

aZn^f uAsmaygi fcsyfrSpmqⁿ Eþzu^vSt zp^f&n^f
at;oi^f^A

pmwr^ft uO^f

þpmwr^fon^f jrefmp^{me}ye, y, f acw^uAsm[@]üygOibnh aZn^f uAsm aygi^fcsyfrS
pmqⁿ Eþzu^vSt z^rsm^u qe^fpp^vlv^mx^mygon^f þpmwr^f \ &n&G t^su^fñ q&m
aZn^f Ð to^djriE^shtaw^ðwl y^lw^gOi^heaom Eþzu^vSt z^rsm^u a^zn^fck^lv^wif^y
E^lþ^jz^plygon^f þpmwr^ftw^l t^vlv^mch^l p^mt^ly^fñ 2012 cE^sþ^lkl^v aZn^f uAsm
aygi^fcsyfr^f p^mt^ly^fz^plygon^f þpmwr^fü q&maZn^f Ð t^wly^lva^t uO^f? Eþzu^vSt z^rl
oab^mobⁿO^sh q&maZn^f Ð Eþzu^vSt zp^f&n^f l^l hom ac^gi^fpO^lv^zih wif^yx^my^g
on^f q&maZn^f Ð uAs^rs^rst^lhom av^muobⁿO^tz^l w^pck^vp^tck^vlv^l v^lbab^m
obⁿO? v^lbO^tm^rme^l av^mu["]lv^{&m} p^on^lv^lbn^f w^pck^l l^lv^lw^pck^xy^qi^bkⁱ l^l y^f
Eþzu^vðeygon^f xEþzu^vSt z^rsm^u a&fcs, ñ t^vsv^rps^uE^fcsⁱfp^ul^l p^op^jy^um
pmqⁿ t^zzp^f&n^fu^lo^hy^lx^mygon^f x^hl^umi^lq&maZn^f Ð taw^lsa^umⁱr^l t^ri^ri^f
p^l&f^lE^sh t^a&t^zzp^f&n^f x^ujr^ul^ul^l o^jriE^lbn^h t^usa^us^zl^rsm^l &&E^lñ^f
jz^plygon^f

aon^tsa^ho^g l^l m& - Eþzu^vSt t^mr^{me}l^l av^mu["]l^l p^um^ol^l o^au^lv? e^tlv^ly^l o^ly^lh^znl^f

ed gef

jref^muAs^rs^rw^l q^ll^lift["]y^h, l^ul^l w^lu^lu^lh^znl^hË^fy^on^h uAs^rs^r&bn^h
en^fw^l uAs^rw^pl^ll^l t^ql^low^lbn^rst["]y^h, l^ul^lpwⁱaw^l, Ëon^h uAs^rs^rvⁿf^l &ðe
ygon^f taw^lðygaom uAs^rs^ron^f uAs^rç^pm^ol^lç^pm^ol^lñ^l t^wl^lteu^lu^lu^l uAs^m
q&ma^yx^mon^htaw^lç^tjri^lu^ll^lt^wl^lteu^lu^lu^l y^lm^jç^memp^lo^ll^lu^on^f rⁿbn^lq^ll^l taw^l
ygaom uAs^rs^ru^l z^wl^lç^pm^lv^llygon^f aOze^lbn^oy^lcsⁱlygon^f x^hl^umi^h jaZn^f Ð uAs^m
aygi^fcsyfr^S pmqⁿ Eþzu^vSt z^rzp^f&n^f l^l hom p^mw^rl^lac^gi^fpO^lzⁱh o^hw^oe^jy^ll^ly^lçⁱçⁱ
jz^plygon^f Eþzu^vSt hom^lp^um^ol^ul^l o^yh^lmi^O \ a^qmi^lfy^grsmu^l z^wl^lç^pm^lS &&ð^lçⁱçⁱ
jz^plygon^f jaZn^f uAsmaygi fcsyfrSpmqⁿ Eþzu^vSt zp^f&n^f l^l p^mw^rl^ul^lo^hw^oe^jy^ll^lm^wl^l
Eþzu^vSt t["]y^h, E^sh Eþzu^vSt z^rsm^u \ oab^mobⁿO^rsm^u Eþzu^vbn^hteu^lE^sh
q^up^yp^Of^pm^l taj^zn^lç^mygon^f x^hl^umi^h Eþzu^vSt z^lu^ll^lr^vy^uw^l v^Es^haw^lçaw^m
qⁱçⁱçⁱ, Ëon^hqⁱly^l t^vç^lkow^lsv^lç^llygon^f pow^lsv^lç^lu^lE^sh u^ll^lh^lom t^zl^rsm^u
u^l aZn^f uAsmaygi fcsyfrS &ñaz^lzn^lck^lv^llygon^f aZn^f uAsmaygi fcsyfr^l pow^lsv^lç^lu^lE^sh
u^ll^lh^lom Eþzu^vSt z^l rsmp^haw^lç^llygon^f xEþzu^vSt z^rsm^u p^mw^rl^l&f^l ç^lv^lqu^l
wif^yv^lbn^h Eþzu^vSt z^l(8)ç^lu^l uAs^m(8)y^lç^lft^wl^lrs a&fcs, ç^llygon^f x^lç^lz^lw^lç^lu^l
w^pç^lE^slv^lp^lck t^al^umi^lt^l&m^lç^lç^lv^lqu^lwif^yly^l q&maZn^f Ð t^ri^lftaw^lp^l&f^l uAs^m

^A a' gu^llv^l w^lç^lly^lçaw^lç^ljref^lmp^lme? r^ll^lç^lly^lçaw^lç^lw^lu^ll^lç^l

ÓP&i bef wLul p p p j x m y g o n / p p p & mü E p z u v s t z l r s n r s p u m o h r s n ? o a u l v r s n ?
 e h v y l r s n E s h o 1 / 2 y f a z n f t z l r s n x n l o f z e l w d y l u l y g p p p b x m y g o n / p m q l E p z u v s
 t z l z e l w d r p f f & n h l u m i h u A s m z w l / 2 o l t m y u w d v s q i f y t v s m u l r n o b j r i c t p m
 & a l u m i f a v l v m o h o y b x m y g o n /

p p m w r f t w e l f E p z u v s t z l r s n x l v i , c h o m u A s m (8) y l r f i n j o r f b j ? j r h a q e l u j ?
 j t y e z m j ? j y e f c b n j y ? j w u t e E s h u s e j ? j v l l u a v ; o i j ? j a c s m i f v s l u l j ' j ' a & o r j u A s m
 w l l j z p l u y g o n /

1/ q & m a z n f * a t w k y l v d t u o f

q & m a z n f * b n f 1907 c E p i { l y l v 12 & u h e l w e f z s m y l l u z h j r i c l y g o n / 1929
 c E p i w e f & e l e l w u o l v f s o z l h o b c l y g o n / 1936 c E p i w e f t * l v y p n E s j r e f n p m b m o n & y f
 E p c p v l j z i h r [n o z l h o b c l y g o n /] 1938 c E p i w e f t * l v e E l l i l h v e f e l w u o l v E s h ' A A / i f
 w u o l v u p m l u n t v l u l y n m u l l q n f y t & m ' l y v l r m b o l o n f }²

1941 c E p i w e f & e l e l w u o l v f a u s m i f p m l u n t v l u l u y f u w i v l u f s ; t j z p f
 v n f a u m i f ? y n m a & ; x m e w e f ' l v d n e l u m a & ; o e f t j z p l v n f a u m i f ? 1947 c E p i r s 1949 c E p i b d
 w l l j y l y n j y k v i w a w n / A E s h a & f a u m u y a u n f & s i / A w l v e f t x l t & m & t j z p l v n f a u m i f ?
 t n i d f p m , l y d a e m u f y n m a & ; t & m (1) t j z p l v n f a u m i f ? j r e f n E l l i l b r i l l f a u n f & s D u u j ?
 j r e f n p m a y j y l p h & ; E s h b m o n j y e a u n f & s f a o g [n & a u n f w l o b m y w d t j z p l v n f a u m i f
 w n o e f , c l y g o n /

q & m a z n f * b n f a u s m i f o m b o 1923 c E p i u p i u A s m r s n a & ; o m c b n f a c w p r f
 p m a y v l y & r i u l l o b a q m i c b l v n f j z p l y g o n / 1928 c E p i w e f [l b m a l u ; r h v u h & ; p m a p m i l u
 a & ; z l c h o m y a w m u y e f u A s m o n f a c w p r f u A s m \ y x r o p q l u A s m j z p c l y g o n /

q & m a z n f * b n f b o u l v r f w p a v o u l v h w e f u A s m r s n a & ; z l c b n f t j y i f
 t a e m u l v l l j y z m w E s h o w k v l t s m u l v n f a u m i f E l l i l m & m j r e f n j y e f c l l y g o n / u m v a y :
 o w k a e m A , j o a b m w & m r s m u l l p e p i v u s a z n f x l v l v s u f & e l e l w u o l v l j r e f n p m k m e w e f
 y l c a y ; c l y g o n / x l y i f j j q & m a z n f * b n f & o p m a y o a b m w & m a q m i f y g r s m u l v n f
 a & ; o m c l y g o n / p m a y a o z e h & ; q l l & m a q m i f y g r s m E s h o l w o e p m w r f r s m u l v n f a & ; o m
 c b n f & n r z m w i u l l o h w o e j y k m o n h a q m i f y g r s m u l v n f a & ; o m c l y g o n f }³

q & m a z n f * a x i l r a o m p m t l y r s n r f i a c w p r f y l y i f r s n ? a c w p r f u A s m r s n ? r [m
 q e t s i b j y z m w l * & w E s l r m * & u o w R A r m b r l l y l y i f r s n ? w l l y n a x m i p l o r l l f y l y i f r s n ?
 j y n a x m i p l o r l l f r s v p k r s n ? p m a y a v m u ? y a w m u h & D g u A s m r s n ? o h y e l q l l a c w p r f p m a y ?
 o c i u l l h a w n f l l f # l u n ? u m v d g o \ o u E A v o w l c & p o n ? a z n f * a n p n ? & o p m a y t z e l l
 & o p m a y e d g e f ? a A ' g v r f u A s m r s n ? r l l u , f l l v m ? a z n f * a u A s m a y g i f c y l v r i o p E s h t j c m

² baomi f? A l l / f s ? 2002? 395/

³ p l j r i h / w l 2013? 381-382/

Owkwilsm? yavwledgef? eivm [tsf kuESH tjcmOwkwilsm? oEESlsm#Dun? a&Sacwv
yKLuAspESH tjcmuAsmsm? aZnf ၁။ Owkwilygi fcsyf ponlvjzpygon/

q&maZnf ၁။ 1955 cEswf ociulh fawmrlf#Dunjizih pmyAdmeqk (pmya' om
q)ulvnfaumi? 1979cEswf eivm [tsf kuESH tjcmOwkwilsmjizih trslompayqk
(bmonjye&opmayq)ul vnfaumi? 1987 cEswf a&SacwvKLuAspESH tjcmuAsm
rsmptlyzih trslompayq(uAsmaygicfyq)ulvnfaumi? &&lygon/ q&maZnf ၁။
1990 jynE? puwibmv (26) &uf elufgem&st cswf &elufE A [efrle, ?
uarZvrf? trsv(10-u) aetwfuG lveftpa&mutlygon/

2/ Epsuvtst zN oabmobm0

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wclhoma0g [m&rsmonf teuft"yih, lwpf&ru&bnf a0g [m&rsmw&bmr yku
vnfaumi? Oguvvnfaumi? teuft"yih, lwpf&ru&bnful aw&onf teuf
t"yih, fwpf&ru&bmompumv? yR? Oguvvnw&Epsubn, teuf xivmwwlygon/
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]]teuf&wpcxuyhom pumrsmw&f teufwpcjzih tomy&ep0? tjcm
teufwpclyg ay: x&lvmvGix&teufEpsubn, teuf [ac: onf⁴

[kz&lygon/ Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary ü Epsubn, teufull

]]pumv&wpcv& ol [kvf pma&umi fwp&umi ful ensvr&wpc&xuyf
emvnE&jcif&jzpbn⁵

[kz&lygon/ *sv&v&st twaA' pmtlyu Epsubn, teufull

]]pumv&wpcv& teufwpcbnf u&lyw&pv&w&f tjcm&om teufwpc
qily&jzpay: apaom tajtaewpculac: onf⁶

[kz&lygon/ ynm&sv& z&ly&st& Epsubn, teuf [bnf pumv? yR?
Oguvvnw&f teuf&wpcbmr tjcm, teufwpcqily&jzpay: vnjcif&ulq&lygon/

Epsubn, teufenf& Epsuvtsteuvnf &lygon/ Epsuvtsteubnf pum
v? yR? Oguvvnw&f teuf&wpcbmr tjcm, teufwpc qily&jzpay: vnjcif&
&bnfjyif teuf&E&ly& teufbnf tv&v&pd o&e&e&jciful q&lygon/
x&nf&w& Epsuvtstz&bnf&vnf tv&sv&E&Epsu&om tz&ly&jzpygon/ tv&sv&
rsu&E&mpw&ubnf rv&&i&f&t 1/2< v&zpylyD use&omt v&sv&E&mpw&ubnf pmq&

⁴ ci&t;? a' guivm? 2008? 90/

⁵ Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 2015, 45.

⁶ Leech, Geoffrey, 1974, 19.

u qilythay;csi homt vjzpEil bubll pmzwblu qilythcphm&&bnht vsvnf jzpEil ygon
onf

Eþzuivstzlrsmjizihzelwðxmaom uAsrsm;uH a&S/HuAsrsm;wGf taw& enfyð
acwprfuAsrsm;rfi rsmjym;phaw&ygonf aZnf 9 rifoDPwH uAsrsm;wGf EþzuivS
tzlrsm;uH yllaw&onf rifoDPzlkqthom yðfrikwvll olfawrf? zHarmi lvmyð
paomuAsrsm;onf Eþzuivstzlrsm;Esh zelwðxmaom uAsrsm;jzplygonf aZnf 8
yðwmu;ye? aLumi feufym? Orfb;supaom uAsrsm;Esh aA'gvrfuAsrtm;vH onf
Eþzuivstzlrsm;Esh zelwðxmaom uAsrsm;jzplygonf 'ðcsni;twGfu pleqearmaeom
aA'g\oabmuH uAsm\yuwdt vstzjzpf zlkqkmygonf aA'g\obmOrsvpqi h
avmu vbm;wH oabmobmOuH qilythcphm;Eil Be? tvsvsuEþpmwvzui xyhy;vnef
zlkqkmygonf

Eþzuivstzlrsm;wGf tvsvsuEþpm Eþzuru&ðeaomt zlrsm;vnf &ygonf
rifoDPN yðfrikwvll uAsr? wirH {nlonbuð uAsm;wHstzlrsm;onf tvsvsuEþpm
Eþzuru&ðom uAsmaumi frsm;jzplygonf yðfrikwvll uAsmü

]]ri luðacgi f
aEþpávmi faonf
&Eh [mi fngæ-u? &Ehþh0í
avjynxlwG? i, /yqibni
toih, mu;naumi f wum}}⁷

[í zlkqkmygonf yðfrikwvll avmu"tHyHtzlwbnluAsm\ yuwdt vjzpbni
ppf Pultkaom jrefnEil i luH ðacgi f;yeðarnþcsi r? tcuttchsm;uH &iqllvH? Avmu
vbm;wHvnf rnbhomavmu"luH Bul&onjzþap ausfvH&hom Zbwðsm;&ð/H
paomb0toðsm; qilythay;ayguivmygonf þqilythcphm;rlwbnf pmqhy;csi hom
taw&tjrift vsvsm;jzpbubll uAsm\oxyrH&&bnhtaw&tjrift vsvsm;yifjzplygonf

Eþzuivstzlrsm;wGf yuwdt vsvH &svi;þðjyqkmcif &bubll yuwdt vsvH
csufci;rjriEil bl qupyqi;ci lun&onht zlrsm;vnf &ygonf yuwdt vsvH qupyf
qi;ci luntrbð;ci onf uAsm;þy;len;pepf (arnf eluAszlenf) aLumi jzpbont;jiif
Eil H&;tajctaealumi lvnf jzplygonf

xHlumi h Eþzuivstzlrsm;onf yuwdt vsvH qilyth;tvsv&ygonf xHtvS
wbnf obmO\ t&ðvμlvnf vþjyonf vbabmvraemu;lvnzGjyonf acwf
pepu;lvnf xil yjygonf xHlumi h Eþzuivstzlrsm;Esh zelwðxmaom uAsrsm;onf
taw&yth;Eil bnhuAsrsm;jzpf tHþpávGæygonf

⁷ rifoDP? 2016? 260/

3/ aZm^၉ ၵAsmaygi ၵc^၄YrSpmq^၈ ၵp^၉zuvSt z^၉l^၉f^၉&nf

q&maZm^၉ ၵAsmaygi ၵc^၄ypmt^၉lylv^၉ ၵAsmaygi (216) y^၉ki yg^၉oibn^၉ ၵp^၉zuvS
tz^၉l^၉rs^၉jzi^၉h zel^၉v^၉ၵx^၉maom ၵAsmaygi (68) y^၉ki aw^၉ၵygon^၉ x^၉ၵAsrs^၉teuf (8) y^၉ki ၵS
ၵp^၉zuvSt z^၉l^၉(8) c^၉ၵၵa&ၵx^၉lv^၉ w^၉iy^၉o^၉tr^၉n^၉jz^၉pygon^၉ av^၉lv^၉m^၉w^၉iy^၉&ၵm^၉ ၵp^၉zuvSt z^၉l^၉rs^၉
w^၉ၵၵaw^၉ၵaom p^၉um^၉o^၉? o^၉au^၉lv^၉? e^၉lv^၉iy^၉ o^၉lv^၉az^၉n^၉lv^၉ၵၵpmq^၉ၵ r^၉n^၉lv^၉zel^၉v^၉ၵx^၉ma^၉ၵၵm^၉i^၉
az^၉n^၉lv^၉lv^၉iy^၉x^၉m^၉ygon^၉

ၵq&maZm^၉ ၵbn^၉ *E^၉pi^၉pmay^၉ၵၵa^၉um^၉i^၉ၵp^၉o^၉ၵၵr^၉ၵo^၉jz^၉pb^၉n^၉ *E^၉pi^၉pmay^၉x^၉ၵS^၉acw^၉pr^၉
tw^၉ၵf^၉ t^၉u^၉s^၉iy^၉ၵၵaom en^၉ၵem^၉ၵၵၵၵb^၉ၵၵon^၉^၉ [k ' *e^၉lv^၉m^၉&ၵmq^၉ၵၵb^၉ၵၵon^၉ft^၉w^၉ၵf^၉ q&maZm^၉ ၵ
ၵAsrs^၉on^၉ t^၉p^၉0^၉ft^၉ v^၉nr^၉Sc^၉ၵၵၵၵlv^၉ၵၵny^၉ၵ r^၉u^၉f^၉ri^၉em^၉ၵၵၵၵm^၉ om^၉re^၉ft^၉ a^၉ၵၵm^၉i^၉ၵ t^၉&ၵrs^၉ၵၵၵၵae^၉p^၉0^၉b^၉
p^၉um^၉rs^၉jzi^၉h^၉ၵၵS^၉ၵp^၉o^၉z^၉ၵၵq^၉ၵၵygon^၉ x^၉ၵAsrs^၉on^၉ 1/2/2, 0f, 0E^၉S^၉h^၉v^၉yaeon^၉ t^၉c^၉ၵၵAs^၉
rs^၉on^၉ 1/2/2, 0f, 0E^၉S^၉h^၉v^၉yaeon^၉b^၉ru ၵAs^၉ၵt^၉aw^၉ၵy^၉ ay:ae^၉v^၉ၵygon^၉ x^၉ၵၵၵၵm^၉i^၉
q&maZm^၉ ၵ t^၉aw^၉ၵygaom ၵAsrs^၉w^၉ၵf^၉ t^၉ji^၉ft^၉ v^၉E^၉S^၉h^၉ t^၉aw^၉ၵt^၉ v^၉SE^၉p^၉zuv^၉ygaom t^၉z^၉l^၉rs^၉ၵၵ
aw^၉ၵygon^၉

[Or^၉f^၉b^၉] ၵAs^၉m^၉ Or^၉f^၉b^၉i^၉ ၵၵb^၉n^၉ w^၉*y^၉f^၉ y^၉a^၉ t^၉n^၉r^၉n^၉lv^၉ၵ a^၉&w^၉ၵၵur^၉f^၉py^၉em^၉w^၉ၵf^၉ ac^၉gu^၉lv^၉
ac^၉gu^၉y^၉ef^၉ w^၉ၵlv^၉ၵၵq^၉i^၉ v^၉ၵၵf^၉ o^၉tr^၉ v^၉m^၉lv^၉ၵၵy^၉ၵၵၵၵq&maZm^၉ ၵ

ၵEl^၉w^၉r^၉v^၉y^၉b^၉n^၉? *y^၉f^၉ y^၉h^၉ၵၵn^၉
o^၉l^၉&ၵv^၉b^၉lv^၉n^၉
w^၉ၵbu^၉ၵv^၉on^၉? a^၉&w^၉ၵၵur^၉f^၉py^၉
o^၉l^၉ၵc^၉s^၉m^၉i^၉ ၵy^၉lv^၉n^၉ၵ^၉

[k o^၉lv^၉az^၉n^၉lv^၉iy^၉x^၉m^၉ygon^၉ ၵ t^၉z^၉ၵ Or^၉f^၉b^၉i^၉ ၵၵN^၉El^၉w^၉r^၉S^၉re^၉m^၉rae^၉ w^၉ၵၵlv^၉ၵၵv^၉ at^၉n^၉r^၉n^၉ၵey^၉
t^၉qu^၉r^၉y^၉w^၉lv^၉&py^၉a^၉ t^၉n^၉r^၉n^၉ၵey^၉ၵၵx^၉i^၉ၵၵၵၵe^၉f^၉ ၵEl^၉w^၉r^၉v^၉y^၉ [ၵom^၉p^၉um^၉v^၉ၵzi^၉h^၉w^၉ၵq^၉m^၉q^၉i^၉x^၉m^၉
ygon^၉ ၵp^၉um^၉o^၉ၵon^၉ a^၉&S^၉/ၵp^၉ၵpm^၉q^၉lv^၉c^၉ၵ t^၉p^၉ၵt^၉pen^၉f^၉ၵy^၉ၵ rem^၉v^၉ၵlv^၉z^၉ၵp^၉ၵeaom
v^၉lv^၉c^၉ၵ El^၉w^၉r^၉ၵr^၉t^၉&ၵm^၉ၵz^၉n^၉ၵၵၵon^၉ho^၉au^၉lv^၉v^၉n^၉ၵ jz^၉pygon^၉ Or^၉f^၉b^၉i^၉ ၵၵ at^၉n^၉r^၉n^၉ၵb^၉
on^၉ om, mem^၉ays^၉ၵz^၉ၵ r^၉&ၵ em^၉u^၉av^၉mp^၉&ၵ a^၉um^၉i^၉ၵa^၉ၵၵm^၉i^၉ၵၵu^၉ ay:v^၉ၵၵe^၉f^၉]*y^၉ *y^၉ [ၵom
j^၉rn^၉b^၉p^၉um^၉v^၉ၵzi^၉h^၉ w^၉ၵq^၉m^၉q^၉i^၉x^၉m^၉ygon^၉ Or^၉f^၉b^၉i^၉ ၵၵ p^၉lv^၉ys^၉ၵz^၉ၵ ft^၉o^၉ၵၵ ၵၵma, m^၉i^၉
ap^၉aom p^၉um^၉o^၉ၵa^၉um^၉i^၉ၵw^၉p^၉ck^၉jz^၉pygon^၉ ၵp^၉um^၉o^၉ၵon^၉ a^၉&S^၉/ၵp^၉ၵlv^၉ aj^၉ym^၉ae^၉aom^၉p^၉um^၉o^၉ၵၵn^၉
t^၉u^၉s^၉r^၉&ၵy^၉ em^၉ၵၵm^၉j^၉y^၉i^၉u^၉w^၉p^၉&ၵjz^၉py^၉lv^၉ၵ az^၉n^၉ၵၵၵon^၉ t^၉o^၉b^၉au^၉lv^၉v^၉n^၉ၵ jz^၉pygon^၉
pmq^၉ၵ Or^၉f^၉b^၉i^၉ ၵၵ at^၉n^၉r^၉n^၉ၵon^၉ [k z^၉ၵq^၉ၵr^၉n^၉ၵၵ a^၉um^၉i^၉ၵr^၉e^၉ၵaom^၉ၵၵ ၵၵv^၉z^၉w^၉on^၉ h^၉r^၉E^၉&ၵv^၉?
*gx^၉m^၉&ၵv^၉ၵb^၉ၵၵ ၵၵv^၉ [ၵom p^၉um^၉v^၉ၵၵ a^၉&ၵcs, z^၉el^၉v^၉ၵx^၉m^၉ygon^၉ ၵpon^၉ၵၵ a^၉&S^၉/ၵp^၉
or^၉m^၉w^၉ၵ r^၉v^၉ၵၵym^၉q^၉ၵom t^၉E^၉p^၉&ၵၵn^၉p^၉um^၉ၵ a^၉um^၉i^၉ၵr^၉e^၉ၵon^၉ [k r^၉v^၉ၵxi^၉ၵm r^၉E^၉&ၵv^၉
o^၉ၵၵ ၵၵv^၉ၵq^၉ၵၵon^၉ [ko^၉a^၉m^၉ၵၵlv^၉ၵon^၉ho^၉au^၉lv^၉v^၉n^၉ၵ jz^၉pygon^၉ a^၉&S^၉/ၵp^၉ၵlv^၉ v^၉lv^၉y^၉v^၉
t^၉aj^၉ym^၉t^၉q^၉ၵၵlv^၉ၵy^၉ j^၉ri^၉v^၉m^၉ygon^၉ ၵpo^၉ၵၵ;z^၉ၵj^၉ci^၉ၵr^၉ၵ ac^၉w^၉pr^၉i^၉pmq^၉ၵၵၵၵၵ t^၉j^၉py^၉lv^၉i^၉

^၈ ok: ES^၉ft^၉rs^၉? 1994? 43/
^၉ aZm^၉ ၉ 2012? 44/

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oyharmi Du

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&aodp&Áqblu rtkijritsursu ll av&uif a& \ / acwprfpmay?
acwprfuAsnwlu ll ylvctwávwmbownf/ acwprfpmay? acwprfuAsn?
acwprfpmqllvlu ll ylvctwlvlu ylvctwE ll yg \ / o ll onftalumi fji
ylvctwbibhyonf}}¹⁰

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Epyátmifro ll a&S/áxubmveátmif rpf&aqmi E ll b)w0lvnfvnjzphaeyllurípyíwó f
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enfolwcll obm Du ll Orfb)obm Dji h e ll vlyjyK oa&mxmonf&vni; vlabmull
ow ll E ll bnhtmaumi faom e ll vlyjt zllzpygonf/ e ll vlyjt maumi fonftavsmuf uAsn/
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tpf&tpcsi f rwnluyg/ v Bu)trsm;plu topfx& ll ub) ta [mi f u ll zuíwG íxm;lu
onf vli, fsm;u ta [mi f r&zmux& ll um topfx& ll tsi luonf p lprícsi luonf q&m
aZn f & u a&S/ápb& ll vllw ll tpf&tpenfyg;ylu ll]Orfb) uAsn ll yllznfoub ll vli, lwl
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¹⁰ O? armi (oyh)? 2010? 86-87/

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[i o'vaznfxmygon/ ptzli rhaq&si, N usivn&mt&ya'oull]rñyeus, }
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 vnfaumi? nefz&mygon/ rhaq&subnftaumi&o;aomvnt toltmaumifyull
]Elwuwvuvv?]zw&vnhh) [knfaumi? rhaq&siN t,mrmeull]rñ, tt&n) [k
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 usupm&nesh p&pm,vp&vull o'jricp&onftjyif acwvli, wñ jzelusutsipov?
 p'prf&pm,vp&v? v&vvyayyg,vp&vulluyg aw&ricp&rdmatmf z&qkmonull
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a&S/vp&ormwbnf topx&ell&ef r&qkmb&esny&aom tp&ftpyif, kw&vsh
 aely&jzpygon/ rñ tp&ftprsm, kw&vsh&eonullow&rbblwpfyg;ulbm tjyprif
 aeonftjzpuullty&zm;uAsnü pmqllu

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 tr, ft&tjriuwiv, f
 ty&&ezm/))¹²

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 o'vylul'ay:v&bnftjyif tp&ftpav&nygonha&S/vp&vñ tv&u&szp&eonh to&esh
 [eullyg ay:v&fatmfz&q&ell&aom Ep&zuiv&stz&jzpygon/

avmuvbmw&stbnf rñ&tjyprifjri&wvulluyg/ jri&v&vntf rqi&ci&wvulluyg/
 olwpyg;tjyprifjri&wvulluyg&wvulluyg/ x&babmulyef&cbny]uAsnü pmqllu-

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 b, h&yimif&nnye&ll
 [ñgys&vwmp&f&rfñ o&ullrf [e&csnñ
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 b&v&rclep&by

¹¹ aZn* 2012? 47/

¹² -, if-? 113/

wnhN/vwmpêf/rñ okvêf/oltsn}}¹³

[kzlkmygon/ ptzêfS]b, hjymi f?]nmye?]ur f [e?]cpeb?]wnh?]vêfo]
[hom pum;v/w/zih igysêsh bkwf w\ trit & mrs; ull o 1/2 yzntx mygon/ xhNumi h
q&marmi f [eDrü]aZnê êS luAsñ pmt lyü-

]zlaomtçg pum;a0g [m&t vç fuü vbavmubmollon/
pum; a0g [m& ty/vp/vr/ry/ tvêby&yâtmifzllwbnh}}¹⁴

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EêBurtxyb/xmonrñ tjyplwifci ftrull tvç lwulv/vubnhu s 1/2 & S Navollu
ay:vêfygon/ rme/wuêorñ \ tjykr it usit Buull]b, hjymi f?]nmye?]ur f [e]
[hom trit & ny oau/vw/zilv nfaumi f?]cpeb?]wnh?]vêfo] [hom toh
oau/vw/zilv nfaumi f weqmqix mygon/ x/yifv muü igrsç [k rme/wuê
orñ;ull]igy?]bkwf} [hom et/vy/v/zih nêf qkmygon/ pmq\ Eêzu/vs
tzlêf&nf xuf ruf hLumi h vwmpêfu igys [e? bkwf \ toêsh us 1/2 & S
tjyplwib/vLulljriâ, miNluma, mi vmygon/ x/yif olwpyg;ull vuhlxh tjyplwif
wwbnh vlbabm obmOullnñ ojritçm&ygon/ q&maZnê ða oa&mOPf
xubelyLullnñ aw&ygon/ ptzêS pyvôf i q&matmi bi fu

]olluê byifbmxifvrod

[llgyv/wmpêfu o*êf [eçsnh

[hom pum;rs;rñ q&maZnê ða wðvê&, foltsn; jzpluygav
on}}¹⁵

[kvêf&wluêâwntç&m pmt lyü aznfyx mygon/

avmuvbm;wçðonf rñ usiv nêexll&mü ab;tE&m, jri vûf vçv&mol
Bulvif a&ñi &ñ;wwluygon/ a&ñi z, pê/vwçhomae&mü tcçft a&jri vûf yph
trççzihçôfuy&, wwluonibabmulljwutçêS luçç]uAsñ pmq lu-

]Asñ f nBemif tawmi lujlazç/

ur fpyfñi ll f

okvñvll êpçvapmi fêll

a&wll gt pmacmi f jye f aygh

' ðnmi fNyðv; /}}¹⁶

¹³ aZnê 2012? 192/

¹⁴ [êDrê armif 2012? 82/

¹⁵ atmi bi f? 2017? 23/

¹⁶ aZnê 2012? 164/

[b^{1/2}aznfxmygon/ ptzli AsifndemiN tjijeyftqifa&mi fwiw, fyulu jzlazG
 [kolxmyd tw6spvfr^{1/2}aznmi fyNrm, nrsm, yuluji i i i?]apGvapmi }? ja&wllg?]tpm acsni f}
 [k^{1/2}axmygon/ q&maZnf^{1/2}bnf pum, vka&cs, bhp&mv6f p6v6ulupum, vH r&rcsif
 &fazfyonf]apGvapmi f} [hom pum, vHtop6nf urfpyu tpmacsni faeom Asif yH
 yefc6um, (6) yH vu6aw6a& qlyDrS &&6hLumi fuH wu6v6ri farmN uAsu p6y6ol
 (oH [kv) q&maZnf^{1/2} qmi fyg:u

]]' dH&vH ay:vmawmrS apGvapmi f qlyvH pum, vluH q&m p6fpm, vkaawmh
 wmy/ csutsi fawmr [kvb6/ o6av; ig&u6awmhapmi fvlu&w, f}}¹⁷

[kq&maZnf^{1/2} u wu6v6ri farmfuH ajnmyaLumi f aznfyxmygon/

pAsifndemif tziygaom pum, o6v6bnf oau6v6rsm, vnf jzpygonf xH
 oau6v6tzi rsm, onf uH fu6omLunfv6bnh avmuvbm, rsm\ tritusi fuH ay:v6f
 vmygonf AsifndemiN tof? AsifndemiN tritusi fvzih e6v6ylyz6qkmonh
 tw6fuH fu6omLunfv6b? rm, nrsm, o6v6n oabm obmO uH lowjykr6mygon/

avmuvbm, w6bnf b0&yivn6&tw6uf Bulpm, 1/2efue6eLum&onf 1/2efue6e
 onh vu66b0onf b, fuvnci b, blyeb6r&rn fuH p6fpm, aeji cixuf
 tm, i, brsm, tay: az:ruh} ci fu yLumi fyulu] vll fuav;oi} uAsu

]]oi fvmpOf yi v, fvrf6jzih
 r6fvll fav vll fa&LurfaonfaLumi h
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 ausmxuO, faqmi f, b, f
 azmi b6zG foifuw, fvH
 aw6qum onft v6f&, 6Y
 Orfajrmu6v, 6av; /}}¹⁸

[i z6qkmygon/ ptzli vll fuav;onf pi 6&mi fu fuH uH Esruu o, 6qmi ch
 aLumi f ay:v6f 6ef6qmi bnf, bnf o, bnf [hom t "y6h, fv v6csi f6ud nrsm, uH w6
 jaqmi f, b,] [k w6pyb6E6fxmygon/ xlyif uH bnf rponf [hom pum, vluH
]ur} [k w6pyb6fxmygon/ touft E&6m, fuifuifzih v6v6v6v6, 6qmi b6onfuH
 ay:v6f 6ef6azmi b6zG } [kcH fE6 f z6qkmygon/

ptzli avmuvbm, w6n b0c&DuH jyi v, fvrf6jzih oau6v6jyfxmygon/ v6b0c&D
 \ twmt q6rsm? tcuft chsm, uH jrl6vll f?]vll fa&Durf} w6jzih oau6v6jyK
 xmygon/ avmur6n o6v6v6v6, uepOf tultn6v6ty6v6 uH 6z; r&rn/ tultnD

¹⁷ ok Esht rsm? 1994? 140/

¹⁸ aZnf 2012? 36/

vlt yhaeomolu [pi h&nf i jzih oauivjy k m onf wpyg:olu uh h omt cg vlv h
csi tsi jr wjr w E E h uh h i f y i f o i f y l u h] a u s m x u } [k o a u i v j y k m y g o n f

[vll fuav;oi} uAsmu h&z B jci f E s h y w b u i q & m a z n f a u j a z n f a r i f o D P l w h
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]]' BuAsmu uh h w w i w b a b n f u h h w w i w h p o l v f ' m w l u h c s u s ; x m w , f
 a c w p u m e y B u i B u s , i u s , h j y n e & i f y & [o v p o l v u h c s u s ; x m w m a y g u o f
 b , i u v m v l b , h e & m o b r , f e f r o d w h v l l f u a v ; u y e f c h v p i h & n f
 i s u a v ; u h u r f t a & m u f o , f y h a y ; c h v m u h c s u s ; O r f a j r m u f o v , f v h
 a & ; x m w , f }¹⁹

[i f & s f j y c h y g o n f

[vll fuav;oi} uAsm S p E s t z u f s t z b n f v l l f u a v ; \ o b n D u l l a w Q r i B o n h
 t j y i f v l b O u h & & k m o n h c P w m t w e f u o l w p y g : t u s u l u h D a q m i B & u b i h N u m i f
 a y : v e h e y g o n f x h y i v b m w h b O c & D v r f w p a v u f v l y h q m i t s u f s m w e f
 o l w p y g : t u s ? t r s m t u s o , f y h c h o m v l y h q m i t s u b n o m N u n E i O r f a j r m u e g f
 t a u m i f q h z p o n u l l o j r i c h m E i l l y g o n f

a v m u a u m i f u s u l o , f y h m w e f t j c m o r s m y g o , f y h y g \ a v m [k i h p m i f i
 N u n f r a e o i l y g / t j c m o r s m \ v l y h q m i t s u f t a y : w e l u w f r a e b j v l a v m u v y & e f t a &
 w p l u r w r w f v l y u l h a y ; o i h N u m i f u h j a c s m i f v s l u] u A s m i

]] b l w f r u c t s i t s e A s i f n l u a t m u t s i h a t m u f
 t l e f n D e m i h a p m i f c s i h a p m i f
 a c s m i f a u m u t s i h a u m u f
 o k v r f E s t o t j r i f
 a c s m i f ' B & a e o r O a c s m i f v s l y i f }²⁰

[k b k m y g o n f p t z l i] c s i t s e ? j a t m u t s i h a t m u f ? j a p m i f c s i h a p m i f ? j a u m u t s i f
 a u m u } [h o m y p l v p u m v h w l u b h i b l w f ? A s i f n l t l e f n D e m i ? a c s m i f w h t o E s h
 [e f u l o y h a z n f x m y g o n f r a A ' g \ b O c & D u h j a c s m i f ' B & } [k v n f a u m i f ? r a A ' g \
 c h t s u p o l v x m u h j a c s m i f v s l] [k v n f a u m i f o l E e f x m y g o n f p p u m o h w b n f a c s m i f
 y w D e f u s i f v y & e f t a v ; x m a o m r a A ' g \ p o l v x m u h a y : v e h y g o n f r a A ' g \ p o l v x m u h
 a ' g u l v m a u s p e l u a z n f # l u m p m t l y u

]] b , b l w & m y s u f y s u f u h f r y s u f [h o m p o l v x m E i l l b o n h a A ' g p o l v ? a A ' g h
 r m e f u l l z l y o n f }²¹

¹⁹ o e f x o v ? O p ? 2006 ? 19 /
²⁰ a z n f a 2012 ? 177 /
²¹ a u s p e l a ' g u l v m ? 2017 ? 347 /

[koloyjxmygon/

xlyif ul ftust? ul lqEom Nunfwbrsm,ul blvr? Adfnl tefndemif
wzihouawjylzlkmonulhaw&ygon/ avmuulumiust jylEibrsmtm acsmif
wptfũ tvsqiay;aeonhyefaA'gESetrvlyjK zlkmygon/ xhMumih pEszuivS
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avmuvbm;wlvnũ avmu"ltqhtaumi;ESh awBulLu&Nj jzplygon/ xh
avmu"H tqhtaumi;fwLul jiiqefciif? p&vefjicif&bl ausaueyeyf jzwbeEil&ef
ta&;BudyLulq&maZnf' &]' d&ord) uAsmũ

] 'lvutsefvefrqef[brji iif/
aA' gaqG d&Oprñ jrl;wvavjciif/
'lvutsefvefrqef[brji iif/
aA' gaqG d&usrñ vsvvavjciif/]]²²

[li zlyfxmygon/ aA'gaqG &&ilr? pvlvtm;xubefwLul ay:vũ&ef]csefvef?
]csefvef[homt csefypum;vũ?]a&O)?]a&us?]jrl;wv?]vsvw[hom tajctaejy
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Adfnndemi paom ou&burlvũ obnOESH avmu"lvũftwũfu vbm;wlvnũpũuf

²² aZnf' 2012? 200/

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Itk bloytsuf

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 o? tzp&f&nfxurubltjzpfsvf, blygon/

edh

aZn^r aZn^r A saygi fcy f s p m q n. Epzuiv stz p f & n p m w r f o n f j r e f r n e h i B Z A E S l o y h
y n n e s i t z n (19) B u t h j r m u f o b w o e p m w r f z w y f t w u f w i b e f o n p m w r f j z p y g
o n f p p m w r f w e f q & m a z n f s n. Epzuiv stz l w c s u u t a o : p o v a v l v m w i f y x m y g
o n f x h n u m i h q & m a z n f s n. Epzuiv stz p f f & n f x u j r u y l u u x i s h p h a w q r i e h l y g
o n f p p m w r f o n f E p z u i v s t z l t e n j i , b m x l w e l w a v l v m c o n i t w u f u e & s o m
E p z u i v s t z l s m E s h t j c m t z l s m u u q u i v u a v l v m e h l y g o n f p p m w r f o n f E p z u i v s
t z l a v l v m v b r s m t w u f t u s l y k v t r n f k , n u n y g o n f

u r f u h p m & i f

a u s p e e f a ' g u i v m / (2 0 1 7) / a Z n f l u m (' k B u t) / & e l e e a t ; u r f u e h y l u l u f
c i h t ; ? a ' g u i v m / (2 0 0 8) / t w a A ' e d g e f (' k B u t) / & e l e e y n m w e a q m i f y E g y w u l u f
p h r i r i v w / (2 0 1 3) / t r d o m t w i y l i v t b l m e f (y - w) / & e l e e p o v i u t c s t s p m a y /
a Z n f s (2 0 1 2) / a Z n f s A s a y g i f c y f (' k B u t) / & e l e e p o v i u t c s t s p m a y /
b a o m i f ? A N v r e ; / (2 0 0 2) / p m q h w m f s m t w i y l i v t y O i r - B u t / & e l e e n j y n p m a y /
r i f o b P i (2 0 1 6) / r i f o b P i A s a y g i f c y f (' k B u t) / & e l e e the key collection /
O ? a r m i (o y h) / (2 0 1 0) / a c w p r f p m a y t a x h x (w - B u t) / & e l e e p o v i u t c s t s p m a y /
o k E s h t r s m / (1 9 9 4) / q & m a Z n f s t r s v i v & p m p l s m / & e l e e t m r m e b o p p m a y /
o e f x w e 0 B / (2 0 0 6) / a Z n f s i f o b P i v n p m a y p u m / & e l e e p o v i u t c s t s p m a y /
[e o r f a r m i (u x u) / (2 0 1 2) / a Z n f s s l u A s n / & e l e e " D o m a y /
a t m i b i f / (2 0 1 7) / v e f & w l u l e h v m t q & n / & e l e e c o g a v s e p m t y l u l u f

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