

Irina S. KARABULATOVA, Svetlana A. LYAUSHEVA, Zaineta R.
KHACHMAFOVA, Irina P. SAVCHUK, Oksana S. SHIBKOVA
**The Mythologization of the Abrek's Image in the Modern Caucasian
Linguistic Consciousness**

Irina S. KARABULATOVA, Svetlana A. LYAUSHEVA, Zaineta R.
KHACHMAFOVA, Irina P. SAVCHUK, Oksana S. SHIBKOVA
Institute of the North Caucasus Federal University, Stavropol, Russian Federation
Department of German Philology, Adyghe State University, Adyghe, Russian
Federation
Ugra State University, Khanty-Mansiysk, Russian Federation
Department of foreign languages for Humanities and natural Sciences of the
Humanities Institute of the NORTH Caucasus Federal University", Stavropol,
Russian Federation

Abstract. *The modern realities of our world actualize the phenomenon of the militant, accentuating the primary fears of the recipient before uncontrolled power, lack of spirituality, darkness, etc. The bearers of European culture are defenseless against the archetypal Evil. We are considering the phenomenon of abrek, which correlates with the image of the militant.*

If the image of abrek has a positive color in the traditional Caucasian worldview, then modern Russian speakers paint it in a negative aspect. The Abrek phenomenon as a representative of some dark forces was not the object of close attention of the scientific community and for various reasons has not received a clear interpretation and / or understanding. At the same time, the abrek-militant appears in the Caucasian worldview as a bearer of Light and Good. This distinction in the interpretation of the image of abrek is due to the dichotomy of "one's own" in Russian and Caucasian cultures. The formation of a rigid connection between Muslim culture, terrorism and extremism and the Caucasian phenomenon of "abrechestvo" / abrekism puts us in a position to investigate the dynamics of the emotional and evaluation characteristics of the abrek lexeme in the contemporary linguistic consciousness of Chechens. The choice of this ethnic group is due to the fact that: 1) this people retained the tradition of "abrechestvo" \ abrekism; 2) the representatives of this people actively participate in military operations in Syria; 3) the culture of the Chechens is mythologized in the minds of the peoples-neighbors. Today, under the influence of the media, we develop speech markers of portraits of individual ethnic and social groups, which subsequently govern our social behavior.

Keywords: abrek, war, noble robber, revolutionary, militant, terrorist, Northern Caucasus, associative reactions.

Introduction

The end of the second decade of the XXI century showed that the concepts of war and terror are disavowed, since there is no moral support from the revolutionary paradigm. The European civilizational paradigm rightly regards "terror" as an unjustified crime in both a legal and an ethical context. At the same time, with the change in the semantic scope of the concepts of "terror" and "terrorism," the scope of the concepts "abrek", "abrekism", which lose its romantic coloring, also changes. At the same time, the culture of war is positively colored by many Muslim peoples of the Caucasus and the Middle East. Initially, the word "abrek" was understood as a mountain partisan, who fought social injustice. Such a contradictory attitude to the image of abrek cannot but interest researchers, since understanding this phenomenon will help to understand the reasons for the

"The Mythologization of the Abrek's Image in the Modern Caucasian Linguistic Consciousness," *Astra Salvensis*, VI (2018), no. 12, p. 737-744

participation of representatives of the peoples of the Caucasus in the war on the territory of Syria.

Most Caucasian writers traditionally romanticize the image of Abrek. Traditional Caucasian culture positions Abrek: 1) as the bearer of Light as a representative of the forces of Good; 2) as a strong personality; 3) as a fighter for justice.

We see these ideas about the abrek in the works of the Georgian novelist Ch. Amirejibi, the Ingush writer I. Bazorkin, the Kabardian poet and prose writer A. Keshokov, the Russian classic M. Lermontov, and others. Traditionally, in literature, the concept of "light" is verbally realized by the lexemes "good", "knowledge", "warmth", "truth", etc. The Abrek becomes the bearer of the primordial Light among the surrounding outer Darkness. The sense core of the category "darkness" consists of the lexemes "darkness", "cold" and even "death."

At the same time, many proverbs of the peoples of the Caucasus abound in examples of the hardships of the life of the Abreks. For example, Abrek is not a warm bread; abrek as a wolf, then too full, too hungry. The American linguist M. Black analyzed the expression "man (person) - wolf", based on a set of associative attributes that form the basis of the above metaphor, while the researcher points out that the main principle is the stereotype of the wolf, and not the direct designation of this representative of the wild fauna.

The Chechen proverb testifies to the intelligence of the wolf: Barzo a'lla: «So to'lur yolchokh' leta so, o'shur yolchokh' yodu so»/ "The wolf said:" Where I see victory - I go into battle; where I see defeat - retreat "/" I fight where I'm sure of victory; I run from a fight where I'm overcome "; borz az taynachukha ben tsa yo'du "by proven wolf trails"; barzo – da'kh'na, zh1a'la – Ia'khna "while the dog barked, the wolf carried away". The Avarian proverb talk about wolf: Batslil k'yer khisula, gJamal khisularo - The wolf changes color, but not habits.

Overcoming oneself, heroism, heroic deed becomes the meaning of the life of a Caucasian man. Also the Chechen proverb says: Mayrachun irs khyunarca, zudchun irs berashtsa. - The happiness of a man is in a feat, and the happiness of a woman is in children . At the same time Adyghe proverb says: Be a man or die. - Ye ulien, ye uliyn. The Avarian proverb also glorifies Abrek: Nadir-shag'asul boyal kutakal, chabkhenal g'arize magIarulal tsIak'al. - The troops of Nadir Shah are strong, the raids of the Avars are glorious.

Traditional men's unions, the cult of the jigit warrior, blood feud and hospitality helped small communities of the mountaineers to survive in the conditions of constant civil strife and conquest from the north and south, did not allow the mountain society to descend to the state of anarchy.

For a long time, the Institute of abrekism occupied an important place in the traditional institutional system of the Caucasian feudal society. No matter how changeable its forms are at different times, abrek people are always called people declared by society or the authorities "outside the law".

Materials and methods

Irina S. KARABULATOVA, Svetlana A. LYAUSHEVA, Zaineta R. KHACHMAFOVA, Irina P. SAVCHUK, Oksana S. SHIBKOVA

Theoretically, the study of this problem is important for understanding the forms of adaptation of the traditional institutions of public self-regulation of the peoples of the North Caucasus, to the social and political system of Russia.

The methodological basis of the proposed study is the principles of historicism, objectivity and systems approach, which allow us to comprehensively investigate the problem posed.

To achieve these goals and objectives, such research methods as genetic, comparative, historical, typological, etc. were used. With the help of a structural-functional method, we conducted a study of the institution of abrekicisms as a system of interrelated elements in the political and legal culture of the peoples of the Caucasus. The combination of these principles and methods makes it possible to visualize the dynamics of the development of this institute most visually under the influence of endogenous and exogenous factors at different stages of the history of Caucasian society.

The sources and the base of the research are: materials found in various archives, published collections of archival documents and narrative sources. In addition, we have drawn to the analysis of data from modern media in the Caucasus region. At the same time, we conducted an associative experiment among the youth of the Caucasian peoples, the total number of respondents was 100 people (50 boys and 50 girls) aged 18 to 25 years.

Discussion

The Abreks in the North Caucasus occupied and occupied a special social position. They represent a group of society that was opposed to the rest of the collective. This mainly included those who for a number of reasons (blood feud, search for fame and booty, etc.) voluntarily left their native places, and in part those whom the relatives themselves expelled from society¹. For the first category stay in Abrek was more formal, temporary (although the return to the previous image, life, as a rule, for certain reasons, it was very difficult). For the second - the status of abrek was lifelong². The attitude of the mountaineers to the robbery was ambiguous. On the one hand, raids were admired when they served as a means for young men to obtain the glory and honor of a real jiggit. One of the 19th century Chechen songs about the heroes of the raid ends with a wish: "Let every son have such sons." On the other hand, in the mountain folklore there are also a lot of attacks against raids and their participants. So, with clear condemnation speaks of raids of lamentations about the destruction of the detachment of Shamil village Chokh, recorded by the modern Dagestani historian P.I. Takhnaeva. The song ends with a wish for the participants of the raid, who fell under Choh, to burn

¹ R. S. Kardanova. *The Abrek Institute of the Kabardians in the XVIII - the first half of the XIX century, The author's abstract of the dissertation of the candidate of historical sciences*, Makhachkala 2010, p. 24.

² R. R. Gould. *Writers and Rebels: The Literature of Insurgency in the Caucasus*, Yale University, 2016, p. 336.

"The Mythologization of the Abrek's Image in the Modern Caucasian Linguistic Consciousness," *Astra Salvensis*, VI (2018), no. 12, p. 737-744
forever in hell. Similar songs are recorded in Rutulians and other peoples of Dagestan³.

The Abrek acts as a victim of circumstances and public injustice in the poetry of the Caucasus and the Caucasus. However, already at the beginning of the twentieth century, the idealistic image of the abrek-revolutionary was rethought critically, and the very hidden apocalyptic rhetoric of terrorism turns into a negative assessment plan⁴.

The social upheavals and state reforms experienced by the mountaineers of the Caucasus after their final conquest by Russia caused a profound transformation of the local society and its outlook. As a result of a whole series of changes and as a reaction to the Russian conquest, modern abrekism developed. It was a professional robbery of a new type, characteristic of a post-traditional society, but it was perceived by the mountaineers themselves, politicians and scientists as a continuation of the daring or "predation" of local jigits. In fact, the social and cultural roots of abrekism have changed significantly in the XIX-XX centuries.

The restructuring of the mountain society in the North-Western Caucasus with the aim of "appeasing" it was started by the Russian authorities at the end of the 18th century. Already in 1777 the construction of the Caucasian line was started-chains of fortresses, cordon lines and Cossack villages, which restricted the freedom of movement of mountaineers of the North-Western Caucasus. "Peaceful mountaineers" were forbidden to convoke rural militias and princely squads. Princes and noblemen turned from military leaders of highlanders to the service estate of the Russian state. The decisions of the 1820s-50s deprived the Adygeic princes who had accepted Russian citizenship of almost all their former privileges, above all the right to convoke troops, declare war, make raids. The numerous class of princes-pshi and vassal-dependent noblemen, the bridge, were deprived of the opportunity to collect tribute from formerly dependent peoples. To live, the impoverished princes-pshi had to enter the Russian service or secretly engage in ridership⁵.

Al-Adnani's announcement came just days after reports that thousands of Islamic militants in Dagestan, Chechnya, Ingushetia, and Kabardino-Balkaria – four declared provinces of the Caucasus Emirate, Russia's main jihadist group – had formally pledged allegiance to ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria)⁶. Daghestanians and Chechens are the main ethnic groups among Russian jihadists in Syria, but in

³T.H. Alov, "Kabardian abreks of Chechnya in the first third of the XIX century. To the problem of comparative analysis of ethnic migration of Kabardians in the Zakuban and Chechnya," in *Bulletin of the Institute of Information Technologies of the Government of the KBR and KBSC RAS* XII (2005), p. 84-90.

⁴E. Ermakova, M. Jilkisheva, G. Fayzullina, I. Karabulatova, Kh. Shagbanova. "The media end fiction: postmodernist discourse of contemporary terrorism in the context of apocalyptic rhetoric," in *Central Asia and Caucasus. Journal of Social and Political Studies*, XVII (2016), Issue 2, p.61-69.

⁵N.T. Nakusova. *Artistic comprehension of the problem of abrek in the Ossetian literature, Author's abstract. kand.diss.* Vladikavkaz, 2009.

⁶A. Borchevskaya "The Future of Chechens in ISIS". Downloaded 10.09.2017 from http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/opeds/Borshchevskaya_20171009-HSI.pdf., accessed 12. 03. 2018.

Irina S. KARABULATOVA, Svetlana A. LYAUSHEVA, Zaineta R.

KHACHMAFOVA, Irina P. SAVCHUK, Oksana S. SHIBKOVA

addition to them there are fighting the Ingush, Circassians, Karachais and Balkars, Crimean Tatars, Bashkirs and Russians⁷. The conflict unfolds on many fronts and in dozens of localized theaters of military operations, where small armed groups form alliances with larger ones⁸. This transformation of the phenomenon of abreks is caused by traditional stereotypes in the communicative behavior of the peoples of the Caucasus⁹.

In the stories and tales of Caucasian authors, the images of abreks are revealed through conflict situations that promote the idealization of heroes. The younger generation, who grew up on these works, strives to meet the ideals of their fathers. The Ossetian writer D. Kh. Mamsurov depicts the abreks as national heroes in the drama "The Sons of Bath" (1942)¹⁰.

Georgian novelist C. Amirejibi portrays Abrek Data Tutashkhia as a mythologized hero. The writer holds the idea that the implementation of efforts is impossible if a person does not have a global experience of the value of his life, himself as a living person, i.e. existential experiences responsible for the constitution of all other values and their hierarchization¹¹. Similarly, the Ingush writer I. Bazorkin writes in the Soviet of the preface to the novel: "It will deal with the formation of the personality, the struggle of the characters in the context of significant historical events, the people who created this story"¹².

The revival of abrekism, roughly the same scale as in the 1920s, occurred in the post-Soviet period in connection with the general crisis of power in the Russian Federation in general and in the North Caucasus in particular¹³. The cult of abrek as a noble robber and hero of the "liberation struggle of the mountain people with Russian tsarism" played a significant role in the literature of the peoples of the

⁷ G. Simons. *Mass Media and Modern Warfare: Reporting on the Russian War on Terrorist*, New-York, 2010, p. 206.

⁸ E. Sokiryanskaya, "Abu Meat So in IGIL nicknamed the Chechen commander, sending his fighters to death: How natives of Russia influence the processes in the terrorist state, in *Novaya gazeta*, Downloaded 11.06.2016 from <https://www.novayagazeta.ru/articles/2016/05/11/68546-abu-myaso-tak-v-igil-prozvali-chechenskogo-komandira-otpravlyayuschego-svoih-boytsov-na-smert>, accessed 12. 03. 2018.

⁹ I. Karabulatova "The nature of modern ethno-cultural communications in the North Caucasus, in *Central Asia and Caucasus. Journal of Social and Political Studies*, XVII (2016), Issue 4, p. 71-79.

¹⁰ D.H. Mamsurov "Collection of artistic works", 1965-1971. Downloaded 08.03.2018 from http://www.trackerok.com/books/657016-mamsurov_dh_-_uatsmyist230_230hs230z_tom230y_sochineniya_v_shesti_tomah_19651971_g_DjVu_OSS.html, accessed 12. 03. 2018.

¹¹ I.S. Karabulatova, Ju.N. Ebzeeva, N.A. Pocheshkhov, "The Repressed Caucasians' Ethno-Trauma Expressed as "Light" and "Darkness", in *Selected Writings of Idris Bazorkin.*" in *Terra Sebus: Acta Musei Sabesiensis*, IX (2017), p. 447-458.

¹² I. Bazorkin. "From the Dark Ages". Downloaded 18.03.2018 from [http://bibling.justclick.ru/media/content/bibling/%D0%98%D0%B7_%D1%82%D1%8C%D0%BC%D1%8B_%D0%B2%D0%B5%D0%BA%D0%BE%D0%B2_\(%D0%98%D0%B4%D1%80%D0%B8%D1%81_%D0%91%D0%B0%D0%B7%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%BA%D0%B8%D0%BD\).pdf](http://bibling.justclick.ru/media/content/bibling/%D0%98%D0%B7_%D1%82%D1%8C%D0%BC%D1%8B_%D0%B2%D0%B5%D0%BA%D0%BE%D0%B2_(%D0%98%D0%B4%D1%80%D0%B8%D1%81_%D0%91%D0%B0%D0%B7%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%BA%D0%B8%D0%BD).pdf), accessed 12. 03. 2018.

¹³ I.S. Karabulatova, E.N. Ermakova, "The concept "ABREK" in the modern Russian linguistic consciousness: the mountaineer-robber to the terrorist-migrant," in *Man in India*, IIIC (2017), no. 23, p. 439-445.

"The Mythologization of the Abrek's Image in the Modern Caucasian Linguistic Consciousness," *Astra Salvensis*, VI (2018), no. 12, p. 737-744

Caucasus in the post-war decades. In the years of the Russian-Chechen war of 1994-1996, the local population had accumulated huge stocks of weapons, which became the subject of sale and purchase. During the field surveys, I became aware of cases when residents of border Dagestan villages sold part of the collective farm property in order to acquire the money for the proceeds. The armed forces of the North Caucasus mountaineers ended in 1997, all the positive consequences of the disarmament of the 1920s and 1940s were brought to naught¹⁴.

Retained after the Russian-Chechen war of 1994-1996, partisan detachments led by military commanders such as Salman Raduyev and Shamil Basayev in recent years have terrorized Chechnya, Ingushetia, North Ossetia and Dagestan. Mountain gangs moved to the resettlement areas on the plain. Their bases are in forested mountains and foothills. Members of these gangs are young single or already married people of 20-40 years old¹⁵. Many of them have higher humanitarian or technical education. Gangs regularly steal cattle from border villages. Abductions of people were widely spread with the aim of extorting ransom. We collected observations in 1995-1997, these observations indicate the participation of these gangs in cases of blood feud that has revived in recent years.

Results

Ultra right-wing militants, or religious extremists who are not involved in politics at all, declare themselves carriers of true faith. This use of left-wing revolutionary ideologies that have lost their historical basis is symptomatic for the disintegration of the revolutionary-terrorist paradigm and the emergence of an internally eclectic "postmodern" discourse of terrorism¹⁶.

The religious background (Islamic fundamentalism) lies at the heart of modern terrorist attacks, this fact actualizes the religious roots of the creators of the modern discourse of terrorism in the West¹⁷.

This is a deep ontological relationship between the phenomenon of abrektisizm and the concomitant terrorism, which is consistent with the Muslim interpretation of the holy war against the infidels – the ghazavat.

Associative reactions to the word-stimulus **abrek** are the following: doom (23/15), doomed (14/9), single (9/8), cruel (7/7), evil (7/6), demonic (6/7), Stalin (6/6), silent (5 \ 3), dagger (5 \ 0), Georgia (3 \ 1), robber (3 \ 1), terrorist (3 \ 1), migrant (2 \ 1), murderer (0 \ 2), protest (1 \ 0), murder (1 \ 0), Caucasus (1 \ 0),

¹⁴ A. Magomedov, R. Nikerov, "Rebellious Regions of the Caucasus at the Turn of Energy Wars, in *Central Asia and the Caucasus XIII* (2010), no. 2, p. 54-67.

¹⁵ A. Borchevskaya "The Future of Chechens in ISIS". Downloaded 10.09.2017 from http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/opeds/Borshchevskaya_20171009-HSI.pdf, accessed 03. 02. 2018.

¹⁶ E. Ermakova, M. Jilkisheva, G. Fayzullina, I. Karabulatova, Kh. Shagbanova, "The media end fiction: postmodernist discourse of contemporary terrorism in the context of apocalyptic rhetoric," p.61-69.

¹⁷ "The Islamic State" is preparing new terrorist attacks in Europe - the Prime Minister of France. Downloaded on 08.03.2018 from <http://www.segodnya.ua/world/islamskoe-gosudarstvo-gotovit-novye-terakty-v-evrope-premer-francii-667525.html>, accessed 03. 02. 2018.

Irina S. KARABULATOVA, Svetlana A. LYAUSHEVA, Zaineta R.

KHACHMAFOVA, Irina P. SAVCHUK, Oksana S. SHIBKOVA

Chechnya (1 \ 0), mountains (1 \ 0), lezginka (1 \ 0), Revolutionary (0 \ 1), Dagestan (0 \ 1), suicide bomber (0 \ 1), extremist (0 \ 1), rifle (0 \ 1), pledge (0 \ 1), obrok (0 \ 1), non-Russian (0 \ 1), a werewolf (0 \ 1), a lazy person (0 \ 1), a visiting (0 \ 1), a wahhabi (0 \ 1), an arbiter (0 \ 1), black (0 \ 1), the hat (0 \ 1), the rifle (0 \ 1), not normally (0 \ 1), Berserker (0 \ 1).

100 people were interviewed, at the age of 20-25. The survey was conducted by the author in the form of a free associative experiment in March 2018 among students working in the chain of fast food restaurants "Shokoladnitsa" and "Yandex-taxis". The choice of places for conducting the experiment was due to the fact that these are popular places among young people for providing services and popular as employers. We see that in the associative field the negative connotate dominates, which, on the one hand, is associated, in our opinion, with the dissonant phonosemantic (br-ch-st), and on the other hand, negative linguistic-cultural background knowledge about the phenomenon of abrekicisim.

At the same time, in traditional Chechen folklore, abrek is portrayed as a noble, "God marked person", worthy, honest, threatening, just, free, etc¹⁸.

In today's discursive space, a combination of the incongruous is realized, which is a symptom of the desantification and devaluation of terrorist discourse and the concept corresponding to it, breaking away from its historical basis - revolutionary terrorism.

Associative reactions among the youth of the Caucasian peoples show their own specifics. Here the abrek is interpreted more freely and more positively:

Caucasus (48/33), young (45/18), hot (42/16), impatient (40/21), in love (19/11), beautiful (19/9), papakha (16/9), horse (14/8), reliable (14/5), friend (12/7), militant (10/4), raid (9/3), ancestors (8/2), blood (7/5), handsome (6/6), militant (4/1), cautious (3/1), tradition (2/1), faithful (2/1), fast (1/1), in the name of Allah (1/0), believer (1/0), fair (1/0), honesty (1/0), fast (1/0), speed (1/0), war (1/0), money (1/0).

Therefore, the Caucasian youth draws the image of abrek romantic and sublime. Despite the positive changes in the sphere of interethnic relations, the North Caucasus on the ethnopolitical map of Russia and the world is listed as a region of interethnic conflicts¹⁹. Abreks always felt the help and support: giving Abrek to the authorities was tantamount to betraying his people. Of course, without the "blessing" of sheikhs and murids of the Sufi brotherhoods, the abreks would not enjoy the support of the people.

Conclusion

As the followers of Sufism claimed, greed, insatiability, greed, passion - these are the properties generated by the Devil, present in every person. If these vices prevail, then there is no doubt that you become the servant of Shaitan (Satan).

¹⁸ *About abrek Vara. Chechen folk poetry in the records of the XIX-XX centuries*, Illi, Uzama. Translations of Russian poets. Moscow, New key, 2005. p. 192-198.

¹⁹ A. Magomedov, R. Nikerov, "Rebellious Regions of the Caucasus at the Turn of Energy Wars," in *Central Asia and the Caucasus XIII* (2010), no. 13 (2), p. 54-67.

"The Mythologization of the Abrek's Image in the Modern Caucasian Linguistic Consciousness," *Astra Salvensis*, VI (2018), no. 12, p. 737-744

But the diabolical feelings can be defeated if you wholeheartedly believe in Allah's Most High. A person, who knows eternal truth cannot be greedy, because for him the material world, being is a temporary haven.

It should be noted that folklore and the literary works created on its basis about a certain noble robber correspond with the mythological figure of a trickster, which has an ambivalent nature: this character also combines contradictions (he is a "good villain"), occupying an intermediate position between the world of ordinary people and criminals²⁰. In world folklore, the robber has always been romanticized, since anyone who rebelled against injustice was called a "robber", he was an avenger for the scorned justice, imperfection of the social order. This was the tragic fault of the rebel against the injustice of man, that he put himself outside the law and so condemned himself to death.

Under the influence of migration processes and globalization, the culture of abrekism seeks new ways of development²¹. Thus, to denote Muslim migrants from Central Asian countries and regions, the youth Russian environment uses the "abrek" lexeme to refer also to migrants from the post-Soviet countries²².

Thus, the archetypical lexeme "abrek" appeals to the mythological unconscious of any recipient, actualizing those or other elements of the universal scenario of the struggle between Good and Evil as a narrative structure. At the same time, the Abrek archetype assumes, therefore, a certain plot scheme with a tragic outcome, therefore, the development of the semantic space of the abrek lexeme, in our opinion, is not yet complete, but will demonstrate the development of polyvariative strategies of association in everyday and professional linguistic consciousness.

Representations about abrekism among the indigenous mountain population of the region have changed significantly. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the attitude towards village robbery was ambiguous: the poeticization of raids in folklore, but the struggle against robbers and robbers in life. Today we observe the idealization and Islamization of the institution of the abrekism. Many abreks became revered as holy sheikhs-patrons of the mountain-Muslims. Support of the local population is one of the most important conditions for the preservation and periodic revival of abrekism in the region.

²⁰ AA. Nikolova. "Motive for the travesty of a noble robber in Ukrainian and Russian literature of the first half of the XIX century". Downloaded on 09.02.2018 from http://sociosphera.com/publication/conference/2014/254/motiv_travestii_blagorodnogo_razbojnika_v_russkoj_i_ukrainskoj_literaturah_pol_hh_veka/, accesses 02. 03. 2017.

²¹ I. Karabulatova, S. Galiullina, K. Kotik. "Terrorist threat in Russia: Transformation of confessional relationships," p. 93-104.

²² I.S. Karabulatova, E.N. Ermakova, "The concept "ABREK" in the modern Russian linguistic consciousness: the mountaineer-robber to the terrorist-migrant," p. 439-445.