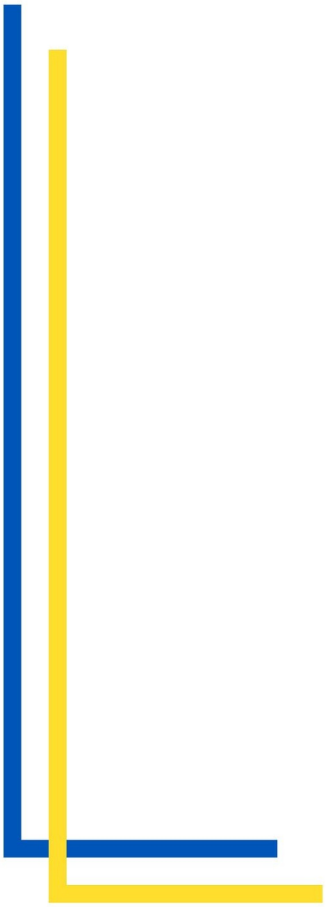
Dissertations in Bilingualism 33

Stockholm University

From Words to Voids

Absencing and Haunting in Crimean Semiotic Landscapes

Natalia Volvach



Doctoral Thesis in Bilingualism at Stockholm University, Sweden 2023

From Words to Voids

Absencing and Haunting in Crimean Semiotic Landscapes

Natalia Volvach

Academic dissertation for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Bilingualism at Stockholm University to be publicly defended on Friday 17 February 2023 at 14.00 in Nordenskiöldsalen, Geovetenskapens hus, Svante Arrhenius väg 12.

Abstract

This thesis seeks to contribute to the body of ethnographically-oriented semiotic landscape research by addressing linguistic and non-linguistic signs in the landscapes of contemporary Crimea. It is based on research conducted in the region back in 2017 and 2019 after the Russian annexation but before the full-scale war against Ukraine, which started on 24 February 2022. It illuminates the ways in which the complex histories of conflict over the Crimean Peninsula are materialized in 'absenced' semiotic landscapes, both in the form of material effects in landscapes and as discursively realized in the narrated memories of the study participants. In this way, through a close theoretically informed analysis of absence in semiotic landscapes, this thesis illuminates the interrelationships between overwritten, erased and invisibilized voices.

Each of the four studies in this thesis addresses the effects of different acts of dispossession which have led to the absencing of ethnic, linguistic and national differences in Crimea across time and space. *Study I* engages with multilingual representations displayed in the city of Sevastopol, illustrating the dominance of Russian discourses of nation and nationalism. Moving beyond the focus on visible signs, *Study II* sheds light on the invisibilized histories of Crimean Tatar territorial dispossession and displacement. By engaging with the participants' voices, it illustrates the constructions of a space of otherwise, an indeterminate space full of potentiality and marginality that remains hidden yet persistent in Crimean landscapes. *Study III* engages to a greater extent with acts of struggle for voice and visibility by attending to memories of citizens' resistance through the lens of turbulence. Finally, *Study IV* attempts to disentangle the materially manifested effects of absence in the landscapes. This interrogation goes beyond words and captures voids and their haunting effects on the researcher's subjectivities.

Overall, this thesis contributes to the study of absencing and haunting in Crimean semiotic landscapes, understanding them as a historically layered and yet temporally dynamic, affective and vibrant social phenomenon. As evident from the emic perspectives presented in the thesis, absenced semiotic landscapes are intricately tied to people and events, and can therefore be treated as manifestations of human displacement and dispossession. Further, an (auto)-ethnographic account shows how embodied experiences of absenced semiotic landscapes matter as they further allow the illumination of memory, space and the production of situated knowledge woven into the individual's body and subjectivity. In sum, the thesis offers a new lens on semiotic landscapes, one that explores the mutual co-constitution of material-discursive processes hidden behind words and voids. In this way, it opens up an endless web of interconnections that informs the ways in which we make sense of social life.

Keywords: *semiotic landscapes, linguistic landscapes, multilingualism, bilingualism, indexicality, semiosis, materiality, Linguistic Citizenship, (in)visibility, erasure, resemiotization, absence, trace, ghost, spectre, haunting, interdiscursivity, Crimea, Ukraine.*

Stockholm 2023
http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:su:diva-213061

ISBN 978-91-8014-146-8
ISBN 978-91-8014-147-5
ISSN 1400-5921

Department of Swedish Language and Multilingualism

Stockholm University

Stockholm University, 106 91 Stockholm

FROM WORDS TO VOIDS

Natalia Volvach

Stockholm University

From Words to Voids

Absencing and Haunting in Crimean Semiotic Landscapes

Natalia Volvach

ISBN print 978-91-8014-146-8
ISBN PDF 978-91-8014-147-5
ISSN 1400-5921

Printed in Sweden by Universitetsservice US-AB, Stockholm 2023

For peace and a more
just world

Acknowledgements

It is a fulfilling and yet an impossible task to account for each and everyone who inspired me, supported me and allowed me to complete this project.

First and foremost, I want to express my deepest gratitude to my thesis supervisors. Christopher Stroud and Caroline Kerfoot, no words can describe the extent to which I am indebted to your genuine and continuous commitment, unshakeable faith and profound knowledge. It has been my uttermost pleasure and special privilege to be (and hopefully continue to be) your student. Your wisdom, expertise and humanity have always been and will remain my inner compass.

I was extremely lucky to be a PhD student at the Centre for Research on Bilingualism at Stockholm University. Niclas Abrahamsson, I could not think of a more caring and reassuring employer. Thank you very much for years of generous support! It has been my honour and pleasure to study at the Centre. The four years I have spent here would not have been as rewarding without my dear colleagues. Luke Holmes, thank you for being there from the start. Your friendship, generosity and (ethical) listening have been most valuable and inspiring. Linus Salö and David Karlander, thank you for your exceptional expertise, profound reading suggestions and the lessons in playing 'the game'. Thank you, David, for your valuable feedback and chats about my work, especially your comments for Study II. Tanya Antontchik, I cannot thank you enough for your warm advice, sincerity and care. Thank you, Maryann Su Lin Tan, for your statistics lessons – I wouldn't have come as far without them! Marta Quevedo Rodriguez, it has been great fun conducting psycholinguistic experiments with you. Thank you, Scarlett Mannish, for providing novel perspectives on my draft for Study III. Luana Fleury, thank you for your friendship. Your passion and sparkle have been contagious! José Alemán Bañón, Anna Persson, Gunnar Norrman, Marie Nelson, Dominik Freunberger, Linnea Hanell, Anna Pousette, Milena Podolšak, Rebecca Borg, Goran Maljan: I will remain forever grateful for your collegiality and professionalism. Anna Karlsson and Göran Basth, дякую, tack, Dankeschön for your engaging Swedish lessons which I will never forget!

Moreover, I would like to express my words of gratitude to the teachers and colleagues at Stockholm University more generally. Danielle Drozdzewski, I truly appreciate your invaluable comments on Study I and Study IV, and your advice and generous literature suggestions. Maria Kuteeva, thank you for inspiring us to strive for excellence in scholarship during the 'Dynamics of Multilingualism' PhD theme and for your comments on early drafts of Study II and Study IV. The PhD theme you co-taught with Caroline opened up manifold possibilities to learn and served as a meeting point with

like-minded PhD students. I am beyond grateful to Kate O'Farrell, Anna Mammitzsch, Pétur Sigurjónsson and Luke Holmes with whom we established a writing group after the end of the PhD course. Our writing sessions were a solace in the world of self-isolation during the pandemic. They served me with motivation, strength and perseverance in moments of struggle.

I would also like to acknowledge the support of my friends and colleagues outside Stockholm University in Switzerland, Norway and Ukraine. Most of all, Sebastian Muth, I am grateful for your encouragement and guidance as my early thesis supervisor. Your continuous enthusiasm kept up my spirits in times where no PhD position was in sight and the project realization seemed nebulous. I also would like to thank my Master thesis supervisor Martin Reisigl for encouraging me to pursue a PhD as well as my colleagues at the University of Bern: Maida Kosatica, Djouroukoro Diallo, Mahroo Movahedi and Orsolya Serkedi. Ingvild Badhwar Valen-Sendstad, I am forever grateful for all your support, friendly encouragement and your valuable readings of earlier drafts of Study III and Study IV. I also want to express appreciation to all my teachers at Kherson National Technical University. Especially to Natalya Voznenko, Yulia Bohdan, Oksana Podvoiska and Natalya Kudriavtseva for their continuous support, strength and enthusiasm no matter of the circumstances in the world.

Finally, thank you Klara Skogmyr Marian for your generous reading of my kappa, Pia Nordin for your significant help with the thesis cover and Niclas Abrahamsson for your excellent work on formatting this book!

Most importantly, I would like to express my gratitude to project participants and colleagues I have met in Crimea. This book would not have been possible without you. I am forever indebted for your friendship and your hospitality. Спасибо, дякую, çoq sağ oluñız!

Lastly, to my family: Throughout the years, you have given me all the time, love and support I could ever dream of. Спасибо, мама, за твой пример во всем. Я не представляю, как тебе удалось вырастить троих детей и закончить диссертацию! Папа, спасибо за твой юмор и за уроки усидчивости – я часто вспоминаю твои «все получится» переписывая статью в сотый раз. Thank you, Pasha and my dad, for encouragement and company in Crimea back in 2017. Without you, I would not have conducted Study I. Merci viumau to my Swiss family for your reassurance, love and care along the way. Kilian, thank you for rescuing me at the very last moments and proofreading my drafts!

Most of all, Sebastian, thank you for accompanying me during this, not always easy, journey. You see, wir haben es zusammen geschafft. You gave me strength and confidence along the way. You had my back throughout the toughest moments and you have been my harshest but always supportive critic. Your curious mind, your talents and knowledge never cease to amaze me.

Natalia Volvach
Stockholm, January 2023

The present thesis is based on the following studies:

I. Volvach, N. (2019). Still Ukrainian or already Russian? The linguistic landscape of Sevastopol in the aftermath of Crimean annexation. *Euxeinos – Culture and Governance in the Black Sea Region* 9(28), 93–111.

II. Volvach, N. (submitted). 'Our nation is just trying to rebirth right now': Constructing Crimean Tatar spaces of otherwise through Linguistic Citizenship.

III. Volvach, N. (2022). Manoeuvres of dissent in landscapes of annexation. *Linguistic Landscape.* Ahead of print: DOI: 10.1075/ll.22012.vol [pp. 1–21]

IV. Volvach, N. (accepted). Shouting absences: Disentangling the ghosts of Ukraine in occupied Crimea. To appear in *Language in Society.*

From Words to Voids

Absencing and Haunting in Crimean Semiotic Landscapes

1 Introduction

In spring 2022, in the early months of the full-scale Russian war in Ukraine, the photographs of Mariupol shattered into ruins shocked the world, which witnessed a completely devastated city lying in debris. And yet, one photograph was puzzling. It depicted five service workers on one of the highways leading to the city dismantling the bilingual Ukrainian-English road sign – *Маріуполь, Mariupol.* The sign had been left standing behind the workers, while they erected a new monolingual road sign – *Мариуполь* ('Mariupol') written in Russian.

Why did one opt for a monolingual, and, one could even add, almost identical wording of the sign? With the new sign, English transliteration got lost and the only difference in the new road sign was that the Ukrainian letter 'і' had been replaced with a Russian equivalent 'и'. Moreover, was not a bilingual sign potentially more inclusive of different audiences? Why was the new Russian administration in Ukrainian Mariupol so keen on replacing the bilingual road sign in the first place, given the sheer scale of the city's destruction?

The backdrop for this ideological work is linked to the beginning of the long-standing war eight years earlier. Then, in the aftermath of the Euromaidan protests erupting all over Ukraine in response to President Viktor Yanukovych' refusal to sign the European Union–Ukraine Association Agreement, Russia invaded and further occupied the Crimean Peninsula. Unlike Mariupol today, it was still possible to reach Crimea after it was annexed by Russia. Yet what was happening in Crimea was similar to Mariupol: not in terms of the city being physically destroyed, but rather symbolically. Crimea

exhibited stark renditions of its public space, where only weak signs of difference, that is, of other languages in toponymy, monuments, built architecture, advertisements, still remained visible and others were made absent.

When I conducted an extensive fieldwork for my thesis in 2019, it was five years into the annexation of Crimea by Russia and the armed conflict in Eastern Ukraine. Despite receding media interest, 'Europe's forgotten war' (Widmer 2018) had still been raging over the country's Eastern territories: heavy military assaults raged through the Ukrainian industrial regions of Donetsk and Luhansk. By 24 February 2022, since the annexation in early 2014 and before the full-scale invasion, the ongoing war had already resulted in more than 15,000 fatalities[1] and 1,385,062 individuals displaced from the regions of Donetsk, Luhansk and Crimea.[2]

After the Russian Federation launched a full-scale invasion on 24 February 2022 and seized further territories of Ukraine, the assault against the Ukrainian population intensified. Beyond heavy losses on the actual battlefields, thousands of civilians in towns like Bucha, Popasna, Mariupol, Irpin and later Kherson, Mykolaiv, Dnipro, Zaporizhzhya, Kharkiv, and many more cities and smaller settlements, fell victim to the invasion. Whilst the sheer scale and intensity of the war certainly surpassed level of suffering caused by the Russian annexation of Crimea, the strategies of territorial appropriation deployed by Russia when it occupied other Ukrainian territories after 24 February 2022 resembled the Crimean playbook. As in Crimea, the new Russian authorities hurried to re-signify the recently occupied public space of Ukrainian cities by stripping any signs of Ukraine and re-installing new Russian signage throughout the territory. Ukrainian cities lying in ruins quickly became adorned with the insignia of Russian-state nationalism while the inscriptions written in Ukrainian and placed along the main highways became the next easy victims. But why did it matter? And why does it continue to matter? What does it really mean when new signs come to adorn the streets while other signs disappear? What lies behind such presences and absences in occupied Crimea?

In this thesis, I choose to address these questions by adopting the lens of linguistic or *semiotic landscapes*. This scholarship has long addressed questions of power pertinent to language in public space. In times of both peace and conflict, ethnographically tuned semiotic landscapes provide insights into what is happening on the ground.

---

[1] International Crisis Group 'Conflict in Ukraine's Donbas: A Visual Explainer' www.crisisgroup.org/content/conflict-ukraines-donbas-visual-explainer (accessed 09.06.2022); The Centre for Preventive Action (2022): 'Conflict in Ukraine'. www.cfr.org/global-conflict-tracker/conflict/conflict-ukraine (accessed 09.06.2022).

[2] Ukraine – National Monitoring System: The Situation of IDPs (June 2019).

In what follows, I seek to offer an ethnographically informed reading of the Crimean conflict through the lens of semiotic landscapes, the field of study initially defined by Landry and Bourhis (1997: 23) as 'the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region'. While primarily interested in linguistic representations of languages and speakers in public space, further research broadened the visually represented 'linguistic' dimensions of landscapes to incorporate other senses and means of meaning-making, such as touch, sound, taste and smell. Due to the ongoing interest of the thesis in the material-discursive effects of absence on people and landscapes which surpass words, I adopt the notion of 'semiotic' landscapes. However, this is not a principal distinction and is rather instrumental for the ease and consistency of the text. This choice nevertheless indicates an ambition to address any types of signs beyond strictly seen 'linguistic signs' or 'words'. Having said that, an ethnographic approach that treats semiotic landscapes in their diachronicity and material-discursive complexity should allow the pursuit of an exploration of the absences in semiotic landscapes, as well as an illumination of the interrelationships between landscapes, layered histories and human subjectivities. With this aim, I draw on data assembled between 2017 and 2019 to examine the ongoing conflict over Crimea as informed both by the (auto)-ethnographic and by emic perspectives of Crimean residents.

I began my fieldwork by asking these guiding research questions:

- *How can semiotic landscapes in Crimea be described?*
- *If there are signs of change, how are they made visible in semiotic landscapes?*
- *If there have been any changes, what has been the response to them?*

At the end of my fieldwork, and prior to the writing of each individual study, the research questions were specified and reformulated as follows:

Study I: *In what ways were the visual representations of discourses about Russian nation and nationalism materialized as they circulated in the public space of the city?* This question referred to Russian ideological renderings of the visual realm of Crimea, in this case, of the city of Sevastopol, as it was accomplished both linguistically and non-linguistically.

Study II: *In what ways could the suppressed, hidden and marginalized voices of Crimean Tatar speakers be made visible both discursively and materially?* The research question used the concept of *spaces of otherwise* (Povinelli 2011a: 8), defined as indeterminate social projects that 'oscillate between potentiality and actuality', to illuminate the legacies of dispossession that lay

behind the everyday landscapes in the Crimean Tatar district of Aqmeçıt in the city of Simferopol. The study draws on participant accounts of intergenerational memories of trauma pertaining to the Crimean Tatar deportation in the period after World War II.

Study III: *How could turbulent protest as an emergent intra-action visibilize (non)-normative orders in an annexed landscape?* This study examines individuals' memories of protest in response to the annexation of Crimea by using a posthumanist theoretical orientation towards 'agentive' objects. Such an approach allows for a deeper engagement with acts of visibility and voice that exceed human agency and intentionality.

Study IV: *How could absence as a materialization of the erasure of Ukrainian statehood from Crimea exert haunting effects on landscapes and individuals' subjectivities?* This study interrogated the lurking Ukrainian presences in an erased semiotic landscape. It theoretically engaged with the ways in which the researcher's body came to matter as a sensing mechanism for haunting spectres.

In sum, the studies of the thesis seek to offer a theoretically informed illumination of the interrelationships between overwritten and acted upon landscapes, layered histories and human subjectivities. By granting the main stage to relations of contiguous and disjointed phenomena, the thesis further pushes the constraints of the social to also account for agencies of non-human others. An understanding of the intra-acting material-discursive processes hidden behind words and voids opens up an endless web of interconnections informing the ways we make sense of social life. Thus, the overarching research question of this thesis is as follows:

> *In what ways can the study of absence in semiotic landscapes offer another lens for approaching social practice in its material-discursive complexity and as it relates to the world beyond?*

Led by this research question, each of the studies shifts from contemporary semiotic landscapes to recent and more distant pasts. The first study departs from an exploration of the 'glorious Russian city' Sevastopol, whose legacy can be traced back to 18th century Crimea occupied by the Russian Empire. The next study takes us to post-World War II Crimea and to the deportation of ethnic minorities from the peninsula in the 1940s, including the major Crimean Tatar ethnic group. The third study turns to memories of Ukrainian protests shortly after the Crimean annexation after 2014. Finally, the fourth study attends to the recent history of the suppression of Ukrainian languages

and signs of Ukrainian statehood from landscapes in 2019. In the following section, I briefly present the contributions of each of the papers and emphasize how each of them adds to the exploration of absencing and haunting in Crimean semiotic landscapes.

Before moving on to the introduction of each of the four studies, it is important to note that landscapes are embedded in different relations of power which produce various knowledge regimes. Some kinds of knowledge, as will be shown, emerge, while others disappear as disqualified or no longer important. For Foucault (1982: 786), 'subjugated knowledge' stands in stark contrast to the 'qualified knowledge' recognized and supported by normative regimes. Unlike the dominant forms of knowledge promoted by the state, subjugated knowledge derives its power from its difference to other forms of knowledge. Subjugated knowledge, though historically 'masked', may yet reappear if and when it is made legible by the people holding access to them.

Study I presents an analysis of the fieldwork data collected in 2017. It explores what could be called dominant or qualified knowledge (Foucault 1982) by investigating the modalities and emplacements (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006; Scollon & Wong Scollon 2003) of various types of signs, such as street names, place names, advertisements, graffiti and billboards. To achieve this, the study adopts a discursive-frame approach that allows semiotic landscapes to be treated as an aggregate of discourses (Kallen 2010; Dunlevy 2019). Thus, the semiotic landscapes are assembled and analysed through photographically captured discursive frames, building on banal textual and material reminders of Russian state nationalism (Billig 2006; Czepczyński 2008: 51), indexes of the 'Great Patriotic War' as well as the displacement of ethnic minorities thereafter. While primarily interested in grasping the visible and accessible semiotic landscapes, the paper catches glimpses of what is hardly present: easily overlooked signs of contestation are touched upon, but not yet fully explored. In sum, the collection of images of Sevastopol beyond providing an archive, offers insights into relations of power, status and prestige among the languages used in Sevastopol's urban centre. In doing so, the study sheds light on the new dominant visibilities amidst gradually fading presences.

Study II takes us to the histories and memories of the Crimean Tatar deportation in the 1940s and the Crimean Tatars' subsequent return. In contrast to the previous paper, Study II makes visible subjugated knowledges (Foucault 1982) by bringing in and acknowledging the voices of the study participants who, through their acts of Linguistic Citizenship (Stroud 2001; Stroud 2018), construct *spaces of otherwise* (Povinelli 2011b; Povinelli 2011a). As Linguistic Citizens, the participants make legible Crimean Tatar spaces of otherwise – alternative social projects that are grounded in other kinds of knowledge, memories and experiences. By making these Crimean

Tatar spaces of otherwise legible to the researcher, the participants disrupt the relations of visibility and invisibility and bring to the forefront what seems to belong to the past. The paper uses walking tours (Stroud & Jegels 2014) and semi-structured interviews to explore individual participants' narrations of place. Such modes of engagement allow an in-depth ethnographic exploration of the participants' readings of landscapes. Treating the participants as Linguistic Citizens, the study investigates both conventional types of semiotic landscapes, such as street names and place names, and inscription-free material objects, such as car tyres and flags. Such data indicate that Linguistic Citizenship goes well beyond linguistic acts and can encompass semiotic practices more broadly (Kerfoot 2011; Stroud 2015b). Investigating the discursive and material phenomena of Crimean Tatar spaces of otherwise through ethnographic data, the study suggests new insights into how silenced pasts re-emerge and are made legible in the present.

Study III turns to more recent times and explores the memories of resistance to the Crimean occupation shortly after Crimea was annexed. Similar to Study II, it explores the subjugated knowledges (Foucault 1982) made known through antagonism by studying *turbulent* protest (cf. Stroud 2015b; Stroud 2015a; Cresswell & Martin 2012; Kitis & Milani 2015) Unlike the previous paper, Study III investigates a social phenomenon of a significantly smaller scale than the Crimean Tatar deportation, yet it sheds light on the nevertheless significant manoeuvres of dissent by adopting the posthumanist framework of Karen Barad. This theoretical lens allows interview and photographic data to be approached with an orientation towards material objects (e.g., flags, cars, 'symbolics') which may come to play a pivotal role within protest. By doing so, the study builds on a range of work which demonstrated how the agentive qualities of material objects can create meaning, impact people and more generally communicate without words (Barad & Gandorfer 2021; Peck, Stroud & Williams 2019; Caronia & Mortari 2015). Overall, the study illuminates that the agential intra-actions of humans and non-humans were necessary in order to enact protest in an annexed space. Apart from a posthumanist lens that informs this study, the focus on antagonisms and ongoing 'provocations' (Foucault 1982) operationalized through the notion of turbulence allows a light to be shed on regimes of order and disorder, of perceived transgression and norms, which in turn further explains the parameters of the visibility of protests.

Finally, Study IV interrogates the recent history of Ukraine's absence and erasure from Crimea. Similar to the previous three papers, the study brings to the surface and makes visible erased and silenced knowledges (Kerfoot & Hyltenstam 2017; Kerfoot 2020; Santos 2014). Unlike the other studies, this paper contributes to the body of work interested in body and self-reflexivity: it is the focus on the researcher's embodied experiences of and affective

responses to fieldwork spaces that illuminate the intricate relationship between memory, space, landscapes and the production of situated knowledges. Combining material ethnography (Stroud & Mpendukana 2009; Gordillo 2021) with phenomenology (Merleau-Ponty 2013; Ahmed 2013), I conduct a *ghost ethnography* to investigate the production of absence and its material-discursive effects on the built environments of public institutional spaces. Interrogating anthropological traces (Napolitano 2015; Bock & Stroud 2019) of violence using atypical signs, such as voids, shadows, blank walls, but also material-discursive omissions and detachments, the paper seeks to provide a fresh sociolinguistic analysis of haunting (Gordon 2008). By doing so, it directs the attention of semiotic landscape studies and sociolinguistics more generally to the social meanings of absence, presence and (in)visibility.

To summarize, this thesis investigates semiotic landscapes stretching beyond what is visible and immediately accessible. Absenced semiotic landscapes on par with absenced people are shown to mutually co-exist in the ways they evolve, affect and change on an ongoing basis. Study I attempts to grasp the visible, yet it becomes allured by what is hardly there. Study II further theoretically unpacks the absenced and nevertheless persistent spaces of otherwise, stretching the temporalities of the present to multiple traumatic pasts and potential futures. Study III illuminates the protestors' engagement with the emergent meanings of signs as a way of manoeuvring dissent. Finally, Study IV positions the researcher's body as a sensing and perceiving mechanism that mediates the affect generated by semiotic landscapes, further unsettling the absencing and haunting in Crimean semiotic landscapes.

In the following sections, I will present the historical contextualization of this thesis (Section 2), provide an overview of the current state of semiotic landscape research conducted in Ukraine and beyond (Section 3), present the research methodology (Section 4) and illuminate the potential of chosen theoretical frameworks to respond to the overarching research question of the thesis (Section 5). Subsequent sections will present summaries of four conducted studies (Section 6). Finally, the thesis concludes with a discussion of its contributions to semiotic landscape research and to the field of multilingualism more generally (Section 7).

2 Historical background

In the sections that follow, I will situate the thesis historically, socially and politically. I therefore provide a chronology of events, name salient historical actors and discuss the key moments and topologies of Crimea's vibrant past(s) and present(s). This rather detailed historical background should allow the reader to position each single study in relation to both distant and recent events

in Crimea. Moreover, this historical embedding should provide an insight into the entanglements of languages, ethnic groups and cultures that preceded today's Ukrainian-Russian territorial disputes over the peninsula. More specifically, in Section 2.1, I turn to Crimean history, stretching from the annexation of the Crimean Khanate by the Russian Empire in the 18th century to the Crimean Tatar deportation under Soviet rule. Following this, in Section 2.2, I trace the history of Ukrainian Crimea after the country gained its independence. Section 2.3 concludes with a discussion of the Russian annexation of Crimea in 2014.

2.1 Imperial expansion, dispossession and deportation

In 1783, as Tsarina Catherine II expanded the borders of the Russian Empire to the Black Sea, she occupied the Crimean Peninsula. Her southern conquest forced the collapse of the Crimean Khanate – a Crimean Tatar state that existed from 1441 to 1783. By annexing Crimea in 1783,[3] the Russian Empire violated the Peace Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca[4] with the Ottoman Empire (cf. Bartlett 1979: 134; O'Neill 2017: 173). The incorporation of Crimea and the extension of the southern imperial border allowed Catherine II to position herself alongside other European imperial powers. In this context, she created *Novorossija* ('New Russia') in 1764 in present day southern Ukraine mainland as part of preparations for a possible military conflict with the Ottoman Empire. By doing so, she eliminated Ukrainian autonomy, a Ukrainian Cossack state, and later expanded the borders of Novorossija to Crimea. The aim of this project was imperial: the Tsarina endeavoured to transform the 'empty', 'wild' and 'abandoned' steppes of 'Tatar hordes' in Crimea into 'a European-style region' of great imperial power (cf. O'Neill 2017: 3; Sunderland 2019: 65). She termed this the 'Greek project' in order to index the Hellenic influence and legacy of Crimea.

Before its annexation by Tsarina Catherine II in 1783, Crimea used to harbour a vibrant Crimean Tatar culture. Crimean Tatar heritage along with the Mediterranean languages of the Greeks and Italians contributed to the linguistic and cultural diversity of the region (cf. Kirmse 2019: 85). Under the Crimean Khanate, Crimea was inhabited by two major sub-groups of Crimean Tatars – Nogai and Tat-Tatars. The former were the descendants of the Kipchaks, a Turkic nomadic people, and the latter were descended from Europeans. The Nogai were said to be the last nomads in Europe. They were heirs to Mongol Genghis Khan's horsemen and populated the Crimean steppes. The Tat-Tatars were descendants of Western and Northern European

[3] This annexation is currently referred to as the first annexation of Crimea by Russia.
[4] The treaty ended the Russo-Turkish War between 1768 and 1774.

Germanic/Scandinavian Goths, Greeks and Italians, who had established colonies around the Black Sea between the 7th or 6th century BCE. Tat-Tatars lived in the Yaila Mountains along the south-eastern coast of Crimea. Two sub-ethnic groups (Nogai and Tat-Tatars) were also known as 'the mountain' and 'the steppe' Tatars (cf. Williams 2016: 2–4).[5]

In the late 18th century, travellers to Crimea recorded that the local Tatars were on 'the verge of disappearing' (cf. Williams 2016: 16). After coming to power, Russian *pomeshchiks* ('landowners') and imperial officials took possession of the Crimean Tatar lands, thus rupturing local customs and value systems. The imperial officials were said to have acted in breach of the laws of Crimean Tatar land ownership. They confiscated Crimean Tatar property and forced people to become serfs. Further, the disrespect with which the Russians treated the Muslim culture as they destroyed minarets, divested and dishonoured Crimean Tatar tombstones in sacral sites and cemeteries for the purpose of construction, caused the mass-scale migration of Muslim Tatars to the Islamic Ottoman Empire, Caucasus and the Balkans (cf. ibid.).

These processes of migration went hand-in-hand with the gradual Slavonization of the peninsula and the expropriation of property by Russian magnates. Due to these processes, the Muslim Tatar population significantly decreased in size, and those Tatars who remained in the peninsula risked abandonment (cf. Williams 2016: 6–8). Two years after the Russian annexation in 1785, the Tatars were said to constitute 84.1% of the population with the Russians constituting only 2.2% (with Ukrainians counted as Russians up until 1939), less than the Greek minority (2.3%). Over the course of the next 100 years, the number of Crimean Tatars continuously and rapidly decreased so that by 1864, only 50.3% were still Crimean Tatars, with almost 30% Russians (cf. O'Neill 2017: 30). The Crimean population census that was subsequently conducted indicated significant changes in the ethnic composition. By the end of the 19th century, these numbers were already reversed: Crimean Tatars constituted only 26% of the population of Crimea, with the number of Russians reaching more than 50% of the population (51.5%).

After the annexation in 18th century, a massive redesign of infrastructure, physical and natural sites (gardens, religious and secular buildings) sought to incorporate the peninsula both materially and discursively into the Russian

[5] Interestingly, feasts of spring that Crimean Tatars still celebrate today, such as, *Tepresh*, *Derviza* and *Kedreles*, originate in the Tat-Tatars' pre-Islamic culture. The Tat-Tatars have sustained their local traditions before the Nogais arrived in Crimea in the 11th century. It is due to the Tat-Tatars Greek, Goth, and Italian descendants that they retained the memory of Christian saints, as is still evident in the names of Crimean Tatar settlements and mountains, for example, *Ai Gurzuf* ('the village of St. Joseph'), *Ai Petri* ('St. Peter's Mountain') (cf. Williams 2016: 2–4).

Empire. The Russian imperial project aimed to redress the 'alliance and interests of the Tatar population' by stripping the local Crimean Tatars of Crimea of their cultural differences and 'training' them in Russian 'customs, amusements and pleasures' (ibid.: 30). Such a significant redesign was part of the 'Greek project' launched by Catherine II, as mentioned above. Acts of naming and re-naming constituted a part of this 'triumphant transformation' (Sunderland 2019: 70), thus presaging later acts by other invaders in the 21st century. To further strengthen the connection of the peninsula with its ancient Hellenic past, Turco-Tatar and Cossack names in Crimea were replaced with Greek names. This also included the name of the Crimean capital, which was changed from Crimean Tatar *Aqmeçıt* ('White Mosque') to Simferopol. Another major city, Sevastopol, was based on the Crimean Tatar fishing village *Akhtiar* (cf. Kirmse 2019). In the next section, I will introduce the cities of *Sevastopol* and *Simferopol* in more detail, since two of the studies in this thesis closely address their contemporary and historical meanings.

And so, once Crimean Tatar Akhtiar became Sevastopol – known in popular parlance today as the 'city of Russian glory' (Plokhy 2000), it was deemed to become an incarnation of the Russian imperial power. Built soon after the annexation of Crimea in 1783 by Catherine II and her Governor-General Potemkin, Sevastopol grew into one of the principal cities in the Russian Empire since it was home to the Russian military's Black Sea Fleet (cf. Qualls 2009: 189–190). As opposed to the so-called 'uncivilized' steppes of Taurida, Sevastopol became an embodiment of the neoclassical European style. Its 'beauty' and 'modernity' were said to impress foreign travellers and guests (cf. O'Neill 2006: 169). Initially taking its glory from the legacy of the Russian rule in the 19th and 20th centuries, even after WWII or after the 'Great Patriotic War', as it is referred to in the Soviet discourse, the city retained its modern European architectural style, thus preserving the Russian imperial touch (cf. Brown 2015: 215).

Whereas Akthiar was a small fishing village prior to the Russian imperial conquest, Aqmeçıt used to be a significant Crimean Tatar cultural centre and the residence of the Kalga Sultan – the second most powerful figure after the Crimean Chan (cf. Babenko & Dulichev 2008). Aqmeçıt was renamed Simferopol in May 1985 (cf. O'Neill 2006: 169). Despite the name change, Crimean Tatars continued to refer to Simferopol as Aqmeçıt in the media and among themselves, indicating the historical roots of the city (cf. Sobolieva 2019: 128). In today's Simferopol there are two districts called Aqmeçıt. One Aqmeçıt refers to the Tatar origin of today's Simferopol – the ancient Tatar town of Aqmeçıt situated on the Salgir River and now run down. The second Aqmeçıt is a residential area ('a microdistrict') founded by the Crimean Tatars in the 1990s upon their return from exile. I further discuss its material and discursive construction in Study II.

Beyond creating a new toponymy, building new cities or summoning governmental bodies, the Russian Empire 'reinvented the land' (O'Neill 2017: 5). It penetrated the very micro-landscapes of the conquered Crimean Peninsula and the neighbouring regions to inscribe its imperial presence oriented towards the future (cf. O'Neill 2017: 35; Sunderland 2019: 70), and, by doing so, rendering the differences across the southern empire invisible (cf. O'Neill 2017: 30). Reproducing itself 'at every scale imaginable' (ibid.: 35), the empire re-drew political borders, altered the places of memory and consolidated its power through a new intricate topology of power and dominance.

Soviet rule did not bring relief. From 1921 to 1936 and later from 1936 to 1945, Crimea was an autonomous republic within the Soviet Union. During those times and particularly during World War II, the socio-ethnic composition of the Crimean Peninsula experienced another major change. A significant re-design of the Soviet Union's internal borders went hand-in-hand with Soviet socialist ideology, which aimed to create a 'unified Soviet nation' across the borders, whereby the 'smaller' peoples were supposed to be 'incorporated into still larger nations' (Hirsch 2005: 311). As a result of this Soviet policy, Crimean Tatars, together with other ethnic minorities – Armenians, Greeks, Bulgarians (also Chechens, Volga Germans and Balkars in other regions), – were forcefully deported from the Empire's southern border shortly after the liberation of the Crimean ASSR from the Nazi regime. (cf. Hirsch 2005: 319). Without exception, all Crimean Tatars were accused of collaborating with Nazi Germany and were predominantly deported to the Uzbek Soviet Republic as a punishment. In only three days between 18 and 20 May 1944, almost 191,044 Crimean Tatars were expelled (cf. Kurtseitov 2017: 224–225).

Similar to the the processes occuring in 18th century, the forced repopulation of Crimean territory with mostly Slavic people went hand-in-hand with the destruction of Crimean Tatar cultural sites, places of worship, cemeteries and mosques (cf. Sobolieva 2019: 119). Whereas, before the war, 218,879 Crimean Tatars or 19.4% had lived in Crimea, as a result of the violent mass deportation by the Soviet regime and after the end of WWII, only 0.3% of Crimean Tatars remained on the peninsula (38,365), while the number of Russians (68.4%, 1,629,542) and Ukrainians (25.8%, 625,919) rose sharply. The figures show the abhorrent process of the forced removal of Crimean Tatars from Crimea. The Soviet policy of 'ethnic cleansing' directed against ethnic minorities remained in force until Joseph Stalin's death in 1953 (cf. Martin 1998: 823). It was only after the return from deportation after the 1980s that the number of Crimean Tatars in Crimea started to increase again (cf. Sasse 2007: 275).

In 1954, after Stalin's death, the Crimea peninsula became part of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic following a decision by Soviet party secretary

Nikita Khrushchev (cf. Sasse 2007: 101). This step was justified by geographical, economic and cultural arguments (cf. Volvach 2016: 15–16). Following the secessions of Lithuania, Latvia, Armenia, Estonia and Georgia from the Soviet Union, Ukraine proclaimed its independence on 24 August 1991. Since the collapse of the once 'unbreakable union of free republics', the former Soviet republics experienced major political, cultural and economic redress (cf. Czepczyński 2008: 109). A new market economy, changes in national government institutions and strengthened nationalist movements contributed to changes in the landscapes of the independent nation-states. Redrawn state borders yet again posed the threat of ethnic conflicts (cf. Hirsch 2005). In this political environment of Ukrainian independence, the Crimean question was ever present (cf. Kappeler 2014: 352).

2.2 Ukrainian independence: Nationalizing the language, decommunizing the past

Before I describe the recent developments caused by the Russian annexation of Crimea in March 2014, I will give a brief overview of the current social, ethnic and linguistic composition of Ukraine. Contemporary Ukraine is a multi-ethnic and multilingual country. Based on the latest, albeit slightly outdated, population census conducted in 2001, more than 130 ethnic groups live in the country with the following percentages: Ukrainians (77.8%), Russians (17.3%), Belarusians (0.6%), Moldovans (0.5%), Crimean Tatars (0.5%), Bulgarians (0.4%), Hungarians (0.3%), Romanians (0.3%), Poles (0.3%), Jews (0.2%), Armenians (0.2%) and Greeks (0.2%).[6] The various ethnic groups are not evenly distributed across the country. Rather, a number of them are concentrated in some regions more than others, for example, the highest proportion of ethnic Ukrainians is in the Western regions of Ternopol and Ivano-Frankovsk (more than 95%, respectively), and the highest proportion of self-reported ethnic Russians live in the Luhansk (39%), Donetsk (38.2%), Zaporizhzhya (24.7%), Dnipro (former Dnipropetrovsk) (17.6%), Odesa (20%) and Kherson (14.1%) regions. As of 2001, the Autonomous Republic of Crimea (ARC) is the only region in which ethnic Russians constitute a majority of the population (58.5%), followed by Ukrainians (24.4%) and Crimean Tatars (12.1%), whereas in Sevastopol, the proportion of ethnic Russians is the highest in the whole of Ukraine (71.6%).

Despite Ukraine's linguistic and ethnic diversity, the official language policy continues to promote Ukrainian as the official state language. Since

[6] *Nationality* ('національність') is used in the census, as preferred to *ethnicity*. All non-Ukrainian ethnic groups are considered 'ethnic' or 'national' minorities in Ukraine (State Statistics Committee of Ukraine 2001).

Russian used to be the language of *intergroup communication* ('международного общения') in the Soviet Union (Arel 2014: 2) and most of the population in Ukraine was and remains (at least) bilingual (based on the 2007 survey results, 79% were fluent in Russian and 71% in Ukrainian, see Pavlenko 2012: 42; also Maiboroda 2008)[7] the struggle for more recognition of the Ukrainian language on the state level continues to be dominated by questions of symbolic significance and emotional attachment. After the independence of Ukraine in 1991, Ukrainization policies of education and public space entered into force to further consolidate the unity of the nation through language (cf. Pavlenko 2012; Shakh 2010). When, in 2012, Viktor Yanukovych became the president of Ukraine, the disputed Kivalov-Kolesnichenko language law attempted to grant the Russian language the status of state language in the (predominantly Eastern and Southern) regions inhabited by more than 10% of the ethnic Russians (cf. L'nyavskiy 2016; Bilaniuk 2015; Kudriavtseva 2018; Bilaniuk & Melnyk 2008). This measure resulted in harsh criticism. Interpreted as an attempt to perpetuate the domination of the Russian language in Ukraine (cf. Bilaniuk 2015: 10–11), the law was said to diminish incentives for the Ukrainian language to gain ground in regions that had a high proportion of Russian speakers. Such debates, which centred around essentialized ideas about languages and the corresponding political support, further perpetuated monoglot ideologies of one nation – one language in Ukraine. These tensions were problematized by some scholars, who argued that state interests and 'language rights' took precedence over 'speakers' rights' (Pavlenko 2011a; Søvik 2007).

After the Russian annexation of Crimea in 2014, the Ukrainian language and its status as the only state language, and as an object of 'national security', was further constitutionally advanced (cf. Csernicskó & Fedinec 2016; Arel 2014). The Ukrainian parliament introduced a series of laws, including laws regulating the use of language in the media and consumer sector, and further tightened restrictions on the use of Ukrainian in all spheres of public life (cf. for an extended discussion, Seals 2019). Moreover, in light of the Russian

[7] According to the latest population census (2001) in Ukraine, 67.5% of the Ukrainian population consider Ukrainian to be their 'native language', whereas 29.6% of the population consider Russian to be their native language ('ridna mova' or more precisely their 'language of origin', cf. Arel 2014). In the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, 77% of the population consider Russian to be their native language, whereas only 10.1% of the population consider Ukrainian to be their native language and 11.4% consider Crimean Tatar to be their native language. Since both spoken languages and nationalities/ethnicities were measured based on the undocumented self-perceptions of the survey respondents, the information provides a rough orientation of the multilingual and multiethnic demographics in the country. Besides, concerns have been raised about non-differentiated self-reporting, particularly because many ethnic Ukrainians reported speaking Ukrainian as their 'native language', while preferring to speak Russian on a day-to-day basis (cf. Pavlenko 2012: 41).

aggression, the Ukrainian parliament created a new official role of the Commissioner for the Protection of the State Language and introduced a new law in 2019 'On Ensuring the Functioning of the Ukrainian Language as the State Language'. According to this law, the Commissioner had to ensure the 'protection of the Ukrainian language as the state language' as well as to guarantee 'the protection of the right of citizens of Ukraine to receive information and services in the state language in the spheres of public life defined by this law throughout the territory of Ukraine'.[8] These measures were supported by a number of scholars from Ukrainian state universities, public figures, experts on language policy, political and human rights activists, writers and journalists, who expressed public support for the implementation of this law. Different stakeholders from within and outside academia were involved in the fair and transparent appointment of the Language Commissioner and advocated the need to implement the law given the 'efforts' of 'Moscow and its fifth column [in Ukraine] to undermine the positions of the state language as an element of the constitutional order and state unity of Ukraine'.[9] Though the current thesis does not directly engage with this debate, it is important to be aware of the intricate relationships between the sociopolitical tensions and the ideological battles over territories, discourses and, not least, language. Russia's actions on the ground, both in Crimea and other occupied regions in which war is ongoing, permeate and affect policy decisions around language constructed as an 'object' that requires state protection.

Apart from the regulation of language that has changed in response to the Russian aggression, the visual composition of public space – especially the appearance of the monuments, street names and memory plaques indexing the Soviet past – underwent massive redesign. The Ukrainian parliament passed a package of laws on decommunization, regulating toponymy and the use of public monuments across Ukraine. As a result of such policies, statues or monuments containing Soviet symbolism were dismantled, old Soviet names were erased, and new national holidays were introduced (cf. Hörbelt 2017: 11). While the decommunization of public space began as early as 1991 after Ukraine gained its independence in Western Ukraine (cf. Liebich & Myshlovska 2014: 752), similar processes occurred in the South and East of Ukraine no earlier than the winter of 2014 after the Crimean annexation. The removal of Lenin's monuments ('ленинопад') across the country was initially unregulated and instigated by citizens. One year later, in 2015, the Ukrainian parliament passed a law condemning the communist and Nazi regimes in Ukraine and banning all forms of propaganda that used their symbols

[8] https://mova-ombudsman.gov.ua/upovnovazhenij-iz-zahistu-derzhavnoyi-movi (accessed 09.06.2022).

[9] https://babel.ua/news/38379-naukovci-i-movoznavci-vistupili-proti-kandidaturi-monahovoji-na-posadu-movnogo-ombudsmena-hto-vona-taka (accessed 09.06.2022).

(Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine 09.04.2015). The series of laws legalized and provided further grounds for the removal of a total of 1,320 statues and busts of Lenin and 1,069 monuments, as well as many commemorative plaques depicting other communist leaders and events associated with communism (cf. Olszański 2017: 17–18). The removal of communist symbols from Ukrainian-controlled territories was of great symbolic significance as such monuments were commonly located in the main squares of Ukrainian cities or in front of city administration buildings. Statues of Lenin symbolized 'Soviet dominance' and glorified the old heroes of the Soviet era (cf. Olszański 2017: 19–20). In the aftermath, the statues of Lenin were often replaced by Ukrainian national symbols and personalities, subsequently immortalized on the recently vacated pedestals. It is important to note that the campaign of decommunization could only take place in the regions that had not been occupied. In contrast, for Crimea as an occupied territory, the omnipresence of such monuments and, as one of the participants told me, the 'special care' that Soviet monuments in Crimea receive, could be indexical of a Ukrainian space that was no longer there.

2.3 The annexation of Crimea and the regimentation of space

The Euromaidan protests in Ukraine, which broke out in November 2013, served as a backdrop for the annexation of Crimea. At the end of February 2014 and days after the (then) President Viktor Yanukovych, who had close political ties to Russia, fled the country, heavily armed Russian troops (initially known as 'little green men') took control of critical infrastructure and lines of communication in Crimea (cf. Kappeler 2014: 355). Under such conditions, on 16 March 2014, a disputed referendum was carried out monitored by armed Russian forces. Used as a form of subterfuge for democratic volition, the staged referendum aimed to lay the ground for the accession of Crimean territory by Russia. It appeared as no surprise that the illegal referendum was claimed to result in nearly univocal support (96.8%) for Crimea's accession to Russia.

In retrospect, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine traced the start of Russian aggression against the country to 20 February 2014. On this day, the armed Russian military first appeared on Crimean territory, and later fuelled and instigated unrest across other Ukrainian territories. The secession of Crimea entailed its forceful incorporation into Russian economic, financial and legal systems. By 1 January 2015, during a so-called 'transition period', Crimea was supposed to have been integrated into the Russian Federation. Since the

annexation, the ruble, the Russian currency, had been introduced, the properties of former Ukrainian enterprises had been nationalized and Russian banks started operating across Crimea.[10]

As a consequence of these actions, public space in Crimean cities was used as a tool of influencing public opinion about the Crimean referendum and setting the political agenda.[11] As will be shown later in Study I regarding Sevastopol, the semiotic landscape of the city centre indicated the support of Russia by government organizations, civil initiatives, youth movements as well as private actors. Echoing the 'imperial hegemonic planning mentality' (Scott 2017: 6), Russia applied its script for standardization and rationalization of the annexed territory and put its sovereign leader, the Russian president Vladimir Putin at the core of Russian statecraft. Patriotic graffiti adorned with surveillance cameras praised Vladimir Putin, looking straight into the eyes of passers-by, as the father and collector of the 'Russian lands'.

3 State of research

In this section, I give an overview of linguistic/semiotic landscape research since the term 'linguistic landscape' was first coined in 1997. Further, I trace the developments of this interdisciplinary area of study over the last thirty years, as it has been taken up and expanded by further studies conducted across the continents and, as particularly interesting for this thesis, in Ukraine and other countries of post-Soviet space.

3.1 Semiotic landscape research: Overview

Semiotic landscape scholarship provides a useful lens to explore the interrelation of people and places. Originally interested in studying written inscriptions in public space, Landry and Bourhis (1997: 23) offered the first concise definition of *linguistic landscape* understood as 'the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region'. Through this investigation, Landry and Bourhis (1997) demonstrated that

[10] Before annexing Crimea and waging the war in the Donbas region, Russia deployed similar tactics of territorial appropriations in Chechnya (1999–2009), Georgia (backing of separatist movements in Abkhazia and South Ossetia, 2008), and Moldova (resulting in the creation of the unrecognized state of Transnistria).

[11] https://www.ctvnews.ca/world/ukraine-s-crimea-seeks-to-become-independent-state-after-referendum-1.1723483; https://hromadske.ua/ru/posts/propahanda-protyv-realnosty-naskolko-pravdyvy-piat-populiarnykh-utverzhdenyi-o-krymskykh-dostyzhenyiakh (accessed 09.06.2022).

language, or, rather, bilingual written inscriptions placed on signs, can serve as indicators of the power and status of a 'speech community' in the area.

Over the course of a decade following Landry and Bourhis' seminal paper, the argument that linguistic landscapes are inherently tied to power and ideology became even stronger. More qualitative and ethnographic approaches inspired questions about the mediating, but also distorting and facilitating role of semiotic landscapes in naturalizing and masking inequality (cf. Moriarty 2019; Barni & Bagna 2015; Blommaert 2015). Though later research has broadened the meaning of 'linguistic' in linguistic landscapes (cf. Makoni & Pennycook 2007; Jaworski & Thurlow 2010b), and has expanded forms of sense-making to include smell, touch, taste and hearing (cf. Pennycook & Otsuji 2015), the primary concern with representation, visibility and visuality persisted in later research.[12] As mentioned in introduction above, for the sake of consistency, I will refer to *semiotic* landscapes rather than linguistic landscapes as a way to foreground other forms of meaning- and sense-making that go beyond strictly 'linguistic' elements of landscapes.

Alongside the aforementioned developments, the interest in semiotic landscapes in countries of the former Soviet Union began to grow in the beginning of the new millennium. Viewing semiotic landscapes as an 'arena through which various agendas are being battled, negotiated and dictated' (Shohamy & Waksman 2009: 321), it can be stated that the spaces in these areas remain ideologically constructed (cf. Muth 2015: 207) as well as politically and culturally contested. In recent decades, linguistic landscape studies have been conducted in Ukraine (cf. Pavlenko 2009; Pavlenko 2010; Pavlenko 2012), Estonia (Brown 2012), Russia (in Yakutsk, Ferguson & Sidorova 2018; in St. Petersburg, Baranova & Fedorova 2019), Belarus (Sloboda 2009), Latvia (Marten 2010; Lazdiņa, Marten & Pošeiko 2010), Estonia (Soler-Carbonell 2016), Moldova (Muth & Wolf 2009; Muth 2014a; Muth 2014b; Muth 2015; Muth 2012), Lithuania (Moore 2019; Moore 2018; Muth 2012; Dabašinskienė 2021), Azerbaijan (Shibliyev 2014), Kazakhstan (Moore 2014; Akzhigitova & Zharkynbekova 2014; Manan & Hajar 2022; Kulbayeva 2018) and, more recently, in Kyrgyzstan (McDermott 2019) and Uzbekistan (Hasanova 2022; Hasanova 2019). These studies explored the multilingual landscapes of independent states and vibrant language contact situations centred around Russian and other nation-state languages. Beyond situations of language contact as merely linguistic phenomenon, the continuous use of Russian as a language of intergroup communication in the former Soviet republics represented a contested issue since the use and spread of language not only referred to the expansion of another communicative resource but was rather constructed as a

[12] Even when exploring 'multilingual ghost signs' (Pavlenko 2022), readable and decodable representations of language provide a guide for the researcher.

means of wielding cultural (and political) influence. For instance, in the Russian-occupied area of Transnistria, which officially belongs to Moldova, Russian was used to promote Russian national identities and foster Russian-state nation-building discourses in the annexed region (cf. Muth 2014b; Muth 2015). Similarly, the semiotic landscape studies conducted by Moore (2018) in Lithuania indicate the intricate ideological work that semiotic landscapes can carry out. For example, Moore (2018) shows how Lithuania underwent a re-ideologization of space from post-Soviet to the Lithuanian national project, followed by its decommunization. By tracing the changes through a multimodal diachronic analysis of material objects and written texts, Moore demonstrates that the changes in material manifestations indicate shifts in new memory politics and in lasting inter-ethnic conflicts. Further, Sloboda (2009) exemplified how landscape objects could communicate communist ideologies beyond what was said. Together, these studies illustrate how materialized semiotic landscapes come to index and perform ideologies across post-socialist spaces.

3.2 Semiotic landscape research in Ukraine

During subsequent decades, and following the development of semiotic landscape research subsequent to the seminal paper published by Landry and Bourhis, various quantitative and qualitative approaches were adopted to investigate the use and visibility of languages in Ukrainian public space. For instance, scholars studied the use of Ukrainian, Russian and English in official, commercial and private advertisements in the Ukrainian capital Kyiv (cf. Pavlenko 2012; Ivanova 2016; L'nyavskiy 2016). Other research has focused on the visibility and salience of languages in the Ukrainian cities of Zaporizhzhya (Bever 2015), Lviv (Seals & Niedt 2020; L'nyavskiy 2016; Pavlenko 2022), Odesa (L'nyavskiy 2022) and in the western Ukrainian region of Transcarpathia, encompassing Uzhhorod, Mukachevo, Khust, Chop and Berehove (Hires-László 2019; Laihonen & Csernicskó 2018; Csernicskó & Fedinec 2020; Csernicskó & Laihonen 2016; Chernichko 2019; Karmacsi 2019).

In this wide range of studies, important insights into the semiotic landscapes of the country shortly after the declaration of Ukrainian independence in 1991–1992, and later in 1994–1995, 2000 and 2002, were offered by Laada Bilaniuk (2005). Even though Bilaniuk's interest in the salience and visibility of various languages in Ukraine came from her focus on 'cultural corrections' and language politics, her work can arguably be considered fundamental to the study of semiotic landscapes in Ukraine. Bilaniuk showed that as Ukraine became an independent state and launched a policy of Ukrainization, the public

spaces in the cities of Kyiv, Dnipro and Donetsk underwent rapid change. These changes echoed language policy measures but also sometimes provoked different responses, such as a sense of disorientation or resistance. For example, Bilaniuk noted that the visual and textual redress took place so quickly that local taxi drivers could not find their way around: Soviet names were completely replaced from one day to the next (cf. Bilaniuk 2005: 95). Shortly after independence in 1995, the policy-driven substitutions undertaken in public spaces of the respective cities generated resistance in the eastern Ukrainian city of Dnipropetrovsk, now renamed Dnipro, as the local citizens changed new Ukrainian signs back into Russian. Also, the Ukrainian name 'Донецьк' was changed back to the Russian 'Донецк' (Bilaniuk 2005: 95). On the other hand, regional authorities in other cities chose various strategies to replace, delete and/or substitute existing Russian signs. For example, in Kyiv the authorities transposed into Ukrainian in the 'cheapest' way possible by replacing individual letters in plate-names while in Lviv they created completely new street signs (cf. Bilaniuk 2005).

After Bilaniuk, other scholars investigated the bilingual or monolingual use of Ukrainian and Russian in the public space of Ukrainian cities, especially in Kyiv. For example, some studies demonstrated that the Ukrainian language was widely used in matters of public life, such as politics (e.g., election advertising), justice (e.g., signs and brochures of law firms), commerce (e.g., advertising for businesses, signs and posters for supermarkets, names of and advertisements for restaurants, cafés and fast-food outlets). In particular, the modality of signs – large and highly visible signs firmly anchored in public space – could 'predict' the language used in the sign. While the solid and institutionalized signage used Ukrainian, Russian was widespread in private and officially non-regulated signs (cf. Ivanova 2016: 388–389). Pavlenko (2012) suggested similar findings as she observed two norms operating in the Ukrainian linguistic landscape: Ukrainian monolingualism or Ukrainian-English bilingualism was prevalent in 'formal' contexts, as conforming to the principles of the official language policy, whereas Russian or Ukrainian-Russian signs were used in 'informal' contexts, in which commercial and private actors adopted the language they preferred (cf. Pavlenko 2012: 53). At the same time, in Kyiv between 2006 and 2010, Russian became a 'permissible transgression' (Pavlenko 2012). Viewing transgression as signs 'unauthorized by law', Pavlenko (2012: 36) claimed that the use of Russian in informal contexts was not to be taken as a protest against the official language regime in the Ukrainian capital, but rather as 'a new, implicitly accepted norm'.

The use of languages in public space remained a contested issue of which the Ukrainians were well aware. Sign makers, such as the designers of advertising campaigns, attempted to avoid contested connotations associated with the Ukrainian and Russian languages. To do so, they followed a strategy of

'minimalism' – used as few words as possible or opted for images as a 'cross-cultural' means of communication. Besides, sign makers used 'as few *marked* words as possible' (Bilaniuk 2005: 185, emphasis added) in the linguistic design of the advertisements, that is, they preferred certain elements such as morphemes, phonemes and words – the strategy of 'bivalence' – which 'belong[ed] equally to two recognized linguistic codes' (Bever 2015: 245) of both the Russian and Ukrainian alphabet. Due to the similarity of both alphabets, the only difference being several letters that are only used in the Ukrainian Cyrillic alphabet ('і', 'ї', 'є', 'ґ') and in Russian ('ы', 'э', 'ё', 'ъ'), it is often impossible to identify the language on signposts (cf. Bilaniuk & Melnyk 2008; Pavlenko 2009; Bever 2015).[13] This strategy was found to be particularly helpful in a Ukrainian context as a means of avoiding potential language-related conflicts. Moreover, it allowed the sign makers to 'overcome contradictions between the official policy of monolingualism and local multilingual language practices' (Bever 2015: 245). Finally, another strategy for creating a sense of social cohesion was the use of English and its Latin script (cf. Bever 2015). Examining semiotic landscapes 'as multimodal and multilingual phenomena' in Zaporizhzhya in 2009–2011, Bever (2015) found that English and its Latin script were used to leverage inter-ethnic tensions – an interesting observation, which has re-appeared today. As the Russian Federation launched a full-scale invasion of Ukraine, some academics expressed the hope that English could be used as a mediating language to provide an escape from potential confrontation and the discomfort of speaking Russian.

Now, as I sketch the history of semiotic landscapes in Ukraine and beyond, I would like to return to the main questions of this thesis. How could an exploration of semiotic landscapes provide a lens from which to study social practice, and how could an ethnographic approach to absence in semiotic landscapes be helpful in gaining further insights into individuals' practices and their relationship to space and place?

3.3 Semiotic landscapes, space and place

To answer these questions, I will now position semiotic landscapes in relation to the broader concepts of space and place. My starting point is the conception of social space developed by French social theorist Henri Lefebvre. Lefebvre (1991) treats *space* as a social construct that is produced in the course of social

[13] The two languages of Ukrainian and Russian are from the same Slavic language group. While both languages have differences in phonology (e.g., palatalization and vowel reduction) and morphology (e.g., tenses), the most significant differences are exhibited in both lexicons, with the Ukrainian lexicon different from the Russian one due its contact with the Polish language (cf. Seals 2019: 6)

action. He proposes three dimensions of social space as 1. conceived, 2. perceived and 3. lived. The first dimension of social space is especially salient for Study I, as it foregrounds various actors such as state actors, policy makers, regional or national authorities, as well as shop owners and service providers who shape or 'conceive' representations of social space. Secondly, the next dimension that Lefebvre refers to is a so-called 'perceived' space, that is, the 'spatial representations' filtered through the lens of subjectivity, documented and represented. I use this understanding of social space as spatial representations to refer to photographs, narrated interviews, fieldwork observations and any textual and material artefacts produced or shared by the project participants that are taken to represent social space. Finally, the third dimension of Lefebvre's space is a 'lived space' or the social space produced in the course of 'spatial practice'. It is defined as a 'projection onto a (spatial) field of all aspects, elements and moments of social practice' (Lefebvre 1991: 31) and refers to individuals' experiences of acting upon or coming into close contact with social space. While this third dimension emphasizes individuals' actions exercised upon social space, the definition seems to fall short in acknowledging, firstly, individuals' phenomenological experiences of social space – an aspect that is discussed at length by Edward Casey (1996) when he talks about *place*. Secondly, this third dimension of social space, though touching upon actions and lived experiences of space, does not take into account the relationship of space or place to the body.

Jeff Malpas' philosophy provides a way of thinking that allows the bridging of space and place, but also the positioning of (in)visible semiotic landscapes and sensing human bodies in relation to place. While space and place are commonly referred to as distinct phenomena, Malpas (2012: 233) suggests a way of thinking that 'weaves' place, space and time together. Space and place, as they are used in English, correlate and derive their meanings from the Greek *topos* 'a place', *chora* 'a town' and *kenon* 'empty'. These concepts represent Aristotelian ideas about *topos* as 'the innermost boundary of a containing body', Plato's *chora* as 'the womb or matrix out of which things come into being' (ibid.), as well as Leucippus and Democritus' *kenon* as referring to cosmos,[14] which historically comes to shape the meanings of space and place. It is the third idea of *kenon* that is said to dominate Western thinking around space, while *topos* and *chora* as 'enclosing around' and 'making room for' seem to be relegated to the background when defining the concepts (cf. Malpas 2012: 233).

Given this historical contextualization of the meanings and the capacity of language (specifically of concepts) to shape the ways we think about social

[14] As it is 'made up of the completely full, those indivisible particles of being called atoms, and the completely empty, the void' (Malpas 2012: 233).

reality, Malpas (2012) suggests a different way of bringing together space and place beyond the rigid distinctions commonly pursued by cultural geographers. He also proposes redefining the ontology of space and place so that it is grounded in *boundedness*, *openness* and *extendedness*. Consequently, space and place can be productively seen as interconnected rather than distinct. What is crucial for this entanglement of space and place is appearance. A place ties space and time through appearance as something that is 'always topographic' and 'taking place' (Malpas 2012: 238). Besides, appearance relates to the body that 'appears' within *chora* and *topos*. Semiotic landscapes relate to places and selves insofar as they manifest as appearances. Appearing, reappearing and disappearing semiotic landscapes take place, make place, and, – when absenced or disappeared – withdraw from place. Semiotic landscapes 'weave themselves in and out' (ibid.: 233) of other social relations – with or without the immediate presence of people.

This thinking is in line with recent semiotic landscape research (cf. Peck et al. 2019), which draws its inspiration from Malpas' philosophy of place that foregrounds an interconnectedness of ways of knowing, imagining, remembering and longing. Rather than treating the individuals' experiences 'in' place, place is viewed 'as integral to the very structure and possibility of experience' (Malpas 1999: 21). By extension, in order to fully grasp the social meanings of semiotic landscapes as material-discursive configurations or appearances taking place, it is necessary to engage with individuals' experiences of places. The way in which this thesis studies semiotic landscapes 'through person in commonality than as a dimension abstracted from the self' (Peck et al. 2019: 2) will be further discussed below.

4 Research methodology

In this section, I will introduce the two main stages of my ethnographic fieldwork, describe the (linguistic) ethnographic orientation foregrounded for the second stage of my fieldwork, and discuss matters of self-reflexivity. I will then touch upon ethical considerations and reflect upon my role as a researcher engaging with participants and places in Crimea. I conclude this section with a review of the data collection methods utilized in the four studies as they allow me to explore how people and places come to relate to, but also to co-constitute, each other.

4.1 Two stages of ethnographic fieldwork

The first three-day field trip to Crimea took place in November 2017. During the trip, I took around 200 photographs of Sevastopol's main streets. The

material I gathered allowed me to draw my first conclusions about signs of change. Unsurprisingly, the political changes brought about discursive shifts and material effects. Semiotic landscapes representing the Russian state, visible in public advertisements, national wearables, flags and stickers placed on public and private property, on institutional buildings, parks, kindergartens, monuments, places of worship, created a sense of *another, non-Ukrainian space*.

During the second field trip in autumn 2019, I adopted a more (linguistic) ethnographic orientation. As I sought to foreground the participants' emic perspectives, I conducted further studies for the thesis by following the methodological tenets of Linguistic Ethnography (LE). As an interdisciplinary-oriented approach, LE emphasizes the importance of self-reflexivity, positionality and a dialogic co-construction of situated knowledges throughout the research process (Shaw, Copland & Snell 2015: 6). A linguistic ethnographic lens allowed me to focus on individual experience of language, space and (material) artefacts (Shaw et al. 2015; Copland & Creese 2017; Rampton, Maybin & Roberts 2015; Blommaert 2007). Besides, with such an approach, rather than treating the study participants as mere 'informants', I could recognize and acknowledge the individual participants as 'knowers' (Kerfoot & Bello-Nonjengele 2022).

During September and October 2019, I spoke with 35 participants and conducted six walking tours (Stroud & Jegels 2014; Evans & Jones 2011; Szabó & Troyer 2017), 11 audio recordings of semi-structured interviews (one of which was recorded online in 2020, see Briggs 1986) and four focus group discussions (Blommaert 2007; Shaw et al. 2015). I wrote both brief and more elaborate fieldnotes during the day and kept a detailed fieldwork diary (35 fieldwork diary entries). I also made four autoethnographically embodied observations in museums (Waterton 2014; Thrift 2007) and took more than 3,500 photographs in both urban and rural areas of Crimea (cf. Figure 1 for a detailed map).

More specifically, I visited Simferopol (*Ukr.* Сімферополь, *Rus.* Симферополь, *Crimean Tatar* Aqmeçıt), Bakhchysarai (*Rus./Ukr.* Бахчисарай, *Crimean Tatar* Bağçasaray; Bahchisaray), Sevastopol (*Rus./Ukr.* Севастополь, *Crimean Tatar* Akhtiar), Yalta *(Rus./Ukr.* Ялта), Yevpatoria (*Ukr.* Євпаторія, *Rus.* Евпатория, *Crimean Tatar* Kezlev) and Gvardejskoe (*Ukr.* Гвардійське, *Crimean Tatar* Sarabuz). At the time I conducted my fieldwork, all the project participants were living in Crimea, sometimes moving around Crimea prior to and after its annexation.

This somewhat descriptive account of the collected data should be approached with caution, since it may evoke an impression of distanced, rational, objective and objectified treatment of the data. I would rather emphasize that the data I have extensively engaged with are nothing but lively, multi-

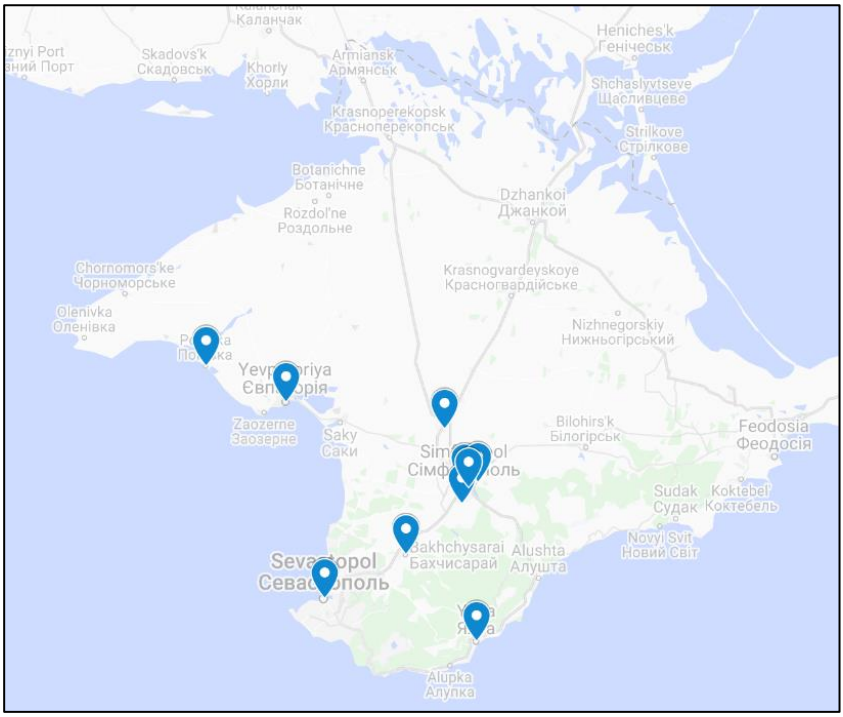


Figure 1. Fieldwork sites visited in 2019.

dimensional and co-constructed (Ellingson & Sotirin 2020). The textual and visual data I assembled continue to evoke and animate experiences each time I revisit them. My engagement with the participants' accounts, but also with the documented material captured in photographs and fieldnotes, is under constant negotiation.

The collected material brings me to different places each time I engage with it: to places of different temporalities (my life in Ukraine, my fieldwork negotiations), to places of varying levels of familiarity and intimacy (the absence of an identity, but 'folded' subjectivities), to places of writing as acting and re-signifying (When, how, what and why to write?), to places of exclusion and suppression (What voices do I believe belong or do not belong to research texts?). Though I engaged and theorized the worlds of others, I came closer to my own world. My own subjectivities were essentially folded into the worlds of others (St. Pierre 1997). When conducting research, I had been transformed by the subjectivities of others and by the places I had encountered. Likewise, the people and environments had undoubtedly been affected by my presence.

While I had previously ascribed precise temporal and spatial coordinates to the start and end of the fieldwork, such coordinates – like any mapping technology – simplify and render complex experiences by reducing them to numbers. The decision to quantify the data (as a constructed set of materials collected in the field) may raise more questions than answers, for example: Did my observations, relevant to my fieldwork, start when I was growing up in a neighbourhood similar to Soviet-style areas in Crimea? Did I become an 'active observer' once the monument to Lenin was toppled in my hometown in 2014? Did I become aware of my active involvement in this project long before it had even started, since I had grabbed a Ukrainian flag and went to the central square to protest in 2013? Or, perhaps it started when I contacted the Crimean researcher who helped me organize my fieldwork stay in Crimea. Whilst these uncertainties remain, I tend to say that my main fieldwork began once I crossed the geo-human border that stretched along the demarcation line between the Russian occupied Crimean and the Ukrainian mainland. It started for me when I caught sight of that divided zone, sprawling between Russian and Ukrainian checkpoints, heavily marked with the Russian Red-White-Blue and the Ukrainian Blue-Yellow colours of the respective national flags. It began when two state powers stood opposite each other, divided by nothing but a straight section of uninhabited road – the buffer zone. Before I continue with the detailed elaboration of the data engagement methods used for each study, I would like to consider some ethical matters.

4.2 Ethical considerations

This research has been conducted in accordance with *The European Code of Conduct for Research Integrity* (All European Academies ALLEA 2017), following the principles of *Good Research Practice* (Swedish Research Council 2017).

Following the Rules and Regulations of Stockholm University's *Research Integrity and Ethics Policy* (dnr SU FV-1.2.1-4285-20), before the data collection, the researcher consulted the Ethics support function at the Office for Research, Engagement and Innovation Services. For participation in the project, the participant had to reside in Crimea at the moment of data collection. Apart from this, no other criteria such as age, gender, ethnicity, race were considered for a selection of participants. Considering that the planned research was conducted outside Sweden and that neither the processing of sensitive personal data nor personal data regarding violations of law that include crimes, judgments in criminal cases, penal law sanctions, or administrative deprivation of liberty according to the Ethical Review Act (2003: 460)

were relevant for the research, additional approval by the *Swedish Ethical Review Authority* was deemed unnecessary.

In order to protect the research participants in this project, each of them signed an informed consent form in their preferred language, which was Russian, as each participant used Russian as their first language. The informed consent form included information about the project and its goals, adapted to the participants' capacity to understand it. It stated that the participants' anonymity was guaranteed and that they could withdraw from the project either partially or totally at any time. Though some of the participants wanted to use their real names, I decided to pseudonymize all participant data for the sake of protection. Moreover, all potentially identifying details were removed.

Walking tours in the participants' familiar surroundings and semi-structured interviews comprising broadly formulated questions were the main method of data collection. Such a participatory method allowed the participants to change the topic of discussion (in interviews) and to choose places to visit (on the walking tours). To further safeguard the participants' identities, once signed, the informed consent forms were scanned and stored on an encrypted external hard drive, whereafter analogue paper forms were irretrievably destroyed. Further, no field notes were written in analogue form, but were initially typed into a smartphone and later transferred to an encrypted hard drive. All audio recordings were made using a personal smartphone, with the recordings subsequently transferred to an encrypted external hard drive and deleted from the smartphone. During the entire data collection process, the data on mobile phones and my personal laptop were secured via a VPN account, meaning all internet connection requests were encrypted before being sent to the server.

In line with the regulations on public access to official documents and archiving, the data have been encrypted and safely stored on a locked and password-protected external hard drive and will be stored for a minimum of 10 years.[15]

4.3 Negotiating access to fieldwork sites: Engagement with the participants

As a holder of a Ukrainian passport, my residency in the adjacent Ukrainian town of Kherson allowed me to easily move across newly erected borders and remain 'invisible'. During my stay in Crimea, I sought to affiliate myself with one of the educational institutions (EI) and volunteered to be a language assistant. A colleague put me in touch with Crimean scholars who wanted to

[15] Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the data analysis and storage took place outside Sweden.

support my research. I really benefited from their generosity during my stay. As I had been told from the start by my colleagues, due to the banning of visitors from abroad and international exchanges being put on hold due to the sanctions, Crimea was a no-go zone for people 'from outside'. This is why my position as a language assistant and a visiting PhD student was crucial for the project. For the two months, I became a fully-fledged member of the team, which came together with an immense sense of freedom. I could deputize for other teachers and was free to design the content of my classes, give lectures, and take charge of students' discussion groups.

Once I got to know the students better, I asked them to participate in my project. Some of them agreed to be interviewed, to take a tour in an area of their choice, while some shared their observations by showing me photographs and observations of 'interesting' landscapes. During our meetings, we spoke English and Russian. At times, my Russian was rather poor. I was uncomfortable expressing my thoughts in Russian, as it increasingly became a language I would translate into from English or German. I lacked a Crimean regional identity and had no personal ties with the peninsula. In the students' eyes, I possessed different forms of 'capital' (Bourdieu 1986), such as 'experiences from abroad' and 'the ability to speak foreign languages'. The students would ask me questions about the main 'difficulties and problems learning foreign languages', about my 'preferred country of residence', about my 'reasons for taking a PhD', as well as other 'how-to' questions, which positioned me as an 'expert' in languages and international life experiences. Being new to Simferopol allowed me to emphasize my position as a newcomer, and I appreciated hearing the participants' insights into the semiotic landscapes of the region with which they were very familiar.

4.4 Engagement with places

On occasions, I strolled around streets, visited museums, went to shops, cafés, parks and squares on my own. These walks would take place in central and more outlying districts, in the areas I would learn about from the participants and staff members. To me, walking was a way to catch glimpses of places and their different faces. Walking and photographing semiotic landscapes, noting the abundant vestiges and legacies of the past through diverse languages speaking from walls (Crimean Tatar, Ukrainian, Russian, English, Armenian, Hebrew, Karaim, French and German), was my way of engaging with the social space. At times, Crimea felt like home. Familiar smells, noises, landscapes would throw me back to my 'Ukrainian' past. The assemblages of voices, faces, products, sounds and smells reconstructed long forgotten,

unattended feelings of some sort of here-ness, some sort of belonging. Perhaps it was a re-experienced familiarity that resonated with my body memory.

'I am prepared to be in this occupied land', I thought. And yet, on occasions, I was shocked to see the fabrication of evidence with my bare eyes. To have my body right at the epicentre of the Russian ideological machinery had a huge impact on me. When confronted with the naked truth of annexation, which I perceived as unjust (e.g., such as the exhibition '5 years in the native harbour' I visited in Simferopol, as discussed in Study IV, or during the tour of the Russian military's Black Sea fleet in Sevastopol), my immediate bodily reactions would reveal my disorientation. Whilst in everyday encounters with my participants, in conversations, everyone would be cautious about 'talking politics', the moments of shock would hold in check my reflective (and critical) capabilities. On such occasions, my body would 'protest' against remaining in place, to see and to be seen. Repulsion and abhorrence would be the feeling that emanated from such places. I repeatedly found myself unfree – to talk, to move, to think aloud. A sense of captivity was always present. My participants had a similar sense. It seemed like this sense of unfreedom was an integral part of the new regime.

4.5 Self-reflexivity

The multiple identities I was assigned were vital for engaging with individual participants and with the material environments in Crimea. Then, I was the one writing up the participants' voices in my own observations and field notes, and now, I am producing 'texts' like the one you are reading now, permeated by my own interpretations and voice (cf. Kerfoot 2016). As I re-entextualize the participants' insights and provide certain renderings of their worlds, I make use of my own privileged position of a researcher employed in Sweden. Even with the best intentions, there is always the risk that I may distort other people's ideas and beliefs (cf. Canagarajah 2021). Caught up in my own ideologies, I attempt to remain tirelessly critical about my socio-political beliefs and to comprehend their operation both rationally and bodily. I will return to this point in Section 7.3.

Before we even start to engage ethnographically, as Bourdieu reminds us, there is an acute need to be aware of our own position in the field of knowledge production, of our own ideological biases, distorted perceptions and always only limited insights we may generate (Salö 2018: 32). Self-reflexivity forces us to think about 'the complexity of the data, avoiding the suggestion that there is a simple fit between the social world under scrutiny and the ethnographic representation of it' (Heller, Pietikäinen & Pujolar 2018: 76). Like any other

representations we produce, our texts depict only certain and selected discourses of knowledge. Such representations I am aware of bear material effects for the people we come to encounter and to the world we come to co-shape as a result of the research process. An uneasy and even violent fact I am reminded of is that we have power to back up the 'masquerade [of] a description' (Eagleton 1991: 19) behind the mantel of scientific inquiry (de Souza 2018), borrowing the legitimacy of our 'scientific' words from the uneasy history of the modern knowledge enterprise (cf. Bauman & Briggs 2003). A good anchoring point to minimize this would be to draw a clear distinction between ideological values and factuality that would allow politics and the production of knowledge to be positioned in relation (cf. Jaspers 2019: 19). Moreover, we must accept that the knowledge we produce, however flawed, will be eternally limited (Haraway 1988).

This situated approach to knowledge production is also in line with one of the core principles of Linguistic Ethnography, the main tenets of which, as mentioned above, are used as an orientation in this research. Following the interpretive knowledge paradigm, Linguistic Ethnography admits to the situated nature of produced knowledge. Since the researcher's subjectivity is crucial to the production of such knowledge, it is important to explicate the ways in which the interpretative work is done and to make transparent the researcher's historical trajectory and involvement in research (Rampton, Maybin & Roberts 2014). Though the authors acknowledge here the 'researcher's own cultural and interpretive capacities are crucial in making sense of the complex intricacies of situated everyday activity among the people being studied' (ibid.: 3), they do not explicitly mention the researcher's phenomenological experiences that are enabled or limited through body and body memory. I will come to reflect more on this point in Section 7.3. Next, I will discuss the methods of data collection and engagement in more detail.

4.6 Methods of data collection (and engagement)

To accomplish the data collection, I needed a high-resolution camera, sometimes replaced by a smartphone, and a comfortable pair of shoes.

4.6.1 Walking and photographing (Study I)

In line with more traditional methods of data collection, for Study I, I documented and analysed the photographs of built environments by walking through a city and capturing the visibilized and erased signs. By doing so, I could 'fixate' the impact of the Russian annexation on the main streets of Sevastopol in photographs. In other words, I could pin down the flows of

discourses to a certain place, make a snapshot of these discourses as they materialized in public space and, later, analyze their 'layered' meanings and 'historicity' (Train 2016) by reading into the indexical meanings (Silverstein 2003) of the emplaced inscriptions (Scollon & Wong Scollon 2003). I will expand on this point in Section 5.1.

While such a default mode of investigation (cf. Jia Lou 2016: 6) provides insights into individuals' linguistic and semiotic practices, several scholars have advocated for more ethnographically engaged linguistic landscape research that foregrounds urban dwellers' experiences of landscapes (Blommaert 2013; Szabó & Troyer 2017; Peck et al. 2019). As noted in Section 3.1, the calls for ethnographic engagement resonated with the shifting focus of the studies from places as isolated entities towards the exploration of intricate connections between people and places. This is why the next two studies in this thesis focus more on individuals and choose more ethnographically-oriented data collection methods than those mentioned above.

4.6.2 Audio-recorded walking tours and interviews (Studies II, III)

To capture individuals' interconnectedness with place, I used ethnographic interviews and walking tours as methods. While I prompted conversations in interviews, the participants took detours and we would end up somewhere far away. Most important here was the ability to hear the participants' narratives, to learn about the ways they related to different places across Crimea and to know more about the ways in which they interpreted semiotic landscapes.

In addition to the interviews, I adopted a co-conducted walking tour technique (cf. Szabó & Troyer 2017; Trumper-Hecht 2010; Garvin 2010; Stroud & Jegels 2014; Evans & Jones 2011; Franklin-Phipps & Gleason 2019; Brown 2015). Here, the participants suggested the place, time and duration of a tour. In this way, I attempted to shift the focus from researcher to participants and enable the participants to make their own decisions about what stories to tell, what places to show, when and for how long. Most importantly, this method allowed the inclusion of the less visible voices in the processes of production and generation of insights beyond 'linguistic data'. For example, as Study II seeks to demonstrate, during the walking tours, the participants were able to share what was important to them (cf. Williams & Stroud 2015; Stroud & Kerfoot 2020; Stroud 2001; Lim, Stroud & Wee 2018) – including the suppressed histories of place – beyond the visible and immediately accessible worlds (cf. Truman & Springgay 2019). During my tours with the participants, they were able to make the hidden knowledges visible (cf. Kerfoot & Hyltenstam 2017), bringing to light the 'historical knowledge of struggle' and 'the very memory that had until then been confined to the margins' (Foucault 2003:

8). By doing so, the participants contributed to the creation of new presences and new emergences (cf. Santos 2014; Milani & Lazar 2017).

While individual participants were 'interpellated' by language ideologies and social norms, they also emerged and presented themselves as 'bodily constituted, perceiving, feeling, speaking and meaning-making' subjects (Busch 2016: 50). When asked about semiotic landscapes in the interviews and especially when they were directly immersed in environments during walking tours, it was possible to effectively 'link the experiencing subjects with the material world they inhabit[ed]' (Shankar & Cavanaugh 2017: 7). To call places into being, the participants shared their experiences and knowledge of places while using narratives as a 'chief means [to] recapitulate, organize and construct [their] experiences' (Jia Lou 2016: 13). In this way, the narrated audio recordings resulting from the participants' and researcher's engagement shed light on the participants' phenomenological experiences of places (cf. Busch 2016). This ultimately made it possible to relate the participants to the world in which they live (cf. ibid.). On a side note, given that any 'narrative is a particular bundle of silences' (Trouillot 1997: 27), so were the individuals' accounts of the studied events unavoidably permeated by fractions, gaps and omissions. When assembling the data and writing up this thesis, further silences could enter the page (cf. ibid.: 26). It is therefore of utmost importance to be aware of the situatedness and fragmentary nature of any produced knowledge (as was mentioned in Section 4.5 above).

Apart from direct engagement with the study participants, Study III also approaches the participants' photographic data and the objects that were identified in the participants' interviews using material ethnography (Stroud & Mpendukana 2009). This object-oriented approach is useful as it allows material objects to be treated not apart from but in commonality with and in relation to people (Gordillo 2021: 9; Peña-Alves 2020). In particular, this method viewed in conjunction with a Baradian posthumanist approach treats material objects, such as flags, in semiotic landscapes, as agents enacting protest alongside individual protestors. The study shows that despite the active claims for Ukrainian citizenship exercised by individual citizens, an object-oriented approach could shed light on the unavoidably *intra-actional* dynamics of protest (as will be further explained in Section 5.2.2).

4.6.3 A ghost ethnography (Study IV)

Study IV conducts an (auto)-ethnographic study of *ghosts*. Taking Stroud and Mpendukana's (2009) material ethnography as a starting point, Study IV uses walking, photographing and note-taking as the main data collection method as described above. However, the ontological status of my body, memory and sensing mechanisms differs greatly, for example, not only do I walk along

streets, take photographs and visit different places, such as museums and educational settings; I am also engaged in a reflexive practice with myself, the environment and the memories and affects that the immediate material objects and immaterial traces evoke. By the time I actually narrated my experiences of Ukrainian ghosts making themselves apparent in Crimea, I had conducted a few interviews, walking tours, had multiple conversations with various actors, and made notes of my observations. In other words, though relegated to the background, my extensive engagement with the project participants and with the semiotic landscapes across Crimea – as well as with the discourses circulating around the Crimean annexation (*interdiscursivity*, Foucault 1969) – is co-present when perceiving, sensing and reading the places of the fieldwork. It is not that I envision conducting a ghost ethnography as a linear, clearly planned and delineated research methodology. Rather, ghosts are noted throughout the entire fieldwork process, and they emerge from my intra-actions with landscapes, the participants' narratives and with my perceptions of unexpected aural encounters.

Treated within a relational ontology of histories, materialities and human subjectivities, haunting ghosts are seen as signs which 'exert a hard-to-articulate, non-discursive, yet positive pressure on the body, thereby turning such absence into a physical presence that is felt and that thereby affects' (Gordillo 2021: 31–32). It is then that immaterial traces or voids may become 'vibrant' – as they are recognized as affective agents (cf. Bennett 2013; Wetherell 2013; Wee & Goh 2020). The strength of such an approach is that by paying close attention to an object's affective power and to its evocative effects on human bodies, a ghost ethnography enables the 'absent presences' (Kerfoot and Tatah 2017: 37; Kulick 2005; cf. Deumert 2022) or erased objects in semiotic landscapes, which nevertheless make themselves apparent, to be captured.

To summarize, this section has provided an overview of the data collection methods used during fieldwork, such as ethnographic interviews, walking tours, object-oriented material ethnography, as well as an (auto)-ethnographic study of ghosts. This combination of methods enabled an illumination of the ways in which absence in semiotic landscapes is (co)-constructed and shaped by study participants and researcher. These methods allowed for individuals' practices to be located, traced and positioned in relation to specific sites, for example, the discursive conceptions of social space as Russian in Sevastopol central streets in Study I or the co-construction of a Crimean Tatar space of otherwise when moving through Aqmeçıt in Study II. Moreover, the chosen methods enabled various temporalities to be brought to light, for example, in Study II and Study IV, the past stretching into the present as oriented towards the future. Lastly, the chosen methods allowed the boundedness of absenced semiotic landscapes and their orientations towards bodies to be illuminated, for example, in Study II, in which the participants' narratives made visible

absenced landscapes or, in Study IV, in which the researcher's body mediated silenced voices.

5 Theoretical foundations

In this section, I lay out the theoretical foundation for the four studies of this thesis. To do so, I first provide an overview of the theories initially utilized in Study I and, secondly, introduce new theories as they are grounded in Study I and are further expanded in Studies II, III and IV. Considering the main interest of this thesis in the social meaning of absence, I start the overview with the semiotic landscape studies that focus on absencing of discursive representations (Section 5.1). To analytically unpack discursive representations, I discuss the notions of representation itself as well as such concepts as language and state ideologies, performativity, historicity, memorization and modality. Further, I proceed with an exploration of absencing beyond discursive representations (Section 5.2). For this purpose, I introduce the notions of *spaces of otherwise* and *Linguistic Citizenship* – the salient concepts of Study II. Moreover, as relevant for Study III, I discuss the concepts of *turbulence*, *performativity* and *intra-action* as they relate to a posthumanist framework. Finally, I conclude the section with a discussion of *absence* in relation to the concepts of *ruination* and *ghost* as they are made relevant for Study IV.

5.1 Absencing of discursive representations

In the following, I will theoretically introduce Study I 'Still Ukrainian or Already Russian? The Linguistic Landscape of Sevastopol in the Aftermath of the Crimea Annexation' and, by doing so, provide the basis for the theorization of later studies. This scaffolding makes it possible to trace how different theoretical threads come together and contribute to the construction of absences in semiotic landscapes throughout the thesis.

As mentioned in the Introduction, Study I offers a taxonomy of signs collected in semiotic landscapes of an urban centre which exhibited omnipresent and multimodal signs of Russian state nationalism. Following the social semiotic approach to language developed by Michael Halliday (1978), these multilayered signs are understood as indexes of various sociocultural and socio-political relations as well as of processes of power distribution. As an analytical tool, this analysis draws from the conception of geosemiotics, brought forward by Scollon and Wong Scollon (2003). Following the principles of indexicality and emplacement, Scollon and Wong Scollon (2003: 24) look at signs operating in particular places and social contexts as 'indexes of larger discourses', whereas 'all semiotic signs, embodied or disembodied,

have a significant part of their meaning in how they are placed in the world' (Scollon and Wong Scollon 2003: 23).

Further, Lefebvre's framework for social space is used to capture signs as spatial representations and as representations of space (Lefebvre 1991). Although I have elaborated above why the current framework may need expansion (cf. Section 3.1), it is still useful in the context of this study, since it provides an important bridge to semiotic landscapes that serve as representations of social reality. A defining feature of Lefebvre's conceived and perceived spaces is the focus on representations. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) view *representation* as

> a process in which the makers of signs, seek to make a representation of some object or entity, whether physical or semiotic, and in which their interest in their object, at the point of making the representation, is a complex one, arising out of the cultural, social, and psychological history of the sign-maker, and focused by the specific context in which sign-maker produces the sign. (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006: 7)

In Study I, I utilize an approach to semiotic landscapes defined as 'any public space with visible inscription made through deliberate human intervention and meaning making' (Jaworski & Thurlow 2010a: 7). In addition to the social semiotic analysis proposed by Halliday and further developed by Kress and van Leeuwen to analyse spatial representations, I address the multiple modalities of signs in order to interpret the 'constructions of truth and credibility' (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006: 159). The theory of geosemiotics developed by Scollon and Wong Scollon (2003) allows the attention of the reader to be drawn to the 'streets' of Sevastopol. By emphasizing the importance of local context, the theory situates the study in a certain time and space, and also makes it possible to trace how discourses of Russian nationalism 'flow into, through, and out of any particular place' (Scollon & Wong Scollon 2003: 193; cf. Blommaert 2013).

In addition to spatial representations, representations of space captured in photographs prove themselves 'to act as a first-line sociolinguistic diagnostic' (Blommaert 2013: 2) of conceived social space. Given their simultaneously material and discursive qualities, as well as their *analytical* potential, the researcher is given insights into relations of power, domination and authority as they are reproduced and reinforced through discourses. Representations of space, constructed by policy makers, regional or national authorities (Lefebvre 1991: 33), manifest in the form of semiotic landscapes as materializations of authoritative discourses.

To summarize, in the context of Study I, I addressed two non-exclusive and intersecting conceptualizations of social space as proposed by Lefebvre,

since they have proven to offer a useful heuristic in investigating social space that is realized materially and discursively in semiotic landscapes. In the next sections, staying within the confines of Study I, I will further explicate how semiotic landscapes come to serve as ideological texts by linking spatial representations and representations of space to language and state ideologies.

5.1.1 Language ideologies

Before I delve into the ideological production of space by means of semiotic landscapes, I would like to reinvigorate the meaning and analytical potential of language ideologies. The notion of *language ideologies* is grounded in linguistic anthropological work that makes it possible to unpack the relations of power and the (re)production of inequality (cf. Schieffelin, Woolard & Kroskrity 1998; Irvine & Gal 2000; Kroskrity 2015; Woolard 1998). Understood as 'representations, whether explicit or implicit, that construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world' (Woolard 1998: 3), language ideologies provide a link between language and society. Language ideologies explain what languages mean for speakers in terms of status, value and prestige; how languages are discursively positioned as distinct, and, thereby, how their speakers are constructed as members belonging to different social groups. Given that an individual's (linguistic, national, political, ethnic) identity is (in)directly indexed by the use of language (cf. Schieffelin et al. 1998: 16), language ideologies refer to and explain ideologically loaded representations. As an analytical tool, language ideologies show how power relations are mediated and organized through the construction, reproduction and circulation of representations across social space (cf. ibid.: 15).

For semiotic landscape scholars, the lens of language ideology allows linguistic, and, by extension, any semiotic practices, to be linked to an individual's (linguistic, national, ethnic, political) identities and places in meaningful ways. For instance, in the context of this thesis, a person displaying a sticker depicting a Ukrainian flag on their coat may be construed, for example, as a Ukrainian citizen, as a supporter of Ukrainian Crimea or a speaker of Ukrainian. In this case, a localized and emplaced material artefact provides an initial cue for further characteristics of the individual emplaced in the social world. Thus, language ideologies 'stick' the semiotic and linguistic practices of speakers together with broader societal structures and organizations, and, by doing so, offer valuable ways to investigate the performative acts of ideological production.

5.1.2 Performative spatial representations

Consider a hypothetical graffiti 'This is Russia'. It is taken to mean that *in* and *by* spraying this graffiti on a wall, a sign maker acts as a social agent *performing a* social action by 'doing things with words' (Austin 1962). In spraying the graffiti, the sign maker exercises a certain *force* over the wall and hence over the social space (that is, reinforcing the Russian status of Crimea), while simultaneously attempting to achieve particular *effects* (that is, declaring Crimea Russian). In and by uttering a sentence or spraying the graffiti, a sign maker performs the action that the utterance or graffiti describes. As inspired by Austin (1962) and later developed by Butler (1988; 2011), social categories (such as gender, linguistic, ethnic, political or national identities) are performed rather than pre-given. Such social categories are 'constituted through social action, and especially through language' (Bucholtz & Hall 2007: 588). 'As speakers draw on multiple voices and texts in every utterance' (ibid.: 587), they perform social categories not simply in and by bringing about or repeating what is 'traditionally given' in their performance. In other words, sign makers simultaneously orient themselves towards previous and future discourses. Their words *entail* discourses about Crimea being constructed as Russian, and possibly other counter-discourses discrediting this claim, while simultaneously *presupposing* the desired meaning produced by such a performative act to declare Crimea Russian. Engaged in negotiations of emergent meanings through performative acts, sign makers create new significations. When engaged in this creative, heteroglossic and inherently ideological practice, a sign maker 'does things with words' by reiterating previous discourses and constituting the reality through chosen representations (cf. Bucholtz & Hall 2007; Hymes 1975: 71; Bakhtin 1981; Butler 1988: 527). To sum up, 'This is Russia' sprayed in Crimea is a multimodally and materially realized discursive representation that does not simply state but performs and constitutes the social space of Crimea as Russian.

5.1.3 State ideologies and ideological production of space

To further exemplify how state ideologies and the ideological production of space interrelate, I elaborate on the concepts of state ideology through explicating the performative aspects of material environments. The production of space is an inherently ideological process, as is the construction of semiotic landscapes as a 'physical and discursive' space (Jaworski & Thurlow 2010a: 12). The 'physical' or material dimensions of semiotic landscapes are manifold and include, but are not limited to, such material objects as built architecture, façades, walls, monuments, memory plaques, street names, place names,

city limits signs and billboards. Akin to the performative potential of discursive representations (cf. above), built architecture can 'do things' as well. In his remarkable study, Sloboda demonstrates how material objects not only *index* but *perform* state ideologies.

The state is involved in the ideological production of space by performing state ideology. Building on Voloshynov's understanding of *ideology* as 'as an extensive semiotic process in which the LL [linguistic landscape] is immersed' (Sloboda 2009: 186), Sloboda defines *state ideology* as a process of composing and inscribing ideologies into texts. For this purpose, he utilizes Goffman's categorization of speakers as 'authors' and 'principals', that is, the 'authors' formulate and compose texts attaching certain ideas and beliefs to their formulations (language ideologies as part of state ideology), while the 'principals' direct the 'ideological production' of the texts that come to constitute a particular social space. Inevitably, it is the entire panoply of state bodies, special organizations and state-owned establishments that are shown to exercise *state power*, that is, 'the original universal capacity to assert or enforce the general will, as expressed by legal order, within the state territory' (Sloboda 2009: 77). Foucault (1982: 782) considers state power to be the most salient form of power. As centralized and rationalized, state institutions come to exercise power over others and control the power relations within its state borders (and even beyond).

Semiotic landscapes in the form of built environments and material objects perform and enact state ideologies and exert influence over inhabitants. For instance, to manifest the socialist ideology in former Czechoslovakia, the Soviet government enforced architectural transformations in Prague and ordered the construction of the 'Branik Bridge' over the Vltava River. To do so, the Soviets forced the 'Intelligentsia', a highly-educated group of people, to carry out hard physical labour. This is why the bridge came to be known as 'The Bridge of Intelligentsia'. By forcing the Intelligentsia to carry out physical work and construct the bridge, the Soviet state succeeded in leaving a reminder of this socialist presence still not defaced in Prague today. Conceptualized as a 'topos of aggregated and gathered memories' (Sloboda 2009: 174), the mere physical presence of the bridge (compare this with the sprayed graffiti discussed above) evokes memories of socialism and Soviet power while also 'interpellating' (Althusser) the inhabitants into citizens that 'remember' (ibid.). I will further discuss the performative aspects of architectural constructions, tangible objects and palpable voids in more detail as I introduce Baradian post-human performativity in Section 5.2. As of now, I will turn to the inherently layered nature of semiotic landscapes as ideological texts.

5.1.4 (In)visible historicities: The discursive complexity of semiotic landscapes

The memories of state ideology discussed above are but one layer of diachronic semiotic landscapes. Multiple layers of signs (co-signs, cf. Sloboda 2009 above) co-exist and together contribute to the creation of 'complex regimes of past, present, and future constituted in material and inter-textual spaces of language and identity' (Train 2016: 227). In such layered historicities, some signs in semiotic landscapes remained and some were removed when they defied the ideological shifts of regimes (e.g., the end of communism in Central and Eastern Europe as an example of a radical ideological change). As shown in Study I, various material objects that are visible – or represented – in and through semiotic landscapes, materialize state ideologies in a certain time-space. Competing ideologies may be assembled in one visual field, like the 'simultaneously layered' communist and patriotic ideologies (Sloboda 2009: 183). And yet, even when signs are removed from semiotic landscapes, they remain bound by people and places. I will now turn to this point when discussing Train's historicity and memorization.

To understand the (in)visibility of languages and materialized discourses in Crimea, I would like to refer to the concept of 'memorization' as developed by Train (2016: 227). In line with other research that has broached the issue of synchronicity in semiotic landscapes (e.g., cf. Pavlenko 2010; Backhaus 2005; Papen 2012; Pavlenko & Mullen 2015; Guissemo 2018; Tufi 2022 to name a few), Train's concept of memorization makes it possible to approach semiotic landscapes as 'discursively complex' and as historically, intertextually and materially salient, rather than as merely synchronic snapshots, or as linguistic/material phenomena isolated from public life, discourses and memories.

Memorization is defined as a pedagogic and educating multi-layered historicity of what to remember and what to forget (cf. Train 2016: 226). In other words, semiotic landscapes treated as 'spatialized public memory' perform and reiterate certain histories while they silence others. Linguistic landscapes, as incomplete archives, educate about what to remember and what to forget. Taking inspiration from the historian Trouillot, who investigates the 'Silencing of the Past', Train explores the hegemonic constructions of the 'linguistic-semiotic landscape' at the Mission San Carlos in Carmel (California) positioned against the counter-memorizations of California's indigenous Americans. Like Sloboda, Train treats semiotic landscapes in their discursive and material complexity. However, in addition to Sloboda, Train touches upon absence as a dimension constituting semiotic landscapes. In particular, Train places invisibilized and immaterialized languages in landscapes in relation to other texts (*intertextuality*) and material objects (*materiality*), thus revealing

how certain histories are made silent yet disclose themselves in and through acts of counter-memorization.

5.1.5 Modalities casting shadows or increasing the credibility of representations

Absences are never complete, and even when attempts are made to bleach certain histories, semiotic landscapes will still provide another way to disentangle the mechanisms of such acts of erasure. One clue can be provided by the modalities of semiotic landscapes (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006). In his study, Train contrasts highly-visible, elegant and materially expensive semiotic landscapes of Anglophone hegemony with neglected and 'barely-legible text on the weathered sign' representing the 'graveyard of Indians' (Train 2016: 236). Train suggests that the choice of certain modalities, but also the passing of time evident on deteriorating signs, index processes of silencing, absencing and minoritization. As he poignantly states, 'this macabre landscape […] feels more like a material and symbolic silencing and burial of the 'silent Indians' and 'dead Indians' who have disappeared along with their languages and cultures' (ibid.). From the above, it follows that attention to modality markers helps to establish the certainty and credibility of a statement and hence reinforce its performative dimensions. For example, in Study I, semiotic landscapes materialized in a high-intensity modality (e.g., a bright and new pension fund, almost an excess of colour) increased the credibility of the inscribed statements and elevated the social standing of the actors associated with the sign (e.g., the pension fund as a Russian state body). In stark contrast to the high modalities of signage representing the reality of the Russian nation-state as 'true' and 'real', the low modalities of signage in semiotic landscapes that displayed inscriptions in other languages made a dubious impression through a reduced colour saturation ('shabby' Ukrainian advertisements). Furthermore, a damaged monument to oppressed ethnic groups that exhibited traces of vandalism cast a shadow over the credibility of these representations, as has been revealed by attempts to question the very presence of the monument. In sum, when 'the appearance of things' causes doubts about 'what is real and what is not' (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006: 159), analytical attention to the modalities of semiotic landscapes allows for an exploration of the attempts to silence and erase certain histories, while making it possible to see what histories have been accentuated and made into permissible memories.

To summarize, the absence or presence of certain discursive and material representations from layers of semiotic landscapes, their multimodal realization in specific sociopolitical contexts, has implications for the value and status of certain individuals and groups of speakers and the associated

languages. Specifically, the absence of linguistic inscriptions implemented in a certain language, or the absence of material objects that indicate certain (state) ideologies (e.g., the ideology of Ukrainian nationhood) is indexically linked with the (in)visibility of certain groups of speakers and the less powerful status of the associated languages (e.g., in Study I, for Ukrainian, Crimea Tatar or other languages in Sevastopol). Since discourse is a form of social action, the absence of certain discourses in space may indicate the power dimensions that manifest through absence, such as silencing or 'minoritizing' certain social actors from the discourse (e.g., who do not 'fit' into the homogenous discourse of the Russian nation and nationalism). In relation to the ideological processes of erasure (cf. Irvine & Gal 2000), certain languages and material objects made invisible in certain space (e.g., the absence of Ukrainian flags in Sevastopol) also indicate a social dimension of the ideological production of absence.

Based on the above review of previously conducted research, (in)visibility and absence in semiotic landscapes indexes ideological erasure from the visual realm of social life. And yet, this social exclusion does not mean that something is irreversibly made non-existent or past. The absence from semiotic landscapes is only an indication of exclusion from the visuality of conceived space, for example, as a result of the incongruency with the 'normative' or 'permissible' conceptions of social space as they are conceived by the authoritative forces, for example, of state ideology. Certainly, exclusion from the visible realm translates into exclusion from discourse and materiality. And yet, such presence made past may exist – if not in perceived, conceived, or lived spaces, then in spaces of otherwise – the alternative social projects which keep in reserve the invisible and yet vibrant social phenomena oscillating between potentiality and risks. I will now turn to explicate in more detail the theoretical contributions of Povinelli's spaces of otherwise for understanding absence in semiotic landscapes in Study II.

5.2 Absencing beyond representation

Representations may provide a meaningful way to study absences, presences and (in)visibility. It is certain that we all need representations and, as I type this text, I once again confirm this fact. However, the work that I am going to discuss below suggests that representationalism is but one way of thinking and theorizing about social reality – including such social phenomena as absence, presence and invisibility. I would also like to make a link to the previously mentioned triadic model of social space developed by Lefebvre (1991). I still rely on 'spatial representations' to refer to recorded data (e.g., my photographs or the participants' photographs of semiotic landscapes or the participants'

audio recordings). However, instead of continuing to talk about 'representational space' (a space conceived by the state authorities) or about 'spatial practice', I foreground other points. In other words, rather than referring to 'what people do in a certain physical space' (Jia Lou 2016: 9), I will focus on *what acts people perform by themselves* (e.g., acts of LC, Study II) or *what acts people perform together with other 'agents'* (e.g., turbulent protest, Study III). Moreover, I will attend to *what space does to people*, that is, how space makes people feel, act or behave differently (e.g., sensing and being affected by ghosts, Study IV). One example of a social space existing beyond what is easily represented or representable is space of otherwise as theorized by Elisabeth Povinelli (2011a). In the following, I will turn to explicating this social project in more detail.

5.2.1 Seeing beyond the visible: Space of otherwise, Linguistic Citizenship and orders of (in)visibility

Study II ''Our nation is just trying to rebirth right now': Constructing Crimean Tatar spaces of otherwise through Linguistic Citizenship' builds on Elisabeth Povinelli's *spaces of otherwise:* a concept that captures social space in the making, such as the one that lies in-between what is already not and not yet, in-between absence and presence, 'potentiality and actuality' (Povinelli 2011a: 8). Unlike Lefebvre's representational spaces, a space of otherwise invites the reader to think about alternative social projects that maintain social lives by the ways they 'persist in their being'. As Povinelli (2012: 10) posits, 'these alternative worlds maintain the otherwise that stares back at us without perhaps being able to speak to us'. Such an abstract definition becomes more tangible once study participants enter the field when investigating the familiar Crimean Tatar environs in Study II. As the study builds on a co-conducted walking tour method with the study participants in the seemingly barren landscapes of the Crimean Tatar district of Aqmeçıt, a space of otherwise, initially invisible and hard to 'spot', unfolded as it was co-constructed materially and discursively by the participants. The participants could articulate this space of otherwise and, by doing so, also made another order of visibility accessible to me (cf. Kerfoot & Hyltenstam 2017). The material-discursive orders of visibility constituting the spaces of otherwise illuminated Crimean Tatar 'types of knowledges, practices, repertoires, and bodies' treated as less 'legitimate' and therefore 'less visible' (ibid.: 8). Hence, *in* and *by* making visible the Crimean Tatar spaces of otherwise, the study participants positioned themselves agentively against the historical injustices that have rendered the Crimean Tatar present silent, thus performing acts of Linguistic Citizenship (Stroud 2018b; Stroud & Kerfoot 2020; Kerfoot 2011; Stroud 2001; Lim et al. 2018; Williams & Stroud 2015).

As a sensitizing concept that allows everyday citizens' participation in 'informal political arenas' to be examined, Linguistic Citizenship attends to 'semiotic practices of citizenship [which are reframed] away from a totalizing sense of language' (Stroud 2018a: 213), that is, both the participants' narratives of Crimean Tatar spaces of otherwise, as well as the material objects we encountered on the tour – such as car tyres, flags, rusted signs indicating the limits of the city district – that encapsulated the performative acts of visibility and voice (Stroud & Kerfoot 2020; Stroud 2018a; Deumert 2018a). Like my participants, the landscapes 'hold' histories in reserve (Basso 1996), that is, the acts of Linguistic Citizenship also resemiotized (Iedema 2003) and materialized in the landscapes. These materialities indicated potentiality, risk, endurance and exhaustion. By unsettling the histories that were held in reserve and narrating them into being, the participants could reveal stories that did not necessarily constitute qualified knowledges (Foucault 1982). *In* and *by* shedding light on the suppressed, hidden and marginalized voices behind the everyday landscapes, the young participants constructed a space of otherwise and, by doing so, re-defined and re-invented the language of their past, present and future.

5.2.2 Absence made to matter: Posthumanist performativity

Thanks to the study participants who did the talking and interpreted the landscapes, I could see through past erasures. But what if nobody had said a word? How could I make sense of the deletions, removals and acts of erasure beyond what was said?

Study III 'Manoeuvres of dissent in landscapes of annexation' adopts the posthumanist framework proposed by Karen Barad, an American philosopher, historian and physicist, who raised concerns that 'language has been granted too much power' (Barad 2003: 801). Advocating for broadening the scope of inquiries to also include *matter*, Barad developed an agential realist line of thinking. In her article 'Posthumanist performativity: Toward an understanding of how matter comes to matter', Barad develops her approach from poststructuralism and physics and suggests other ways of addressing social reality that go beyond language and representation. Crucial here is Barad's understanding of material and discursive relations. She takes both discursive and material practices as *mutually entailing* each other. For Barad, neither material nor discursive is primary. Nor are they positioned in a hierarchical relation. Rather, material phenomena are produced through 'specific causal *intra-actions*, where 'material' is always already material-discursive' (Barad 2003: 824). Following this, Barad defines *matter* as 'the materialization of phenomena, not to an inherent fixed property of abstract independently existing objects of Newtonian physics' (ibid.: 822).

Based on the above, beyond the words immediately uttered or utterable, we should be able to explore the phenomena, entanglements and material-discursive relations (cf. ibid). Attending to discourse as not being constrained by words, as well as acknowledging that matter and materiality already entail discourse, we can regard material objects similarly to those discussed in Study II as 'doing the talking'. As other 'agents', material objects *intra-act*, that is, they produce 'enactments through which matter-in-the-process-of-becoming is sedimented out and enfolded in further materializations' (Barad 2003: 823). If I had been alone on that walking tour, as Study II just described, the materiality and the objects would have been the speakers. Other discourses would have entered the space, and different agential intra-actions would have foregrounded other phenomena, entanglements and relations, perhaps the ones that would have resonated more powerfully with my subjectivities. I will address the point about researcher's body and subjectivities further in Study IV. However, before that I will explicate how the posthumanist approach informs Study III.

In its investigations of protest, Study III goes beyond 'words' and seeks to analyze protest as an emergent phenomenon. With the investigation of protest through the lens of *turbulence* (Stroud 2015a; Stroud 2015b; Cresswell & Martin 2012), I turn to Baradian thinking on discourse, materiality and intra-action. I show how protest is remembered. As re-configured anew through discourses and materialities, turbulent protest visibilizes the taken-for-granted assumptions about space, national sense of belonging and appropriateness, as it revolves around competing sets of norms. In other words, I show how protests that are initially indeterminate acquire definite contours in each analyzed case. Importantly, protest in this annexed space did not just presume 'a protesting subject' going out on the streets and proclaiming disagreement. Rather, I am referring to protest only when and if it was treated within a relational ontology: as the objects that individuals displayed on their bodies also entailed varying discourses of annexation, resistance and belonging, the protesting subjects restrained themselves from any kind of 'speaking' that would jeopardize their safety: In other words, the protesting subjects did not have to gather collectively in highly visible and busy sites. Nor did they have to declare their disagreement loudly and explicitly. Rather, the material-discursive relations (in which 'subjects' and 'objects' were involved) intra-acted to produce protest. In this kind of protest, the discourses and materialities of human bodies and objects mattered more than the individuals themselves. It was only possible to draw such a conclusion once the subject was decentred from the analysis and an allowance was made for ontological indeterminacy. Only at a later stage of the analysis was it possible to redraw ('cut') the boundaries between 'protesting subjects' and 'protesting objects', that is, find 'a local resolution within the phenomenon of the inherent ontological

indeterminacy' (Barad 2003: 816; cf. Krause-Alzaidi 2023 for protest in other contexts).

Whilst the indeterminacy of material-discursive intra-actions is an important aspect of Study III, for Study IV, Baradian thinking comes to hand when theorizing the mattering of absence. As previously mentioned, given that the material and the discursive are always mutually constituted, an absence of materialization is always a discursive absence. Likewise, situated spatiotemporally, an absence of materialization intra-acts with the discursive absence and presence, that is, an 'absent voice', 'absent history' or 'object' may be made to matter through an intra-action with the discursive phenomena. As I seek to demonstrate in Study IV, absence is a materialization of the discursive-material erasure of Ukrainian statehood from Crimea. Thus, even when faced with seeming absences produced through the deletions and removals of inscriptions from walls or the destruction of material artefacts, discourses make such absences matter. In the following, I will discuss how vibrant voids, that is, the material effects of violence resulting in holes, cracks and shadows in semiotic landscapes, may offer entry points into the study of the active production of absence.

5.2.3 Absences, material ruination and ghosts

Material vestiges and even ghosts hovering over destroyed and erased landscapes provide another way of thinking about social reality. Study IV 'Shouting absences: Disentangling the ghosts of Ukraine in occupied Crimea' interrogates the objects that have been subject to the processes of *ruination* (Stoler 2013). In 'Rubbles: The Afterlife of Destruction', Gordillo (2021) attends to the social afterlives of destroyed and devastated landscapes. He argues that we not only have to study the production of space, but also space destruction. In a similar vein, Stoler pays close attention to imperial debris and the meanings of ruined landscapes. In line with Gordillo, she suggests paying closer attention to the vibrant afterlives of ruins, but also to the phenomena that created the ruins in the first place. Following this, Stoler attends to the 'producers' and processes that effectuate ruins with what she calls 'ruination'. Using this term, she turns the analytical gaze away from seemingly silent slabs of concrete to the political projects that brought about the ruins. By doing so, Stoler draws attention to the active processes of creating ruins and critically examines the coercive political projects 'laying to waste […] the lives, relations, and things' (Stoler 2013: 11).

Both Gordillo and Stoler show that debris lying in disarray is not mere waste or the by-product of erasure. Rather, the very physicality and affectivity of these material vestiges reify acts of violence. For Stoler (2013:11), 'to think with ruins […] is to attend to their reappropriations, neglect, and strategic and

active positioning within the politics of the present' (Stoler 2013:11). In relation to this thesis, rather than simply viewing destroyed or absent semiotic landscapes as 'natural', 'logical' or 'straightforward' results, attention to the vibrant voids through the lens of Stoler's ruination and Gordillo's object-oriented approach allows the active production of absence and the stakeholders involved in this production to be challenged, as well as the underlining relations of power and violence to be questioned (Foucault 1982). Following Michel Foucault (1982), violence is a coercive act that effectuates passivity, an act that breaks and destroys people. In contrast, in *a relation of power*, the 'Other' must be 'recognized' and 'maintained to the very end' (Foucault 1982: 789). Unlike Foucault, both Gordillo and Stoler describe the mechanics of power and violence directed against places and objects recognized as 'Other' (Stoler 2013). Such an approach allows ruination to be scrutinized. A foregrounding of 'ruination' over 'ruins' allows to shed light onto the Russian-state ambition to vanquish certain voices and control territories. In the case of Study IV, these are the absences of Ukrainian presence – of Ukrainian statehood and speakers – that are enacted through material-discursive ruination. It may therefore be useful in analogy to Stoler's distinction (2013: 11) to prefer 'absencing' (Malinowski 2019) to 'absence'.

In my study of absenced landscapes, I cannot help but be affected by the ruins. When adopting an (auto)ethnographic and phenomenologically informed approach (Ahmed 2013; Merleau-Ponty 2013), once confronted with the ruins, I cannot help but sense the hand of the occupier through 'the forces that once reduced sites of state power to rubble' (Gordillo 2021: 26). In such moments of encounter with erased semiotic landscapes, I may be haunted by the ghosts of the past, present and future. In such cases, an awareness of own senses, subjectivities, memories, affective and bodily (in)capabilities may be helpful for disentangling the ghosts that hover over destroyed and erased landscapes. More generally, a ghost is 'the sign that tells you a haunting is taking place' (Gordon 2008: 8). As Perini (2020: 68) poignantly describes, the ghosts are 'inscribed in materialities and abandoned things as well as disrupted relations that exert an effect (and affect) of haunting as people get tangled with them'.

Once Russian state violence has left nothing but ghosts, nothing but apparitions, it is possible to turn to the language of haunting,[16] that is, it is possible to become attuned to its affective mode (Gordon 2008: 127). Once voices are erased and nothing but spectres remain, there must be a willingness to get in

[16] 'Haunting is distinct from memory, for it is not reducible to narratives that are articulated linguistically; rather, it is an affect created by an absence that exerts a hard-to-articulate, nondiscursive, yet positive pressure on the body, thereby turning such absence into a physical presence that is felt and that thereby affects. Most places are haunted by absences in one way or another and with different levels of intensity' (Gordillo 2021: 31–32).

touch, listen, and 'to see in the face of the disappeared' (ibid.: 128). Here, different modes of listening and seeing may be needed, such as, for example, those grounded in indigenous epistemologies of more-than-human, as they emphasize sensibilities towards ghosts (Gegeo & Watson-Gegeo 2001: 63). Ultimately, attending to ghosts rather than dismissing them as insignificant may generate questions around the affordances of 'thinking with ghosts' (Deumert 2022: 139). And this thinking, so Gordon suggests, may bring us closer to the relations of power and to the mechanics of exercised violence (Gordon 2008: 127).

Attending to my subjective experiences, I sought to demonstrate that ghosts mattered (Gordon 2008) and that absences could come to matter (Barad 2003). While I chose to attend to ghosts through my bodily presence and as filtered through the prism of my perception, Barad would distance herself from such a position. In contrast, she would attend to hauntings as 'materially constitutive of matter itself' (Barad 2017: 113). A Baradian haunting would be 'a marked absence retained in certain spaces and materialities – a marking that troubles the divide between absence and presence' (Perini 2020: 84). Put differently, there may be a haunting without a human subjective experience, since, according to Barad, haunting 'remain[s] in materialities, belying any insinuation of emptiness' (ibid.). And yet if we want to make sense of such ruins, someone has to articulate the meanings lying behind the ghosts, mediate them, and ultimately name them. As I show in my research, absences have a capacity to shout because they are shouting through me. However, this does not imply that there must always be someone present in order for landscapes to be populated by ghosts.

I started this section by suggesting a consideration of different ways of disengaging absence that may lie beyond representation. First, by disengaging initial (in)visibilities and absences in spaces of otherwise, I have addressed how what seems to be absent may yet become articulated, visible and legible. Such acts for visibility and voice entail political subjects 'doing things' *in* or *acting upon* semiotic landscapes, or subjects *intra-acting with* landscapes. Together with and thanks to the participants, I can see through absences and through what is hidden from view. And yet, absent landscapes are also made (in)to matter. Absent landscapes are inseparable from and intertwined with other material and discursive processes that effectuated, preceded or followed them. Finally, absenced landscapes can be haunting. Ghosts lingering in 'ruinated' landscapes are shown to attest to coercion and submission through individuals' subjectivities.

6 Summaries of the studies

6.1 Study I: *Still Ukrainian or already Russian? The linguistic landscape of Sevastopol in the aftermath of the Crimean annexation*

As has been sketched above, Study I adopts a multimodal approach to the analysis of semiotic landscapes as it seeks to go beyond a solely descriptive quantitative study. It provides an in-depth analysis of the different linguistic and visual resources used in public space. Besides written inscriptions, the focus is on different signs, including street names and place names, small advertisements, billboards, posters, stickers on cars and buses, graffiti, and banners. Following the lead of scholars such as Pavlenko, Muth, and Sloboda, the paper aims to shed light on the discursive construction of the Crimean conflict in an urban public space.

The paper explores the semiotic landscapes of Sevastopol and asks: 'Whose Crimea', Russian or Ukrainian? This question is pursued from the perspective of my engagement with the urban space of Sevastopol. While the illustrative entry into the narrative of the article sets its point of departure at the border zone between Crimea and mainland Ukraine, that is, in the Kherson oblast, the main data collection takes place in the centre of the city of Sevastopol. More specifically, I walk through the central streets of the city and capture images of semiotic landscapes, which, when further analyzed, allow me to draw conclusions about 'the Russianness of Sevastopol' as it is 'discursively framed and meta-culturally constituted' (Volvach 2019: 94). Central for this kind of inquiry is my experience and knowledge of other Ukrainian places outside of Crimea, which are differently constituted from what can be directly observed in Crimea.

Though provocatively posed, the initial question 'Whose Crimea?' is later debunked. It shows that the cityscape of Sevastopol, though co-opted in a struggle between two states, is rather an amalgam of absences and presences. Diverse linguistic and ethnic groups, such as Crimean Tatars, Armenians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Germans and Karaims left traces in the city's fabric in varying degrees. Thus, behind the rather simple question hide multiple layers, some of which the paper attempts to bring to light.

The discursive-frame approach to semiotic landscapes which the study adopts was previously developed and applied by Kallen (2010). For this study, it has proven to be partly useful as it allows photographic snapshots to be provided of Sevastopol's discursive and material constitution. Emplaced

Russianness is captured across the city and 'framed' by the camera's perspective, while offering a glimpse into Sevastopol's everyday life. But why these photographs? Why these angles? Whilst I am moving through the cityscape and noting the signs of change in the semiotic landscapes of the city, I also re-scale and re-orient my photographic lens. Though not explicitly discussed, vital for the portrayal of 'what is going on' is my engagement with the various places. The places visited, in turn, stimulated me to reflect upon and further photograph the place-making practices of authorities and communities.

This study claims that 'the annexation of Crimea has greatly affected the everyday life of the city dwellers and had caused changes or (re)writings of the city's urban fabric' (Volvach 2019: 94). Whilst the former claim can only be indirectly supported by the observed changes in the landscape, the latter claim is more plausible due to the presentation and thorough analysis of numerous photographs. Ideally, for the first claim to be more robust, the paper would have to ethnographically engage with the experiences of the city dwellers, rather than restrict itself to the analysis of the visual material collected in an urban landscape. This limitation further motivates the design of Study II and Study III.

As already mentioned in Section 5.1.2 above, given the premise that Crimea is a Ukrainian territory, it seems fair to contrast the discursive constitution of the peninsula with the rest of the Ukrainian territory. For instance, it seems straightforward that in a Ukrainian place, you would not encounter the officially sanctioned signage of the Russian state authorities, such as the Russian pension fund (Figure 3 in Study I) or the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation (Figure 4 in Study I). Similarly, it would be unlikely to see explicit or implicit messages of Russian ownership of territory, unless these are mistakenly evoked by a Russian flag on sale in a souvenir shop. In other words, the presence of signage indexing Russian affiliations, both covertly and overtly, can unquestionably be regarded as a real threat to the territorial integrity of Ukraine by the mere presence of such signage. By pointing beyond themselves, the signs of Russian presence – that is, the representations of the Russian nation-state, Russian administrative authorities, Russian political leaders, state actors and institutions, but also, as seen later, the presence of Soviet monuments and plaques as a constitutive element of the Russian present – performatively re-enact the space as Russian and challenge its legal status as a Ukrainian entity.

Another salient concept that brings together languages used in public space with the speakers and their moral and political judgments is the notion of language ideologies. As previously mentioned, defined as 'the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests' (Irvine 1989: 255), language ideologies make it possible to differentiate some speakers from other speakers and draw

conclusions, however truthful, about the speakers' (intellectual or linguistic) abilities, political views, systems of value, etc. Following this line of thought, when a language (e.g., 'Ukrainian') associated with a certain ethnic group (e.g., 'the Ukrainians') is being erased from the cityscape, such an act may be interpreted as an insult against the associated ethnic group. Moreover, drawing on a language-ideological understanding, it is not only the presence or absence of particular signage indexing social groups but also the modalities of such visual displays (e.g., new and bright, faded, worn, barely legible) that add indexical meanings (e.g., of importance or non-importance) to the respective signage, languages and speakers. To illustrate this, such is the case with monuments that are supposed to 'honour' the deported minoritized ethnic groups. Whilst the presence of a monument is a welcome sign inviting reconciliation and commemoration of a past tragedy, the marks or traces of defacement and insult still visible from the residual paint and the physical destruction of the monument are a latent testimony to injurious conduct that inflicts wounds (cf. Butler 1997).

Thus, even after the analysis for this study is completed, the question remains 'Whose space?'. Is it a matter to be negotiated between nation-states? Who is entitled to define and constitute it? Does the space of a city belong to its citizens? And who may appropriate a space the legal status of which remains violated?

This study provides insights into structural means of space appropriation through an exercise of (Russian state) symbolic control and authority. Notably, such means of appropriation are 'administered': Acts of renaming (e.g., of the pension fund, of the Chersonese reserve in a Civic frame), of visual redress (Civic frame), of keeping things unchanged in public space (monuments and memorial plaques in a Soviet legacy frame and a Minoritized frame), and of modifying regulations about space (such as, e.g., re-directing the space in order to adopt Russian telephone codes in a Commercial frame) are the administrative acts that naturalize the fraud of territorial dispossession. These evasive acts are redolent of imperial (formations) and colonial political projects, in which new state authorities deprive legitimate owners of the previously inhabited spaces and refashion them anew.

Even though the study presents a clear case for the Russianized Crimean space, the analysis comes close to acts of resistance and difference. We read that 'except for the holes below and above the sign boards, nothing remains of Ukrainian statehood at this site' (Volvach 2019: 99), or, that 'to the left of Putin's neck an attentive eye notices a spilled paint stain apparently thrown by a Putin opponent' (ibid.). These aspects remain unexhausted within the suggested discursive-frame approach, as this analytical lens restricts the reader to perceiving the discursive aggregate as a 'whole', almost suggesting that they should not be distracted by details. Moreover, the 'discursive' frames fall

short on accounting for the material aspects of reality and its effects. To illustrate this, the above example of the holes in the wall is easily dismissed within the discursive-frame approach. If materiality were to be duly considered, the traces of absence and erasure would be upfront in identifying the processes of active suppression and invisibilization. In relation to three major frames identified in the study – the Civic frame, the Soviet Legacy frame and the Minoritized frame – the very visible material presences and modalities thereof signify currently vocal and receding institutional powers. Concurrently, the second example mentioned above illustrates that such details as a miniscule sign of 'a spilled paint stain' may reveal that the 'cool' graffiti of Putin in the transgressive frame only attempted to capitalize on trendy youth movements.

Overall, the analysis of the paper has presented a more heteroglossic version of the spatial constitution of Sevastopol than the paper seems to suggest in the conclusions. There are attempts to create a consolidated Russian reality. There are less visible and yet present responses of disagreement. Together, these competing processes only perpetuate the discursive-material vibrance of Sevastopol's space. Beyond this, the paper makes the reader ponder about more. What is it that remains untold? What is there behind the obvious, the visible? The paper comes close to the most salient theme of the thesis: absence.

6.2 Study II: *'Our nation is just trying to rebirth right now': Constructing Crimean Tatar spaces of otherwise through Linguistic Citizenship*

In comparison to Study I, Study II takes a different more ethnographic orientation. It presents an analysis of a walking tour with three young women, Ayperi, Edie and Nina, in the Crimean Tatar settlement Aqmeçıt located near today's Crimean capital of Simferopol. During the guided tour[17] through the settlement, the participants interpret the semiotic landscapes of Aqmeçıt and, by doing so, call Crimean Tatar spaces of otherwise into being. They read and narrate emplaced material artefacts, place semiotics, and give voice to the

[17] Our tour began at the Central Market station in Simferopol. We took a marshrutka ride to the residential area of Aqmeçıt. Once there, I started the audio recording. The whole walking tour lasted for around three hours, starting on Ak-Kaya street, going up hills toward the Khayalar mountain, situated between the Zalissya and Fontany districts. Leaving the green area, we passed through the southern outskirts of Fontany and came back to the street from where we had started. Once there, we had a coffee break at the local store 'Bizim Market' and, after that, we went to see the landmark of the district – the White Mosque 'Akmescit Dzhami' on Ozenbash street. We finished the tour at the 'Eshil ada' banquet hall, where on this day, 15 September 2019, the first Crimean Tatar book fair took place.

absent yet vibrant legacies of the forcible deportation and return of Crimean Tatars. By doing so, the young women position themselves as Linguistic Citizens and indicate ways of seeing otherwise. The landscape stories they are able to tell emphasize the quality of semiotic landscapes to serve as palimpsests, with some of their layers only legible to the participants. Familiar with the stories of the Crimean Tatar deportation (1944), return (1960–1990) and revival (1990 until today), the participants re-visit the familiar environs on the tour and make the landscapes speak to more recent political developments of the Crimean annexation.[18]

The stories the women tell are not *just* stories. If anything, these are stories of injustice. Uneasy local knowledges hidden from the immediate sight of 'beautiful landscapes' unravel as mediated by the participants' words. Thanks to the participants, a fence made of car tyres testifies to Crimean Tatar experiences of dispossession and subsequent legal and material hardships. Such stories blend with the landscapes. They add to the existing palimpsests of meaning and may come to haunt a person when they encounter such landscapes again. It is at moments like this that these agitated stories 'sitting' in places (cf. Basso 1996), however violent, traumatic or undesirable, receive an acknowledgement. The participants recognize the power of landscapes to act as agents uttering injustices of the past. They take on a mediatory role and acknowledge the repressed voices, thus enacting their Linguistic Citizenship. By articulating the historically contested meanings of the places, the participants make the car tyres, flags, fences, street names, a city limit sign, shine differently: to acknowledge an otherwise.

We discovered that the micro-district of Aqmeçıt was created from scratch. It was founded on stories of suffering resulting from deportation. 30 years later, the rights of Crimean Tatars for this territory remain fragile. As the analysis shows, any modifications of Aqmeçıt that may index the claims of Crimean Tatars for territory, imply risks. Attaching a flag to a fence exposes them as Other. By installing a Crimean Tatar street name, they earn admiration from like-minded community members, but simultaneously risk being targeted by the authorities. By 'squatting a piece of land' – what is supposed to be 're-constitution' – they are pushing the limits of the legal system. Beyond the risk of erasure, such acts reveal that the Crimean Tatars are a subjugated group.

[18] The participants on the walking tour did not address the 'events of 2014' explicitly. That Crimea has been occupied by Russia is a straightforward fact when reading the Western media. However, when taking the tour with the participants, these issues seemed to be relegated to the background. The women did not talk about the annexation. Apart from laughter when someone suggested buying 'illegal Ukrainian chocolate' in a local shop, or conversational turns suggesting a change in topic, there was little that could provide indications of their uneasiness around this subject.

Aware of these hardships, the participants decide to make visible the Crimean Tatar stories of struggle. As narrators of landscapes and of the stories they reveal, they act as Linguistic Citizens. They continue the struggle for justice by making use of their voice. Not only do they transmit what they have heard from others, but they skilfully interpret and give profound meanings to the material artefacts we encounter. In comparison to Study I which showed how Russian flags in Sevastopol indexed Russian affiliations, here, flags mean different things. For instance, a Crimean Tatar flag not only indexes the presence of a Crimean Tatar ethnic group and its relative value and status (as discussed from the language ideological lens). From the participants' vantage point, the flag also communicates 'an attempt for rebirth of the nation' (Volvach 2021: 10). Such a reading of material artefacts indicates the existence of spaces of otherwise – social spaces that are an image of a social world circulating and taking a recognizable material form that simultaneously indicates a desire for an otherwise (cf. Povinelli 2012a).

Aqmeçıt and its citizens, the Crimean Tatar nation, was significantly reshaped by its resistance to deportation. The historically inflicted injustices and the resulting invisibilities perpetuated certain material conditions of life, in which the very existence of this ethnic group had to be fought for on an ongoing basis. Such decisive acts of struggle created conditions for Crimean Tatar spaces of otherwise to emerge and exist, although it was not clear how long they would be maintained. Similar to other spaces of otherwise, the Crimean Tatar social projects built on risks and resistance. Despite the hardships, such spaces were not without political potentiality. The examples of the flag indexing 'rebirth' pointed in this direction: The flag was the material effect of and the condition on which the Crimean Tatar spaces of otherwise existed (cf. Povinelli 2012b: 459).

The objects, people and places were glued together by linguistic ideologies (cf. Irvine and Gal 1995), allowing connections to be drawn between the individuals' interpretations of the evocative meanings produced by the objects and places. The participants reproduce such ideologies in narratives, that is, they repeat and are guided by certain beliefs about the use and meanings of semiotic resources. They believe that a flag may figure as a mark of a 'nation's' renewal. Likewise, without a lasting trace signifying someone's presence through Crimean Tatar street names,[19] they can easily be made redundant, too: 'Because we no longer have Crimean Tatar streets, and thus there is a kind of

[19] It is remarkable that after the annexation of Crimea, in accordance with the Law of Ukraine 'On condemnation of the communist and national socialist (Nazi) totalitarian regimes in Ukraine and the prohibition of propaganda of their symbols', the Ukrainian Parliament passed a law to re-name some of the toponyms in Crimea and give them Crimean Tatar names (http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/zweb2/webproc4_1?pf3511=58194, accessed 28.08.2022).

hint: "What have you forgotten here?"' (a quote from a participant). You have to be present in Crimea in order to be recognized.

What is at the core of this paper is the performative capacity of words (un)uttered, objects (in)visible, histories (un)acknowledged and absences (il)legible. In their desire for recognition, Crimean Tatars have come to create new relations and configurations with landscapes and with each other on an ongoing basis. Individual narrations build on and promote the collective voice: 'As we like to say, 'they erase history'' (Volvach 2021: 15). The participants' words are not only their words. They reproduce and weave in the words of others into their narratives. In recognizing the performative power pertaining to language and other semiotic means, including the performative power of absence – the participants use what is at hand in order to resist subjugation. While trying to reconstitute what was lost, such acts orient them towards possible futures. The material manifestations of Crimean Tatar spaces of otherwise in Aqmeçıt in the form of Crimean Tatar street names, flags and a city limit sign, together with Crimean Tatar stories condensed into places, are central for making sense of an engaged, political being-in-the-world oriented towards change.

Walking tours were a productive way of collectively engaging with the places that some of the participants used to inhabit. As I was not quite sure what to expect, I had to be open to surprises. After a seemingly frustrating start, as the participants seemed to share nothing but the beauty of the landscapes, they revealed deeply rooted histories. Thus, the tours laid bare the intricate connections between people and places.

In a nutshell, the core of this paper is presence despite absencing. The Crimean Tatar presence in Crimea, in Aqmeçıt, as discernable from material traces in the semiotic landscapes, manifests as persistent attempts to resist dispossession. For this study, an ethnographic orientation shed light on the ways the participants made sense of such absences through the immediate presence of semiotic landscapes. Attention to details, to *what* and *how* things were said, opened up ways of hearing the suppressed, unacknowledged histories that were unavailable to immediate view. The participants' place-making practices, including territorial claim-staking, and their spatial representations offered rich insights into our sense making of people and places in Crimea.

6.3 Study III: *Manoeuvres of dissent in landscapes of annexation*

Study III is informed by semiotic landscape scholarship on protest, bodies and objects. It draws on semi-structured interviews with two study participants Nikita and Ali and 31 visual images from their private archives to make sense

of the resistance unfolding in response to the Crimean annexation. To do so, the study builds on the notion of *place* as 'the discursive articulation of the materiality of actions, actors, events and states' (Bock & Stroud 2019: 5).[20] In the context of this study, the remembered and re-narrated experiences and photographic snapshots not only derive from the study participants' memories and experiences, but also concern the participants' memories of actions and events reproduced by others. The places participants call into being can thus be characterized as condensed and narrated (and photographed) stories of resistance in an environment in a state of rapid change.[21] They therefore relate to the specific time-space of particular historical events – namely, the performed political acts of territorial appropriation – which are brought to the surface when retold.

After delineating the state of research on protest, bodies and objects, the study contextualizes the case historically and further provides an analysis of five cases of resistance. Instead of foreshadowing 'what protest is', the study chooses to unsettle the very notion of protest. To do so, it explores certain 'turbulent reconfigurations of agential intra-actions' (Study III) and investigates how they *become* together by adopting a posthumanist framework. Within this framework, the analysis of interview data suggests that even quotidian objects, such as key chains, were charged with transgressive power, assuming they were decorated in certain ways and made visible. As one of the participants stated when describing the moments of protest in the occupied Crimea, the flags 'fought in the war', hence suggesting that the period following the annexation was filled with tension. The discussed examples explicate that communication did not require words at that time. Indeed, words were too dangerous to utter. Most importantly, combinations of colours, but also forms and fabrics placed close or on the protestors' bodies, could shout without words and continue the work of resistance in a Crimea that was increasingly becoming less free.

The study turns to memories of protest as an emergent practice accomplished in and with semiotic landscapes. It illuminates how individual participants carry out acts of protest together with material objects. As this paper argues, the protest was enabled by human and non-human actants taking into account the shifting orders and disorders in Crimea. As shown, a protest achieved through an intra-action of bodies and objects required an ongoing readjustment of everyday practices. In order to continue to be Ukrainian, a protestor had to manoeuvre resistance. Further, as the analysis illuminates, the protestors were guided by linguistic and state ideologies. These were the

[20] This definition of *place* relies on Napolitano's concept of trace (2015), which will be discussed in detail in Study IV.

[21] Unlike the processes described in the spaces of otherwise in Study II, here, the participants themselves witnessed the events and participated in them to varying degrees.

beliefs and rationalization of an object's use, the ideas about specific appearance and the appropriateness of certain displays in public spaces, which aligned the protestors with particular ideological positions. Only since the ideologies were already 'in place', guiding the protestors' social behaviour, was it possible to eventually enact resistance – through the colours, materials and objects associated with pro-Ukrainian political positions. The displays of the disputed objects on the body allowed the space itself to be performed as Ukrainian, and to transform its status from 'disputed' into clearly 'Ukrainian', albeit for a moment and/or for a certain audience. Likewise, other objects, such as the elements of traditional Ukrainian attire without the colours of the flag could be recognized as similarly indexing support for Ukrainian Crimea, following the assumption that such costumes are worn by Ukrainians, hence typifying the clothing style with a certain social persona. As seen from the interviews, the signs indexing Ukrainian practices or serving as symbols of Ukraine could function as a register of transgression if and when emplaced in Crimea at that transitional moment in time.

Overall, this paper contributes to semiotic landscape research by following the view of semiotic landscapes as 'a force-field of possible meanings and readings' (Bock & Stroud 2019: 14). And yet what was the nature of this 'transition', when a human being could become transformed into a 'target' because of a tiny Ukrainian flag placed on their shoulder? Where did the power of a madness certificate – another kind of 'protesting' object discussed in the study – come from in authorizing an unreasonable body to protest? How could an object make an individual body into a mere projection, a surface? These questions are only a few among many meanings and readings of the objects' agentive capacities. An individual could be 'locked into' these meanings if they were to accept institutionally imposed, regulated and sanctioned rules. In other words, an individual would be free to choose how to read and interpret the openness of meanings on an object's account, but could not escape from being made responsible for what they did not mean. To give an example, the participants were aware of how the Ukrainian 'symbolics' they wore could be interpreted as 'transgressive' and therefore 'dangerous'. And yet they chose to remain open to other interpretations and preferred to use this ambiguity as a resource for opposition instead of aligning themselves with the norms of conduct enforced by the Russian state.

6.4 Study IV: *Shouting absences: Disentangling the ghosts of Ukraine in occupied Crimea*

Study IV is an ethnographic study, which offers a reading of absenced landscapes under occupation, as informed by my interpretations of signs, my

observations of semiotic landscapes and my engagement with project participants and their experiences of Crimea before and after the annexation. Specifically, out of approximately 3.500 photographs, it interrogates 16 photographs of semiotic landscapes in Simferopol, Sevastopol, Gvardejskoe and Yevpatoria, both captured when walking through the streets, driving in a bus in Gvardejskoe and when attending a museum, a restaurant and an educational institution in Simferopol. Moreover, the study draws on my fieldnotes and on a participant's story of a blank wall.

The study analyzes ethnographic data and interrogates shadowy and holed absences as tangible evidence, questions a ghost in an exhibition room, revisits the signs which managed to escape cleansing, and examines discursive omissions and material detachments in a museum and in an education institution. Above all, the study tests the limits of representation and chases down the haunting ghosts reappearing here and there during the ethnographic fieldwork. The paper questions whether attention must be paid to barely present, hardly proven phenomena and whether such phenomena and the processes underscoring them have any material effects. 'What is in absence?', it asks. By looking at manifestations of absence in the public space of Crimea, the paper goes to the core of the ideological processes of erasure. By interrogating what is no longer there, the study discusses the meanings of the material effects that precede the absences, namely holes in the walls, blankness, detachments and omissions. In this respect, the concept of *trace* as 'the materials of knots of histories at the margins, as well as auratic presences' (Napolitano 2015: 47), as well as the adopted view of empty spaces as agentive matter, were central (cf. Barad 2003). Absences, this paper shows, are not to be confused with nothing. Rather, absences and the processes of erasure that brought them about create conditions for new socialities and continue to imbue the erased landscapes with other forms of livelihood. Entangled with my subjectivities, these 'vibrant' voids (cf. Bennett 2013) – noticeable in centrally located museums, indoor spaces of classrooms and restaurants, busy central streets, remote districts, abandoned kiosks, the interiors of public transport – could become animated and alive.

The narrative mode of the study opens by evoking a fieldwork experience of an apparition through music. The transgressive Ukrainian song interrupted the present. The Ukrainian song, in that space-time, where Ukraine was not supposed to be, indexed a return of what had been made dead. This experience, among others, shows that what has been silenced has not been completely eradicated, but may reappear unacknowledged and take you by surprise. The presence of the song agitated me and made me wonder about other lurking traces I could not immediately see. As the flipside of the audible Ukrainian song – the example of a blank wall described by the participant – seemed muted at first. And yet the wall continued to exude its lively presence in the

participant's memory. The blankness of the wall was deceptive. Its story though erased was known and brought to life by someone else. Similar to one of the previously conducted studies (Study I), the systemic erasure of institutionally issued signage provided an example of the performative re-constitution and re-enactment of the space as Russian (both the institution and the territory it represents, hence supporting the idea about performativity as not being limited by the meanings of signs, or by the producer's/reader's intentions). The re-occurrence of these re-enactments across the public space of Crimea reinscribed a certain image of social reality that the Crimean inhabitants were confronted with.

Overall, the ghostly signs described in this study indexed an unacknowledged and enforced denial and silencing. Such exclusions were systematically produced and, in some of the discussed examples, accompanied by 'correct' renditions of the present. Such attempts to silence the 'Other', as attested to by the ghosts, did not disappear from space while disappearing from view. Rather, they could leave haunting traces of committed violence and disturb that which was present without prior warning.

7 Concluding discussion

> Finding place is thus a matter of finding ourselves, and to find ourselves we need first to rethink the question of the nature and significance of place. (Malpas 1998: 23)

Subjectivity, experience and thinking are functions of place. It is not only that 'human beings impose meaning onto' (ibid.: 20) space. Rather, making sense of human subjectivity and experience means making sense of place. By extension, if places are fundamental to human experiences, then absence of place is always an absence of an individual's own place. The active process implied by the noun 'absencing' that Malinowski (2019: 228) proposed, is about the purposeful (or not) erasure of an individual's self, voice and body. The materializations of absenced landscapes are manifestations of an individual's displacement and dispossession. This view strongly emphasizes the relational ontology of place and people: there are no people without a place, and no place without a people. In conditions of dispossession, displacement or precarity, a refusal of a place may lead to a loss of voice, individual retreat from the world and self-closure. In other words, to have no place from which to speak, to be denied a place or to be made redundant in a place, detrimentally affects individuals' bodies, selves, their ability to speak, act and relate to the world and others (cf. Busch 2020: 107).

In this section, I look back at the thesis as a whole, discuss its main contributions to the study of semiotic landscapes and to the field of multilingualism more generally (Section 7.1) and discuss insights from the four conducted studies that allow a theorization of absence in semiotic landscapes (Section 7.2). I conclude the section by considering some possibilities for future sociolinguistic research (Section 7.3).

7.1 Contributions

This thesis contributes to the study of absence in semiotic landscapes in three major ways: First, it shows that absenced semiotic landscapes are intricately tied to people. A second contribution is the understanding that the absence of semiotic landscapes from the physical and visual realm of social life does not result in a total disappearance or a void. Finally, the third contribution of the thesis is the understanding of semiotic landscapes as temporally dynamic. In the following, I will explicate each contribution in more detail.

First, absenced and dispossessed semiotic landscapes are intricately tied to people. They mutually constitute each other, and this co-constitution goes beyond words and voids – that is, behind a highly visible semiotic signage, a barely noticeable shadow, or the sound of music heard in passing comprise notable co-dynamics in the semiotic production of space. The interrelationships of people and places are important starting points for an investigation of absenced semiotic landscapes. Moreover, if places are considered to be agentive alongside people, as argued in two studies of this thesis, the constraints of the social may be pushed and the 'rigid' borders between 'people' and 'places' may be rethought. As discussion and analysis of ruined landscapes and dilapidated infrastructures have shown, both human and non-human agencies have the potential to enact certain social realities. Considering this, a study of semiotic landscapes as it has been pursued in this thesis, can be taken to offer another lens from which to approach social practice in its material-discursive complexity.

A second contribution extends the first contribution of this thesis. It is the finding that absence in semiotic landscapes is, on the one hand, an absence from the physical and visual realm of social life. And yet, even when semiotic landscapes and their meanings are erased, they remain bound with people, places, bodies, memories and individual subjectivities. In other words, once a sign is erased from the physicality and visuality of a certain landscape, it still remains elsewhere – in discourse, in people's memories, in landscapes of the imagination. This finding supports the idea that absence has to be considered as another layer within the complex historicity of semiotic landscapes and in relation to human others. The contested memories that have been made silent,

the linguistic signs that have been erased, the material objects or built architecture that have been destroyed – all of these absenced semiotic landscapes bear potential to be seen, made visible and re-animated (e.g., through (auto)-ethnographic methods).

A final contribution of this thesis to the study of semiotic landscapes is its conceptualization as temporally dynamic. This temporal dynamism is best captured with an example of a ghost: it may take an individual by surprise, evoke bewilderment, provoke memories and cause unease. In other words, a ghost as a manifestation of absence that comes to life upon an individuals' interrogation of a semiotic landscape, weaves itself in and out of social relations. The semiotic landscapes may be or may not be: as being animated by someone or as themselves provoking this someone. Semiotic landscapes may emerge when participants or researchers engage with them, or they may be silenced and forgotten when such engagement does not take place. They may re-appear despite their previous disappearance. As diachronic and layered phenomena, as physical, discursive and imaginative places bound with individual worlds, semiotic landscapes are evoked from one encounter to another. Semiotic landscapes are never stable or frozen, but rather changing and inherently in a state of flux. Though constituted by palimpsests, semiotic landscapes retain the dynamism of meanings as they become differently interrogated by various agents calling to the fore their less visible dimensions.

In sum, this thesis expands the study of absence in semiotic landscapes as historically layered yet temporally dynamic, affective and vibrant. As visible through emic perspectives, absenced semiotic landscapes are intricately tied to people and can therefore be treated as manifestations of an individual's or group's displacement and dispossession. Further, as shown by an (auto)-ethnographic account, embodied experiences of absenced semiotic landscapes matter as they further allow the illumination of memory, space and the production of situated knowledge woven into an individual's body and subjectivity. From this vantage point, this thesis also contributes to the field of multilingualism. A stronger focus on multiple semiotic dimensions and forms of sense- and meaning-making in multilingualism research would allow us to open up an infinite web of connections that would more fully inform the ways we make sense of the social life. Moreover, exploring the mutual co-constitution of material-discursive processes hidden behind words, voids and silences goes beyond the contemporary concerns with fixity and fluidity in constructions of language to the consideration of voids – seemingly speechless and yet vibrant social phenomena.

7.2 Theorizing absence in semiotic landscapes

Absences in relation to semiotic landscapes are conceptualized as material-discursive effects caused by historical and contemporary ideological processes of erasure, (in)visibilization and ruination. The studies in this thesis shed light on various forms of dispossession – the construed system of Russian domination in urban space (Study I); the material-discursive consequences of the Crimean Tatar deportation in 1940s (Study II); the ongoing power struggles for Ukrainian Crimea shortly after its annexation in 2014 (Study III); and, finally, the material-discursive manifestations of Russian violence directed against Ukrainian statehood in the occupied peninsula (Study IV). The studies seek to illuminate the processes of knowledge suppression, and, concomitantly, the absencing of linguistic, ethnic and national differences.

The ideological production of social space includes the production of absence and of orders of visibility and invisibility. Rather than treating absences and their discursive-material effects as 'natural', 'logical' or 'straightforward' results, a focus on absence in the studies enables the reader to investigate the dynamic relations of power between individuals and groups, as well as enforced acts of violence effectuating absence in semiotic landscapes. Specific questions can be asked about the kinds of processes that lead to absences, about the costs, agents and the modes and reasons for absence (cf. Malinowski 2019: 228; Foucault 1982). Apart from the discursive or 'linguistic' effects of absence causing (in)visibilization and silencing, the material effects of absence – material ruination, resulting in holes, gaps, shadows and other materially manifested tangible and non-tangible traces of erasure, destruction and removal – further shed light on the nature of exercised violence (cf. Gordon 2008: 127; Stoler 2013: 11).

Attention to absences and their material-discursive effects in semiotic landscapes allows us to investigate contemporary and historically distant political projects that bring about *voids* – seemingly speechless and yet vibrant social phenomena. If we recognize semiotic landscapes in their complexity, produced by historical and contemporary forms of dispossession, a focus on absences would allow an investigation of what lies beyond a word. In this way, what is missed, what is incomplete or (a)voided, may suggest potentially productive ways of re-theorizing semiotic landscapes. A fuller engagement with semiotic landscapes *also* requires a focus on absences, 'to what should be visible but is not, what is deliberately obscured, what slips quietly out of view, or is painted over with ideological veneers' (Kerfoot & Tatah 2017: 38). Below, I further explicate the ontological assumptions about semiotic landscapes in their material-discursive complexity, which should allow the reader to make sense of absences.

Absence alternates with presence. Absence may manifest when presence is disturbed. While one representation replaces the other and graffiti comes to represent, perform and constitute space differently, such alternations may unsettle 'the normative order' and underline the differences. *Antagonism* as an analytical lens becomes useful on several occasions. The *turbulent protest* in Study II lays bare what was prohibited and what was allowed, revealing normativities bound with place. The (non)-appropriate terms of conduct, the intolerable modes of struggle reveal the existing rules and regulations in place. Likewise, Study I and Study IV interrogate the transgressiveness of regimes of signs (cf. Karlander 2019: 204–205). While Study I explicates the visually explicit presence of the Russian discourses in Sevastopol's urban space, Study IV attends to the material-discursive absences of Ukraine in the museum exhibition '5 Years in the Native Harbour'. Both cases build on the principle of *dual indexicality*, namely, what is allowed – 'what is said' – indexes what is disallowed – 'what is non-said' (Kulick 2005: 620, 622; Kerfoot & Tatah 2017). Based on this principle, the discursive-material re-production of dominant discourses (e.g., Russian state nationalism) goes hand in hand with the erasure of signs signifying the Ukrainian nation-state, for example, a certain kind of presence presupposes an absence, or one phenomenon is co-constitutive of the other. As one nation-state becomes legitimized and justified (an order of visibility), the other is deemed to be erased (an order of invisibility). Shifts in orders of visibility are in line with the shifts in 'normative order' and 'disorder'. These shifts redefine the terms of the appropriateness of social acts (e.g., what is considered transgressive, disallowed or what is unsanctioned) and the parameters of visibility (e.g., what kind of displays of semiotic resources that index a national sense of belonging are 'normal' and 'appropriate' and what is considered transgressive). Another form of antagonism is when absence is reclaimed and made into presence by acts of visibility and voice. As Study II shows, the participants perform acts of Linguistic Citizenship and, by doing so, seek to redress the historical injustices brought about by forceful deportation. Their agentive acts reveal different orders of visibility, and work against progressive invisibilization.

Absence is not really absence, and a void is not really a void. 'What remains after destruction and violence is never a 'void'; instead, violence lingers in the form of affective materialities and memories' (Perini 2020: 77). Even if there seems to be 'nothing' in a landscape, there must be something (cf. Karlander 2019). Starting with 'words', this thesis ends with 'voids'. They are treated as materializations of material-discursive absences (not found) in landscapes and as signs conceptualized as anthropological traces (cf. Napolitano 2015). 'The trace is at once an analytical tool and an ethnographic site for inquiry. However, only some ethnographic details become anthropological traces, and that is when particular lingering histories of attachments and

marginalities have a material form'. (ibid.: 47). In a more traditional understanding, voids serve as data. Akin to words, voids can be made into matter. Like words, voids perform, reiterate and constitute absences in space. Voids (akin to the function of representations) perform space, they come to replace Ukrainian statehood: reiterate the place of Ukraine as a void in Crimea; assign a void to Ukraine; and devoid a Ukrainian presence of meaning. Voids entail other material-discursive phenomena, including counter-discourses and counter-memorizations (Train 2016), while they simultaneously presuppose new meanings, new discourses and materialities (Barad's posthumanist performativity). A void, and, more generally, any matter, is positioned in 'a process of relations as something which unfolds from itself to produce its own 'before' and 'after' (Colebrook 2008: 68). In line with feminist scholars who have problematized the dichotomy between discourse and materiality (Hekman 2008: 92), matter is not a meaningless object that is in itself, but it is implicated in relation to others. Once we re-visit matter, the materializations, we may uncover its intertwined relations with human and nonhuman others (ibid.: 93). By extension, a situated reading of voids ultimately works against any sort of essentialization of absence (unsettled as 'absolute' or 'fixed') as any void and, more generally, any sign conceptualized as an anthropological trace allows the interrogation of complex and unique social realities.

Bodily-sensed voids may turn into ghosts. Entangled with discourse, materiality and individuals' subjectivities, ghosts exude positive pressure on human bodies, activate memories, provoke bodily responses and demand attention. Ghosts in semiotic landscapes hover over torn down, shattered or even 'outraged' landscapes, such as those testifying to regimes of violence. They transform semiotic landscapes into landscapes inhabited by spectres – 'absent presences' (Kerfoot & Tatah 2017; Kulick 2005; cf. Deumert 2022), or just anachronic and vibrant phenomena re-appearing from pasts in the present. Interrogations of ghosts in deprived, ruined and even disgraced landscapes, as well as attention to the affective power of such sites, may alert an individual to the hidden dimensions of deceptively empty landscapes deterred by obscurity.

7.3 Possibilities for future research

The ethnographic exploration of absences as material-discursive effects of political forms of domination, violence and dispossession illuminates the role of semiotic landscapes as complex and historically layered ideological texts. With its ethnographic focus on people and places, this thesis explores words, voids and what lies beyond. When studying other voices through voids, a matter of methodological decision could be an exploration of any form of

rupture, contestation, roughness or 'non-smoothness' in a landscape, which comes to index other voices forced into silence through acts of erasure. In line with Foucault, voids can be interrogated in other social and political settings by posing questions such as: why this void, what does it mean here, what conditions led to the creation of this void, what has been erased, by whom and why? Further, going beyond the immediately present semiotic landscapes to those that no longer exist in search of encounters in which complex historicities are co-present, not to forget their affective dimensions, is another way of attending to absenced layers of historicity in semiotic landscapes.

As has been demonstrated, registering and later attending to the affective impact of semiotic landscapes on the researcher's body was a productive way for further engagement with the vibrant afterlives of erased landscapes as inhabited by ghosts. This aspect of research may be taken further to be especially productive in semiotic landscapes that have restricted access or in contexts of increased (in)securitization (cf. Rampton 2022; Charalambous, Charalambous & Rampton 2021; Rampton & Charalambous 2020). A fuller account of the researcher's body *and* self-reflexivity may be useful for grasping the ideological production of space and its affective dimensions. A focus on disabled, gendered and raced bodies (cf. Macpherson 2010), and the ways in which our bodies remember (cf. Busch 2021: 195–196; Mashazi & Oostendorp 2022; Busch 2022), as well as their engagement and interventions in research practices, may alter the ways in which we come to learn about places and people. Posing questions may be helpful, for example: 1. How does the researcher's experience of sensed familiarity, strangeness, isolation, unfreedom, or, even, abhorrence, allow her to register different modes of meaning-making and ultimately lead to new knowledges? 2. How does an individual's body as a sensing mechanism add to, interfere or unsettle habitual research practices, for instance, in facilitating avoidance or escape, and how is the researcher's body used (or not) to make sense of certain phenomena (e.g., absence)? Increased alertness of not only the researcher's actions in the field (e.g., walking, photographing and observing), but also of the researcher's senses, that is, a fuller account of an individual's body and self-reflexivity, allows a deeper interrogation of research practices in restrictive and non-democratic spaces, in which orders of invisibility are strictly enforced, surveilled and sustained. Reflexive attention to an individual's bodily responses in space may bring further insights into the status of the researcher's present body as disturbing space. Such alertness to the researcher's bodily intra-action with semiotic landscapes would expand meta-pragmatic reflexivity to the level of increased awareness about certain ways of acting and behaving according to the norms and conventions that are present in particular places, such as purposeful (in)attention, (not)-photographing, (non)-note-

taking and any other acts 'differentiating' the researcher from (co-present) others.

Further, shifting attention from words to voids, and from voids to ghosts, should bring new insights into ways of thinking about the social phenomena of absence and spectrality. The ethnographically informed studies in this thesis seek to expand recent interest in the sociolinguistics of the spectre (Deumert 2018b; Deumert 2022) and shed light on the destabilizing and often coercive processes that produce absences in semiotic landscapes. Moreover, they suggest that, by taking into account 'the potential for violence inherent in any act of theorizing' (Kerfoot and Hyltenstam 2017: 1), we should stay alert to the contingencies of knowledge production and seek to probe the limits of grasping what is not present, visible or represented, as a way to avoid the silencing of other forms of knowledge. It could be mistakenly assumed that if something is *invisible* – or was not granted (research) attention – this something *does not exist.* Historically, we seem to be cautious about words, but less so about silences (Coupland & Coupland 1997; Busch & McNamara 2020). In semiotic landscape research, we may be allured by inscriptions of 'something', and yet 'nothing' (Karlander 2019) has proven to be semiotically rich. This thesis intended to demonstrate that attention to what may be dismissed because it is classified as 'unimportant' may suggest insights into the subtle workings of power and acts of violence unfolding in very concrete material-discursive configurations. Being suspicious of the presences and critical of the processes of silencing may direct our analytical gaze towards changing the theorization of language-related matters as a deeply political project.

8 Sammanfattning på svenska

Syftet med denna avhandling är att bidra till den etnografiska forskningen om semiotiska landskap, genom att rikta blicken mot språkliga och ickespråkliga tecken i dagens Krim. Avhandlingen baseras på forskning i regionen från 2017 och 2019, efter Rysslands annektering men innan det fullskaliga kriget mot Ukraina, som inleddes den 24 februari 2022. Den belyser hur Krimhalvöns komplexa och konfliktfyllda historia förkroppsligas i utsuddade ('absenced') semiotiska landskap, både vad gäller fysisk påverkan i landskapet och diskursiv realisering i studiedeltagarnas återberättade minnen.

De fyra studierna behandlar följderna av olika berövande handlingar som lett till utsuddande av etniska, språkliga och nationella olikheter i Krim genom tid och rum. *Studie I* tar sig an visuella representationer i staden Sevastopol och illustrerar den ryska dominansen vad gäller nationens och nationalismens diskurser. *Studie II* rör sig bortom fokuset på synliga tecken och belyser de

osynliggjorda historierna om berövandet och undanträngandet av krimtatarernas territorier. Genom att rikta in sig på deltagarnas röster illustrerar studien hur ett *space of otherwise* (ungefär 'annorlundarum') konstrueras, ett obestämbart rum fyllt av möjligheter och marginalitet som förblir gömt men orubbligt i Krims landskap. *Studie III* tar sig i större utsträckning an kampen för röst och synlighet, genom att uppmärksamma minnen av invånares motstånd med begreppet *turbulens* (Stroud 2015) som lins. Slutligen försöker *Studie IV* reda ut hur frånvarons fysiska påverkan i landskapen manifesteras. Undersökningen går bortom orden och fångar in tomrummen och deras hemsökande påverkan på forskarens subjektivitet. Avhandlingen ämnar övergripande bidra till studiet av utsuddande och hemsökande i Krims semiotiska landskap som tidsmässigt dynamiska, känslomässiga och livfulla sociala fenomen med flera historiska lager. Den ställer följande övergripande fråga:

> *Hur kan studiet av frånvaro i semiotiska landskap, med sin materiellt-diskursiva komplexitet och sitt samband med världen utanför, erbjuda en ny lins för vårt sätt att se på social praxis?*

Med denna fråga som riktmärke förflyttar sig studierna från dagens semiotiska landskap till händelser från såväl senare historia som längre tillbaka i tiden. Den första studien tar avstamp i en utforskning av den 'ärofulla ryska staden' Sevastopol, vars arv kan spåras tillbaka till 1700-talets Krim som ockuperades av Ryska kejsardömet. Nästa studie tar oss till Krim efter andra världskriget och 1940-talets deportering av etniska minoriteter från halvön, inklusive den stora etniska gruppen krimtatarer. Den tredje studien riktar blicken mot minnen av ukrainska protester kort efter annekteringen av Krim år 2014. Slutligen uppmärksammar den fjärde studien senare historia av förtryck av ukrainska språk samt tecken för Ukraina som självständig stat från landskap år 2019. Den övergripande forskningsfrågan specificeras i fyra delfrågor som tas upp i de enskilda studierna.

Studie I: *På vilka sätt förkroppsligades de visuella representationerna av den ryska nationens och nationalismens diskurser när de cirkulerade i stadens offentliga rum?* Denna fråga anspelar på ryska ideologiska återgivningar av Krims visuella sfär, i detta fall staden Sevastopol, då den genomfördes såväl språkligt som ickespråkligt.

Studie II: *På vilka sätt kan krimtatarernas förtryckta, gömda och marginaliserade röster synliggöras diskursivt såväl som fysiskt?* Forskningsfrågan använder konceptet *spaces of otherwise* (Povinelli 2011a: 8), obestämbara sociala projekt som 'oscillerar mellan potentialitet och aktualitet', för att belysa det bakomliggande arvet av berövande i krimtatardistriktet Aqmeçıts

vardagslandskap i staden Simferopol. Studien stödjer sig på deltagarnas redogörelser för minnen av trauma över generationsgränserna kopplat till deporteringen av krimtatarer efter andra världskriget.

Studie III: *Hur kan turbulenta protester som en framträdande intra-aktion synliggöra (icke)normativa ordningar i ett annekterat landskap?* Den här studien undersöker individers minnen av protester som svar på annekteringen av Krim, genom en posthumanistisk teoretisk inriktning mot 'agentiva' objekt. Detta tillvägagångssätt möjliggör ett större engagemang med handlingar för synlighet och röst som överträffar mänsklig agens och avsikt.

Studie IV: *Hur kan frånvaro som ett förkroppsligande av utraderingen av Ukraina som stat från Krim utveckla hemsökande effekter på landskap och individers subjektivitet?* Den här studien undersökte den dolda ukrainska närvaron i ett utraderat semiotiskt landskap. Den behandlade teoretiskt hur forskarens kropp kom att bli betydande som kännande mekanism för ofrånkomliga andeväsen.

I följande avsnitt presenterar jag kortfattat avhandlingens bidrag och framhäver hur varje studie bidrar till utforskningen av utsuddande och hemsökande i Krims semiotiska landskap.

Studie I presenterar en analys av data som samlades in under fältarbete 2017. Den utforskar vad som skulle kunna kallas 'dominant' eller 'kvalificerad' kunskap genom att undersöka olika typer av märkningars modalitet och placering (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006; Scollon & Wong Scollon 2003), till exempel gatunamn, platsnamn, reklam, graffiti och affischtavlor. För att uppnå detta antar studien en diskursiv ram med vilken semiotiska landskap kan behandlas som en samling av diskurser (Kallen 2010; Dunlevy 2019). Således samlas och analyseras de semiotiska landskapen genom fotografiskt fångade diskursiva ramar som bygger på banala textuella och fysiska påminnelser om rysk statsnationalism (Billig 2006; Czepczyński 2008: 51), index över det 'Stora fosterländska kriget' samt den efterföljande omflyttningen av etniska minoriteter. Artikelns huvudsakliga fokus ligger på att greppa de synliga och tillgängliga semiotiska landskapen, men den fångar också glimtar av det som knappt är närvarande: lätt förbisedda tecken på strid berörs, men utforskas ännu inte fullt ut. Sammanfattningsvis erbjuder bildsamlingen från Sevastopol, utöver ett arkiv, inblickar i makt-, status- och prestigerelationer mellan språken som används i Sevastopols stadskärna. På så vis belyser studien nya dominerande synligheter i en gradvis bleknande närvaro.

Studie II tar oss med till historier från och minnen av 1940-talets deportering av krimtatarer och deras efterföljande återkomst. I motsats till den föregående artikeln synliggör Studie II underkuvad kunskap (Foucault 1982)

genom att samla in och bekräfta studiedeltagarnas röster. Genom sina handlingar av ’språkligt medborgarskap’ (Stroud 2001; Stroud 2018) konstruerar deltagarna *spaces of otherwise* (Povinelli 2011a; Povinelli 2011b), och som språkliga medborgare tydliggör de krimtatarernas annorlundarum: alternativa sociala projekt som grundar sig i andra typer av kunskap, minnen och erfarenheter. När deltagarna synliggör krimtatarernas annorlundarum för forskaren upplöser de synlighetens och osynlighetens relationer, och lyfter fram det som tycktes tillhöra det förflutna. Som metoder för att utforska enskilda deltagares skildringar av plats drar studien nytta av fotvandringar (Stroud & Jegels 2014) och halvstrukturerade intervjuer. Dessa engagemangsformer möjliggör en djupgående etnografisk utforskning av hur deltagarna läser landskapen. Genom att behandla deltagarna som språkliga medborgare undersöker studien både konventionella typer av semiotiska landskap, såsom gatunamn och platsnamn, och skriftfria fysiska objekt, såsom bildäck och flaggor. Sådana data antyder att det språkliga medborgarskapet går långt bortom språkliga handlingar och kan omfatta semiotiska praktiker på ett bredare plan (Kerfoot 2011; Stroud 2015b). Studiens undersökning av diskursiva och fysiska företeelser i krimtatarernas annorlundarum genom etnografiska data tyder på nya insikter om hur ett tystat förflutet återuppstår och synliggörs i nutiden.

Studie III vänder blicken närmare nutiden och utforskar motståndet mot ockupationen av Krim kort efter annekteringen. I likhet med Studie II utforskas den underkuvade kunskapen (Foucault 1982) som offentliggörs genom antagonism, utifrån studiet av turbulenta protester (jfr Stroud 2015b; Stroud 2015a; Cresswell & Martin 2012; Kitis & Milani 2015). Till skillnad från den föregående artikeln undersöker Studie III ett betydligt mindre socialt fenomen än deporteringen av krimtatarer, men den belyser ändå de trots allt betydelsefulla manövreringarna av meningsskiljaktigheter, med hjälp av Karen Barads posthumanistiska ramverk. Med denna teoretiska lins kan intervju- och fotografidata betraktas med en inriktning mot fysiska objekt (till exempel flaggor, bilar, symbolik) som kan komma att spela avgörande roller i en protest. Därmed byggde studien på ett urval av verk som visade hur det fysiska objektets agentiva egenskaper kan skapa mening, påverka människor och mer generellt kommunicera utan ord (Barad & Gandorfer 2021; Peck, Stroud & Williams 2019; Caronia & Mortari 2015). Studien belyser övergripande behovet av människans och icke-människans agentiska intra-aktioner för att uttrycka röst och synlighet i ett annekterat rum. Frånsett den posthumanistiska lins som präglar studien fanns ett fokus på antagonism och pågående ’provokationer’ (Foucault 1982) som genomförs genom en föreställning om *turbulens*. Detta fokus kastade ljus på system av ordning och oordning, av uppfattad ohörsamhet och normer, som vidare förklarade protesternas synlighetsparametrar.

Avslutningsvis undersöker Studie IV den senare historien av frånvaron och utplåningen av Ukraina från Krim. I likhet med de tre föregående artiklarna belyser och synliggör studien utplånade och tystade kunskaper (Kerfoot & Hyltenstam 2017; Kerfoot 2020; Santos 2014). Till skillnad från de andra studierna bidrar den här artikeln till det arbete som intresserar sig för kropp och självreflexivitet: det är fokuset på forskarens förkroppsligade erfarenheter av och känslomässiga reaktioner på fältarbetets rum som belyser det invecklade förhållandet mellan minne, rum, landskap och produktionen av situerade kunskaper. Genom att kombinera fysisk etnografi (Stroud & Mpendukana 2009; Gordillo 2021) med fenomenologi (Merleau-Ponty 2013; Ahmed 2013) genomför jag en *andeväsensetnografi* för att undersöka hur frånvaro produceras samt dess materiellt-diskursiva effekter på det offentliga institutionella rummets byggda miljöer. Utifrån förhör av antropologiska konturer (Napolitano 2015; Bock & Stroud 2019) av våld med hjälp av atypiska tecken, såsom tomrum, skuggor, tomma väggar, men också materiellt-diskursiva utelämnanden och opartiskhet, söker artikeln bidra med en ny sociolingvistisk analys av hemsökande (’haunting’) (Gordon 2008). Därmed riktar den de semiotiska landskapsstudiernas och sociolingvistikens uppmärksamhet mer generellt mot frånvarons, närvarons och (o)synlighetens sociala innebörder.

Datainsamlingsmetoder som använts i avhandlingen är etnografiska intervjuer, fotvandringar, objektinriktad fysisk etnografi samt en (auto)etnografisk studie av andeväsen. Kombinationen av metoder belyste hur frånvaro i semiotiska landskap (sam)skapas och formas av studiedeltagare och forskare. Med dessa metoder kunde individernas praktiker lokaliseras, spåras och positioneras i relation till specifika platser. Exempel på detta är de diskursiva uppfattningarna av det sociala rummet som ryskt i centrala Sevastopol i Studie I, eller hur ett krimtatariskt annorlundarum samskapades när vi rörde oss genom Aqmeçıt i Studie II. Vidare kastade de valda metoderna ljus på olika tider, som i Studie II och Studie IV, där det förflutna sträckte sig in i nutiden med riktning mot framtiden. Slutligen belyste de valda metoderna det utsuddade landskapets begränsningar och inriktning mot kroppar. Exempel på detta är Studie II, där deltagarnas skildringar synliggjorde det utsuddade landskapet, och Studie IV, där forskarens kropp blev en medlare för tystade röster.

Sammanfattningsvis undersöker avhandlingen semiotiska landskap bortom det som är synligt och omedelbart tillgängligt. Utsuddade semiotiska landskap, liksom fråntagna folk, visar sig samexistera ömsesidigt i sin pågående utveckling, påverkan och förändring. Studie I försöker greppa det synliga, men frestas av det som knappt är närvarande. Studie II fortsätter att teoretiskt packa upp de utsuddade men orubbliga *spaces of otherwise*, och tänjer ut nutiden till åtskilliga traumatiska förflutna och potentiella framtider. Studie III belyser demonstranternas engagemang med olika teckens framträdande betydelser som ett sätt att manövrera meningsskiljaktigheter. Slutligen

positionerar Studie IV forskarens kropp som en kännande och seende mekanism som förmedlar de intryck som genereras av semiotiska landskap, och fortsätter att rubba fråntagandet och hemsökandet i Krims semiotiska landskap.

Avhandlingens nyskapande bidrag är en utforskning av utsuddade och berövade semiotiska landskap och deras invecklade band till människorna. Ett gemensamt bildande av materiellt-diskursiva processer som göms bakom ord eller tomrum – bakom en väl synlig semiotisk skyltning, en knappt märkbar skugga, i ljudet av musik i förbifarten – röjer vägen för ett oändligt nätverk av sammanbindningar som förklarar hur vi förstår det sociala umgänget. Studiet av semiotiska landskap är fascinerande för forskningen eftersom dess materiellt-diskursiva komplexitet och samband med världen utanför erbjuder en ny lins för vårt sätt att se på social praxis.

References

Ahmed, S. (2013). *Queer phenomenology*. Duke University Press.

Akzhigitova, A., & Zharkynbekova, S. (2014). Language planning in Kazakhstan: The case of ergonyms as another scene of linguistic landscape of Astana. *Language Problems and Language Planning*, *38*(1), 42–57.

Arel, D. (2014). Double talk: Why Ukrainian fight over language. *Foreign Affairs*, 1–6.

Austin, J. L. (1962). How to do things with words. Oxford University Press.

Babenko, G. A., & Dulichev, V. P. (2008). *Masterpieces of the Muslim architecture of Crimea*. OJSC Simferopol.

Backhaus, P. (2005). Signs of multilingualism in Tokyo — a diachronic look at the linguistic landscape. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, *175–176*, 103–121.

Bakhtin, M. (1981). *Discourse in the novel*. University of Texas Press.

Barad, K. (2003). Posthumanist performativity: Toward an understanding of how matter comes to matter. *Gender and Science*, *28*(3), 801–831.

Barad, K. (2017). No small matter: Mushroom clouds, ecologies of nothingness, and strange topologies of spacetimemattering. In *Multitudes* (Vol. 65, Number 4, pp. 64–74). Association Multitudes.

Barad, K. (2018). Posthumanist performativity: Toward an understanding of how matter comes to matter. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, *28*(3), 223–239.

Barad, K., & Gandorfer, D. (2021). Political desirings: Yearnings for mattering (,) differently. *Theory & Event*, *24*(1), 14–66.

Baranova, V., & Fedorova, K. (2019). 'Invisible minorities' and 'hidden diversity' in Saint-Petersburg's linguistic landscape. *Language and Communication*, *68*, 17–27.

Barni, M., & Bagna, C. (2015). The critical turn in LL: New methodologies and new items in LL. *Linguistic Landscape, 1*(1–2), 6–18.

Bartlett, R. P. (1979). *Human capital: The settlement of foreigners in Russia 1762–1804.* Cambridge University Press.

Basso, K. H. (1996). *Wisdom sits in places: Landscape and language among the Western Apache*. University of New Mexico Press.

Bauman, R., & Briggs, C. L. (2003). *Voices of modernity: Language ideologies and the politics of inequality*. Cambridge University Press.

Bennett, J. (2013). *Vibrant matter*. Duke University Press.

Bever, O. (2015). Linguistic landscapes as multimodal and multilingual phenomena. In A. Laitinen, Mikko/Zabrodskaja (Eds.), *Dimensions of sociolinguistic landscapes in Europe: Materials and methodological solutions* (pp. 233–261). Peter Lang.

Bilaniuk, L. (2015). Die Sprachenfrage in Kriegszeiten: Politiken um Status, Standards und Identitäten in der Ukraine. *Ukraine-Analysen, 156,* 10–13.

Bilaniuk, L., & Melnyk, S. (2008). A tense and shifting balance: Bilingualism and education in Ukraine. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 11*(3–4), 340–372.

Billig, M. (1995/2006). *Banal nationalism*. Sage.

Blommaert, J. (2013). *Ethnography, superdiversity and linguistic landscapes: Chronicles of complexity*. Multilingual Matters.

Blommaert, J. (2015). *The conservative turn in linguistic landscape studies*. Ctrl+Alt+Dem: research on alternative democratic life in Europe. Available at: https://alternative-democracy-research.org/2016/01/05/the-conservative-turn-in-linguistic-landscape-studies/

Bock, Z., & Stroud, C. (2019). Zombie landscapes: Apartheid traces in the discourses of young South Africans. In A. Peck, C. Stroud, & Q. Williams (Eds.), *Making sense of people and place and linguistic landscapes* (pp. 11–27). Bloomsbury.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. G. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241–258). Greenwood.

Briggs, C. (1986). *Learning how to ask: A sociolinguistic appraisal of the role of the interview in social science research*. Cambridge University Press.

Brown, J. (2015). Walking memory through city space in Sevastopol, Crimea. In M. Pakier & J. Wawrzyniak (Eds.), *Memory and change in Europe: Eastern perspectives* (pp. 212–227). Berghahn Books.

Brown, K. D. (2012). The linguistic landscape of educational spaces: Language revitalization and schools in Southeastern Estonia. In D. Gorter, L. van Mensel, & H. F. Marten (Eds.), *Minority Languages in the Linguistic Landscape*. Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230360235_16

Bucholtz, M., & Hall, K. (2007). Language and identity. In A. Duranti (Ed.), *A companion to linguistic anthropology* (pp. 369–394). Blackwell.

Busch, B. (2016). Biographical approaches to research in multilingual settings: Exploring linguistic repertoires. In M. Martin-Jones & D. Martin (Eds.), *Researching multilingualism: Critical and ethnographic perspectives* (pp. 46–59). Routledge.

Busch, B. (2020). Gehört werden. Sprachrepertoire und Spracherieben im Zeichen sozialer Exklusion. *Wiener Linguistische Gazette, 4*(2), 101–123.

Busch, B. (2021). The body image: Taking an evaluative stance towards semiotic resources. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, *18*(2), 190–205.

Busch, B. (2022). A few remarks on working with auto-socio-bio-ethnography. In J. Purkarthofer & M.-C. Flubacher (Eds.), *Speaking subjects – Biographical methods in multilingualism research* (pp. 290–303). Multilingual Matters.

Busch, B., & McNamara, T. (2020). Language and trauma: An introduction. *Applied Linguistics,* 41(3), 323–333.

Butler, J. (1988). Performative acts and gender constitution: An essay in phenomenology and feminist theory. *Theatre Journal*, *40*(4), 519–531.

Butler, J. (1997). *Excitable speech: A politics of the performative*. Routledge.

Butler, J. (2011). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. Routledge.

Canagarajah, S. (2021). Materializing narratives: The story behind the story. *System*, *102*. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.system.2021.102610

Caronia, L., & Mortari, L. (2015). The agency of things: How spaces and artefacts organize the moral order of an intensive care unit. *Social Semiotics*, *25*(4), 401–422.

Casey, E. S. (1996). How to get from space to place in a fairly short time. In S. Feld & K. H. Basso (Eds.), *Senses of Place* (pp. 13–52). School of American Research Press.

Charalambous, C., Charalambous, P., & Rampton, B. (2021). International relations, sociolinguistics and the 'everyday': A linguistic ethnography of peace-building through language education. *Peacebuilding*, *9*(4), 387–408.

Chernichko, S. (2019). Роль громадських активістів у формуванні мовного ландшафту та мовної політики [The role of public activists in shaping the linguistic landscape and language policy]. In I. Csernicskó & A. Márku (Eds.), *Anyelvészet műhelyeiből* (pp. 125–133). Shark.

Colebrook, C. (2008). On not becoming man: The materialist politics of unactualized potential. In S. Alaimo & S. Hekman (Eds.), *Material feminisms* (pp. 52–84). Indiana University Press.

Coupland, N., & Coupland, J. (1997). Discourses of the unsayable: Death implicative talk in geriatric medical consultations. *Silence: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, 117–152.

Cresswell, T., & Martin, C. (2012). On turbulence: Entanglements of disorder and order on a Devon Beach. *Tijdschrift Voor Economische En Sociale Geografie*, *103*(5), 516–529.

Csernicskó, I., & Fedinec, C. (2016). Four language laws of Ukraine. *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights*, *23*(4), 560–582.

Csernicskó, I., & Fedinec, C. (2020). Time and space in between: Time zones, languages, and cultures in Transcarpathia (Ukraine). *Acta Universitatis Sapientiae, Philologica*, *11*(2), 7–22.

Csernicskó, I., & Laihonen, P. (2016). Hybrid practices meet nation-state language policies: Transcarpathia in the twentieth century and today. *Multilingua*, *35*(1), 1–30.

Czepczyński, M. (2008). *Cultural landscapes of post-socialist cities: Representation of powers and needs*. Ashgate.

Dabašinskienė, I. (2021). Place and language transformations in a post-Soviet Landscape: A case study of the atomic city Visaginas. *Learning the Nuclear: Educational Tourism in (Post) Industrial Sites*, 111–131.

de Souza, L. M. T. M. (2018). Glocal languages, coloniality and globalization from below. In M. Guilherme & L. M. T. M. de Souza (Eds.), *Glocal languages and intercultural critical awareness: The South answers back* (pp. 17–41). Routledge.

Deumert, A. (2018a). Commentary – on participation and resistance. In L. Lim, C. Stroud, & L. Wee (Eds.), *The multilingual citizen: Towards a politics of language for agency and change* (pp. 289–299). Multilingual Matters.

Deumert, A. (2018b). *What about ghosts? Towards a sociolinguistics of the spectre*. Diggit Magazine. Available at: https://www.diggitmagazine.com/column/sociolinguistics-spectre

Deumert, A. (2022). The sound of absent-presence: Towards formulating a sociolinguistics of the spectre. *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics*, *45*(2), 135–153.

Dunlevy, D. A. (2019). Blurred lines: The effect of regional borders on the LL in Northern Spain. In D. Malinowski & S. Tufi (Eds.), *Questioning boundaries, opening spaces: Reterritorialising linguistic landscapes.* (pp. 236–261). Bloomsbury.

Eagleton, T. (1991). *Ideology: An introduction*. Verso.

Ellingson, L. L., & Sotirin, P. (2020). *Making data in qualitative research*. Routledge.

Evans, J., & Jones, P. (2011). The walking interview: Methodology, mobility and place. *Applied Geography*, *31*(2), 849–858.

Ferguson, J., & Sidorova, L. (2018). What language advertises: Ethnographic branding in the linguistic landscape of Yakutsk. *Language Policy*, *17*(1), 23–54.

Foucault, M. (1969). *Archaeology of knowledge*. Routledge.

Foucault, M. (1982). The subject and power. *Critical Inquiry*, *8*(4), 777–795.

Foucault, M. (2003). Society must be defended. In M. Bertani & A. Fontana (Eds.), *Lectures at the College de France 1975-1976* (pp. 239–264). Picador.

Franklin-Phipps, A., & Gleason, T. (2019). Walking methodologies with/in teacher education. *Journal of Public Pedagogies*, *4*, 228–234.

Garvin, R. T. (2010). Emotional responses to the linguistic landscape in Memphis, Tennessee: Visual perceptions of public spaces in transition. In E. Shohamy, E. Ben-Rafael, & M. Barni (Eds.), *Linguistic landscape in the city* (pp. 252–271). Multilingual Matters.

Gegeo, D. W., & Watson-Gegeo, K. A. (2001). 'How we know': Kwara'ae rural villagers doing indigenous epistemology. *Contemporary Pacific*, *13*(1), 55–88.

Gordillo, G. R. (2021). *Rubble*. Duke University Press.

Gordon, A. F. (2008). *Ghostly matters: Haunting and the sociological imagination*. University of Minnesota Press.

Guissemo, M. (2018). Orders of (in)visibility: Colonial and postcolonial chronotopes in linguistic landscapes of memorization in Maputo. In A. Peck, C. Stroud, & Q. Williams (Eds.), *Making sense of people and place in linguistic landscapes* (pp. 29–48). Bloomsbury.

Haraway, D. (1988). Situated knowledges: The science question in feminism and the privilege of partial perspective. *Feminist Studies*, *14*(3), 575–599.

Hasanova, D. (2019). Linguistic landscape of Uzbekistan: The rise and fall of Uzbek, Russian, Tajik, and English. In S. D. Brunn & R. Kehrein (Eds.), *Handbook of the changing world language map* (Vol. 1, pp. 3015–3028). Springer.

Hasanova, D. (2022). The linguistic landscape of Bukhara and Tashkent in the post-Soviet era. *World Englishes*, *41*(1), 24–37.

Hekman, S. (2008). Constructing the ballast: An ontology for feminism. In S. Hekman & S. Alaimo (Eds.), *Material feminisms* (pp. 85–119). Indiana University Press.

Heller, M., Pietikäinen, S., & Pujolar, J. (2018). *Critical sociolinguistic research methods: Studying language issues that matter*. Routledge.

Hires-László, K. (2019). Linguistic landscapes in a Western Ukrainian town. *Corvinus Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, *10*(1), 87–111.

Hirsch, F. (2005). *Empire of nations: Ethnographic knowledge and the making of the Soviet Union*. Cornell University Press.

Hörbelt, C. (2017). Eine erinnerungskulturelle Zerreißprobe: Wie das Ukrainische Institut für Nationale Erinnerung ein neues nationalukrainisches Narrativ konstruiert. *Ukraine-Analysen*, *193*, 11–15.

Hymes, D. (1975). Breakthrough into performance. In D. Ben-Amos & K. S. Goldstein (Eds.), *Folklore: Performance and Communication* (pp. 11–74). De Gruyter.

Iedema, R. (2003). Multimodality, resemiotization: Extending the analysis of discourse as multi-semiotic practice. *Visual Communication 2003*, *2*(1), 29–57.

Irvine, J. T. (1989). When talk isn't cheap: Language and political economy. *American Ethnologist*, *16*(2), 248–267.

Irvine, J. T., & Gal, S. (2000). Language ideology and linguistic differentiation. In P. Kroskrity (Ed.), *Regimes of language: Ideologies, polities and identities* (pp. 35–83). School of American Research Press.

Ivanova, O. (2016). Language situation in post-Soviet Kyiv: Ukrainian and Russian in the linguistic landscape and communicative practices. In A. Sloboda, Marian/Laihonen, Petteri/Zabrodskaja (Eds.), *Sociolinguistic transition in former Eastern bloc countries* (pp. 379–405). Peter Lang.

Jaspers, J. (2019). Advocating heteroglossia, dominating publics? *Working Papers in Urban Language & Literacies*, *248*, 1–24.

Jaworski, A., & Thurlow, C. (2010a). Introducing semiotic landscapes. In A. Jaworski & C. Thurlow (Eds.), *Semiotic landscapes: Language, image, space* (pp. 1–40). Continuum.

Jaworski, A., & Thurlow, C. (Eds.) (2010b). *Semiotic landscapes: language, image, space*. Continuum.

Jia Lou, J. (2016). *The linguistic landscape of Chinatown: A sociolinguistic ethnography*. Multilingual Matters.

Kallen, J. L. (2010). Changing landscapes: Language, space and policy in the Dublin linguistic landscape. In C. Thurlow & A. Jaworski (Eds.), *Semiotic landscapes: Language, image, space* (pp. 41–58). Continuum.

Kappeler, A. (2014). *Kleine Geschichte der Ukraine*. Beck.

Karmacsi, Z. (2019). Linguistic landscape of Transcarpathia's tourism. In I. Csernicskó & A. Márku (Eds.), *Anyelvészet műhelyeiből* (pp. 101–124). Shark.

Kerfoot, C. (2011). Making and shaping participatory spaces: Resemiotization and citizenship agency in South Africa. *International Multilingual Research Journal*, *5*(2), 87–102.

Kerfoot, C. (2016). Speaking of, for, and with others: Some methodological considerations. *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics Plus*, *49*, 331–341.

Kerfoot, C. (2020). Making absences present: Language policy from below. *Multilingual Margins*, *7*(1), 69–76.

Kerfoot, C., & Bello-Nonjengele, B. O. (2022). Towards epistemic justice: Transforming relations of knowing in multilingual classrooms. *Working Papers in Urban Language & Literacies, 294*, 1–23.

Kerfoot, C., & Hyltenstam, K. (2017). *Entangled discourses: South-North orders of visibility*. Routledge.

Kerfoot, C., & Tatah, G. (2017). Constructing invisibility: The discursive erasure of a black immigrant learner in South Africa. In C. Kerfoot & K. Hyltenstam (Eds.), *Entangled discourses: South-north orders of visibility* (pp. 37–58). Routledge.

Kirmse, S. B. (2019). *The lawful empire: Legal change and cultural diversity in late tsarist Russia*. Cambridge University Press.

Kitis, E. D., & Milani, T. (2015). The performativity of the body: Turbulent spaces in Greece. *Linguistic Landscape, 1*(3), 268–290.

Krause-Alzaidi, L.-S. (2023). Encounters with Black Lives Matter protest placards in Germany: Towards productive racialization? In A. Abdelhay, C. Severo, & S. Makoni (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics of protesting* (pp. 1–21). De Gruyter.

Kress, G., & van Leeuwen, T. (2006). *Reading images: The grammar of visual design*. Routledge.

Kroskrity, P. (2015). Language ideologies: Emergence, elaboration, and application. In N. Bonvillain (Ed.), *Handbook of linguistic anthropology* (pp. 95–108). Routledge.

Kudriavtseva, N. (2018). Ukraine's language agenda: When aspiration meets practice. *Wilson Center*. Available at: www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/ukraines-language-agenda-when-aspiration-meets-practice

Kulbayeva, A. (2018). Polycentricity of linguistic landscape and nation-building in post-Soviet Kazakhstan. *Central Asian Affairs, 5*(4). https://doi.org/10.1163/22142290-00504001

Kulick, D. (2005). The importance of what gets left out. *Discourse Studies, 7*(4–5), 615–624.

Kurtseitov, R. (2017). Последствия геноцида крымскотатарского народа в годы Второй мировой войны, этнических ограничений в послевоенные десятилетия через призму этносоциальных трансформаций современного Крыма. [Consequences of the genocide of the Crimean Tatar people during the Second World War, ethnic restrictions in the post-war decades through the prism of ethno-social transformations of modern Crimea]. *Bulletin of V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University, 39*, 222–233.

Laihonen, P., & Csernicskó, I. (2018). Expanding marginality: Linguascaping a Transcarpathian spa in South-Western Ukraine. In S. Kroon & J. Swanenberg (Eds.), *Language and culture on the margins: Local/global interactions* (pp. 145–164). Routledge.

Landry, R., & Bourhis, R. (1997). Linguistic landscape and ethnolinguistic vitality. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, *16*(1), 23–49.

Lazdiņa, S., Marten, H. F., & Pošeiko, S. (2010). The Latgalian language as a regional language in Latvia: A characterisation and implications in the context of languages in Europe. *Via Latgalica*, *3*, 6–18.

Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The production of space*. Blackwell.

Liebich, A., & Myshlovska, O. (2014). Bandera: Memorialization and commemoration. *Nationalities Papers*, *42*(5), 750–770.

Lim, L., Stroud, C., & Wee, L. (Eds.) (2018). *The multilingual citizen: Towards a politics of language for agency and change.* Multilingual Matters.

L'nyavskiy, S. (2016). *Ukrainian language policy: The status of Russian in English language medium Ukrainian and Russian newspapers and in the linguistic landscape of four regions* (Lund University). Unpublished Master Thesis.

L'nyavskiy, S. (2022). Odesa in diachronic and synchronic studies of urban linguistic landscapes of Ukraine conducted between 2015 and 2019. *East/West: Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, *9*(2), 93–143.

Maiboroda, O. (2008). *Мовна ситуація в Україні: між конфліктом і консенсусом [Language situation in Ukraine: Between conflict and consensus]*. ІПіЕНД імені І. Ф. Кураса НАН України.

Makoni, S., & Pennycook, A. (2007). Chapter 1: Disinventing and reconstituting languages. In S. Makoni & A. Pennycook (Eds.), *Disinventing and reconstituting languages* (pp. 1–41). Multilingual Matters.

Malpas, J. (1998). Finding place: Spatiality, locality, and subjectivity. *Philosophy and geography III: Philosophies of place*, 21–43.

Malpas, J. (1999). *Place and experience*. Cambridge University Press.

Malpas, J. (2012). Putting space in place: Philosophical topography and relational geography. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, *30*(2), 226–242.

Manan, S. A., & Hajar, A. (2022). English as an index of neoliberal globalization: The linguistic landscape of Nur-Sultan, Kazakhstan. *Language Sciences*, *92*. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langsci.2022.101486

Marten, H. F. (2010). Linguistic landscape under strict state language policy: Reversing the Soviet legacy in a regional centre in Latvia. In E. Shohamy, E. Ben-Rafael, & M. Barni (Eds.), *Linguistic landscape in the city* (pp. 115–132). Multilingual Matters.

Martin, T. (1998). The origins of Soviet ethnic cleansing. *Journal of Modern History*, *70*(4), 813–861.

Mashazi, S., & Oostendorp, M. (2022). Belonging: The interplay of linguistic repertoires, bodies, and space in an educational context. In J. Purkarthofer

& M.-C. Flubacher (Eds.), *Speaking subjects – Biographical methods in multilingualism research* (pp. 139–162). Multilingual Matters.

McDermott, A. (2019). The linguistic landscape of post-Soviet Bishkek. *Region: Regional studies of Russia, Eastern Europe, and Central Asia*, *8*(2), 227–255.

Merleau-Ponty, M. (2013). *Phenomenology of perception*. Routledge.

Milani, T. M., & Lazar, M. M. (2017). Seeing from the South: Discourse, gender and sexuality from southern perspectives. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, *21*(3), 307–319.

Moore, I. (2014). Negotiating public space: The post-Soviet linguistic landscape in Kazakhstan. *International Journal of Communication and Linguistic Studies*, *11*(4), 1–21.

Moore, I. (2018). Linguistic, ethnic and cultural tensions in the sociolinguistic landscape of Vilnius: a diachronic analysis. In M. Pütz & N. Mundt (Eds.), *Expanding the linguistic landscape: Multilingualism, language policy and the use of space as a semiotic resource* (pp. 229–263). Multilingual Matters.

Moore, I. (2019). Vilnius memoryscape: Razing and raising of monuments, collective memory and national identity. *Linguistic Landscape*, *5*(3), 248–280.

Moriarty, M. (2019). Regimes of voice and visibility in the refugeescape: A semiotic landscape approach. *Linguistic Landscape*, *5*(2), 142–159.

Muth, S. (2012). The linguistic landscapes of Chişinău and Vilnius: Linguistic landscape and the representation of minority languages in two post-Soviet capitals. In D. Gorter, H. F. Marten, & M. L. Van (Eds.), *Minority languages in the linguistic landscape* (pp. 204–224). Palgrave Macmillan.

Muth, S. (2014a). Informal signs as expressions of multilingualism in Chisinau: How individuals shape the public space of a post-Soviet capital. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, *228*, 29–54.

Muth, S. (2014b). Linguistic landscapes on the other side of the border: Signs, language and the construction of cultural identity in Transnistria. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, *227*, 25–46.

Muth, S. (2015). 'Ruralscapes' in post-Soviet Transnistria: Ideology and language use on the fringes of a contested space. In M. Laitinen & A. Zabrodskaja (Eds.), *Dimensions of sociolinguistic landscapes in Europe: Materials and methodological solutions* (Vol. 7, pp. 199–231). Peter Lang.

Muth, S., & Wolf, F. (2009). The linguistic landscapes of Chişinău: Forms and functions of urban public verbal signs in a post-Soviet setting. *Lancaster University Postgraduate Conference in Linguistics & Language Teaching*, *4*, 1–21.

Napolitano, V. (2015). Anthropology and traces. *Anthropological Theory*, *15*(1), 47–67.

Olszański, T. A. (2017). The great decommunisation: Ukraine's wartime historical policy. In A. Eberhardt & W. Konończuk (Eds.), *Point of View* 65. Ośrodek studiów Wschodnich im. marka Karpia.

O'Neill, K. (2006). Constructing Russian identity in the imperial borderland: Architecture, Islam, and the transformation of the Crimean landscape. *Ab Imperio, 2*, 163–192.

O'Neill, K. (2017). *Claiming Crimea*. Yale University Press.

Papen, U. (2012). Commercial discourses, gentrification and citizens' protest: The linguistic landscape of Prenzlauer Berg, Berlin. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, *16*(1), 56–80.

Pavlenko, A. (2009). Language conflict in post-Soviet linguistic landscapes. *Journal of Slavic Linguistics*, *17*(1), 247–274.

Pavlenko, A. (2010). Linguistic landscape of Kyiv, Ukraine: A diachronic study. In E. Shohamy, E. Ben-Rafael, & M. Barni (Eds.), *Linguistic landscape in the city* (pp. 133–150). Multilingual Matters.

Pavlenko, A. (2011a). Language rights versus speakers' rights: On the applicability of Western language rights approaches in Eastern European contexts. *Language Policy*, *10*(1), 37–58.

Pavlenko, A. (2011b). Linguistic russification in the Russian Empire: Peasants into Russians? *Russian Linguistics*, *35*(3), 331–350.

Pavlenko, A. (2012). Transgression as the norm: Russian in linguistic landscape of Kyiv, Ukraine. In D. Gorter, H. F. Marten, & L. van Mensel (Eds.), *Minority Languages in the Linguistic Landscape* (pp. 36–56). Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Pavlenko, A. (2022). Multilingual ghost signs: The many roles of dissonant languages in the landscape of memory. In A. Pavlenko (Ed.), *Multilingualism and history.* (pp. 1–29). Cambridge University Press.

Pavlenko, A., & Mullen, A. (2015). Why diachronicity matters in the study of linguistic landscapes. *Linguistic Landscape*, *1*(1–2), 114–132.

Peck, A., Stroud, C., & Williams, Q. (Eds.) (2019). *Making sense of people and place in linguistic landscapes*. Bloomsbury.

Peña-Alves, S. (2020). Outspoken objects and unspoken myths: The semiotics of object-mediated communication. *Symbolic Interaction*, *43*(3), 385–404.

Pennycook, A., & Otsuji, E. (2015). Making scents of the landscape. *Linguistic Landscape*, *1*(3), 191–212.

Perini, I. E. M. (2020). Affective ecologies: Ghostly presences and memories in territories of war in Colombia. *Brújula*, *13*, 65–94.

Plokhy, S. (2000). The city of glory: Sevastopol in Russian historical mythology. *Journal of Contemporary History*, *35*(3), 369–383.

Povinelli, E. A. (2011a). *Economies of abandonment: Social belonging and endurance in late liberalism*. Duke University Press.

Povinelli, E. A. (2011b). Routes/Worlds. *E-Flux, 27*. Available at: https://www.e-flux.com/journal/27/67991/routes-worlds/

Povinelli, E. A. (2012a). After the last man: Images and ethics of becoming otherwise. *E-Flux*. Available at: https://www.e-flux.com/journal/35/68380/after-the-last-man-images-and-ethics-of-becoming-otherwise/

Povinelli, E. A. (2012b). The will to be otherwise/the effort of endurance. *South Atlantic Quarterly, 111*(3), 453–475.

Qualls, K. D. (2009). *From ruins to reconstruction: Urban identity in Soviet Sevastopol after World War II*. Cornell University Press.

Rampton, B. (2022). *Linguistic practice in changing conditions*. Multilingual Matters.

Rampton, B., & Charalambous, C. (2020). Sociolinguistics and everyday (in)securitization. *Journal of Sociolinguistics, 24*(1), 75–88.

Rampton, B., Maybin, J., & Roberts, C. (2014). Methodological foundations in linguistic ethnography. *Tilburg Papers in Culture Studies, 102*, 1–24.

Salö, L. (2018). Seeing the point from which you see what you see: An essay on epistemic reflexivity in language research. *Multilingual Margins, 5*(1), 24–39.

Santos, B. de S. (2014). *Epistemologies of the South: Justice against epistemicide*. Routledge.

Sasse, G. (2007). *The Crimea question: Identity, transition, and conflict*. Harvard University Press.

Schieffelin, B., Woolard, K., & Kroskrity, P. (Eds.) (1998). Language ideologies: Practice and theory. Oxford University Press.

Scollon, R., & Wong Scollon, S. (2003). *Discourses in place*. Routledge.

Scott, J. C. (2017). *Seeing like a state*. Yale University Press.

Seals, C. A. (2019). *Choosing a mother tongue: The politics of language and identity in Ukraine*. Multilingual Matters.

Seals, C. A., & Niedt, G. (2020). Activist teaching through the linguistic landscape in Göttingen and Lviv. In C. A. Seals & N. Greg (Eds.), *Linguistic landscapes beyond the language classroom* (pp. 177–195). Bloomsbury.

Shakh, S. (2010). *Bilingual Ukraine in linguistic landscapes: A comparative study of Kyiv and Kharkiv* (Unpublished thesis). University of Freiburg, Germany.

Shankar, S., & Cavanaugh, J. R. (2017). Toward a theory of language materiality: An introduction. In J. R. Cavanaugh & S. Shankar (Eds.), *Language and Materiality: Ethnographic and theoretical explorations* (pp. 1–28). Cambridge University Press.

Shaw, S., Copland, F., & Snell, J. (2015). An Introduction to linguistic ethnography: Interdisciplinary explorations. In J. Snell, S. Shaw, & F. Copland (Eds.), *Linguistic ethnography: Interdisciplinary explorations* (pp. 1–13). Palgrave Macmillan.

Shibliyev, J. (2014). Linguistic landscape approach to language visibility in post-Soviet Baku. *Bilig*, *71*, 205–232.

Shohamy, E., & Waksman, S. (2009). Linguistic landscape as an ecological arena: Modalities, meanings, negotiations, education. In E. Shohamy & D. Gorter (Eds.), *Linguistic landscape: Expanding the scenery* (pp. 313–331). Routledge.

Silverstein, M. (2003). Indexical order and the dialectics of sociolinguistic life. *Language and Communication*, *23*(3/4), 193–229.

Sloboda, M. (2009). State ideology and linguistic landscape: A comparative analysis of (post)communist Belarus, Czech Republic and Slovakia. In E. Shohamy & D. Gorter (Eds.), *Linguistic landscape: Expanding the scenery* (pp. 173–188). Routledge.

Sobolieva, O. (2019). Landscape, culture, identity: Repatriation of Crimean Tatars and the processes of constructing the place. *Euxeinos: Governance and culture in the Black Sea region*, *9*(27), 114–140.

Soler-Carbonell, J. (2016). Complexity perspectives on linguistic landscapes. *Linguistic Landscape*, *2*(1), 1–25.

Søvik, M. (2007). *Support, resistance and pragmatism: An examination of motivation in language policy in Kharkiv, Ukraine*. Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis.

State Statistics Committee of Ukraine. (2001). *All-Ukrainian Population Census*. Available at: http://2001.ukrcensus.gov.ua

Stoler, A. L. (2013). *Imperial debris: On ruins and ruination.* Duke University Press.

St. Pierre, E. A. (1997). Methodology in the fold and the irruption of transgressive data. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *10*(2), 175–189.

Stroud, C. (2001). African mother-tongue programmes and the politics of language: Linguistic Citizenship versus linguistic human rights. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *22*(4), 339–355.

Stroud, C. (2015a). Afterword: Turbulent deflections. In C. Stroud & M. Prinsloo (Eds.), *Language, literacy and diversity: Moving words* (pp. 206–216). Routledge.

Stroud, C. (2015b). Turbulent linguistic landscapes and the semiotics of citizenship. In R. Blackwood, E. Lanza, & H. Woldemariam (Eds.), *Negotiating and contesting identities in linguistic landscapes* (pp. 3–18). Bloomsbury.

Stroud, C. (2018a). Linguistic Citizenship. In L. Lim, C. Stroud, & L. Wee (Eds.), *The multilingual citizen: Towards a politics of language for agency and change* (pp. 17–39). Multilingual Matters.

Stroud, C. (2018b). Linguistic Citizenship as utopia. *Multilingual Margins: A Journal of Multilingualism from the Periphery*, *2*(2), 20–37.

Stroud, C., & Jegels, D. (2014). Semiotic landscapes and mobile narrations of place: Performing the local. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, *228*, 179–199.

Stroud, C., & Kerfoot, C. (2020). Decolonizing higher education. Multilingualism, Linguistic Citizenship and epistemic justice. In Z. Bock & C. Stroud (Eds.), *Languages and literacies in higher education: Reclaiming voices from the South* (pp. 1–33). Bloomsbury.

Stroud, C., & Mpendukana, S. (2009). Towards a material ethnography of linguistic landscape: Multilingualism, mobility and space in a South African township. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, *13*(3), 363–386.

Sunderland, W. (2019). *Taming the wild field*. Cornell University Press.

Szabó, T. P., & Troyer, R. A. (2017). Inclusive ethnographies: Beyond the binaries of observer and observed in linguistic landscape studies. *Linguistic Landscape*, *3*(3), 306–326.

Thrift, N. (2007). *Non-representational theory: Space, politics, affect*. Routledge.

Train, R. (2016). Connecting visual presents to archival pasts in multilingual California. *Linguistic Landscape*, *2*(3), 223–246.

Trouillot, M.-R. (1997). *Silencing the past: Power and the production of history*. Boston Press.

Truman, S. E., & Springgay, S. (2019). Queer walking tours and the affective contours of place. *Cultural Geographies*, *26*(4), 527–534.

Trumper-Hecht, N. (2010). The perspective of the walkers in an Israeli mixed city. In E. Shohamy, E. Ben-Rafael, & M. Barni (Eds.), *Linguistic landscape in the city* (pp. 235–251). Multilingual Matters.

Tufi, S. (2022). Situated spatialities and the linguistic landscape: A diachronic account of an emblematic square in Naples. *Social Semiotics*, *32*(2), 240–261.

Volvach, N. (2016). *Annexion oder freiwilliger Beitritt? Kritische Diskursanalyse der ukrainischen und russischen Medienberichterstattung über das Krim-Referendum*. Available at: https://baselbern.swissbib.ch/Record/483654302

Volvach, N. (2019). Still Ukrainian or already Russian? The linguistic landscape of Sevastopol in the aftermath of Crimean annexation. *Euxeinos: Governance in the Black Sea region*, 9(28), 93–111.

Volvach, N. (2021). Constructing spaces of otherwise: Performing a politics through Linguistic Citizenship. *Working Papers in Urban Language & Literacies*, *279*, 1–23.

Waterton, E. (2014). A more-than-representational understanding of heritage? The 'past' and the politics of affect. *Geography Compass*, *8*(11), 823–833.

Wee, L., & Goh, B. H. R. (2020). *Language, space and cultural play: Theorising affect in the semiotic landscape*. Cambridge University Press.

Wetherell, M. (2013). Affect and discourse – What's the problem? From affect as excess to affective/discursive practice. *Subjectivity*, *6*(4), 349–368.

Widmer, A. (2018). *Ostukraine – Europas vergessener Krieg: Reportagen aus dem Donbass*. Rotpunktverlag.

Williams, B. G. (2016). *The Crimean Tatars: From Soviet genocide to Putin's conquest*. Oxford University Press.

Williams, Q., & Stroud, C. (2015). Linguistic Citizenship: Language and politics in post-national modernities. *Journal of Language and Politics*, *14*(3), 406–430.

Woolard, K. A. (1998). Introduction: Language ideology as a field of inquiry. In B. B. Schieffelin, K. A. Woolard, & P. Kroskrity (Eds.), *Language ideologies: Practice and theory* (pp. 3–49). Oxford University Press.