). As Erdenedalai explains, *‘Mongolian artists should listen to us to create something authentic. I mean who wants to wear inauthentic Adidas? So who wants to listen to ripped off Mongolian music?’* (Focused Group Discussion, September 1, 2010, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia). These perspectives also remind us of what Lewis & Bridger (2001, pp.xi-xiii) have suggested in terms of the modern consumers’ culture, ‘we are the New Consumers – independent minded, individualistic, and well informed. We are cash rich and time poor. Bombarded by commercial messages, we remain deeply distrustful of hype and deeply disloyal to suppliers.’. In other words, ‘in an era of commodities New Consumers possess a strong desire for authenticity in many of the products and services they purchase’. As Richardson & Lewis (2000, p. 251) stress, young Hip Hop consumers use online space as an alternative ‘means of representing, critiquing and contradicting the images and issues of Hip Hop culture’, since they are ‘[...] seldom “just fans” but experiment with the boundaries to other arenas of Hip Hop engagement. In doing so, they may variably orient themselves to discourse conventions from Hip Hop’s other sphere’ (Androutsopoulos, 2009, p.56).

Particularly, it has been noted in a number of other studies, in which the transcultural online consumers of popular culture resources such as popular music are ‘open to different interpretations’, including ‘both musical and non-musical’ performances of the producers ‘in a defined cultural, historical, aesthetic, experiential, and politico-economic context’ (Vannini, 2004, p.50). The quest for authenticity towards the particular performer is particularly prevalent, as Vannini (2004) further notes that one of the most popular online discourses in terms of Canadian pop singer, Avril Lavigne, produced by her consumers are the question of whether she is an (in)authentic punk

performer; Connell & Gibson (2003, p.19) emphasize that the attitude of consumers towards popular music artists and the way they receive music, play an important role in constructing what it means to be authentic.

All in all, just like popular music artists, who are preoccupied with the 'ideology of authenticity' (Bloomfield, 1993, p. 17; cf. Connell & Gibson, 2003), the ideoscape of consumers of popular music in Mongolia equally seek authenticity towards what they consume, although the understanding of what it means to be authentic can differ radically across individuals. This call for authenticity is restricted not only to what they culturally consume (e.g., popular music), but is also widespread across what they linguistically consume, i.e. the various linguistic resources they use. These consumers insist on authenticity in terms of their own language practices (what languages they use), although they present us with diverse and multiple ideologies of what it means to keep it linguistically real.

This chapter therefore is an extended discussion of the previous chapter, in which the ideology of authenticity embedded within the ideoscape of urban youth culture in Mongolia is understood against the linguascope of certain cultural consumers. The research participants covered within this chapter were asked to discuss the (in)authenticity of certain producers' texts (mostly the music videos discussed in Chapter 7) during the focused group discussion sessions. The consumers' actual linguistic interactions have simultaneously been closely monitored via netnography (Facebook, YouTube). Later, some participants were interviewed offline (face-to-face) or via online channels such as Facebook, in order to identify their own interpretations towards how they understand the relations between the concept of authenticity and their own language practices (cf. Chapter 4). In other words, the consumer members were broadly involved within 'metalinguage' (cf. Jaworski, Coupland & Galasiński, 2004) analysis, i.e., posttextual analysis (cf. Chapter 4), in which their own language practices were discussed or examined by themselves. This method has provided broader insight in dealing with the complicated processes of textual meaning-making processes, in which the multiple layers of texts make meanings in the understanding of the ideology of authenticity in relation to the language practices of the consumers' sphere. It further allowed me to understand how people value and orient

towards certain language ideologies and interpret them across their own language practices.

8.2 BEING ‘HONEST’ IS AUTHENTIC

EXTRACT 1

Transcript	Translation
<p>Otgon: ...”Freestyle” bol kheden BA:-ruuniig duuraisan playaz... MO:ngol Hip Hop Bl:shshüüdee! “Freestyle” bol kheterhii baruuniig khö:sön, KHö:ngön KHI:isver züil kharUU:Isan. Angli rap ni shuud ichGüü:rguigeer Amerikiin EM:egtei Rapperiin ügnees taviaad tuutsan fuckez. Ain’t real ma:::n...</p>	<p>Otgon: ...“Freestyle” is performed by a bunch of playaz trying to be Westerners. It’s simply not a real Mongolian Hip Hop, showing too Westernized and shallow stuff. English rap part has shamelessly been copied from the American female MC’s lyrics, fuckez... Ain’t real man.</p>

The pretextual history of this extract is associated with the consumer interpretation of the music video, ‘Freestyle’ by Lumino (cf. Chapter 7) during the focused group discussion session (cf. Appendix 9), in which Otgon (19, male, UB born, a second year math student at the National University of Mongolia, who lives in the ger district) was very consistent in standing against the authenticity of ‘Freestyle’ (Focused group discussion, September 1, 2010, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia). Despite his ‘very basic’⁵⁷ English skill, we can see from his narrative that he uses certain AAVE resources in his linguistic repertoire. Otgon informed me that he learns English from ‘*Eminem, 2Pac, and Jay-Z*’, because he is a huge fan of Hip Hop music. The contextual analysis illustrates certain characteristics of intertextual echoes from AAVE/HHNL resources (‘*aint real*’, ‘*fuckez*’, ‘*man*’, ‘*playaz*’ [‘playaz’ ‘one who participates in hip hop culture’ (Terkourafi, 2010, p.333)]; musical genre specific phrases (‘*Freestyle*’, ‘*Hip Hop*’, ‘*rap*’); a Hip Hop specific Mongolianized phrase (‘*rapperiin*’ (‘rappers’)), in which the Mongolian suffix, ‘-iin’ is mixed with an English stem ‘rap’. Additionally, his overall speech is heavily stylized by the Hip Hop genre, using speeded up voice and tone,

⁵⁷ Interview with Otgon was conducted on September 30, 2010, UB, Mongolia.

resembling AAVE and Mongolian Hip Hop accents with some words, specifically pronounced with initial stress instead of final stress ('*MO-ngol*', '*EM-egtei*', '*KHö-ngön*', '*BA-ruuniig*' (denoted by capital letters)), a practice which has also been noted within AAVE, where the initial syllables of some specific words ('*PO-lice*', '*DE-troit*') are primarily stressed (Green, 2002, p.131).

Meanwhile, despite his borrowing from AAVE resources in his own linguistic repertoire, Otgon nonetheless illegitimizes the authenticity of Lumino's 'Freestyle' in extract 1, not only labeling it as too shallow in content wise but also accusing it of stealing the lyrics from another American Hip Hop artist. Clearly, this account contradicts his use of AAVE in his own language practice. Otgon posttextually clarifies this conflict, '*I'm not a fake Hip Hop fan. I don't just superficially listen to Hip Hop, I stick to its main philosophy – "keeping it real".*'. From this point of view, the intertextual echoes of AAVE/HHNL resources entangled within his language practice are interpreted as authentic expression by this speaker, because he particularly identifies himself with the Hip Hop genre, demonstrating the 'loyal fan' behaviors, identified by Perkins (2012, p.357) – the loyal fans of particular performers seem to identify with the genre within their daily practices and lifestyles. It is also similar to politically conscious young but avid rap fans in Brazil, where they seamlessly integrate rap lyrics into their everyday speeches (Roth-Gordon, 2009). One way of being authentic thus means being loyal to transnational Hip Hop for this speaker through how he speaks. Otgon seeks to 'keep it real' by re-emphasizing 'the elements of verbal skill and wit found in hip hop's lineage in African American sounding practices' (Terkourafi, 2010, p.12).

As much as he is loyal to Hip Hop, Otgon further notes that he is a '*loyal and honest*' person in all aspects of his life, "*Keepin' it real*" basically means to be loyal and honest for everything you do'. This means that 'Freestyle' is inauthentic for him, because the music video does not represent an '*honest*' message about Mongolia. Instead, Gennie's 'Don't cry' is viewed as authentic, '*I think "Don't cry" is more honest, even though it has used English. Because it speaks the truth about Mongolia, with nationalistic rappers who love their country. That's a real Mongolian Hip Hop*' (Focused group

discussion, September 1, 2010, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia). From this point of view, irrespective of its incorporation of English, ‘Don’t cry’ is viewed as authentic by Otgon because it reveals social realities and urgent local problems in present day Mongolia. The language choice, be it English or Mongolian, is not important for Otgon to authenticate the music videos, because he is more concerned with the sense of ‘honesty and integrity’ of the particular message presented. What it means to be authentic therefore is to be ‘*honest*’ or ‘*loyal*’ for whatever you do, no matter what language you use. Put differently, the use of AAVE in his own language practice from this perspective can be perceived as authentic in his view, because it is embedded within his overall ‘*honest*’ and ‘*loyal*’ attitude to life. Overall, he tries to be an honest person in his life, and the use of AAVE is part of his honesty. This claim of authenticity can further be expanded in his FB discourse.

EXTRACT 2

Facebook Text	Translation
1. Otgon: Монголчуудаа архиаа бага ууж, Айргаа их ууцгаай! Далай Лам Peaz!	Otgon: My fellow Mongolians! Drink more airag, less vodka! Dalai Lama, Peaz!
2. Otgon: Өсөхөөс сурсан Монгол хэл мартаж болшгвй соёлоо гэж...☺ ☺ ☺ Дашдоржийн Нацагдорж... Big Respect!!!!	Otgon: The national language that we have learned since early childhood is the culture that should never be forgotten ...☺ ☺ ☺ Dashdorjiin Natsagdorj... Big Respect!!!!

Otgon tends to post a series of inspirational Mongolian-oriented aphorisms by well-known people on his FB wall, immediately accompanied by various AAVE/HHNL resources. The first example refers to one of the Dalai Lama’s visits to Mongolia, where he called for Mongolian people not to drink too much vodka, as the tradition of drinking vodka was inherited from the Soviet times, and has been dominating the beverage scene of Mongolia ever since. Instead, the Dalai Lama called for Mongolians to stick to their own

traditional drink, 'airag'⁵⁸ – 'fermented mare's milk'. Sharing this message with the public thus subtextually refers to the Dalai Lama's way of saying 'keepin' it real' for Mongolians. Otgon calls for authenticity by supporting local cultural products such as 'airag', instead of imported products ('vodka'), although the recontextualization of very particular AAVE/HHNL term, 'Peaz' (cf. Garley, 2010, p.284 for online community of German Hip Hop fans, using 'Piiz' or 'Peaz'), an alternative orthographic version for 'Peace' shows apparent contradiction here. While he treats imported 'vodka' as inauthentic, he at the same time uses 'imported' AAVE in his own message.

Similarly, in the second example, Otgon posts a popular aphorism by the renowned Mongolian novelist, Dashdorjiin Natsagdorj (1906 - 1937), who was one of the most popular modern time classic Mongolian poets and novelists, known as the founding father of modern Mongolian literature. Here, Otgon seeks authenticity referring to the sentiment of keeping the Mongolian language real through borrowing from the famous lines of Natsagdorj, 'Ösökhöös sursan ündesnii khel martaj bolshgüi soyoloo' ('The national language that we have learned since early childhood is the culture that should never be forgotten'). Moreover, unlike many other online users, Otgon prefers to use Cyrillic Mongolian in his FB, *'I try to stick to our own Cyrillic more often, because we have our own writing system we should be proud of. I also fear that Cyrillic might get replaced by Latin, just like old Mongolian script was replaced during the socialist time. It's not that hard actually. The software is easy to use nowadays. The websites such as Facebook and Google for example offer Cyrillic writing systems'* (Facebook correspondence, March 11, 2013). Here, Otgon feels threatened by the Roman script, because of the previous event in 1941, when 'the Mongolian government mandated the substitution of the Cyrillic alphabet for the Uyghur script in the transcription of the Mongolian language' (Rossabi, 2005, p.33). Since then, Cyrillic has remained the present standard orthographic system of Mongolia. What is ironic here is the fact that although Cyrillic Mongolian has replaced the traditional Mongolian script, Otgon feels threatened by Roman scripts now, since Cyrillic Mongolian is already perceived as authentic and Mongolian for

⁵⁸ 'Airag' – 'Fermented mare's milk' is a traditional national beverage of Mongolia, brewed by the mare's milk, containing a small amount of carbon dioxide, and up to 2% of alcohol.

this speaker. From this point of view, one way of ‘keepin’ it real’ for Otgon is illustrated by his nationalistic sentiment of protecting the Mongolian language. This idea however is immediately challenged by his idiosyncratic import of AAVE/HHNL term, ‘*Big Respect*’ (cf. Androutsopoulos & Scholz, 2002, p. 18) (‘to pay respect to someone’) in line 2. The contradicting questions emerge from here. How can one protect his local language whilst he is also using English here? To put it differently, how can one stick to one’s own traditional drink ‘*airag*’ by refusing imported ‘*vodka*’, whilst he is also using foreign import such as English?

Otgon posttextually interprets his import of AAVE, ‘*The point is I don’t speak English. My English level is so very basic. I use Hip Hop phrases in my everyday language, because I’m a huge Hip Hop fan. So it’s better not to mix English with Hip Hop language. My Hip Hop language is my kind of language. This is part of who I am*’ (FB Interview, March 11, 2013). This view pushes me to interpret the incorporation of AAVE in his linguistic repertoire as part of his local language practice rather than a so-called ‘foreign import’ such as English. As soon as this speaker starts displaying both his strong identification with transnational Hip Hop and his emotional attachment with his home country, followed by his use of AAVE, it becomes much more complicated to define his use of AAVE as ‘English’. What it means to be authentic for this speaker thus is to stay loyal to his own tradition, culture and language, and the use of AAVE from this perspective should be interpreted as part of his loyalty towards the culture and language (be it Mongolian culture or Hip Hop culture) he is emotionally attached with.

8.3 BEING ‘NATURAL’ IS AUTHENTIC

EXTRACT 3

Transcript	Translation
<p>...Minii bodloor bol ene baa:khan ündesnii stuffaar togloom khiigeed baigaa hip hopchid kharin ch original bishee. Aim artificial. Oni бүүр too try hard yümshigee... Yü batlakh geed</p>	<p>... In my opinion, these Hip Hop artists, who are making fun of the traditional Mongolian stuff, are actually not original. Seriously artificial. They try too hard. What are they trying to prove? The</p>

baigai:n boldoo? Ündesnii züil English khoyor chini khorondoo avtsaldakhgüi aimar UNNATURAL sonsogddog yümshigee!...	traditional elements and English do not seem to match each other. They sound so unnatural when put together...
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Pretextually, this narrative is produced by Maral (22, female, UB born, a senior student, majoring in American and British studies at NUM), who attended the focused group discussion session (September 1, 2010, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia) to share her opinions on the authenticity of some Mongolian popular music performers and her own language practice (cf. Appendix 9). Contextually, Maral uses a series of Anglicized Mongolian phrases ‘stuff+ aar= *stuffaar*’ (‘with stuff’), ‘hip hop+chid=*hiphopchid*’ (‘hip hoppers’); Russian pronoun ‘*oni*’ [‘*ohu*’] (‘they are’) and English phrases (‘*original*’, ‘*artificial*’, ‘*too try hard*’, ‘*unnatural*’) incorporated within the Mongolian sentences, in accordance with the syntax rule of Mongolian language.

Despite her use of English/Russian resources in her own linguistic repertoire, Maral in the meantime disauthenticates the use of English mixed with the Mongolian modes in terms of the producers’ sphere in extract 3. Maral specifically criticizes certain Mongolian Hip Hop artists for trying too hard to be authentic, by mixing two very different and unsuitable modes together – English and traditional elements. For Maral, these two genres do not necessarily complement each other, and in turn produce quite ‘*artificial*’ and ‘*unnatural*’ performances.

As for her import of English resources in her own language practice, the story is different. Maral⁵⁹ posttextually explains, ‘*I don’t force myself like these artists. What you see is what you get! I talk like this because it is just so natural to me. I’m being myself. As for these artists, I can tell straight away that they are trying too hard*’. This explains that Maral’s outlook on authenticity towards her own mixed language practice is better understood through the ideology of authenticity, “[...] where language is deemed to express personal authenticity, in accordance with the moral prescription that people should ‘be themselves’” (Coupland, 2003, p. 424), i.e., ‘being true to oneself’ (Taylor,

⁵⁹ Interview with Maral was conducted on September 27, 2010, UB, Mongolia.

1991, p. 15). From this point of view, not all Mongolian popular music artists who use English are artificial for Maral. The alternative rock music band, A-Sound (cf. Chapter 7), is for example viewed as authentic by Maral, '*A-Sound sounds natural to me because I can tell from Temuulen's English that he is not trying to be someone else. He is just being natural and himself. He is not trying to prove anything*' (Focused group discussion session, September 1, 2010, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia). As discussed in Chapter 7, A-Sound is well known for its lighthearted English (occasionally mixed with Mongolian) lyrics, covering subject matter such as love, relationships and daily-lived experiences. The incorporation of traditional modes or strong themed (nationalistic or social issues) lyrics is almost nonexistent. In this context, the common ideology of authenticity, which insists that the incorporation of local cultural and traditional elements is authentic, no longer works.

In the meantime, the question of 'What does Maral mean by "*natural*" performance of A-Sound?' emerges here. Maral answers, '*A-Sound really sounds like Coldplay sometimes. You wouldn't know they are Mongolian, unless you see them singing. I think Temuulen's English is really good*'. The '*natural*' performance of A-Sound therefore is interpreted from the perspective of the singer's overall English skill. In Maral's view, the singer is not trying to change himself like other artists who are forcefully mix various 'foreign' linguistic codes with the 'traditional' cultural modes, but rather the singer is just being himself, by displaying his naturally good level of English. To put it differently, A-Sound's level of presenting their English sounds flawless, which makes their music natural. Similarly, Maral's use of English or Russian should sound '*natural*' in her view, because of her proficiency in those languages. Put simply, what it means to be authentic is to be '*natural*', which is directly associated with the idea of one's fundamental linguistic skill covering those relevant linguistic resources. Let us further explore Maral's FB discourse to understand what it means to be linguistically '*natural*'.

EXTRACT 4

Facebook Text	Translation
1. Maral: Excited! Check this link out! Sally's new song! Big Likeyyyyyyyy!!!!	Excited! Check this link out! Sally's new song! Big Likey!
2. Orgilmaa: <i>Kakoi? Sally? Eto ona zamuj za kitaitsev?</i>	Which one? Sally? The one who's married to Chinese?
3. Maral: <i>Da, ocheni bogatii. She is like the girl who has everything ... Pretttayyyyy, rich, elegant, Oh the Voice! Angelic ☺</i>	Yes, really rich one. She is like the girl who has everything ... Pretty, rich, elegant, Oh the Voice! Angelic
4. Orgilmaa: Tehh... Aztai huuhenshd, she is like was born with silver spoon in her mouth.	Yes... She is lucky, she is like was born with silver spoon in her mouth.
5. Maral: BTW, You were born with silver ipad in your eyes O_O hongoroo and its too late... Untaaaaacheeeee!!!!	By the way, you were born with silver ipad in your eyes dear and its too late... Sleep!

The table illustrates the small conversation extract between Maral and her friend, Orgilmaa on Maral's Facebook wall post. This FB text is created with heavy borrowing from English, followed by Russian resources (lines 2, 3) by both speakers. Focusing on Maral, some phrases are highlighted with prolonged pronunciation of the vowel sounds (*'Big Likeyyyyyyyy!!!!'*; *'Pretttayyyyy'*, *'Untaaacheeee!!!'*) to achieve more dramatic tones (line 1; 5), as Peuronen (2011, p.161) illustrates similar set of 'affirmative exclamations' in the context of online language practice of Finnish youth, prolonging 'Yeh' as 'yeayeayeayeayeaaaaah', and Hip Hop greeting 'yo' as 'jojojoojooooo'. Sultana, Dovchin & Pennycook (2013, p. 698) also display how young adults in Bangladesh adapt 'the enunciated and elongated pronunciation of vowel sounds in words in their stylization', relocalizing the lines from Bangladeshi and Hindi films.

The use of English idiomatic expression, 'born with a silver spoon in their mouth' here has further been relocalized (line 5) as *'born with silver ipad in her eyes'*, referring contextually not only to someone who spends too much

time on a computer/ipad screen, but also EO's own privilege as someone who owns latest technologies such as 'ipad'. Other non-linguistic semiotic resources such as emoticons ('☺' for laughter, 'O_O' for open eyes); extensive usage of exclamation marks (!!!)) are also at play.

Note also that the speakers have used transliterated versions for both Mongolian and Russian (lines 2, 3), instead of Cyrillic as Maral explains, *'If we want to promote our Mongolian language, we should use more Latin script so that other people engaged with us through the Internet can at least read what we are saying in Mongolian. Its like when I try to search for my favorite Japanese or Chinese songs, I automatically search for the Roman versions because I have no idea what kanji says'* (Facebook correspondence, May 2, 2013). *'It is just hard to use only Cyrillic when we are online because we deal with so much stuff [popular culture resources] that cannot be fully described through Cyrillic. Roman is easy, no hassle... comfortable'* (Facebook correspondence, May 2, 2013).

This FB analysis shows that Maral's online language can be produced by heavy borrowings from English and sometimes Russian, supported by various other semiotic resources. Despite this extensive mixed language practice, Maral still identifies her FB discourse as *'natural'* and *'not forced'*. Maral explains her *'natural'* language use from the perspective of her background: She had early exposure to other languages and cultures. She was born in Russia, lived in Hungary with her family, before moving back to Mongolia during her teenage years, studying at a Russian high school in Ulaanbaatar. Her favorite subject at high school was English. She also went to Canada for a year or two following her high school graduation. Finally, she moved back to Mongolia to start her undergraduate degree at university.

Overall, based on her direct access to linguistic resources, her linguistic skills have expanded. Compared to most other young Mongolians, she is privileged enough to have travelled abroad, and attended prestigious educational institutions and so on. In fact, she can be defined as one of those so-called 'proper bi/multilingual' speakers in Mongolia. This linguistic skill is valued as *'natural'* – hence, *'authentic'* by Maral, *'Luckily, I was exposed to English from a very early age. I know how to speak English and this is natural to me. It is like the air I breathe, food I eat and water I drink. It's like the main*

ingredient to participate in this modern world. If you remove English from my life, I will be like half mute or deaf...I cannot imagine my life without it'. English is then perceived as part of her daily-lived experiences, as the basic consumption of her daily needs and supply. In terms of borrowing a series of English resources in her language practice, Maral also suggests that it is almost compulsory to linguistically mix between English and Mongolian, 'when I discuss about the particular musical genre, because it is hard for me to translate certain words into Mongolian [referring to Hip Hop, rap, rock, punk], making English a vital part of my daily communications. Internet and technology related words are the same. It makes more sense when they are used in English, but I totally make them Mongolian, based on my needs'. The use of Anglicized Mongolian terms is therefore becoming almost like local language for these speakers as many other words such as 'messagedeerei' (message me please), 'emaildeerei' (email me please), 'chatlii' (let's chat), 'partydah' ('to party'), 'showdah' ('to go out') seem to have transformed to be an essential part of their daily linguistic repertoire (cf. Dovchin, 2011) (cf. Chapter 6).

Russian resources are also associated with Maral's emotional and social exposure, *'I personally use Russian sometimes because I have graduated from Russian high school. Russian therefore is like my good old friend. That means I'm always confident when I use Russian, because it gives me this sensation of warmth and intimacy'. 'We need to be forever thankful for what Russians have done to us. They have brought a whole new civilization to Mongolia, when Mongolia was backward and isolated'. Maral then concludes, 'We grew up reading Russian classical literature, listening to Russian music, and watching Russian movies. Russia is such a historically and culturally rich nation. I miss the old Soviet style movies such as "Moscow doesn't like tears", "Sluejbni Roman", "Chelovek Amphibia", and cartoons, "Ny-Pogodi", "Cheburashka". I miss having proper Russian food such as 'piroshki' and 'borsh'. Life was good when I was a kid. But I like current Russian artists too, Philip Krikorov, Ivanushki International, Andrei Gubin are my favorites'. From this perspective, Maral has personal and emotional attachments with Russian cultural elements (note that she was born in Russia whilst her father was a student in Moscow). This has further been noted by Billé (2010): 'what is*

significant is that for many Mongols Russian does not feel foreign and—as was pointed out to me on several occasions – it only takes a little alcohol to tease out a Russian facet that is just there under the surface: when drunk, many Mongols will start speaking Russian’ (p.243); or by Beery (2004), who suggests that although ‘Mongolians seemed to have little need of Russian and concentrated on the learning of English’, Russian is ‘so entrenched in Mongolia that it was never fully replaced’ (p. 106).

Overall, in Maral’s posttextual interpretation, her mixed language practice should be understood as ‘*natural*’ expression, because she is linguistically ‘*confident*’ using both Russian and English, ‘*I don’t force myself to be different. I don’t try hard to look different. I’m confident in using those languages*’. Here Maral also expresses the sentiment of ‘language confidence’ (cf. Cunliffe et al, 2013, p.351) – the notion that is interpreted as an important quality to create linguistic authenticity. In other words, the role of English and Russian resources in her language practice seeks to reflect her skillful linguistic identity (‘multilingual speaker’), which is identified as ‘*natural*’ by herself, i.e., authentic. She is just being herself. She owns these languages. These languages are hers.

8.4 BEING ISOLATED IS AUTHENTIC

EXTRACT 5

Transcript	Translation
Altai: ...Minii bodloor bol ted бүгд Amerik chuud esүүл Барууниikhaniig dagan bayasagchid. Yagaad gevel ayalguut saikhan Mongol khel geed saikhan bakharkhmaar үндесnii khel baij baikhad zaaval tegj gadnii khel oruulj duulakh yamar shaardlaga bainaa? ((deep sigh)). Aimar ineedtei бүүр khulhinii sonsogddog baikhgүйyudaa! Mongol kheleeree I yarikh kheregtei gej boddog...	Altai:...In my opinion, they are all the impersonators of Americans and Westerners. What’s the point of using foreign languages, when we have a beautiful Mongolian language that we really should be proud of? They just sound so fake and pathetic. I think it is better to use only Mongolian...

The pretextual history of this narrative is understood through Altai (20, female, Khentii-born, a third year student at NUM, majoring in chemical engineering), one of my research participants, who contributed to the focused group discussion (September 5, 2010, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia) in terms of authenticity towards popular music artists and her own language practice (cf. Appendix 9).

The contextual reference of this transcript reveals that not only does the speaker predominantly use Mongolian, but she also follows one of the most widespread language ideologies, 'linguistic isolationism' - 'the most authentic language is removed from and unaffected by other influences, and thus the most authentic speaker belongs to a well-defined, static and relatively homogenous social grouping that is closed to the outside' (Bucholtz, 2003, p. 404). From this point of view, Altai also favors Kharanga and Chinggis Khan [Old School Mongolian rock bands] as real Mongolian musicians because they do not incorporate anything foreign within their music, and most importantly they use exclusively Mongolian [although we also have to note here that many other research participants claim that rock is not Mongolian, but foreign]. Put simply, if anything is produced in Mongolian, it is perceived as authentic by Altai. She⁶⁰ labels those who use 'foreign' linguistic codes within their musical performances as '*fake*' musicians, '*They should take their jobs a bit more seriously and give a second thought on what they are singing, what language they are using, because they sing for the masses, they have lots of audiences. They are the main representatives of modern Mongolian music. So they should be more careful about what language they are using. They can't just go and sing something in English and then claim it is a real Mongolian*'. This view of authenticity towards the Mongolian musicians has been exclusively expressed by Mongolian in the group discussion transcript, which might lead us to directly conclude that this consumer preserves culturally and linguistically isolationist views towards authenticity, and firmly sticks to this ideology through how she speaks (monolingual speaking).

⁶⁰ Post-group discussion interview with Altai was conducted on May 10, 2011, UB, Mongolia.

This focused group discussion transcript however does not fully represent her daily linguistic repertoire, since her Facebook discourse illustrates a contradictory subtextual reference,

EXTRACT 6

Facebook Text	Translation ⁶¹
1. Altai: Undraa! <u>çok güzel çıkmışsınız tatlım...zondoo unsey hairtai shuu... annesine benziyor ...love n miss</u>	Undraa! you look so pretty sweetie ... lots of kisses love you... looking like your mother...love n miss
2. Altai: <i>Ai syopping</i> @ <u>Louis Vitton... güzel çanta...</u>	Window shopping @ Louis Vuitton... lovely bags...

The contextual analysis of this FB discourse reveals that Altai recontextualizes various linguistic resources, including Turkish, English and Korean oriented resources. In the first example, Altai uploads a photo of her friend (Undraa), with the caption, ‘...*çok güzel çıkmışsınız tatlım...zondoo unsey hairtai shuu... annesine benziyor...love n miss*’, using a linguistic combination between Turkish, Mongolian and English. This is one of the typical examples of her Facebook discourse, in which the heavy incorporation of Turkish is often entangled either with Mongolian or English resources.

Altai is originally from Khentii province, although her family moved to UB when she was young. They used to live in the ger district for many years, until they recently bought an apartment in the city. When Altai was studying in the Mongolian high school located in the ger district, she was selected to study at the Turkish high school. The first Turkish high schools were established in Mongolia from the mid 90’s, unifying the educational system of both Mongolia and Turkey. They are well known for their Turkish and English medium subjects, targeting natural science specialized studies and are often selected as one of the best high schools in Mongolia, with highly strict entrance examinations. The selected students are often provided with a comfortable dormitory and free-of-charge study materials. This subtextual activity has resulted in the development of linguistic skills in Turkish and

⁶¹ The Turkish texts used in this extract were translated from Turkish into English by Altai herself.

English for Altai, although she claims that her English level is not as proficient as her Turkish.

In the second example, Altai updates her Facebook status, '*Ai syopping @ Loius Vitton*', using Korean expression '*Eye shopping*' (‘아이쇼핑’) for ‘window shopping’, accompanied by Turkish, '*güzel çanta*' (‘lovely bags’). The use of Korean resources cannot be explained through her linguistic skill in Korean, since Altai admits that she does not speak Korean at all. Instead, the common use of Korean expressions transliterated by English needs to be understood on semiotic level, and is related to, in Altai’s own posttextual interpretation, '*obsession with Korean dramas*'. When she was studying in Ankara, Turkey for one year as an exchange student, Altai was overtly homesick. To overcome her loneliness, she started watching Korean TV dramas, downloading from Internet TV channels, subtitled in English. Although her obsession with Korean dramas is associated with her Turkish experience, this also subtextually demonstrates the wide popularity of Korean TV dramas in Mongolia since 1990. The boom of Korean TV dramas has dominated the scene of Mongolian commercial broadcasting systems, popularizing Korean movie stars and K-pop singers within the urban youth population in Mongolia (cf. Chapter 6). Because of her '*guilty pleasure*' with Korean TV dramas, she frequently intertextually echoes the resources from them. She has also travelled to Seoul a few times with her family. In other words, the consumer does not necessarily speak Korean, although she uses Korean oriented resources, borrowed from her favourite Korean movies.

From this analysis, Altai’s actual language practice contrasts sharply with her linguistic isolationist views. Her Facebook textual activities are entangled with other linguistic resources. Altai posttextually explains this conflict, '*Yes. I do use Turkish and English sometimes. But it is only within my own circle of friends. My Facebook for example is strictly restricted only to my friends. I mean sometimes our parents ask us what kind of language we are using, because obviously they don't understand us, or they don't spend much time online doing the stuff we do. It is sort of isolated and exclusive. Not many people will judge us because we are not on public eyes like popular music artists*'. From this point of view, the subtextual reference of Altai’s recombinant

language practice is similar to what Doran (2004) has suggested in terms of French youth using Verlan as a kind of secret language, incomprehensible to outsiders (see also the context of urban youth languages in Africa, Abdulaziz & Osinde, 1997; Kiessling & Mous, 2004). This inclusive/exclusive language ownership has also been noted by Ag & Jørgensen (2012, p. 537) in the context of young speakers in Denmark, where they tend to follow different linguistic norms within different situations such as in-classroom or out-of-classroom activities, '[...] young language users organize their "languages" and adjust their behaviors according to the demands of the given situation'. These young speakers, according to Ag & Jørgensen (2012, p. 537), 'develop these competences in and with superdiversity', since they 'have a quite sophisticated sense of variation, both in their metalinguistic descriptions and in the actual behavior we can observe'.

The combination between Turkish, English, Mongolian and Korean resources therefore plays the role of an exclusive way of speaking within in-group peer interactions, which is interpreted by Altai as their own isolated language, which serves its own communicative purposes, '*I do it only on personal levels. It's like when I go to a job interview, and start mixing Turkish and Mongolian, they would probably think I'm retarded. I need to speak exclusive Mongolian or Turkish, depending on the job interviewers' requirements. When I'm out of my friends' level, talking to my lecturer or parents, I don't usually mix. So I have to be careful what language I'm using in what circumstances*'. In other words, they may not 'use language in the same way with community outsiders as they do with insiders' (Bucholtz, 2003, p. 406). She has a 'symbolic competence' (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008) to switch from one language norm to another in different contexts for her desired linguistic performances.

For Altai therefore the ideology of authentic language use is both inclusive and exclusive: Pre-planned serious discourse (e.g., popular music performances), which reaches larger audiences needs to be linguistically isolated to be authentic, because the audience matters. Her daily language practice within her peers' circle on the other can be expressed through linguistically mixed practices. This exclusive in-group language is posttextually viewed by Altai as partially authentic and inauthentic, '*Anything not Mongolian*

is inauthentic, so using foreign language is of course inauthentic. I guess my use of Turkish for example should be viewed as inauthentic. But when I use Turkish only within my friend's level, who obviously understand Turkish [referring to both her high school friends and other friends from Ankara], it does not necessarily corrupt the Mongolian language and culture. It is not really harmful to anyone. I would say it is on very personal level'. From this perspective, Altai's in-group language mixing practice creates the idea of 'strategic inauthenticity' (cf. Coupland, 2001, p. 350), the complex implications of different personal identities and interpersonal images for creating the idea of personal authenticity. On the one hand, she strategically adopts a language that is not necessarily perceived as authentic by herself to interact with her friends. She stands firm in her position that the authenticity should be understood through 'linguistic isolationism', and using foreign languages within her Mongolian repertoire is interpreted as inauthentic. On the other hand, she also interprets her in-group language mixing practice as '*personal*', since it plays an important role to achieve her communicative aim with her in-group peers. Language mixing at one's peer level does not have to be identified as an inauthentic expression, since it is exclusive to outside audiences, strengthening the sense of ownership of the language, distancing it from outsiders. In her views, they are far from distorting the Mongolian language and culture, because it is '*not harmful*' in-group talking, which has no long-term negative impact. For Maral, the ideology of authenticity, therefore, is a two way street: where 'linguistic isolationism' is the primary marker of authenticity, whilst language practice within the peer group interaction is a kind of 'strategic inauthenticity', which serves its own communicative role inside, but not outside.

8.5 BEING REAL IS AUTHENTIC

EXTRACT 7

Transcript	Translation
<p>Üürtsaikh:...Bi yostoi бүгдengi::kh ni ulaan peenshdee khö::!!! Бүгдeeree Mongol pilsoop aguulsan, mongol duuchid bolokhoor yamar kheleer duulakh ni yamar khamaa bainaa? Бүгд setgel зүрkh, khöls khüchee shavkhaad yüm khij baigaa khümüüs baikhgüi yü? Yamar bid nar shig demii balai yüm chалchisa::n zavtai studentüüd baigaa bishdee? Ted nar chini öörsdiikhöө ajliig l khij baigaa baikhgüi yü! Öörsdiin gesen yanz бүриin shaltgaanaar duu bichij, bii:doo khiikhdee yanz бүриin khel kheregledег bailgüidee. Tiimees Mongoliikhoo duuchdiig bid demjikh kheregtei!...</p>	<p>... I'm like the hugest fan of all of them. They are all Mongolians, so they all produce Mongolian philosophy. I mean no matter what languages they use, they put their heart and soul, hard labor and sweat to produce something, which takes lots of time and energy. I mean they are not like us, a bunch of laid-back students, who enjoy chitchatting and saying random stuff [referring to the incorporation of English and other languages within their daily speech] to each other. They are doing their jobs. They use those languages for their own particular reasons for writing lyrics and making videos. So we have to be more supportive of our Mongolian performers...</p>

The pretextual history of this narrative is associated with the focus group discussion session, in which one of the participants, Üürtsaikh (18, UB-born, a first year student at NUM), was quite annoyed with others who constantly disauthenticate Mongolian artists (Focused group discussion, August 20, 2010, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia, cf. Appendix 9). I will look at his linguistic practice first from the perspective of contextual analysis in this section, and re-connect later to the account of 'what' he said about the authenticity of the producers' sphere with the next extract.

Contextually, he starts the first sentence, resembling a strong regional dialect from Övөрkhангай province in Mongolia. The locals from Öвөрkhангай province are well known for speaking with a distinctive regional dialect, in which they extensively use the expression '*khö::*', meaning 'dear', positioned

specifically at the end of the sentences. Üürtsaikh⁶² further refers to his Övörkhongai style dialect through prolonging the vowel '[i:]' in '*bügdengi::kh ni*' ('all of them'); the vowel [a:] in '*chalchisa::n*' ('to chat'), which is a very popular Övörkhongai way of pronouncing the words by prolonging the last syllable.

Moreover, English and Russian semiotic resources embedded within the Mongolian phonological system are observed: 'Student' for example is pluralized by the addition of Mongolian suffix '-üüd', creating an Anglicized Mongolian plural term '*studentüüd*' (meaning 'students'). Referring directly to 'student' as English is problematic here, since 'student' has been transformed into a Mongolian phrase now, with its direct contact with the Mongolian suffix '-üüd'. Without this suffix, it would not make a proper meaning in the context. Certain words, 'fan' and 'video' are pronounced through Övörkhongai style talking: '*peenshüüdee*' ('[I'm] a fan') basically stands for the combination of English and Mongolian resources, 'fan+shüüdee=fanshüüdee'. It has been constructed around the English stem word 'fan', which has been localized in accordance with the Mongolian pronunciation, with the initial consonant 'f', replaced by the Mongolian stop consonant 'П' ('[p]'), and the middle consonant 'a' is replaced by the Mongolian prolonged vowel 'ee'; English 'v' for 'video' has been replaced by the Mongolian stop consonant 'б' ('[b]'), with the last English morpheme '-deo', pronounced through the Mongolian regional accent, '-doo', creating, '*bidoo*', sounding similar to the Övörkhongai regional dialect. Urban people would often pronounce these words as '[feenshüüdee]' and '[vidyoo]', using the consonants 'f' and 'v', with the vowel 'yo' instead of 'oo' in 'video'. The Russian word 'философи' is also pronounced as '*pilsoop*' ('philosophy'), in which it has been transformed into Mongolian with the Russian consonant digraph (ф) ('ph') replaced by the Mongolian stop consonant 'П' ('[p]') and the Russian morpheme '-лософи (-losophy)' is simply replaced by the regional Mongolian dialect '-lsoop' (cf. German root words with regional dialects, blended with English, in the context of online activities of German teenagers (Fetscher, 2009, p.37)). Overall, this style of speaking is generally referred to as '*rural style speaking*' by young urbanites

⁶² Post-group discussion interview with Üürtsaikh was conducted on October 1, 2010, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia.

in Mongolia, and users are often teased or parodied by young urban people (cf. Chapter 5, Section 5.2.3; Section 5.3.2).

From the use of his strong regional dialect, it can be thus contextually concluded that the speaker's background is perhaps rural, namely, Övörkhongai province. Üürtsaikh however posttextually reveals that this dialect was not his *'real talking'* at all. He deliberately created the parody of Övörkhongai style to create some laughter among his group discussants, *'I was born in UB but my parents and grandparents are from Övörkhongai province. So Övörkhongai style speaking is very common in my household. I find it very funny sometimes, so I just deliberately talked like that to make them [the group discussants] laugh. That was not my real talking at all'*.

Following this revelation, I wanted to investigate the question of 'What is his real talking then?'. I opted for netnography, namely, his FB wall posts.

EXTRACT 8

Facebook Text	Translation
1. Üürtsaikh: Yaaaay! GOOOO <u>Hakuho!!!!</u> Wahahaha	Wooow! Yaaaay! GOOOO Hakuho!!!! Wahahaha
2. Ravdan: Manai <u>yokozuna</u> sto unuduuriin <u>honbashoog</u> bol sto dubaaaaaa gojiinduuuuuuuu...	Our yokozuna is really smashing [his rivals] into pieces in today's sumo tournament...
3. Üürtsaikh: Harin tiimee, hahaha, NO NO NO there's no limit!	Yes! Hahaha, NO NO NO there's no limit!

Üürtsaikh updates his FB wall post, referring to the wide popularity of Japanese sumo wrestling in Mongolia, due in part to the success of a number of Mongolian born champions (Asashoryu, Hakuho and Harumafuji) in recent years (cf. Chapter 6). His FB wall is updated by his excitement towards the sumo tournament he is watching, using English symbol *'GOOOO [Hakuho]!!!'*, an expression which is widely used among young Mongolians in reference to encouraging each other. He also speaks musically, intertextually echoing the song lyrics of the famous Dutch pop group of the 90's, '2 Unlimited' (*'NO NO NO there's no limit!*), expanded by the Mongolian expressions for excitement *'Yaaaay'* (something like 'Woaaaa!' in English), and transnational online onomatopoeic laughter expression, *'wahahaha'* to express his contextual

mood.

In response to his wall post, his friend Ravdan uses Japanese sports related jargon (*'yokozuna'* ('sumo champion'); *'honbashoog'* ('sumo tournament is') embedded within the Mongolian text (cf. Chapter 6). The examples of Japanized Mongolian phrases are apparent here: Adding the Mongolian suffix '-iig' to a Japanese root word, 'honbasha' ('sumo tournament'), Ravdan creates a novel Japanized Mongolian noun phrase, *'honbashoog'*, (meaning 'sumo tournament is'), by omitting 'ii' vowels from the Mongolian suffix to align with the pronunciation of the Japanese word 'honbasha'. In fact, sumo related Japanized Mongolian jargons are considered so common within Mongolian culture (cf. Chapter 6), illustrating similarity to young Finnish online users, who tend to insert Finnish elements, drawing specifically on the English extreme sports jargon, creating unconventional mixed forms of Finnish and English (Peuronen, 2008). Put differently, although this speaker has no obvious connection to Japanese language, he nevertheless imports Japanese jargons into his linguistic repertoire because of his overall interest in Japanese sumo. The Japanese term 'honbasha' plays a role here, but only in the context of Mongolian suffix '-iig'. Neither Japanese nor Mongolian would not make a proper communicative meaning without each other in this particular context.

Another interesting dimension noticed on Ravdan's Facebook text is the playful linguistic practice, in which he shortens the Mongolian word 'yostoi' through omitting the first and last vowels, 'yo' and 'i', creating 'sto', meaning 'really'. The Mongolian colloquial expression, 'budaa bolgojiindoo' ('Smashing into pieces') becomes *'dubaa jogiindoo'*, in which reversing the syllables from 'budaa' ('rice') into *'dubaa'*, in a manner akin to French street slang, verlan (cf. Chapter 6). *'Jogiindoo'* is an invented word, which stems from the actual Mongolian word 'bolgojiindoo' ('to turn something into sth'). Ravdan here omits the suprafix 'bol-', and then syllabically inverts the rest from '-gojiindoo' into *'jogiindoo'*. Overall, this Facebook discourse is created by a wide variety of semiotic resources borrowed from Japanese sumo, or other transnational popular music genres. In some contexts, English is used to decode Asian cultural modes such as Japanese sumo, while in other contexts, Mongolian codes are mutated and transformed in relation to each other. These linguistic

resources are also expanded by semiotic diffusions and other emotion-oriented expressions (cf. prolonged vowels, onomatopoeic expressions and so on).

Üürtsaikh posttextually reveals that his FB texts can be perceived as his *'real talking'*, *'My FB represents quite well how I usually speak both online and in real life. They are quite integrated [referring to his online and offline language practice]'* (FB correspondence, November 22, 2013). While he defines his FB texts for example as his *'real talking'*, he does not necessarily categorizes it as '(in)authentic', *'I don't really care. Does it really matter to label them as authentic or inauthentic? Why so serious? I do it so often everyday to have fun, chill and mess around with my mates. This is how we really talk when we are relaxed and being casual. After all, we are young and everyone is doing it at the moment'*. Overall, Üürtsaikh has used these English and Japanese linguistic resources not because he speaks these languages rather he borrowed these terms from Japanese and English cultural modes to achieve his discursive aim (He studies math at NUM, and has never learned Japanese before, while his English is restricted to a very basic level). For this speaker, mixed language practice therefore is used for *'playful function of the language, usually used in for joking and simply "having fun"'* (cf. Godin, 2006, p.134). Üürtsaikh himself does not want to label his speech as 'authentic' or 'inauthentic', inviting me as a researcher to make what I wish of it, although, in the meantime, he also has a very specific idea of what is authentic in terms of the producers' sphere (cf. Extract 7). In extract 7, we can see how he legitimates the authenticity of all Mongolian popular music artists, because their performances are engraved with Mongolian philosophy. They are also viewed as authentic irrespective of any language choices, because their performances are pre-planned and well-prepared discourse, which involve their own good reasons. Put simply, his idea is we are not to judge the producers' sphere, because he understands how much hard work and careful planning is incorporated within these performances.

As for his own language practice, however, Üürtsaikh does not want to label it as (in)authentic. He agrees that his own language practice is not as pre-planned as his fellow popular music artists. He labels his own language practice as 'playful'. Yet, it does not mean that it is inauthentic. Or even

authentic. Put simply, when he says that his playful language practices are his '*real talking*', and when he notes that he mixes various linguistic resources '*everyday*' like '*everyone*' else, he is illustrating one of the classic language ideologies of authentic speakers, 'linguistic mundaneness' (Bucholtz, 2003, p. 405), in which the most authentic language is perceived as language that is 'unremarkable, common place, everyday'. In other words, this is simply how he speaks. This is his '*real talking*' when he is at his most relaxed. His language practice is better understood through the established linguistic norm among urban youth culture. This is a 'project of realism' (Pennycook, 2007a, p. 103), in which 'reality is fundamentally mixed and multiple rather than pure and uniform [...]'. Many young speakers speak like this, so much so that linguistic mixing has already become their '*real talking*', i.e., linguistic norm (cf. Chapter 6). Once you follow the established norm, you are not valorizing the ideology of authenticity.

Overall, this speaker's outlook on the ideology of authenticity differs in terms of popular music artists and his own language practice. He gives credit for popular music artists for being authentic because what they create is pre-planned and engraved with Mongolian philosophy, no matter what language they use. As for his own language practice, he avoids categorizing it as either being authentic or inauthentic, because his language mixing incorporates an idea of playfulness, which he believes should not be treated too seriously. Although, this 'playfulness' from our point of view is a serious business, since it presents us with the ideology of authenticity, i.e., 'linguistic mundaneness' and its relocalizing recombinant linguistic and cultural processes.

8.6 THE MULTIPLE FACETS OF AUTHENTICITY THROUGH TRANSTEXTUALITY

This chapter seeks to understand the linguascape of urban youth culture in Mongolia in relation to ideoscape. Drawing on sets of linguistic (n)ethnographic data provided by the research participants, this chapter argues that one of the most popular discourses circulating around the ideoscape of urban youth culture, i.e., consumers' sphere, is the ideology of authenticity. Not only do young consumers demand authenticity in terms of the mixed cultural/linguistic performances produced by the musicians, but

they also seek authenticity in terms of their own mixed language practices. The question of how they relocalize the notion of authenticity however radically differs, depending on their own often diverse criteria, beliefs and ideas.

On the one hand, the consumers call for authenticity towards the producers' sphere because they treat the discourse constructed by the artists as 'pre-planned' and 'pre-written', which is always open for public consumption. Since it is for public display, the producers' discourse should be authentic, as many people consume and are influenced by their performances. For example, a loyal Hip Hop fan Otgon insists that incorporating locally and socially relevant themes in Hip Hop music is authentic, while other Western themed varieties are inauthentic; Maral insists that being authentic is not to pretend but to tell a story about one's true self through their music; Altai believes that authenticity is sticking to one's own language; while Üürtsaikh claims that being authentic means to dedicate yourself to hard work, while closely following Mongolian philosophy.

Interestingly enough, the call for authenticity in the context of the producers' text does not necessarily seem to directly reflect their own language practices and values. That is to say, the difference between the attitudes of what it means to be authentic towards popular music artists, and their own language practices are sometimes conflicting. Generally speaking, the consumers' own language practices are widely mixed and mingled with other semiotic resources, similar to those of the popular music artists in the previous Chapter 7. We have for example witnessed an array of recombinant language practices including novel Anglicized, Russianized, Japanized and Koreanized Mongolian expressions; certain English (idiomatic) expressions re-contextualized dependent on the particular discourse contexts; English, serving as a mediating role to decode certain non-English oriented linguistic/cultural resources; particular Mongolian regional dialects or musical (Hip Hop) accents mixed with English and Mongolian; particular relocalized English, Japanese and Korean sports, technology or music related jargons; other semiotic resources absorbed with certain linguistic resources to specifically construct online mood and emotional expressions.

All of these examples of mixed language practices invoke the transnational ideology of authenticity across youth around the world, although what it means to be linguistically authentic is diversely produced within the ideoscape of the consumers. To put it differently, what it means to be linguistically authentic, and correspondingly, the varied linguistic processes of how this idea of authenticity is realized and performed have multiple origins in the ideoscape of these speakers.

Otgon for example insists on using AAVE in his linguistic repertoire as authentic because he treats AAVE as his own language rather than English; Maral identifies her use of English and Russian as authentic because it is part of her '*natural*' behavior; Altai claims for authenticity through speaking pure Mongolian, although her own use of various other resources are viewed as '*unharmful*' in-group talk; Üürtsaikh defines his own language practice as playful, i.e., '*everyday*' and '*casual*', which is part of his real talk, pushing us to look at linguistic authenticity from the perspective of 'project of realism'. Overall, all of these speakers had commented on 'real' and 'authentic' ways of speaking, although they do not necessarily deploy 'authentic' pure Mongolian resources to convey their message. Rather, these speakers retain a combination of both a local and more global modes, which, I argue, are novel in their own right.

From these multiple discourses, it can be argued that keeping it linguistically real, i.e., linguistic authenticity is better understood from what Pennycook (2007a, p.115) suggests, '[...authenticity...] is not a question of staying true to a prior set of embedded languages and practices but rather is an issue of performing multiple forms of realism within the fields of change and flow [...]'. In other words, the authenticity that these young consumers insist on is not a question of staying true to a particular object, but rather is an issue of performing multiple ideologies of authenticity through the fields of linguistic, cultural and social change and flow. Put simply, the transtextual language practices of these speakers are their linguistic realities.

It is in this sense I want to argue that the linguascape of the consumers sphere cannot be simply understood as imitation or mere mimicry of the perceived linguistic and cultural resources, but rather it is better understood through a transtextual use, mobilized by multiple local realities, in which the

speakers make meanings. It seems that there is a clear tension between the global spread of an ideology of authenticity and the local fixity of what it means to be authentic and how it should be mobilized. The transtextual analytic framework reveals that the moving linguistic resources embedded within linguascape make multiple co-existing emergent ideologies within ideoscape, dependent on a dynamic multiple set of local practices, including local history, local language, cultural attitudes, and other locally relevant contexts. With mixing, recontextualizing and relocalizing at its very core, the linguascape of these young speakers provides us with a significant view to accommodate the multiple co-existence and multiple origins of authenticity, and its mobilization by increasingly interconnected and mobile global citizens of the 21st century. The various linguistic recombinant practices understood in terms of the ideology of authenticity thus seek to shed light on how we further understand this widespread ideoscape of 'authenticity' in relation to linguascape.

CHAPTER 9

'LINGUASCAPING' AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

9.1 NOMINJIN VS ENIGMA

Sydney, Australia, 14 February 2010. An electronic style, yet soul rhythmic song starts playing on the radio, while I am driving. I am not a big fan of electronic music at all, so I intend to reach the control button to switch the channels, when suddenly, I hear a very traditional Mongolian 'urtiin duu', ('the long singing') (cf. Chapter 7), being sampled in the tune. It is called 'Alsiin Gazriin Zereglee' ['Mirage in the far away'], and is performed by an unknown female Mongolian folk singer. She sings, '*Alsiin gazriin zereglee ni*'; '*Aduu mal shig torolzonoo khö*' ['A herd of horses appears as a mirage in the far']. The long singing is in fact repeated throughout the entire song, harmonizing with the beat of modern electronic style forms, with English lyrics at times, '*The eyes of truth are always watching you*'; and the lyrics in French, '*Je me regarde*' ['I look']; '*Je me sens*' ['I sense']; '*Je vois des enfants*' ['I see children']; '*Je suis enfant*' ['I'm a child'], whispered by a Western female voice. I can also hear the sound of the Tibetan Buddhist style drums. Soon after, the radio DJ announces that the song's name is 'The Eyes of Truth', performed by the German New Age genre band, Enigma. The DJ also reminds us that the song was one of the biggest hits of the early 90's, along with Enigma's other hits such as 'Return to Innocence' and 'Age of Loneliness'.

As a Mongolian myself, I was quite mesmerized by the song. When I arrived home, I immediately Googled Enigma, finding another music video, 'Age of Loneliness' (Enigma, 2009). The music video shows Times Square, New York. People of all different races wait at a pedestrian crossing. Slow and groovy electronic beats, combined with a female Western vocal, starts whispering English lyrics, '*Carly don't be sad*'; '*Life is sad*'; '*Life is mad*'; '*Don't be afraid*'; '*That's your destiny*'; '*The only chance*'; '*Take it, take it in your hands*'. One of the YouTube consumers explains that the English lyrics supposedly refer to the main character from the Hollywood movie 'Sliver', Carly Norris, played by Sharon Stone, since the song is included as part of the soundtrack of this movie. In the meantime, a very

popular Mongolian 'long song', 'Tosongiin Oroigoor' ['The Top of Toson Hill'] is played repeatedly, '*Tosongiin oroigoor toosrood*' ['The top of Toson Hill looks dusty'], performed by a popular Mongolian folk singer, Dechinzundui Nadmid.

These two songs instantly remind me of the scenario of Nominjin's music video, 'Ülemjiin chanar', where I first started this thesis. While it is a truism that Nominjin and Enigma are completely different in terms of their musical style, worldwide popularity, geographical locations, and ethnic backgrounds, yet, on another level, they do appear to be strikingly similar. Enigma is neither American nor French, yet it uses English and French lyrics, in much the same manner as Nominjin incorporates English rap lyrics. Both artists have used very well known traditional Mongolian songs in their performances. How should I understand these quite similar, but fundamentally distinct artists, one locally popular, and the other globally popular with no obvious connection to Mongolia? Should I be excited about the use of a traditional Mongolian song incorporated within this very popular Western music? Is Mongolia finally becoming part of transnational popular music scene? Many of the discussions incorporated within this thesis are on display in this example.

I should perhaps get excited about the incorporation of a Mongolian folk song in popular Western music, whose album has sold millions of copies around the world. After all, it is quite a rare occurrence to see Mongolian cultural elements utilized in the modern day Western world. However, Sultana, Dovchin & Pennycook (2013, p. 705) remind us that we should not 'get over-excited' when Asian cultural flows appear to be the other way round – from periphery to centre, because the circuits of cultural flows within and beyond peripheral or Asian contexts have a considerable history. In fact, Enigma's songs produced by the incorporation of Mongolian traditional samples, were both released in the early 90's, almost two decades ago, and are still going strong now. Not only Mongolia, but also other Eastern cultural and linguistic flows are embedded within the Western culture. For example, one of the most popular songs of 2009, a well-known American girl group, The Pussycat Dolls' international hit, 'Jai Ho! (You Are My Destiny)', was adopted from the Indian 'Jai Ho', by A. R. Rahman, who won an Oscar for 'best original score' for the

movie 'Slumdog Millionaire'. International pop star, Gwen Stefanie's popular album, 'Love, Angel, Music, Baby' in 2004, was inspired by Japanese street fashion culture, and featured a variety of Japanese cultural and linguistic resources in her music videos and album. The list is, of course, not exhaustive. These circuits of flows have also been observed by academics, as Korman (2012, p.22) for example argues that '[...] today the conjugation between the Western and Eastern culture is a phenomenon that the dance world is experiencing to the fullest. In dance, these cultures are so interwoven that sometimes it is hard to distinguish the influences of each culture and their characteristics'. As Everett & Lau (2004, p. xv) put it, 'The music of East Asia has been an important source of inspiration for many Western composers. The interpolation of "Eastern" musical elements in contemporary composition has inevitably altered the landscape of the Western art music tradition, particularly since 1950s.'

This argument recalls one of the main arguments incorporated within the notion of linguascape (cf. Chapter 1, 2) - the transnational flows of culture and language are not unidirectional, but rather multidirectional. Just like Western cultural and linguistic resources are relocalized by Mongolians, Eastern resources are similarly present in the West. Put differently, the flows of resources can be unexpected - from West to West, America to West, East to East, West to East and East to West. As Shim (2006, p. 25) for example puts it in terms of Eastern flows of resources within the East, 'Over the past few years, an increasing amount of Korean popular cultural content – including television dramas, movies, pop songs and their associated celebrities – has gained immense popularity in China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and other East and Southeast Asian countries'. Sultana, Dovchin & Pennycook (2013, p. 706) equally suggest that while, for example, 'the recent global phenomenon of Gangnam Style, a quirky dance going viral, may look like a new direction as an Asian cultural form 'takes over' the world', '[...] the circulation of Asian [...] cultural practices has a longer and deeper history [...]'.

From this point of view, as the concept of linguascape in this thesis suggests, 'Not only do we [...] need to think outside a simple centre/periphery framework – the periphery is always relational and engaged in changing patterns of peripheralization and centralization [...] – but we also need to

consider the diversity of flows, where [Eastern] cultural forms have long been part of an Asian circuit of cultural takeover, a process that unsettles common understandings of both globalization and Asia.' (Sultana, Dovchin & Pennycook, 2013, p. 689). We need to see the transnational flows of culture and language in linguascape 'not so much as processes of homogenization but as part of a reorganization of the local' (Sultana et al, 2013, p.688) (cf. Chapter 5, 6, 7, 8). Assessing either English or Western/American cultural elements taking over the linguascape of urban youth culture in Mongolia as the linguistic and cultural empire of the West or the USA is to miss the critical point that English and the West is only one nodule of transnational linguistic and cultural flows. Bearing this in mind, we need to look at English and other additional languages from an alternative view, as part of the reorganization of young people's own desire, strategy and aspiration, since 'there is a much more complex and diverse array of cultural forms and practices that are discussed, watched, taken up and redeployed in daily lives' (Sultana et al, 2013, p. 705).

This argument further pushes us to re-consider the fact that the flows of linguistic resources embedded within linguascape, and their relocalization within local contexts are not necessarily mere mimicry of the Westernization or Americanization, but are rather deeply strategic, embedded in local conditions (cf. Chapter 5, 6, 7, 8). Let us return to the discussion of Enigma and Nominjin. When Enigma incorporates traditional Mongolian music samples in its performance, it does not necessarily have to be labeled as the mimicry of the East. Similarly, when Nominjin combines English rap in her music, it also cannot be simply labeled as the mimicry of the West. In fact, both artists acknowledge that they seek to keep their music authentic and real (cf. Chapter 7 and 8). Nominjin (2010) for example declares that her music is '*truly global, yet deeply local*', and '*an inventive style but traditional still*' (cf. Chapter 1), withdrawing her music back to her root and tradition. While Enigma explains that its multiple Eastern and Western musical and lyrical combination is about - '*music in its original sense*', which tells directly about '*life*' as the way it is. Enigma's frontman Michael Cretu calls himself as '*an optimistic realist*', who creates the music about life (Cretu, 1996).

These arguments recall the discussions in Chapter 7 and 8 of the global spread of authenticity, and its quest to express it locally like it is. While Nominjin seeks to keep her mixed musical performances authentic by sticking to her local roots and traditions, Enigma seeks authenticity through saying life like it is in its recombinant music. Both artists present us here with the multiple perspectives and dynamic co-existence of authenticity and reality. If, from this perspective, the project of realism is fundamentally mixed and combined, this argument instantly takes us back to the discussion in Chapter 6, in which we need to understand these mixed performances as the given reality of human social practice that is about the established linguistic norm being different, i.e., the same item being different (cf. Chapter 6). To be more specific, the meeting point of Nominjin and Enigma is, in their own words, to be '*creative*' and '*innovative*'. While Enigma defines its music through 'E7' – '*seven faces of Enigma*' – '*evolution, revolution, innovation, emotion, delight, life, and creation*' (Enigma, 2008); Nominjin defines her music as '*inventive*', '*unexpected*', '*unique*' and '*versatile*' (Nominjin, 2010). These multiple definitions of creativity or authenticity are about the sameness of these two artists, who are in the meantime fundamentally different, dependent on the unique local situations, where they are embedded (cf. Chapter 5, 6). From this point of view, as discussed in Chapter 6, we need to look at the creative recombinant language practices of these young speakers as part and parcel of young people's everyday ordinary practices, rather than as 'exotic' or 'unconventional' elements. Put simply, the mixed language practices, produced by the creativity of these young speakers need to be understood as the norm, since the diversity and hybridity incorporated in those blended practices are part of their ordinariness of everyday life (cf. Higgins & Coen, 2000; Pennycook, 2010).

Finally, from the examples of Enigma and Nominjin, one might easily claim that these flows of linguistic and cultural resources embedded within linguascape seem to be even, since both artists have incorporated the similar type of samples and elements within their musical performances. However, despite these examples, it is by now a truism that we may still be more likely to hear a Mongolian artist using Western resources than a US band using Mongolian. In other words, the flows are uneven, and the distribution of

resources is still unequal. This argument takes us back to the discussion in Chapter 5 about the uneven localizing processes of linguistic and cultural resources and their distribution within local contexts. Access to and control over linguistic and cultural capital are unevenly distributed across the participants. Not all speakers have access to certain resources, since the uneven localizing processes of certain linguistic resources are often caused by an uneven distribution of other resources (cf. Blommaert & Dong, 2010b; Heller, 1992; 2007; 2010a). From this point of view, Nominjin and other Mongolian popular music artists for example tend to enjoy incorporating more Western oriented resources within their performances than their Western counterparts using Eastern ones, because of the feasible availability of the Western oriented resources across mediascape and technoscape (cf. Chapter 6). During my fieldwork trip, many of my research participants acknowledged how it was generally easy for them to have an access to Western oriented resources. As B.A.T for example puts it, *'It is actually so easy for us to borrow from English, because they are just everywhere. We don't really have to make much effort to find them or anything. No wonder there are many fake artists who steal from the Western artists, because they have an easy access'* (Interview, August 27, 2010, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia). Young Mongolian artists therefore seem to take advantage of having easy access to Western oriented resources, which are perhaps reflected within their performances in turn. The important question these artists have to deal with is the matter of who can make most out of it, or who can smartly and wisely incorporate the available Western resources to make their own sophisticated music.

This is however not to say that the Western oriented resources are free for all. As argued in Chapter 5, having access to and control over certain resources depends on one's socio-economic backgrounds, personal income and lifestyle. Most of young Mongolian musicians, who make the most of English and other modes within their performances, tend to be the middle class youth members who are privileged enough to have access to Cable TV, Internet, computers, higher education and extensive overseas travels (cf. Chapter 5). They are a very particular youth group, who are affluent enough to have a direct access to media and technology based on their socio-economic backgrounds. Nominjin for example uses English and sings in 12 different

languages, mostly because of her direct exposure to these cultural and linguistic resources since her early childhood. She has lived in and traveled to Russia, Mongolia, India, and the Caribbean due to her biological Mongolian mother and an American stepfather's work. She is currently living in Los Angeles, USA.

By contrast, not many Western artists seem to enjoy the privilege of having easy access to Eastern resources as much as their Eastern counterparts using Western resources. Enigma's frontman Michael Cretu for example has repeatedly acknowledged in his interview how it was difficult for him to create an Eastern inspired melody, *'I listened to hundreds if not thousands of [ethnic] CD's, records, CD ROMs, samplers and so forth [...]. This is all very tiring work and sort of grinds away your brains [...].'* (Cretu, 1996, para.6). He further revealed that he would rather travel to *'Nepal or Kashmir'* than to *'the Maldives'*, and that he also owns a huge collection of *'ethnic music'* recordings, *'I could open a store for ethnic music with all the stuff hiding in my cabinets'* (Cretu, 1996, para.6). Because of this hard work and determination, Enigma can be perceived as successful and unique in its own right, because of its desire to go beyond the normative boundaries, by challenging itself to work with other available resources. This case also reminds us one of the examples incorporated in Chapter 5, in which a rural born young Mongolian girl who moved to a big city, works hard to achieve her desired *'urban'* linguistic performance. These examples show that the linguistic and cultural resources are not free for all, and one has to work hard to move beyond their established linguistic and cultural boundaries.

From this point of view, as argued in Chapter 5, the transcultural flows and distribution of linguistic resources embedded within linguascape should be understood as uneven localizing processes. The sophistication, diversity and creativity level embedded within the relocation and reorganization of these resources is also uneven, depending on one's access to linguistic capital, including one's particular socio-economic backgrounds, lifestyles, desires, interests and expressions. To put it differently, young people seem to manipulate available linguistic resources to them, moving beyond their own linguistic and cultural boundaries to achieve their own meanings in favor of them (cf. Chapter 5). However, neither the flows of resources, nor the

relocalization processes are even. As discussed in Chapter 5, certain available linguistic resources are not available for either affluent youth or underprivileged youth and vice versa. It is still an uneven world.

Many of the arguments and themes discussed throughout this thesis are at play in this section. The main aim of this concluding chapter is threefold: firstly, to pull together the main points of the analysis (i.e. Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8) and the conceptual issues raised at the beginning of the thesis with regard to the role of English and other languages in Mongolia; secondly, to propose the broader linguistic implications relating to the current academic discussion of linguistic diversity and bi/multilingualism; thirdly, to lay out some general implications towards the foreign language higher education in Mongolia based on the analysis.

To be more specific, I first (cf. Section 9.2) recall the critical opening of the thesis - the two dominant paradigms of 'linguistic dystopia' and 'linguistic diversity' with regards to understanding the spread and role of English and other additional languages in present day Mongolia. Pointing out the importance of moving beyond such binary positions, I reintroduce the main theoretical and methodological concepts being used in the thesis - 'linguascape' and 'urban youth culture'.

Further, I establish the links between each of the data analysis chapters and their contribution to clarifying the primary research questions, illustrating the significant outcome of the thesis (cf. Section 9.3). This review will demonstrate the main implications of the linguascape of urban youth culture in Mongolia in terms of its theoretical contribution to current understandings of bi/multilingualism (cf. Section 9.4). This is achieved by proposing the new term of 'linguascaping' for the investigation of moving languages across national boundaries, and its practical contribution with regards to the current language education context in Mongolia (cf. Section 9.5).

9.2 BEYOND LINGUISTIC DYSTOPIA AND LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY

The two dominant language ideologies in contemporary youth language studies –‘linguistic diversity’ and ‘linguistic dystopia’ were both widely observed throughout Mongolian society during my (n)ethnographic fieldwork trip in UB (cf. Chapter 1, Chapter 8). I observed how Mongolians are quite welcome to the idea of ‘linguistic diversity’, with many of my research participants agreeing that it is ‘*desirable*’, if not, ‘*vitally important*’ to learn English, Russian, Chinese, Korean, Japanese, German, French, etc, in order to successfully engage with the modern globalized world. The quest for becoming a bi/multilingual speaker was prevalent, with an overwhelming majority of research participants aspiring to study overseas, travel, and find good jobs. The promotion of bi/multilingualism was found to be prevalent not only by its fundamental institutional role but also in its entertainment and cultural roles. Many modern entertainers, media and popular culture actors have taken up various foreign languages in order to produce and promote a variety of their products, including journals, magazines, websites, CDs, songs, TV programs and so on. Overall, ‘linguistic diversity’ is held in high regard and viewed as the key to modernization and success in all areas of society in current Mongolia.

The underlying ideology embedded within this idea however is understood through linguistic ‘purism’. That is to say, the society opts for linguistic utopia where linguistic diversity is implemented through parallel or pluralized monolingualism. Bi/multilingual speakers with ‘proper’ or ‘standard’ English, Korean, Japanese and so on languages are perceived as ‘proper’ speakers. During my fieldwork trip, I heard many times how some of my research participants quest for learning and speaking the ‘*Queens English*’, ‘*Oxford English*’ or ‘*Tokyo dialect Japanese*’. Other mixed or recombinant varieties are explicitly overlooked. This attitude was also evident among some of my younger research participants, as they would mock or criticize language mixing for example as ‘*büür neg yadtsan*’ (‘wishy-washy’), ‘*örövdmöör*’ (‘pathetic’), and ‘*khet khicheetsen*’ (‘try-hards’) and so on (cf. Chapter 9). Put simply, the imagined community of the co-existence of multiple discrete

language systems in one society, without disturbing each other, i.e., pluralization of monolingualism, is envisioned as 'linguistic diversity'.

Meanwhile, the role of English and other languages in terms of young people's daily lifestyle also attracts much controversy. Some academics and educational policy makers in Mongolia tend to harshly criticize the use of these languages by young people for polluting and distorting the Mongolian language and culture. My fieldwork trip further revealed that the ideology of 'linguistic dystopia' is in fact widespread across both young people and the general population. I heard on many occasions through the voices of some of my own research participants how linguistic diversity might harm the Mongolian language and culture, *'Mongolian language will die very soon, if this [referring to the spread of English] continues like this'* (Alimaa, Focused group discussion, September 3, 2010, UB, Mongolia); *'The psychology of Mongolians are so different now, they are absolutely 'foreignized''*; (Dülgüün, Focused group discussion, September 3, 2010, UB, Mongolia); *'We need to do to something to protect our language and culture'* (Saran, Focused group discussion, August 20, 2010, UB, Mongolia).

The purpose of this thesis however was not to test these two dominant language ideologies in Mongolia, but rather sought to understand the role of the various language flows across national boundaries from an alternate view of what young people actually do with English and other languages in the context of their daily practices. In other words, rather than 'assuming' the role of these languages in Mongolia through the dominant language ideologies, my intention was to carry out an (n)ethnographic research to understand the functional and pragmatic role of these flowing languages, and its attachment with various identity, desire and aspirations located in the context of urban youth culture in Mongolia (cf. Chapter 1).

From this point of view, this thesis offers an alternative way of understanding the linguistic practices of the urban youth population - 'linguascape' (cf. Chapter 1, Chapter 2), problematizing the two prevalent paradigms of 'linguistic dystopia' and 'linguistic diversity' in studying youth language in current globalization. Inspired by Appadurai's (1996, 2001, 2006) vision of 'a world of flows' and the theory of 'scapes' and recent 'post-dystopic' and 'post-bi/multilingual' (i.e., translanguistic) theories, the concept of

linguасcape is thus introduced (cf. Chapter 1, 2). Linguасcape deals with the flows of transnational languages from non-essentialist positions, referring to 'transnational linguistic resources' across borders, which are better understood through emergent linguistic practice, rather than the stagnant and fixed language system, which treats language as an object.

The notion of linguасcape however is not all about fluidity and movements, since this understanding of fluidity is also fixed by the speakers' locations and interactions with other five social scapes - financescape, ethnoscape, technoscape, mediascape and ideoscape. In other words, it is more useful to understand linguасcape in conjunction with these five scapes, rather than locating it in isolation from the others, as if linguасcape is a stagnant object, which can be understood in separation from other social factors (cf. Chapter 1 & 2).

Since the primary aim of this study is to understand the linguасcape of young people living in urban settings, it is also imperative to formulate the questions of 'what' and 'who' are exactly going to be involved. From this point of view, the notion of 'urban youth culture' (cf. Chapter 1, Chapter 3) is introduced in order to better understand the research participants' role and cultural involvements within their everyday linguistic practices. The idea of urban youth culture moves beyond the idea of 'multiculturalism', since the population of Mongolia is generally not constituted by diverse multi-ethnic backgrounds, including migrants and first or second generations of immigrants. Instead, urban youth culture engages with the idea that 'multicultural' activities practiced within the urban youth population in Mongolia are saturated by the transnational flows of media, technology, images and ideas. The concept of urban youth culture incorporates two components 'urban youth' and 'popular culture' as the essential points in order to investigate young people living in urban settings, and their relation to various [popular] cultural resources. This relation further identifies the main participants of urban youth culture – 'the cultural producers and consumers'. Both concepts refer to active and creative participations and examine the role of young people in terms of the popular culture resources that they are engaged with (cf. Chapter 3).

9.3 THE LINGUASCAPE OF URBAN YOUTH CULTURE IN MONGOLIA

Since the principal direction of this research was shaped by the concepts of 'linguascape' and 'urban youth culture', the main research questions were formulated with regards to understand the context of Mongolia. The linguascape of urban youth culture in Mongolia therefore was explored through four key questions (cf. Chapter 1):

1. To what extent and in what ways are English and other additional languages practiced within the linguascape of urban youth culture in Mongolia?
2. How does the linguascape of urban youth culture in Mongolia operate in conjunction with the other five scapes?
3. What broader linguistic implications may emerge from the notion of linguascape within the current academic discussion of bi/multilingualism?
4. How can discussions of the linguascape of urban youth culture in Mongolia inform the foreign language higher education policy in Mongolia?

The first question is designed to understand the relationship between young people and the flows of various linguistic resources in the context of their everyday practices. This question explores the micro relation of language in relation to young people, raising the issues of what young people do with English and other languages, to what extent and how the movement of these languages are practiced, and what it actually means to use these languages for young people. Consequently, what kind of identity, aspiration and expressions are embedded within the movement of these languages is interrogated. This question therefore was addressed in each of the four analysis chapters with an aim to open up the relationship between young people and the various mobile languages.

The second question is formulated to understand linguascape not exclusively from the perspective of its mobile and fluid characteristics, but also from its relation to other social conditions. Put simply, without understanding the conditions embedded within other social scapes, the current state of linguascape of urban youth culture in Mongolia cannot be fully captured. For this reason, the second question was exclusively addressed in each of the

four analysis chapters, with an aim to explore linguascope in relation to its demographic, financial, media-cultural, technological and ideological factors – i.e., in relation to its financescope, ethnoscope (Chapter 5), technoscape, mediascope (Chapter 6) and ideoscape (Chapter 7 & 8). The combination of these first two questions therefore played an important role in investigating the overall linguascope of urban youth culture in Mongolia. All four analytic chapters have addressed these first two questions.

Overall, it can be argued that the ‘translanguaging’, ‘polylanguaging’ and ‘linguistic creativity’ are omnipresent in the context of the linguascope of urban youth culture in Mongolia. There are many examples, which make meaning in relation to and across multiple linguistic codes and linguistic features, including Anglicized, Japanized, Koreanised, Russianized, Chinesized (and so on) Mongolian expressions (*‘chatlah’, ‘coolshuu’, ‘tsupariddag kheseq’, ‘kimbabdah’, ‘avtobusaar’, ‘morinhuurification’, ‘raplah’* and so on). Many young speakers further produce genre-specific speaking styles (musical speaking, filmic speaking, the Internet specific speaking); different parodies and caricatures (German-sounding Mongolian parody, Australian-English Mongolian parody, middle class speaker’s parody and so on); creative stylizations (*‘G-khoroolool’, ‘bro’, ‘ma’*); ‘exoticized’ languages (ornamental use of English, Spanish, French); ‘verlan’ style syllabic inversions (*‘laajiishd’, ‘raptydah’, ‘döhööniikh’*); omissions and abbreviations (*‘BF’, ‘WTF’, ‘plz’, ‘ppl’*); prolonged pronunciations and expressions (*‘Big Likeyyyyyyyy!!!!!’; ‘Pretttaaaaa’, ‘Untaaacheeee!!!’*); ruralized/regionalized accents and dialects meshed with various semiotic resources (*‘Peesbook’, ‘enternaat’*) and so on. They also recontextualize (AAVE phrases and accents, *‘Jacko Wacko’, ‘Waity Katie’, ‘Crack-o Whack-o’*) and relocalize various media and technology-oriented resources, and further create new meanings and expressions (*‘Lolzgono’, ‘RIPSTYLE!’, ‘huumiification’, ‘gym-yum style’*). Overall, the linguistic and semiotic resources embedded within these examples are so seamlessly intertwined and entangled with one another, it is almost impossible to demarcate or disentangle them according to separate language systems. Referring directly to these diverse linguistic codes as English, Japanese, Korean, Russian and so on is problematic, since most of these expressions are entangled with the Mongolian linguistic and semiotic

resources in order to make a proper communicative meaning. All these different linguistic resources are localized and further relocalized, and used for local communicative purposes.

The linguascope of urban youth culture in Mongolia however is neither random nor a collection of fleeting linguistic moments, but rather entails strategic and reflexive practices to achieve various communicative aims, desires, orientations, identities and self-identifications. Most importantly, linguascope makes sense in relation to other social scapes, including financescape, ethnoscape, technoscape, mediascape and ideoscape. That is to say, some deliberately produce certain linguistically and culturally mixed practices in order to negotiate with (cf. Chapter 5) certain linguistic norms and rights in that particular space based on their financial and demographic situations (e.g., underprivileged youth mocking privileged youth; the rural born speaker adjusting to the city etc (cf. Chapter 5)). Some relocalize and produce new meanings, drawing on available media and technological resources, in order to perform one's social (e.g., gay identity, urban identity, rural identity (cf. Chapter 5, 6)), class position (middle class, ger district identity (cf. Chapter 5, 6)) and cultural identities (e.g., Hip Hop identity, rock identity (cf. Chapter 5, 6)), i.e., plural youth identities (Nilan, & Feixa, 2006). Some create new versions of certain ideas and new ideologies through their linguascope by seeking to achieve certain transcultural ideologies (being 'different' is being authentic, using a traditional Mongolian element means being authentic, using standard English is being authentic and so on (cf. Chapter 7, 8)).

All in all, understanding the role and function of mobile linguistic resources within the linguascope of urban youth culture in Mongolia (Q1), in relation to social scapes (Q2) is an important finding of this study, and potentially applicable to other sociolinguistic settings. Drawing on the findings of these first two research questions, the next two research questions are to be addressed. In other words, broader theoretical and practical implications of the linguascope of urban youth culture in Mongolia discussed in the data analysis chapters will be pulled together both in terms of its theoretical linguistic implications for the discussion of current youth bi/multilingualism (Q3), and its practical educational implications for the foreign language higher

education context in Mongolia (Q4). These two questions will be discussed in the remainder of this chapter.

9.4 FROM LINGUASCAPE TO 'LINGUASCAPING'

The notion of linguascape suggested in this thesis offers an alternative way of thinking about what it means to be 'bi/multilingual'. There is little doubt that the linguascape of urban youth culture in Mongolia is 'diverse'. The data collected during this study provides clear evidence of how various linguistic codes including English, Russian, German, Spanish, French, Turkish, Japanese, Korean and Chinese are at play in the context of urban youth culture in Mongolia. However, we have to be more careful with the concept of 'linguistic diversity' here, as young speakers in UB practice 'bi/multilingualism' neither because they are multiethnic, nor because some of them are competent or skilled in those spoken languages. Rather these speakers are 'bi/multilingual' because they are exposed to the current world of flows. The linguascape of these speakers therefore problematizes the bi/multilingual norm, in which the speakers are expected to 'code-switch' because they use those linguistic codes in which they are competent or skilled. This norm is of course apparent in the examples of some speakers in this study, whose linguistic mixing practices are often defined by their fluent or skillful knowledge of certain languages, mainly due to their access to available communicative resources based on their socio-economic backgrounds (e.g., one can mix English and Mongolian, because he/she has lived in English speaking countries before or learned English at educational institutions) (cf. Chapter 5). This interpretation towards the bi/multilingual speakers however is problematized once they start using other linguistic resources in which they are not competent or fluent at all. In other words, these speakers may move beyond their current linguistic and cultural boundaries. Although one speaker mixes between English and Mongolian, because he is fluent in English, he simultaneously imports French or Japanese into his linguistic repertoire. English plays a role here but always in the context of other languages. It may equally be a means to decode other cultural forms. This does not necessarily mean that he is 'code-switching' between Japanese and Mongolian, because he is fluent or competent in Japanese, or he has a Japanese background or

Japanese experience. One may use Japanese, because he/she is exposed to Japanese cultural modes – Japanese TV dramas, Japanese movies, Japanese sumo, or other Japanese-driven imaginary resources. In other words, when Nominjin (cf. Chapter 1) for example claims that she can sing in 12 different languages, or when Lumino/Gennie, B.A.T use French, Spanish, English to perform French, Spanish, English rap (cf. Chapter 7), they are not necessarily expected to speak those languages. Nominjin can speak fluent English, although her overall performance is expanded (including her English) by other linguistic resources, which go well beyond the expected bi/multilingual norm with relation to her linguistic boundaries. What it means to be bi/multilingual for these speakers therefore is to be involved with various linguistic/semiotic resources, which often cross their linguistic and cultural barriers, despite their competence in those languages.

If we therefore follow the paradigm of 'linguistic diversity', in which the notions such as 'code-switching' is understood through the juxtaposition of features associated with different linguistic codes, we will likely fail to recognise other important dimensions, where the speakers mix languages because of their active exposure to diverse other factors. We need to move beyond the conventional frameworks of 'code-switching' and 'code-mixing' embedded within the norms of bi/multilingualism, in order to better capture the complex processes emerging from the current world of flows. In other words, young people and their relationship with language do not necessarily involve one discrete 'language' only, but probably adhere to what we call 'linguascaping', as a way to deal with the diverse linguistic practices emerging from the context of modern communication, saturated by local conditions. So-called 'code-switching' and 'code-mixing' sometimes can operate so smoothly and seamlessly (cf. Bailey, 2012), that it is almost impossible to understand the language mixing through separate trajectories, as the codes themselves are so deeply intertwined with one another. These speakers mix various resources available to them as part of their creative communication. The question of creativity comes out as an important factor here in one's 'linguascaping', where the speakers may creatively and unexpectedly transform linguistic resources, rather than focusing on the question of diversity, in which we seek to find the solution from counting the separate linguistic

codes.

From this point of view, linguascaping is the language practice created by the incorporation and mixture of various linguistic resources, expanded by other semiotic modes, styles, genres, codes, features and registers through the exposure of various cultural and linguistic flows. Rather than understanding linguistic mixing in terms of code-switching, with a priori assumption about distinct codes being switched or mixed, linguascaping allows an alternative thinking in which linguistic mixing is better understood as 'the point from which difference emerges rather than the endpoint of convergent multilingualism' (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2013, p. 90). Put differently, the supposed 'code-switching' is analyzed as the common code of young speakers through linguascaping, rather than being treated as the blending of pre-existing codes. Linguascaping therefore is consistent with the arguments of recent translingual studies (cf. Chapter 2), with its underlying concept that we need to understand bi/multilingualism, in which the speakers are involved in mixed language practices, regardless of their linguistic competence in the involved languages.

Overall, the linguascape of young speakers in late modernity is mainly achieved through mixing various resources: that is - it is not just a mere practice of combining the separate linguistic units such as Mongolian, English, or French at one particular point, but rather it is a comprehensive conceptual and ideological discursive tool, which involves certain mobile acts and practices of the speakers, determined by certain social factors. These speakers are better understood as 'resourceful speakers' (Pennycook, 2012), whose linguistic practices are 'creatively' and 'playfully' (Chapter 5) recontextualized and relocalized (Chapter 6) through the mixture of various linguistic and semiotic resources. These processes further produce new linguistic possibilities, based on the particular speakers' strategic and reflexive identity repertoires. As a result, 'the emergence of new linguistic repertoires' (Corona et al, 2013, p. 182) and 'new forms of [languages] and identities' are constructed (Dovchin, 2011, p.331).

It is also important to note that linguascaping practices are not only about fluidity, as the particular language use (be it English or Mongolian) is always intertwined with local demographic, financial, cultural, technological, and

ideological settings. In other words, the interplay between the particular speaker and the particular local resources plays important role here. As Androutsopoulos (2009) for example notes in the context of German and Greek Hip Hop actors, 'Talking about 'Greek rap' or 'German rap' might be a useful shortcut for comparative purposes, but turns out to be a crude simplification as we focus on a particular local scene in more detail.' (p. 50). Canagarajah (2005b, pp. 439-440) similarly notes that the Sri Lankan Tamil community for example is using English on its own terms because 'Tamils are accommodating English in a way that it will fit into their ethos' – i.e., 'they are vernacularizing' or 'Tamilizing – English'.

From this point of view, the role of English and other languages, for example, should always be understood in relation to the use of Mongolian in that same context. Pulling these languages together in rather seamless ways helps us to realize that these languages are not each other's opposites, but rather one complex and transmodal and translingual set of repertoires. Simply put, there can be alternative ways of being 'Mongolian' in Mongolia. There can be alternative ways of speaking 'Mongolian' in the urban youth culture of Mongolia through combining other possibilities that in turn include using various other 'non-Mongolian' resources in a Mongolian way.

To put it differently, one of the most important characteristics of linguascaping is to understand translingualism in the context of the speakers' locatedness around the multiple intersecting scapes (i.e., ethnoscape, financescape, mediascape, technoscape and ideoscape). Simply put, linguascaping is by no means limited to merely mixing identifiably different language resources, but rather it is better understood through transtextual relations, in which one's varied distance and proximity around the financial, demographic, media/technological, and ideological scapes become particularly important. That is to say, the linguascape of modern speakers is by no means limited to merely mixing identifiably different language resources, but rather it is better understood through transgressive and transtextual relations, in which varied desires, intentions, meanings, ideologies, histories from the past and present become particularly important. Certain cultural, linguistic, social fixity always seem to be intertwined with these fluid language practices. Certain speakers seek to achieve certain identities through their

fluid language practices, in order to create counter-ideologies or identities (cf. Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8).

Linguascaping practice therefore suggests that language does not make meaning in isolation, as it is futile to look into the linguistic features as separate discreet entities. Young adults make meanings in the complexity of intersecting scapes, in order to account both for their playful and pleasurable language transgressions and for the transcultural (drawing on multiple cultural resources), transmodal (operating across different modalities) and transtextual (deploying a range of meaning-making practices across languages) language practices they engage in (Pennycook, 2007a). All language practices are often repetitive social acts, which are relocalized differently, creating new meanings in which they happen.

9.5 LINGUASCAPING IN THE LANGUAGE CLASSROOM

Since 1990, when Mongolia transformed from a communist regime to democracy, its overall higher educational policy in terms of foreign language education has been drastically reformed. Its previously heavily Soviet styled educational system, with Russian language teaching playing the primary foreign language role, has been gradually replaced firstly by English and more recently by other languages. Students now have the opportunity to learn English, German, French, Japanese and Korean amongst other languages, realizing foreign language education as an important tool to participate in the modern globalized world. Although foreign language education is promoted well in the country, Mongolia - being a relatively new democratic nation, faces its own challenges and issues in terms of formulating suitable educational policy in language learning and teaching practices.

One of the most pervasive policies in the foreign language classrooms of higher education context in contemporary Mongolia, is 'a target language only' rule, which means both teachers and students are expected to speak 'only English (or other target languages)' during the classroom, and keep the source and target language separate, preventing 'cross-contamination' (Jacobson & Faltis, 1990, p. 4). This language policy is also evident in many other language classroom contexts in other parts of the world (cf. Ag & Jørgensen, 2012; Raschka et al, 2009; van der Meij & Zhao, 2010). The

underlying point of the use of 'target language only' policy is associated with the idea to encourage the language learners' easy acquisition of a new linguistic system while they adapt to a particular language lesson (cf. Jacobson & Faltis, 1990).

Based on the examples of complexity of the layers of meanings found in the language practices of young people, some recent research in the language classroom has problematised the 'target language only' policy for falling short in addressing contemporary linguistic repertoires produced out of a diversity of linguistic and cultural resources. Ellwood (2008) for example argues that various linguistic codes are used for various pragmatic purposes in the English classroom, including when students seek to negotiate within classroom based activities and teacher's instructions, or when students wish to express their desire to become a global or international person. Bahous et al (2013, p. 10) reveal that the use of L1 and L2 in the context of Lebanon higher education has a significant positive implication not only to help students learn better (e.g., understand a lecture, clarify difficult points, highlight important meanings and so on), but also it further adds 'an indispensable way of social interaction and communication in a multilingual context where one's knowledge, tolerance and understanding of others are widened by the various language codes in the classroom'. Raschka et al (2009) look at the use of target and source language as a strategy employed by teachers in their EFL classrooms in cram schools in Taipei, Taiwan. The study reveals that the prevalence of both target and source language has some positive function in the educational process, specifically for teachers to successfully 'shape and guide their classes' (p.157). Martin (2005) refers to the combination of target and source language as an opportunity to produce 'creative, pragmatic and 'safe' practices [...] between the official language of the lesson and a language which the classroom participants have a greater access to' (cited in Creese & Blackledge, 2010, p. 105).

More recently, a group of scholars have started paying attention to more dynamic language mixing in the classroom. Blackledge & Creese's (2009, p. 236) observation of 'second lives' in the classroom - the use of carnivalesque language is one clear example. Students are involved with the linguistic practice, which go beyond supposed 'code-switching' in the classroom,

'introducing new voices into classroom discourse, using mockery and parody to subvert tradition and authority, and engaging in the language of "grotesque realism"'. These creative discourse strategies enable the students to 'move in and out of official and carnival worlds, making meaning in discourse that is dialogic, as they represent themselves and others in voices that cut across boundaries in complex, creative, sophisticated ways'. Li (2011, p. 370) proposes that language mixing in the classroom should be better understood not only through switching between specific languages, but also through the mixing of various behaviours including 'temporary borrowing of elements from languages that are not part of the speaker's normal linguistic repertoire, imitating other speakers' accents or style, as well as switching among speech, writing, and signing'. Creese & Blackledge (2010, p.103) likewise argue that we need to release ourselves from 'two solitudes' instructional approaches and advocate teaching by means of flexible bilingual instructional strategies which accept the idea where 'two or more languages are used alongside each other', and that 'the interdependence of skills and knowledge across languages' is important. Following García (2007), Creese & Blackledge (2010) thus prefer the term 'translanguaging' in the classroom, as they note that languages are not 'hermetically sealed units' (p.106) and we need to consider the possibility that we cannot fully understand the usual and normal practice of bilingualism by separating its 'diglossic function'.

Overall, these studies suggest that it is far more realistic and pragmatic to look at the language mixing activities in the classroom through investigating the speakers' more dynamic semiotic mixing practices. It is almost impossible to understand the language practices in real life language classrooms of late modernity without understanding its 'carnavalesque' actions. Overlooking these dynamic language practices in the classroom may cause a wide variety of further miscommunications and misunderstandings between teachers and students, and between students and students.

Indeed, during my (n)ethnographic fieldwork trip, I encountered many accounts from my research participants in terms of integrating everyday non-institutional language practices in the classroom. My research participant, Bataa, who was identified as the Russian high school graduate in Chapter 6, had complained on many occasions to me that his English teacher was 'ok'

when he uses both Mongolian and English in the classroom, whilst he is often told off for using 'Russian', *'I'm just so accustomed to using lots of Russian, and sometimes I tend to use Russian during English classroom, which I'm constantly told off. My teacher would often say "You are not the only Russian speaker! This is an English class!"'. It is a bit cruel, because I don't intentionally try to "show-off" myself. It's just my habit'* (Post-group discussion interview, September 10, 2010, UB, Mongolia). As discussed in Chapter 6, the use of Russian can also be associated with the indication of education and middle-upper class opportunity, because of the reputation of Russian high schools in Mongolia. As a graduate of a Russian high school, participant Bataa tends to borrow heavily from Russian, which again is often frowned upon by his English educator. From this point of view, the language practice in the classroom is only restricted to English and Mongolian, whilst other linguistic possibilities are discouraged, leaving classroom sites as confined only to 'source and target language' – i.e., parallel monolingualism.

A slightly different account was provided by Otgon, who was identified as the loyal fan of Hip Hop in Chapter 8, *'When I speak English, I use Hip Hop phrases, accents, and lyrics and so on. Unfortunately, I often get told not to do it by my English teacher, because apparently I sound like a "hooligan". Basically, my teachers have no idea what Hip Hop is all about. They think it is the worst English I could speak'* (Post-group discussion interview, September 30, 2010, UB, Mongolia). Here, this learner's endeavour to speak English in the classroom is discouraged because of his involvement with Hip Hop speeches and accents. The use of English in the classroom therefore is implemented through 'pure' or 'standard' linguistic systems, failing to consider other vernacular possibilities of English.

Certain questions emerge from these accounts. We are talking about modern language classrooms in current globalization, constituted by the speakers, whose out-of-classroom linguistic practices are largely associated with the current flows of technology, media and culture. After all, as Pennycook (2007a, p. 157) rightly puts it, 'The location of classrooms within global transcultural flows implies that they can no longer be considered as bounded sites, with students entering from fixed locations, with identities drawing on traditions, with curricula as static bodies of knowledge.' How is it

then possible for modern language classrooms in the 21st century to quest for monolingual or parallel monolingual teaching methods, when their students are largely socially interactive and actively involved with modern media, technology and other cultural resources in the out-of-class situations? In what ways, can we as language educators, motivate and encourage our students, who turn out to be the sophisticated speakers in non-institutional settings, to become mobile global citizens? Instead of focusing on switching between 'pure' or 'standard' languages, can we also open up the possibility for our students to show us their 'grotesque realism'? Can we expect them as who they are and 'proceed by taking student knowledge, identity and desire into account' (Pennycook, 2007a, p. 158) in the classroom? Put differently, following García (2007, p. xiii), 'What would language education look like if we no longer posited the existence of separate languages? How would we teach bilingually in ways that reflect people's use of language and not simply people as language users?'

As Pennycook (2007a, p. 158) notes, 'Languages will flow and change around us, new combinations of languages and cultures will be put together, texts will be sampled and mixed in ever new juxtapositions.'. In other words, 'Students are in the flow; pedagogy needs to go with the flow'. Otherwise, we will end up in a position where my Hip Hop enthusiast research participant, Otgon's complaint is, '*English classroom is so boring for me. Headway, Headway, Headway...*[referring to his English textbook]. *I prefer learning English outside my university. I actually learned English from Hip Hop songs rather than classroom*' (Post-group discussion interview, September 30, 2010, UB, Mongolia); or where the Korean soap opera enthusiast, Selenge's belief is (cf. Chapter 6), '*I actually learned lots of 'natural' Korean from Korean TV dramas, instead of my Korean courses* [She used to take Korean language courses at language schools, but she quit shortly afterwards]' (FB correspondence, March 2, 2013).

After all, 'language classroom' is the classroom where the students are supposed to 'speak'. We should not forget the fact that the real life classroom situations are more complex than sticking to certain strict linguistic policies. Instead of heavily focusing on linguistic purity, standardization or parallel monolingualism, we may also reconsider to encourage our students to simply

'speak' and 'open up'. As Pennycook (2010, pp. 132-133) puts it, 'If we start to reconsider language learning not so much in terms of an arithmetic progression (learning and additional, a second language, becoming bilingual) but rather in terms of a much more dynamic conceptualization of transidiomatic practice (Jacquemet, 2005), we can see how language learning may involve communicative practices across different codes, channels and resources.'

It is, of course, imperative to educate our students with the institutionalized and 'proper' forms of language, since our students' future socioeconomic success cannot solely rely on informal forms of communication alone. That is to say, language educators in Mongolia need at times to challenge both institutional and non-institutional language practices of language learners. As Harissi (2010, p. 347) similarly notes, "Although 'orate' and 'ornamental' uses of English in everyday Greek should not be absent from the English classroom, English language pedagogy should equally not neglect to foster learners' knowledge of 'good English' as well as their critical reflection and critical literacy skills.". This will encourage our students to understand whether or not their non-institutional linguascaping practice may in fact become a positive/ transferable communicative tool or lose its power once they cross the local boundary, opening up more critical views towards their use of English and other languages (cf. Harissi, 2010). This is also why taking the idea of 'linguascaping' in terms of its transferability in the context of language education context in Mongolia is particularly important for four main reasons.

First, the integration of various additional semiotic resources embedded within linguascaping may open up the opportunity for language teachers to truly engage with their students. Linguascaping strategy here reiterates Creese & Blackledge's (2010, p.112) argument to consider flexible bilingual strategy in the classroom to 'make links for classroom participants between the social, cultural, community, and linguistic domains of their lives'. That is to say, linguascaping may help teachers to understand multiple desires, identities and aspirations embedded within their students 'multiple ways of speaking, being and learning' (Pennycook, 2007a, p. 157). Linguascaping may give us an opportunity to see the world through our students' eyes.

Second, integrating students' out-of-classroom and real-life linguistic

practices in the classroom context may boost the language learner's overall creativity, confidence and motivation in the classroom. I experienced on many occasions students that become shy and reserved when they are forced to speak English in the classroom, because they are often scared of making mistakes and placing themselves in 'embarrassing' situations. Instead of imposing our students to speak 'proper' English, linguascaping may give us a more flexible strategy to engage with our students by the negotiation of their favoured language practices.

Third, it could also open up the ways where the students negotiate their differences and similarities through critical eyes and open-mindedness in order to become globally mobile citizens. Students may benefit from linguascaping in terms of others' multiple perspectives on life and on one's own self. As Otgon notes, *'[Not only my teacher, but also] some of my classmates mock me for speaking like rappers, because they find it kind of funny'* (Post-group discussion interview, September 30, 2010, UB, Mongolia). Here, Otgon blames his fellow classmates for not taking his way of speaking English seriously because of his heavy borrowings from Hip Hop. Instead of discouraging Otgon's way of speaking, we as language educators for example may reflect the combination of Otgon's way of speaking, his vernacular use of English, his interest in Hip Hop, and his classmates' mockery to open up other alternative issues and tensions about understanding the use of English in various and multiple critical ways.

Finally, the idea of linguascaping may contribute to overall language educational policy makers, teachers and students in Mongolia in terms of considering the possibility that languages in the classrooms 'do not [necessarily] fit into clear bounded entities and that all languages are "needed" for meanings to be conveyed and negotiated' (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, p.112). This will further educate our students to see the same world differently and critically, instead of treating 'foreign language' as an object glued to textbooks. In other words, the integration of linguascaping in the classroom may encourage both teachers and students to problematise the role of English and other languages in the society they are living, creating a new space to raise the critical linguistic/cultural awareness, skill and competence in accordance with the current globalization.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

TRANSCRIPT CONVENTION

.	Indicates a falling pitch or intonational contour, followed by a noticeable pause as at the end of a declarative sentence
...	Texts omitted
“ ... ”	Reporting statements of others
((...))	Non-linguistic features, explanation utterances or situations for readers' comprehensibility
!	Animated and firm tone
?	Rising pitch/intonation followed by a noticeable pause as at the end of an interrogative sentence
CAPS	loud & emphatic utterances
┌	Interruption
-	An abrupt (glottal) halt occurring within or at the end
:::	Lengthened segments/an extension of the sound or syllable
(pause)	Pause or pause duration in seconds

APPENDIX 2

LANGUAGE GUIDE⁶³

Mongolian	regular font
English	bold
<i>Russian</i>	<i>italicized bold</i>
<i>Chinese</i>	<i>italicized</i>
<u>Japanese</u>	<u>Underlined</u>
<u>Korean</u>	<u>underlined italicized bold</u>

⁶³ All texts expressed in these different languages used in this thesis, except Mongolian and English, were Romanized based on ISO standards for transliterations of romanizations. Refer to <http://www.iso.org/iso/home.html>.

<i>GERMAN</i>	<i>ITALICIZED CAPS</i>
<u><i>SPANISH</i></u>	<u><i>UNDERLINED ITALICIZED CAPS</i></u>
<u>French</u>	<u>waved underline</u>
<u>Turkish</u>	<u>dotted underline</u>

APPENDIX 3

TRANSLITERATION GUIDE

Mongolian Cyrillic	Name	IPA	Standard romanization (MNS 5217:2012)
Аа	а	a	a
Бб	бэ	p, p ^j	b
Чч	чэ	tʃ ^h	ch
Дд	дэ	t, t ^j	d
Ээ	э	e~i	e
Фф	фэ, фа, эф	f, p ^h	f
Гг	гэ	g, g ^j , ɣ	g
Ии	и	i	i
Йй	хагас и	i	i
Ъъ	хатуугийн тэмдэг	none	i
Ьь	зөөлний тэмдэг	j	i
Жж	жэ	tʃ	j
Кк	ка	k ^h , k ^h , x, x ^j	k
Хх	хэ, ха	x, x ^j	kh
Лл	эл	ʎ, ʎ ^j	l
Мм	эм	m, m ^j	m
Нн	эн	n, n ^j , ŋ	n
Оо	о	ɔ	o
Пп	пэ	p ^h , p ^{hj}	p
Рр	эр	r, r ^j	r
Сс	эс	s	s
Шш	ша, эш	ʃ	sh
Щщ	ща, эшчэ	(ʃʃ)	sh
Тт	тэ	t ^h , t ^{hj}	t
Цц	цэ	ts ^h	ts
Уу	у	u	u

Mongolian Cyrillic	Name	IPA	Standard romanization (MNS 5217:2012)
Вв	вэ	w _ɔ , w _ɛ ^j	v
Ыы	эр үгийн ы	i	y
Яя	я	ja	ya
Ее	е	ji~jə	ye
Ёё	ё	jɔ	yo
Юю	ю	jʊ, ju	yu
Зз	зэ	ts	z
Өө	ө	ɵ~o	ö
Үү	ү	u	ü

APPENDIX 4

THE PRODUCERS' SPHERE

The List of Interview Research Participants

#	Artist [Stage] Name	Place of Interview	Date of Interview	Artist's Position	Artist's Genre	Total Interview Recorded Time
1	B.A.T	Irish Pub, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia	August 27, 2010	Songwriter Singer MC	Hip Hop Rap	72 minutes
2	Gennie	Gennie's recording studio, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia	August 17, 2010	Female MC	Hip Hop	90 minutes
3	Range	Range's recording studio, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia	August 17, 2010	Songwriter Singer Producer	Hip Hop	55 minutes
4	Temuulen (A-Sound)	Ikh Noyod Pub, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia	August 19, 2010	Songwriter Singer Producer	Alternative Rock	77 minutes

5	Ügii (Prophets)	Veranda Restaurant, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia	August, 30, 2010	Songwriter Singer Producer	Rock; Metal Rock	92 minutes
6	BAJI (LUMINO)	FACEBOOK Chat	December 6, 2010; April 5, 2013.	Songwriter Singer Producer	HIP HOP	65 minutes of FB correspond ence

APPENDIX 5

THE PRODUCERS' SPHERE

The List of Semi-Structured Interview Question Samples

#	Semi-Structured Interview Questions
1.	What is the role of foreign languages in your overall musical production?
2.	How and to what extent are these languages used?
3.	What does it mean to sing in different languages?
4.	What else do you use except foreign languages?
5.	Where do you get your ideas? Is it hard or easy for you to get the new ideas?
6.	Why do you use Mongolian traditional elements in your musical productions mixed with English and other languages?
7.	How is the reception of the listeners when you use foreign languages in your music?
8.	What do you tend to achieve through your mixed performances?
9.	What does it mean to create something authentic?
10.	Do you think your music is authentic? Why?

APPENDIX 6

THE CONSUMERS' SPHERE

The List of Research Participants

Male Participants

#	Pseudonym	Age	Sex	Social background	Majoring degrees	Language skills
1	Bataa	20	Male	UB-born/City centre	American/British studies	Advanced English/ Advanced Russian
2	Bayar	21	Male	UB-born/City Centre	IT Engineering	Upper Intermediate English/ Intermediate Russian
3	Bold	20	Male	UB-born/City Centre	Telecom engineering	Intermediate English
4	Baatar	20	Male	Bulgan-born/City Centre	Business administration	Basic English
5	Erdenedalai	19	Male	Uvs born/Ger district	Mathematics	Intermediate English/Russian
6	Ganaa	20	Male	UB-Born/City Centre	Chemical Engineering	Very Basic English
7	Iderzorigt	19	Male	Huvsgul born, Ger District	Economics	Very Basic English
8	Naidan	19	Male	UB born/Ger district	Economics	Very Basic English
9	Oldokhbayar	21	Male	UB born/ City Centre	Business administration	Upper Intermediate English/ Intermediate Japanese
10	Orgil	19	Male	Darkhan-born/City Centre	Telecom Engineering	Intermediate English
11	Otgon	19	Male	UB born, Ger district	Mathematics	Basic English
12	Telnar	23	Male	UB born/City	International Relations	Advanced English/

				Centre		Advanced Russian
13	Üürtsaikh	18	Male	Dornod born/ City Centre	Mathematics	Low-Intermediate English

Female Participants

#	Pseudonym	Age	Sex	Social background	Majoring degrees	Language skills
1	Alimaa	18	Female	UB-born/City centre	American/British Studies	Intermediate English
2	Altai	20	Female	Khentii-born/ Ger district/ City Centre	Chemical engineering	Upper Intermediate Turkish/ Intermediate English
3	Ariunaa	19	Female	Övörkhongai born/ City centre	Chemical engineering	Basic English
4	Battsetseg	18	Female	Bulgan born/ Ger district	Mathematics	Very Basic English
5	Bayarmaa	18	Female	UB-born/City centre	Economics	Basic English
6	Bolormaa	20	Female	UB born/ City Centre	Business administration	Intermediate English/ Basic Russian
7	Dolgormaa	18	Female	UB born/ City centre	Economics	Advanced English/ Intermediate Russian
8	Dülgüün	19	Female	UB born/ City centre	American/British Studies	Upper Intermediate English/ Intermediate Russian
9	Enkhjargal	20	Female	UB-born/ City centre	American/British Studies	Upper Intermediate English
10	Erdenesaikhan	19	Female	UB-born/ City centre	American/British Studies	Upper Intermediate English
11	Khongorzul	18	Female	UB-born/ City centre	Economics	Intermediate English
12	Mandukhai	21	Female	Erdenet born/ City Centre	Business administration	Basic English
13	Maral	22	Female	UB-born/ City Centre	American/British studies	Advanced English/ Advanced

						Russian
14	Naran	22	Female	Ümnü gobi born/ City Centre	Business administration	Intermediate English
15	Narantsetseg	19	Female	UB born/City Centre	American and British Studies	Advanced English/ Intermediate Russian
16	Myagmar	22	Female	UB born/City centre	American and British Studies	Advanced English/ Intermediate Russian
17	Saran	21	Female	Darkhan born/ City Centre	Business administration	Basic English
18	Selenge	18	Female	UB born/City centre	Economics	Basic English/Basic Korean
19	Sünderiya	19	Female	UB born/City centre	Mathematics	Very Basic English
20	Suvd	19	Female	UB born/City Centre	American/British Studies	Intermediate English
21	Telmüün	19	Female	UB born/City centre	Mathematics	Very Basic English

APPENDIX 7

SELF-REPORTING QUESTIONNAIRE SAMPLE

Questions
1. Where were you born?
2. Where do you live now?
3. Which high school did you go to?
4. Tell me briefly about your family?
5. How did you go to NUM?
6. What do you study and why at NUM?
7. What foreign languages do you speak?
8. How did you learn them?
9. What foreign languages do you want to learn and why?
10. What is your hobby?
11. What do you do in your spare time?
12. Who is your favorite popular music artists/band (both Mongolian and foreign) and why?
13. What is your favorite movie and why (both Mongolian and foreign) and why?
14. How often do you spend online and why?

15. What is your future goal in life?
16. How often do you use English or other foreign languages in your daily life and why?
17. Do you think if it is OK to use foreign languages in your daily life? Why/why not?
18. What does it mean to be a Mongolian?
19. What does it mean to be a modern and urban person for you?
20. What does it mean to be a bi/multilingual person for you?

APPENDIX 8

THE CONSUMERS' SPHERE

THE FOCUSED GROUP DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

Questions
1. Why do you think learning foreign language is important?
2. Which language plays the most important role in your daily life? Why?
3. Are Mongolian language and culture distorted by English or other languages? Why/Why not?
4. What language do you speak at home?
5. What language do you speak or want to speak in the classroom?
6. Why do you use English or other languages mixed with Mongolian in your daily life?
7. How often do you mix languages? Is it right or wrong?
8. What other foreign languages do you want to learn and why?
9. Does Mongolia need to be multilingual or not?
10. What languages do you mainly use when you are online?

APPENDIX 9

THE FOCUSED GROUP DISCUSSION TOPICS

Selected topic	Group Discussion Questions	Date of Group Discussion	Total GD Time
1. This group was asked to view a music video by Nominjin 'Ülemjiin Chanar'.	1. What do you think of this music video? Do you like it or not? 2. Is it an authentic music? Why/why not? 3. Which segments do (don't) you like in the music video? Why/why not?	August 20, 2010. In the classroom of NUM.	17- 17:45 45 minutes

	<p>4. Is this music video a full representative of the modern Mongolia or not?</p> <p>5. What do you think of the music video's English rap?</p>		
<p>2. This group was asked to view a music video by Lumino 'Freestyle'.</p>	<p>1. What do you think of this music video? Do you like it or not?</p> <p>2. Is it an authentic music? Why/why not?</p> <p>3. Which segments do (don't) you like in the music video? Why/why not?</p> <p>4. Is this music video a full representative of the modern Mongolia or not?</p> <p>5. What do you think of the music video's English/French rap?</p>	<p>September 1, 2010.</p> <p>In the Classroom of NUM.</p>	<p>18:00 – 20:00</p> <p>120 minutes</p>
<p>3. This group was asked to view a music video by Gennie 'Don't cry'.</p>	<p>1. What do you think of this music video? Do you like it or not?</p> <p>2. Is it an authentic music? Why/why not?</p> <p>3. Which segments do (don't) you like in the music video? Why/why not?</p> <p>4. Is this music video a full representative of the modern Mongolia or not?</p> <p>5. What do you think of the music video's English rap?</p>	<p>September 2, 2010.</p> <p>In the Classroom of NUM.</p>	<p>17:00 – 19:00</p> <p>120 minutes</p>
<p>4. This group was asked to view a music video by B.A.T, BOLD and Quiza 'Bonita' and 'Nüd chini khair kharuulna'.</p>	<p>1. What do you think of this music video? Do you like it or not?</p> <p>2. Is it an authentic music? Why/why not?</p> <p>3. Which segments do (don't) you like in the music video? Why/why not?</p> <p>4. Is this music video a full representative of</p>	<p>September 3, 2010.</p>	<p>17:30 – 19:00</p> <p>90 minutes</p>

	the modern Mongolia or not? 5. What do you think of the music video's English/Spanish rap?		
5. This group was asked to view a music video by A Sound 'Forever'.	1. What do you think of this music video? Do you like it or not? 2. Is it an authentic music? Why/why not? 3. Which segments do (don't) you like in the music video? Why/why not? 4. Is this music video a full representative of the modern Mongolia or not? 5. What do you think of the music video's English lyrics?	September 5, 2010	16: 00 – 18: 00 120 minutes

APPENDIX 10

THE LIST OF CASUAL GROUP DISCUSSION

Names	Dates	Location	Total time of recording
Oldokhbayar, Naran and Dorj	August 10, 2010	Classroom break time	35 minutes
Batsetseg, Sünderiya and Researcher	October 8, 2010	In the University Hall	38 minutes
Bataa and Narantsetseg	September 2, 2010	Classroom break time	65 minutes
Bold, Orgil, Ganaa, Researcher	May 1, 2011	University Café	62 minutes

APPENDIX 11

THE LIST OF EXTENDED RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

Name	Gender
DORJ	MALE
RAVDAN	MALE
ORGILMAA	FEMALE

THE LIST OF ADULT RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

No.	Dates of Interviews	Time	Total recorded time	Place of Interview (All in UB, Mongolia)	Participants
1	August 4, 2010	9:00-10:00	60 minutes	NUM cafeteria	Prof. Dorjgotov Nyamjav
2	August 15, 2010	18:30-19:30	60 minutes	Veranda restaurant	Batsaikhan
3	August 24, 2010	12:15-13:00	45 minutes	Veranda restaurant	Khantulga

APPENDIX 12

POST-GROUP DISCUSSION INTERVIEW QUESTION SAMPLE

Interview Questions
1. Please explain whether you mix languages in the classroom, online, home etc?
2. Why did you use English (Japanese, Korean, French and so on) in your online/offline conversation?
3. What does it mean to use English and other foreign languages for you?
4. Do you think your use of foreign languages in your daily life is considered as (in)authentic?
5. Why do you mix all these languages? Do you do it intentionally? Why/why not?
6. How often do you mix languages when you speak?
7. How often do you mix languages when you participate online/offline?
8. How often and to what extent do you use languages that you don't necessarily speak?
9. Is mixing languages good or bad for the Mongolian language and culture?
10. What is authentic and inauthentic language for you?

APPENDIX 13

POST-GROUP DISCUSSION INTERVIEW DETAILS

No.	Dates	Time	Total recorded time	Place of Interview (All in UB, Mongolia)	Participants
1	September 10, 2010	12:30-14:30	45 minutes	NUM Cafeteria	Bataa
2	September 11, 2010	13:00-14:00	60 minutes	NUM Cafeteria	Erdenesaikhan
3	September 22, 2010	16:00 - 17:30	90 minutes	University Hall at NUM	Naran
4	September 22, 2010	16:00 - 17:30	90 minutes	University Hall at NUM	Oldokhbayar
5	September 25, 2010	9:00-9:30	30 minutes	NUM library	Bolormaa
6	September 25, 2010	9:30-10:00	30 minutes	NUM library	Mandukhai
7	September 26, 2010	16:20-17:00	40 minutes	NUM cafeteria	Alimaa
8	September 27, 2010, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia.	16:00-17:00	60 minutes	NUM cafeteria	Maral
9	September 30, 2010	13:00 – 14:00	60 minutes	NUM classroom	Naidan
10	September 30, 2010	14:00 – 15:00	60 minutes	NUM classroom	Dolgormaa
11	September 30, 2010	15:00-16:00	60 minutes	NUM classroom	Otgon
12	October 1, 2010	12:20 – 13:20	60 minutes	NUM cafeteria	Üürtsaikh
13	October 1, 2010	13:30 – 14:30	60 minutes	NUM cafeteria	Narantsetseg
14	October 9, 2010	14:00-14:45	45minutes;	NUM cafeteria	Battsetseg
15	May 10, 2011	15:00-16:30	90 minutes	Irish pub	Altai
16	May 20, 2011	15:00-17:00	120 minutes	NUM classroom	Bold
17	May 20, 2011	15:00-17:00	120 minutes	NUM classroom	Ganaa
18	May 20, 2011	15:00-17:00	120 minutes	NUM classroom	Orgil

19	March 2, 2013	19:15-20:00	45 minutes	Facebook chat	Selenge
20	March 11, 2013	12:20 – 13:00	40 minutes	Facebook chat	Otgon
21	April 15, 2013	20:45 – 21:15	30 minutes	Facebook chat	Bayar
22	May 2, 2013	20:20 – 21:00	40 minutes	Facebook chat	Maral
23	November 22, 2013	19:35 - 20:10	30 minutes	Facebook chat	Üürtsaikh

APPENDIX 14

FACEBOOK EXTRACTS

Names	Dates
Üugii	June 30, 2013
Üugii	June 21, 2013
Üugii	January 31, 2013
Naidan	December 12, 2013
Naidan	October 3, 2013
Dolgormaa	June 19, 2013
Dolgormaa	December 1, 2013
Selenge	January 12, 2013
Bayar	April 13, 2013
Otgon	August 13, 2010
Otgon	November 29, 2011
Maral	October 2, 2010
Altai	September 15, 2010
Altai	November 12, 2012
Üürtsaikh	October 5, 2010

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