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"EMERGENCY GRAB BAG" IN UKRAINIANS MEMORIES ABOUT THE RUSSIAN-UKRAINIAN WAR⁴

Abstract. The article is devoted to the study of the tonality of memories through the analysis of the associative field of the phrase "emergency grab bag" and synonyms for the word "suitcase" primarily as metaphors of memories in the discourse of Ukrainians about their war experience. If the image of a suitcase itself is often associated with travel and does not necessarily mean danger, and the suitcase as a metaphor reflects the situation "in-between" with its hidden anxiety, then the phrase "emergency grab bag" semantically highlights anxiety, the context of a certain danger. Therefore, "emergency grab bag" as a metaphor means the preservation and salvation of memories from the chaos caused by war. It is about unhidden anxious temporal-spatial "in-between-ness" with its endangered or saved as well as healing memories. The research material was the archive of 104 semi-structured anonymous interviews recorded by 6 researchers from the group "Prisma Ukraïna: War, Migration, Memory" from the end of 2022 and throughout 2023. Despite the differences in the questionnaires for each of the six archive collections, all the interviews have some common questions about memories and history. A general description of the theme of each collection, as well as an overview of the fieldwork, are presented in the tables. The examples of literal, figurative, and metaphorical use of words with the semantics of suitcase found in the archive are classified into six varieties, namely: 1) one's own "emergency grab bag", 2) "emergency grab bag" mentioned in the media, 3) the catchphrase "sitting on suitcases", 4) the image of "life packed in a suitcase", 5) othering / distancing from strangers' suitcases, 6) "interference in intimate space" / robbery. The tonal peculiarities and nuances of each variety are analyzed using selected examples from interviews with various collections. A generalized classification is presented in two other author's tables, namely: statistics of the corresponding cases of use of each of the meanings in each of the archive collections, as well as examples with quotes for each of the six varieties of meanings. Finally, detailed comments are also provided on additional examples. In the future, the author is going to explore the (un)secure foundations of the tonality of the memories of this archive, in order to thereby reveal the hierarchy of accessible, silenced, or repressed memories.

Keywords: remembrance, discourse, tonality, "sitting on suitcases", displacement, uncertainty

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Анотація. Стаття присвячена дослідженню тональності спогадів через аналіз асоціативного поля словосполучення “тривожна валізка” та синонімів до слова “рюкзак” насамперед як метафор пам’яті у дискурсі українців про їхній досвід війни. Якщо сам образ валізи часто асоціюється з подорожжю і не обов’язково означає небезпеку, а валіза як метафора відображає ситуацію «по-між» з її прихованою тривогою, то фраза «тривожна валізка» семантично підкреслює тривогу, контекст певної небезпеки. Тому «тривожна валізка» як метафора означає збережені спогади, рятівні від хаосу, спричиненого війною. Йдеться про неприховану тривожну часово-просторову «по-між-ність» з її загроженними або врятованими, а також цілющими спогадами. Матеріалом дослідження послужили 104 напівструктурованих анонімних інтерв’ю, записаних 6-ма дослідниками групи “Призма Україна: Війна, Міграція, Пам’ять” з кінця 2022 і протягом 2023. Попри різницю запитальників кожної з шести колекцій архіву, спільними для всіх інтерв’ю є ряд питань про спогади й історію. Узагальнений опис теми кожної з колекцій, а також огляд польової роботи представлено у відповідних таблицях. Виявлені в транскрибованих текстах інтерв’ю приклади буквального, фігурального і метафоричного вжитку слів із семантикою багажа класифіковано за шістьма різновидами, а саме як: 1) власної “тривожної валізки”, 2) згаданій у медіа “тривожної валізки”, 3) фразеологізм “сидіти на валізах”, 4) образ “запакованого у валізу життя”, 5) іншування / дистанціювання від валіз незнайомих, 6) “втручання у приватний простір” / пограбування. Тональна своєрідність і нюанси кожного різновиду проаналізовано на підібраних прикладах з інтерв’ю різних колекцій. Узагальнену класифікацію представляють авторські таблиці, а саме: статистика відповідних випадків вжитку кожного із значень по кожній з колекцій архіву, а також приклади з цитатами по кожному з шести різновидів значень. Насамкінець також подано докладні коментарі щодо додаткових прикладів. У подальшій перспективі автор планує дослідити (не)безпечні основи тональності спогадів цього архіву, щоби тим самим виявити ієрархію доступних, замовчаних чи репресованих спогадів.

Ключові слова: пам’ять, дискурс, тональність, “сидіти на валізах”, переміщення, невизначеність.

Family memory is a powerful instrument, and it motivates better than official proclamations do.
Y. Hrytsak, “Tse vitchyzniana viina5.”

Statement of the issue. In the “era of transnational migrations” [17, p. 248], when “homelessness itself becomes a symbol of globality” [17, p. 248], Ukrainians, most of whom had in Ukraine their own housing⁶, from which they were driven out by a full-scale war, discovered the world of renters, because few people abroad own their homes. In many cases, people there find it more expedient to rent housing. In the Ukrainian “super-homeownership society” [28] and in the European societies of tenants of housing, there are completely different attitudes towards home and, accordingly, towards forced departure from it or, even more so, towards its loss due to war. So for war-migrants, refugees or displaced persons a suitcase or a bag becomes more than just a temporary pack of things for a trip. It becomes a symbol of connection with home, as some kind of small “shell” with an unlimited supply of memories of a former life: “like that hermit crab, I always carried my shell with me, where I could hide” [17, p. 245]. Ukrainians keep the “emotional and symbolic relationships with that place” [32] which means “home”

for them, especially if it is a home for several generations of the same family. When leaving due to the war, Ukrainians took with them in their backpacks or suitcases the keys to their home they planned to return to soon. And although this “soon” stretched for years, and not all houses survived the bombings and shelling, the keys to these apartments and houses are still kept by their owners as a valuable souvenir.

“Sitting on suitcases” is a catchphrase that Ukrainians sometimes use to describe their own condition or the condition they observed of other Ukrainians during the war (SV 11, 20; NZCh 117). Similar English expression “living on a suitcase” is a metaphor that can describe a nomadic lifestyle (namely spending a lot of time travelling) as far as “the simplest and most obvious interpretation of a suitcase is to see it as a tool facilitating travel” [7, p. 9]. And in this context, it evokes rather pleasant connotations associated with vacations, relaxation, desire for mobility etc. It would seem that the image of a suitcase is often associated with travel and does not necessarily mean danger. But Elizabeth Carnegie and Jerzy Kociakiewicz, in addition to travel in relation to “suitcases”, consider two more dimensions: exile and incarceration. Not only different conditions of transit and temporary homelessness may intersect in the image of the “suitcase” as such but also memories full of emotions and sentiments:

“The suitcase has become a metaphor for the act of travel, and as a container for those possessions that

⁵ On 2 March 2022, an op-ed in the online newspaper *Ukrains'ka pravda* “This Is a Patriotic [vitchyzniana] War of the Ukrainian Nation against Russia.” by the Ukrainian historian Yaroslav Hrytsak. <https://www.pravda.com.ua/columns/2022/03/2/7327443/>

⁶ According to the studies, 95 % of the housing stock in Ukraine is in the hands of private owners [28; 10]

⁷ Anonymous interviews from various archive collections of the research group “Prisma Україна: War, Migration, Memory”.

best reflect us at the time of packing even at the heightened time of forced mobility. (Additionally, suitcases serve as places to store those objects which have no purpose in the present but have sentimental or symbolic value that ensures they are kept for no obvious or immediate purpose)” [7, p. 4].

So, such a metaphor reflects both the situation of “in-between” with its hidden anxiety in the hope for the best, and some sentiments⁸ with symbolic values. It is important for me that the image of a “suitcase” combines not only the material and symbolic dimensions of culture, nomadism, but also it combines some memories about the past, the present, and some hope for the future [Löfgren]: “the very promise of their meaningful contents, of evocation of pastlife and provision of tools for the future one” [7, p. 824]. This very openness to time or even to “intertemporality” that contextually relates a suitcase and memory.

Thus, the image of a suitcase is capable of accumulating layers of a complex network of individual, collective, and cultural memories as far as the expression sitting on suitcases can be used to indicate a state of waiting in a situation of uncertainty [1] especially considering that “the suit-case has become an international symbol of migration” because it “unities a mutual experience” [9, p. 190–191] of different migrants as well as refugees [19] etc. For example, the Estonian sculpture of 21 yellow suitcases⁹ by Marko Mäetamm and Kaido Ole symbolise forced mobility (deportation, exile, or imprisonment) due to the Second World War.

Unlike the image of a “suitcase”, the image of an “emergency grab bag” already in its semantics contains anxiety, an undertone of some danger. The phrase “emergency grab bag of memory” in the title of my paper is a metaphor of saving and rescuing memories from the chaos caused by the war. It is about endangered or saved as well as healing memories. An “emergency grab bag” should contain a minimum of items that you should always have with you: every time you go down to a shelter or basement during an air raid or when going on a longer trip.

The full-scale invasion of Russian troops into Ukraine has unprecedentedly increased the mobility of Ukrainians: during the first days after that more than 4.4 million people left Ukraine and more than 7 million are considered internally displaced [6]. The temporary residence of Ukrainians in the conditions of war in the common hope for the victory of Ukraine makes one feel like living on a “bridge”, namely between two countries and orders: “Uncertainty about the duration and scope of the ongoing war, imaginaries of possible return and

everyday struggles of settling in a foreign country have left many torn between staying abroad and returning to Ukraine” [23, p. 238]. And although, in essence, life as such is a kind of “in-between” in time, for Ukrainians displaced abroad, this temporal “in-between” is also amplified by a spatial “in-between”, literally and figuratively encouraging them to constantly keep their suitcase, including their emergency grab bag, at hand.

The purpose of the article. The purpose of the article is to find out with what tonality and with what literal and metaphorical content of their emergency grab bag Ukrainian civilians met the full-scale phase of the war, in which of their memories were the suitcases and their synonyms engraved, and how do they speak about such memories?

Analysis of literature. From 3 to 10 March 2023, the student-led art exhibition Suitcase¹⁰ ran at the University of East Anglia. 5 suitcases, placed on pedestals, presented the story of their owner (asylum seekers from different countries, including Ukraine) through their symbolically valuable objects from their suitcase. A Ukrainian student, one of the 2022-23 cohort of Sanctuary Scholars, Anastasia Petrenko took part in the art project. Her suitcase is the focus of Chapter II from a five-chapters-film of the original student art project¹¹ devoted to the concepts of loss and belonging.

The metaphor of a suitcase is recently the focus of psychological or psychoanalytic research. For example, Jean Petrucelli reads the packing of a suitcase as his patients’ self-expression in the context of their future uncertainty [24, p. 256]. He pays special attention to the contents of the suitcase, primarily clothing, while noting an uncertainty as an “unhealthy” attitude towards the future.

Another author, Carolina A. de Chirinos in her interdisciplinary research [8] tries to combine art and archetypal psychology to explore suffering of a people forced to displace and the power of a collective. Her research focuses on bronze sculptures known as the “bipedal migrant suitcase”, which symbolize the migratory journey into the unknown.

The article by Carnegie, Elizabeth and Jerzy Kociatkiewicz about multiple meanings, contexts and metaphors of suitcases [7] as some kind of attic of memories deserves special attention, because through the prism of different museum exhibitions, they focus attention on cultural and historical memory, in particular by interpreting a suitcase in a certain way: “a mobile container for possessions becomes a mobile container of history” [7, p. 826]. They observe the nuanced symbolic meanings of the suitcase as a multifunctional tool: not only of storing/hiding, containing, securing or releasing memories, but also of limiting them in time and space or even imprisoning them and “offering them up to an often hostile and voyeuristic scrutiny” [7, p. 828–829]. These ethical caveats are also important when it comes

⁸ “Negative discourse prosodies were evident in the discussion of war and some of its agents” [Lörinicz, p. 61].

⁹ It was created for the Estonian Pavilion at the Venice Biennale of 2003. Now it is in the *Vabamu Museum of Occupations and Freedom* in Tallinn <https://medium.com/@kevin.gruenstein/21-suitcases-and-the-perils-of-decontextualization-6b97785f5743>

¹⁰ <https://www.ueasanctuary.org/the-suitcase/>

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

to the topic of forced displacement.

Memory, dynamic and changeable by nature, becomes even more mobile in the face of existential challenges like the war. Moreover, the war exacerbates the demand for memory deconstructing not only in Ukrainian communities, but also in foreign communities of war observers, so to speak, from a safe distance: "Revising the memories, narratives and symbols to fit the new reality of a full-scale war also has meant renegotiating group boundaries in the solidarity with Ukraine movement." [30, p. 391]. Both revisions and deconstructions of memory rely on emotionally or rationally motivated reasoning, current beliefs [3, p. 3], and expectations, that is why tonality matters.

Restrictions on the contents of suitcases when crossing checkpoints or international borders do not apply to the contents of essentially unlimited personal memories, which are thus always with their owner, even if he might want to get rid of some of them. People are able to "hide" in their memories as a kind of "shelter" [29] when necessary. And although memory is often instrumentalized (as J. Hrytsak does in the fragment quoted in the epigraph) or even weaponized, as, for example, the Kremlin does in its current hybrid-genocidal war against Ukrainians, such interpretations tend to narrow and simplify the concept of memory. Actually, not all memories are saving or empowering. Since memories themselves are "repositories" of culturally rooted emotions [2], different emotions, the deconstruction of memories will necessarily include a recalibration of their emotional power [14]. Discourse prosodies refer to attitudinal meanings expressed within the textual data [4, p. 131]. Therefore, in memoirs, tonality is also important as a concentrate of expressive means of any text [18], because it "resonates with dimensions of affect and desire" [15, p. 44] and can transmit a speaker's intention / attitude to the objects of his / her memory discourse. So the way Ukrainians remember and describe their suitcases or their bags (as "co-producers of culture" [35, p. 7]) in interviews will also reveal their culturally embedded perception of reality, filled with certain emotions, attitudes and intentions.

The main part. *Omnia mea mecum porto* is a Latin proverb that means "I carry all that is mine with me". Of course, first of all, it can be interpreted as ascetic minimalism and the priority of intellectual property, because erudition, acquired knowledge together with life experience contains a person's memory and all of this, figuratively speaking, "does not burden the shoulders". However, in a situation of threat, risk and forced displacement, this also means an extreme narrowing of personal space, an increase in vulnerability, and at the same time it is an attempt to somehow prepare for total unknownness.

In the postcolonial novel by Ukrainian writer Oksana Zabuzhko, "Museum of Abandoned Secrets", life itself appears not so much as a journey, but as some kind of "dimensionless suitcase, which is stuffed to the

brim with exactly that junk that is completely useless to outsiders"¹² [33, c. 33]. Despite the time limits that every human life has, Zabuzhko points to the possibilities of life flowing into the limitlessness of memories. In the context of forced displacement away from peaceful life, suitcases are sometimes interpreted not only as "remnants of life" [7, p. 825], but also as by-products of the mechanism of war and genocide [31]. To explore the contexts and meanings with which Ukrainians fill the words suitcase, emergency grab bag and their synonyms, I primarily relied on the analysis of the archive of interviews with Ukrainians, as well as on literature.

Methodology

Within the framework of the project "Prisma Ukraina: War, Migration and Memory"¹³, headed by V. Sereda, six researchers of the project conducted interviews with Ukrainian citizens (of different ethnicities) both inside and outside of Ukraine during 2022-2023. As a result, an archive¹⁴ of Ukrainians' memories was gathered, which includes 6 collections of more than 100 recorded with audio-, online-, or telephone means oral interviews or written interviews.

In each project, I highlighted those keywords that relate to the umbrella theme (Ukraine, war, migration, memory) and are also common to other projects (See: Table 1). Obviously, each individual project has at least 1-2 keywords in common with the umbrella theme, and other projects. The only thing that unites all the titles is "Ukrainianness", which, however, is expressed in different forms: the toponym (4 "Ukraine" including the umbrella theme) prevails over the ethnonym / nationality "Ukrainians" (1 noun) and "Ukrainian" (1 adjective). And although all projects relate to the memories of Ukrainians, only three (including the umbrella project) contain the appropriate keyword in their titles. Moreover, D. Shatalov's project is even double focused on the memory (the memory of the remembering) and doubly focused on each of the last two big wars in Ukraine.

All respondents are adults of various ages (18-70), the vast majority of whom are women. For example, two collections (21 interviews conducted by V. Sereda and 25 conducted by N. Zaitceva-Chipak) contain only female testimonies. Among other collections (21 conducted by M. Homanuk, 8 conducted by A. Mozolevska, 16 by D. Shatalov, and 13 by me) there are interviews with both men and women.

All the interviews differ somewhat in the ways in which they were conducted and recorded. Most of the interviews were, for various reasons, recorded remotely (Internet, phone), many were audio recordings of face-to-face meetings, and 2 were written. However, they

¹² саме життя постає не стільки як мандрівка, скільки як якась "безрозмірна валіза, яка є вщерть напхана якраз тим геть безужитковим для сторонніх мотлохом".

¹³ <https://www.prisma-ukraina.de/projekte/prisma-ukraina-war-migration-and-memory>

¹⁴ The Data Collection Space.

Table 1. Themes of 6 Interviews Collections of the “Prisma Ukraïna” Archive

2022-2023 Individual Projects	
Olha Haidamachuk	The Tonality of the Archives of Ukrainian Migrants’ Memory
Mykola Homanyuk	War and Ethnic Minorities in Ukraine
Alina Mozolevska	Borders, Maps and Identities: Narrating and Living in the Russo- Ukraine War
Viktoriya Sereda	PRISMA UKRAÏNA: War, Migration and Memory
Denys Shatalov	‘ <i>That War</i> ’ and ‘ <i>This War</i> ’: The Entanglement and Interaction of the Imagination, Commemoration and Memory of World War II and the Ongoing War in Ukraine
Natalia Zaitseva-Chipak	Ukrainians Displaced : The Fluidity of Roles

Source: Own elaboration.

Table 2: Summary of the fieldwork of the “Prisma Ukraïna” research group

2022-2023	Respondent group	Number of interviews	Female + Male
O. Haidamachuk	Displaced Ukrainians in Berlin	13 / face-to-face	11 F + 2 M
M. Homanyuk	Türks + Roma in Kherson region	21 / face-to-face	11 F
A. Mozolevska	Ukrainians, who wrote a wardiary	8 / online	7 F + 1 M
V. Sereda	Displaced Ukrainians in Germany and Poland	21 / online	21 F
D. Shatalov	Residents of Kryvyi Rih (Ukraine)	16: (face-to-face, zoom/ telephone, written)	6 F + 10 M
N. Zaitseva-Chipak	15 displaced Ukrainians in Germany / 10 IDPs and near the front residents	25 / online	25 F

Source: Own elaboration.

were all eventually transcribed¹⁵ and stored in a shared cloud archive with restricted access because of vulnerability of the gathered data.

The questionnaires of each researcher contained several common questions¹⁶. All the interviews were held in Ukrainian or in Russian at the choice of respondents or sometimes in some kind of mixture of both the languages. These interviews were recorded with the verbal participants' consent and later they were transcribed and anonymised. The archive of the interviews as a whole ended up being diverse in terms of age (from 18 to 70), gender, education and occupations of interviewees. Despite some ethnic diversity (M. Homanyuk's collection contains only interviews with Ukrainian Turks-Mechetians and Roma), all the interviewees self-identify as Ukrainians (the short summary of the fieldwork see in Table

Some empirical material from these interviews has already been analysed in individual qualitative studies. In particular, some of the results of each project can be found in a collection of articles published this year [26].

By close reading of all transcripts, I selected those fragments where respondents mention emergency grab bag, and such synonyms of suitcase like backpack, handbag, bag etc. to research its meanings, contexts and tonalities.

Results and discussion. Although only my questionnaire contained some questions about emergency grab bags, it was interesting to find out that not only my respondents mentioned them in their stories. There is at least one such interview almost in each of the collections (except M. Homanuk's one). In addition, various synonyms of the word suitcase are found in 36 such cases in 6 different contexts, namely about:

1. their own emergency grab bag (тривожна валізку);
2. mentioned in media emergency grab bag;
3. the state of "sitting on suitcases";
4. experiencing "life packed in a suitcase";
5. othering (people and suitcases);
6. the vulnerability of privacy boundaries.

The list of the meanings in which Ukrainians speak of suitcases and backpacks are summarized in Table 3, where are highlighted the cases of the use of the phrase emergency grab bag, and then are provided nuances by meaning. The numbers in the table indicate the code of a specific interview in which some synonyms were used.

In general, a *suitcase* containing items taken away during forced displacement (both inside and outside of Ukraine) due to the war symbolizes not only memories of peaceful pre-war life, but also the hopes directly associated with it for returning home "after the war".

Words with non-neutral semantics are highlighted in Table 4. The range of tonalities here varies from restraint (2) to sincere despair (4). One of the older respondents immerses into his childhood memories full of mixed feelings (5), while another one shares her indignation at the thief's invasion of her personal space, namely inside her suitcase (6).

What is special about each of these contexts and how do respondents integrate such words as suitcase or bag into their memories?

Cases when respondents mention their own emergency grab bag (тривожна валізка) are the most numerous in the context of a conversation about individual war experiences. The very possibility of war seemed then to contradict common sense, and rational arguments retreated. The tension that "hung in the air" could hardly be ignored. But the reaction it provoked was mostly emotional:

"I know what an emergency grab bag is. However, I did not have such a bag when the war began. I had gathered the documents, but the bag itself was not there. Although I had the idea that such an attack from Russia was quite possible and rather probable, but I postponed the creation of this bag, although I planned it. I postponed it. I did not want to believe it. I thought about it, but I did not want to believe it¹⁷" (OH-3, F 60th).

This cyclical repetitions and denial of perceived danger (the feelings versus intuition) seems more like logic of magical thinking: by postponing packing a suitcase to "postpone" the threat itself. At the beginning of the first episode of the film *Train* directed by V. Yanoshchuk, one of the characters, finally responds to her brother's persistent requests to pack her own emergency grab bag, reasoning her procrastination in a similarly irrational way: "If I pack this emergency grab bag, it's like I'm agreeing that there will be a war¹⁸" [25, 12:40 min.]. Behind such arguments are strong

¹⁵ Most of the interviews were transcribed by two Ukrainian companies: InfoSapiens & SOCIOINFORM.

¹⁶ For example, such common questions could include the following: *Have you or your relatives ever had the experience of forced displacement? Have you ever volunteered? What does "being Ukrainian" mean to you? How would you describe Ukraine - what is it like? Now, because of the war, there is a lot of talk about Ukraine's past, but what about your environment?* etc.

¹⁷ "я знаю, що це таке "тривожна валізка". Проте я не мала такої валізки, коли почалася війна. У мене були зібрані документи, а самої валізки не було. Хоча у мене була думка про те, що такий наступ з боку Росії цілком можливий і скоріше ймовірний, але я відклала створення цієї валізки, хоча планувала це. Відклала. Не хотілося вірити. Думалося про це, але вірити не хотілося"

¹⁸ "якщо я зберу цю тривожну валізу, то наче погоджусь з тим, що війна буде"

Table 3. Use of *emergency grab bag* / synonyms like *suitcase, backpacks, bags* in 6 interviews collections of the “Prisma Ukraina” archive

2022-2023	Haidamachuk	Homanuk	Mozolevska	Sereda	Shatalov	Zaitceva
“emergency grab bag/ (тривожна) валізка” 17 cases	11 cases (3-13)		3 cases (1; 4; 6)	1 case (15)	1 case (2)	1 cases (8)
1. Own Em.Grab Bag	3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 12, 13		1, 4, 6	15	2	8
2. Mass media: Em.Grab Bag	6, 7, 9, 10, 11					
3. Sitting on suitcases				11, 20		11
4. “Life in a suitcase”	8			9, 16		18
5. Own / other’s suit- cases, bags...	1, 2	Т4Ізм		5, 7, 9,10		7, 10, 12, 15
6. (someone) is rum- maging (in my) back- pack		11P, 15P				4
All - 36 cases	13 cases (1-13)	3 cases (Т4Ізм + P11, P15)	3 cases (1; 4; 6)	8 cases (5; 7; 9; 10; 11; 15; 16; 20)	1 case (2)	8 cases (4; 7; 8; 10; 11; 12; 15; 18)

Source: Own elaboration.

emotions. This motif of internal resistance to the imminent danger often resounds in Ukrainians’ memories of the February days of 2022 preceding the 24th. At the same time, there was a clear understanding of what such a bag is:

“An emergency grab bag is the bag that is needed during anxiety, during trouble. It causes a feeling of trouble and inevitability. If there is a need for such a bag, it means trouble is close and it is possible¹⁹” (OH-3, F 60th).

The associative context in which such a bag is inscribed in the respondent’s memory is full of both ominous tones (anxiety, trouble, inevitability) and some scaling: “large-scale disorder... they [emergency grab bags] were gathered when they [people] need to flee,

people flee for a reason²⁰” (OH-8, F 20th). Such a tone is perceived as a harbinger of threat, so memories or conversations about the war itself also set an alarming tone. Negative discourse prosodies were evident in the discussion of war [21, p. 125] as well as in media discourses about the war [12; 13]. Even the doctor couldn’t bring herself to take the instructions for filling such a bag seriously: “I know what an emergency grab bag is by virtue of my profession. I remember: we were gathering it as a team... I never thought that I would ever even think about it or read about what should go in this particular bag” (OH-5, F 40th). It is noteworthy how differently this alarming tone is perceived in a pre-disaster situation, when the inertia of routine seems so charming (so deafening), and during a disaster itself, when any positive tones seem to lose their meaning.

“It scared me too, because the child’s psyche was

¹⁹ “Тривожна валізка - це та валізка, яка потрібна під час тривоги, під час біди. Вона викликає відчуття біди і неминучості. Якщо є потреба в такій валізці, це значить біда близько і вона можлива”

²⁰ “масштабний негаразд... [тривожні валізи] збирають, коли треба тікати, тікають люди не просто так”

Таблиця 4. Examples of the Use of *Suitcase / Bag* in the Interviews

1. Own Em. Grab Bag	DSh 2: “when the war started, all (people) packed their emergency grab bag ²¹ ” (F 40th) AM 4: “we had quite normally packed emergency grab bag ²² ” (M 40th)
2. Mass media: Em. Grab Bag	OH 6: “there was written about the emergency grab bag in the press, and on the Internet, and at my wife’s work... ²³ ” (M 60th)
3. Sitting on suitcases	VS 11: “well, many are sitting on suitcases ²⁴ ” (F 40th)
4. “Life packed in a suitcase”	NZCh 18: “(you) pack it in the morning, and the backpack - and unpack (it) in the evening. And (you do all this) with such tears that your whole life is placed in this backpack ²⁵ ” (F 30th)
5. Own / other’s suitcases, bags	MH T4I3m: “I remember my deceased mother packing our suitcases (from Uzbekistan to Odesa) ²⁶ ” (M 30th)
6. (someone) is rummaging (in my) backpack	MH 15P: “I had an experience where a completely white man rummaged through my backpack trying to steal something... ²⁷ ” (F 30th)

“It scared me too, because the child’s psyche was disturbed, she constantly lived in fear. When (in school) was told her to make home a badge with her blood type, with her parents’ data, she makes it all up, when the alarm starts, she goes to the bomb shelter, the streets are constantly being mined, schools are being mined²⁸” (VS-3, F 40th).

²¹ “когда началась война, все ж собирали *тревожные чемоданчики*”

²² “в нас були досить нормально зібрані *тривожні рюкзаки*”

²³ “моя дружина збирала *тривожну валізу* для дітей у рюкзаках, та задалегідь збирала в авто потрібні речі”

²⁴ “ну, многие *сидят на чемоданах*”

²⁵ “оце так, зранку збираєшся, і рюкзак - і ввечері розбираєш. І от з такими сльозами, от що *все твоє життя поміщене в цей рюкзачок*, і все. Ну, якось так, це, як то кажуть, не описати”

²⁶ “пам’ятаю, то ж узбеки, то ж війна була там. *Зібрали чемодани*, я пам’ятаю, як мати покійна *збирала чемодани* (в Одесу)”

²⁷ “в мене є досвід, як якийсь цілком білий мужик рився в мене *в рюкзаку*, намагаючись щось *вкрасти*. І я думаю, що багато є профайлінгу, коли люди за тим, як виглядає людина, приписують, що вона може вчинити злочин чи ні”

²⁸ “мене теж це дуже лякало, тому що в дитини порушувалася психіка, вона постійно жила в страху. Коли, значить, дома - говорять - зробити *бейджик з групою крові*, з даними батьків, вона це все виготовляє, коли починається тривога, значить в бомбосховище, постійно вулиці, замінування шкіл”

The state of anxiety significantly increased in those parents who experienced a real threat to the lives of their children. And this tone is echoed in their stories through the corresponding emotional vocabulary: scared, disturbed, in fear, alarm, bomb, mined etc. Moreover, the very need to inform outsiders about your blood type or the blood type of your relatives can also have a depressing effect under war conditions despite the articulation of the need by neutral words. Because it forces you to prepare both your and your child’s body for “voicelessness” (and loss of consciousness), when further life becomes dependent more on chance and less on these written words. Such representation of an individual in a potential communication crisis may promise, but not guarantee, the right to be heard in time.

And while in the case of a suitcase for safe travel its contents can be interpreted as an “extended self” of its owner “in a culture oriented toward material objects” [Belk], in the case of an emergency grab bag its contents are more likely to indicate an “extended fear” of its owner, for example of musician, whose emergency grab bag were limited to only her own musical instrument, expensive cosmetics, and documents (OH-12, F 20th). And since the musical instrument here is truly conceived as her “extended self” and an important component of her self-identity, it is with its loss that the respondent associates her fears. The same logic of ‘extended fears’ to ‘an extended self’ can be found in the case of the mother of two little children: “My emergency grab bag, as I now think, was not entirely successful. I put medicine in it, as the first things necessary for the children, candles, matches, toilet paper, food” (OH-13, F 30th). This list focuses on taking care of children on the road if they suddenly get sick or hungry. In retrospect, it was strange

and incomprehensible to the respondent herself why she also took matches and candles (important items from the emergency list of the generation of grandparents who survived World War II). As well as for small child are very valuable their toys: "I told (my) child that he needed to pack up quickly, he put his toys he wanted to take in his backpack²⁹" (NZCh-10, F 40th). And it can also be a manifestation of care and responsibility. But fear of the unknown can evoke a need for unnecessary things, which will only become apparent later, as soon as a gained experience will transform the unknown into the known. Although the Ukrainian authorities tried to inform the population through the mass media about the time-tested list of things needed in such a bag.

Many people mentioned the topic of emergency grab bag (тривожна валізка) in the Ukrainian mass media discourse 2-3 weeks before February 24, 2022³⁰. What exactly should be inside a civilian emergency bag is described, for example, by I.Zenchenko [34, p. 299-300] in her short text. But the interviewees themselves also talk about their own versions of the list of essential things needed in urgent evacuation: "I know about an emergency grab bag: it was said on TV that there should be: documents, all the cards... some medicine for the first time, some food, a phone, maybe a battery... flashlights, [and everybody should] go down to the shelter with this bag³¹" (OH-7, F 70th). For some, this list could include "essentials, maybe some non-perishable food³²" (OH-9 M 20th) or "children's documents and apartment documents³³" (OH-10 F 40th). While some people think calmly and restrainedly about the imperative nature of such lists (only emergency and shelter hint at some anxiety of such should be), others perceive it more as pressure than concern: "before the start of the [full-scale] war, the mass media repeatedly campaigned to gather it, because something might happen. We thought it was unimportant and nonserious³⁴" (OH-11, F 40th). The obsessive

imperative of repeatedly campaigned, on the one hand, is clearly dissonant with the respondent's attitude towards it, on the other hand, because the very (illocutive) force [22] of the imperative is undermined by the inappropriate performative effect: unimportant and nonserious. The underestimation of warrisks is also indicated by the depersonalized and euphemistic 'something' might happen.

The catchphrase sitting on suitcases, already mentioned in the introductory part of the paper, sounds with slightly different nuances in the memories of several respondents. Apart from simply stating the fact that many Ukrainians live in this state of "in-between" because of the ongoing war (example of VS-11 F 40th from Table 4). And if in a broad generalization (many) this problem of temporal-spatial "uncertainty" is somewhat mitigated, then the focus, albeit on the impersonal singular (as if you) and on everyday, on the contrary exacerbates this problem: "every day it is as if you are sitting on suitcases³⁵" (NZCh-11 F 30th). At the heart of this tension lies the conflict between expectations of quick change (as good news) and the further prolongation of uncertainty. This is even more evident when respondents share their emotions and feelings: "morally, it is very difficult to be here, it is as if you are sitting on suitcases here every day, you want to leave everything abruptly and go away. Loss of contact with loved ones. I have seen them so often, but the connection is lost, they have no light, it is difficult for me not to communicate with my relatives. It is very difficult for me to be at a distance³⁶". Emotional destabilization, the dissonance of perception of the "here-and-now" as opposed to the "there-and-then", also disrupts the balance in favor of the "in-between-ness". An obsession with (the desire for) rapid change can trap someone in a chronic expectation, which in turn narrows their perspective and makes it difficult to find other grounds for certainty.

In the following example, this clearly articulated connection of the suitcase with the home is important: "and everyone is sitting on their suitcases and this is the proverb, there is such a thing that it takes 10 minutes to pack the suitcases home³⁷" (VS-20 F 50th). Important at the stage of rescue, the suitcase also retains its importance as a tool of return home. It is noteworthy that this multifunctionality is encoded in the oral tradition. Using the meaningful laconicism of proverbs (culturally

²⁹ "я сказала (своїй) дитині, що треба збиратися швидко, він взяв у рюкзачок свої іграшки, що він хотів взяти"

³⁰ "An 'emergency grab bag' is a backpack full of essential things needed in urgent evacuation. In the headlines of the online newspaper *Ukrainska Pravda* on 24 February, the term was used literally: the mayor of Kyiv asked the citizens to keep their 'emergency grab bag' ready. I often use it figuratively, asking which memories people are able to take with them in emergencies" [12].

³¹ "(про) тривожну валізку я знаю, що розказували по телевізору, що там повинно бути: документи, всі картки... запас якийсь ліків на перший час, харчі якісь, телефон, може, акумулятор... ліхтарики, (і потрібно) з цією валізкою спускатися в укриття".

³² "речі першої необхідності, можливо, якась їжа, котра нешвидко псується"

³³ "дитячі документи і документи на квартиру"

³⁴ "до начала войны неоднократно по средствам массовой информации агитировали ее собрать,

потому что что-то может случиться. Нам казалось это неважным и несерьезным".

³⁵ "каждый день как будто на чемоданах сидишь"

³⁶ "морально очень тяжело здесь находится, здесь каждый день как будто на чемоданах сидишь, хочется сорваться и уехать. Потеря контакта с близкими. Настолько часто виделась, связь пропадает, света у них нет, мне тяжело не общаться с родными. На расстоянии быть очень сложно мне"

³⁷ "і от кожен сидить на чемоданах і таке от це прислів'я, таке є, що хватає 10 хв., щоб зібрати валізи додому"

rooted and emotionally expressive), the respondent expresses in the one sentence both the depth of her being “in-between”, the vector of her expectations, and the strength of her home-oriented thinking. Without a doubt, the “center of gravity” in this fragment is the “home”, and although an obstacle (to return home) as such is silenced, its scale and strength are indirectly indicated through the speed of packing a suitcase (10 minutes) once this obstacle is overcome. That is, the suitcase is thought of as a tool “at hand” and at the same time “in orbit” around the (temporal / true) “home”.

The image of life packed in a suitcase finds an important place in some memories. And some of the respondents discovered this experience with surprise, catching themselves in rhetorical exaggerations: “I was surprised when my life, when I came here, fit into one suitcase... although I’m lying... a lot of things remained home³⁸” (OH-8 F 20th). Not only “extended self” plays a role in the case, but also the image of “life packed in a suitcase” itself because of its beauty and, probably, it is familiar to well-read, educated people. And in this situation, it seemed appropriate to “try on” this image for yourself. Because in addition to the aesthetic, it is concretized by personal experience. Reality itself makes its meaning more expressive. Not only for sentimental and emotionally vulnerable people, as one might assume, the suitcase does indeed become an object of memory as a reservoir of culturally rooted emotions [2] recalibrated [14] by air raid sirens, rescue from bombings, communication in shelters and attempts to survive in the pauses between them: “That’s right, in the morning you pack, and you (pack) your bag - and in the evening you unpack (it). And with such tears (you do it), that’s how your whole life is placed in this bag, and that’s it. Well, somehow, it’s, as they say, indescribable³⁹” (NZCh 18, F 30th). It is difficult for the woman who survived the Russian occupation to cope with her whirlwind of freshly experienced emotions and to find the right words. According to E. Carnegie and J. Kociatkiewicz, each suitcase is like “a locus of remembrance” [7, p. 827] and each of the recounted stories seems like “a memory in which life is packed into a suitcase” [7, p. 828] with both the voiced and the silenced experiences. The silenced or hidden in irony or in despair context of these revelations is not so much how little the respondents could take of their former life with them, but how much they were forced to leave behind or lose.

In their memories of forced evacuation, Ukrainians also sometimes place suitcases in the context of othering, talking about their stay surrounded by many other passengers and their various other

suitcases. This variety of oppositions between “my” backpack and someone else’s suitcases resonates in different tones: from empathy to indignation.

Those who dared to leave their homes and go into obscurity were more frightened by the known danger of war than by the unknown obscurity: “I had someone to go to (abroad). And those people who just went with a suitcase or a backpack, I don’t know what was going on in that person’s head, he/ she had nowhere to go - that’s all. And, maybe, he/ she doesn’t have the money either. It’s very scary⁴⁰” (NZCh-10, F 40th). The respondent’s own situation seems less scary compared to what scares her more. And the empathy she expresses, instead reducing, rather emphasizes this distance between her and her fear of the “other” as obscurity.

In a completely different tone, another respondent consistently contrasts their “small” backpacks of her and her two children in contrast to the “significantly bigger” suitcases of other passengers in general or of a certain woman in particular: “When we got off the (evacuation) train, again, no one knew where to go. People took their suitcases. And we only had backpacks on our shoulders (...) We were with these small backpacks, and she (the woman) is pulling this (huge) suitcase!⁴¹” (OH-1, F 40th). This chasm of misunderstanding, underlined by an exclamation mark, and intolerance of the “otherness” of unfamiliar fellow citizens can also be rooted in fear, as well as in stress or fatigue.

A suitcase, as an island of private property in a sea of strangers’ suitcases, is not only included in the intimate space of its owner, it also represents the boundaries of this vulnerable space. Therefore, the memories of those who, being forced to displace, survived rummaging or stealing in an evacuation situation seem especially painful: “when I was traveling from Odesa to Turkey, as soon as we arrived [in Turkey], my backpack was stolen with almost all my equipment (I had a laptop, a tablet) and some of my documents. This was after 40 hours of travel from the war [in Ukraine] - this [was] the first thing that happened, [that’s why] I was so hysterical, my mother was hysterical. In the end, I realized that [I] was alive, I was not under bombs - this is the most important thing⁴²” (NZCh-4, F 20th). In the

³⁸ “я здивувалася, коли *моє життя*, коли я приїхала сюди, *помістилось в одну валізу*... хоча брешу... багато речей залишилось”

³⁹ “оце так, зранку збираєшся, і рюкзак (збираєш) - і ввечері розбираєш (його). І от з такими сльозами (це робиш), от що *все твоє життя поміщене в цей рюкзачок*, і все. Ну, якось так, це, як то кажуть, не описати”

⁴⁰ “я мала, до кого їхати. А ті люди, які просто їхали з чемоданом або рюкзачком, я не знаю, що в тієї людини в голові творилось, от вона не має, куди їхати - і все. А, можливо, і коштів. Це дуже страшно”

⁴¹ “коли вийшли з (евакуаційного) потяга, знову ж таки, ніхто не знав, куди йти. Люди забрали свої валізи. А у нас з собою було тільки за плечима рюкзачки (...) ми з цими рюкзачками маленькими, а вона (жінка) цю (величезну) валізу тягне!”

⁴² “когда я ехала из Одессы в Турцию, как только мы приехали [в Турцию], у меня украла рюкзак практически со всей моей техникой (у меня там был ноутбук, планшет) и некоторые документы мои. Это после 40 часов дороги с войны [в Украине] - это [было] первое, что случилось, [поэтому] у меня такая истерика была, у мамы была истерика. В итоге, я поняла, что [я] жива, я не под бомбами – это самое главное”

context of a perceived existential threat to her own life and health, when “in wartime, large-scale loss and destruction lay bare otherwise taken-for-granted affective entanglements between the human and the nonhuman” [27, p. 54], even the painful loss of material values makes the respondent realize the importance of the ability to focus on the positive side of any adversity. Especially considering that often things can survive war, marauding, displacement etc. regardless of their relationships with both its true owner [16] and its inventor / maker / producer.

Conclusions. The archive of interviews with Ukrainians collected by the group “Prizma Ukraine” after the full-scale invasion of Russian troops in Ukraine can be interpreted as a symbolic ‘emergency grab bag’ of memories. Since memory itself is understood as a reservoir of emotions, both a suitcase with its synonyms, and an emergency grab bag are often used not only literally but also in figurative meanings in the memories of Ukrainians. Such words can frame the (im)mobility of people and their memories. It is worth noting that these interviews were recorded against a backdrop of powerful unity, collective enthusiasm, and optimistic belief in a quick victory among Ukrainians.

Through close-reading the archive of interviews I have revealed the 36 cases of using such words by the respondents. All the cases can be divided into 6 different contexts: 1) the respondent’s own emergency bag; 2) the emergency bag mentioned in the media; 3) the state of “sitting on suitcases”; 4) the experience of “life packed in a suitcase”; 5) othering (people and suitcases); 6) and rummaging as a vulnerability of privacy boundaries. A suitcase containing items symbolizes not only memories of peaceful pre-war life, but also the hopes directly associated with it for returning home “after the war”. The range of tonalities in the archive varies from restraint (2) to sincere despair (4). Under the influence of an existential threat, people are sometimes prone to “magical thinking”, for example, trying to “postpone” the threat itself by postponing packing a suitcase.

The content of an individual emergency grab bag can represent not only some “extended self” of its owner [5] but also their “extended fear” both in the case of regular trips to shelters and in case of war displacement.

Calls in the Ukrainian media to citizens to pack their anxiety bags 2-3 weeks before February 24, 2022 were taken seriously by few Ukrainians. The idea of the contents of such a backpack reflects individual fears more than real preparation, because this very phrase is mostly written in an anxious context. And therefore, some Ukrainians perceived these media calls as an incitement of anxiety and prescriptive pressure, trying to distance themselves from the threat by not taking it seriously.

Describing this state of in-between because of the ongoing war, the catchphrase sitting on suitcases transmit this tension between expectations of quick change (as good news) and the further prolongation of uncertainty with its emotional destabilization, the dissonance of perception of the here-and-now as

opposed to the there-and-then. The (phantom) and rooted in tradition connection of the suitcase with the home is important both at the stage of rescue and (postponed) returning home.

Through the aesthetic of the image of a life-packed-in-a-suitcase, imprinted in memory, the respondents try to silence, ironize or complain how much they were forced to leave behind or lose.

This variety of opposition between my backpack and others’ suitcases resonates in different tones: from empathy (with accent on this distancing from the fear of the “other” as obscurity) to indignation rooted in the same fear, stress or fatigue.

The state’s monopolized right to interfere in the private space of suitcases, such as when crossing the border, is probably less outrageous than a stranger’s illegal encroachment on the boundaries of privacy and property clearly defined by a suitcase/backpack. Anxiety, threat, and in-betweenness not only conditionally narrow “privacy” but also exacerbate personal vulnerability not only in terms of thieves, but also in terms of what borders will have to be crossed and what memories (including digital gadgets and social networks), depending on the situation, will have the power to discredit or save their owner.

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