

दौलतविक्रम विष्टका उपन्यासमा सीमान्तीयता

त्रिभुवन विश्वविद्यालय, मानविकी तथा सामाजिक शास्त्र

सङ्कायअन्तर्गत नेपाली केन्द्रीय विभागद्वारा

सञ्चालित दर्शनाचार्य (एम.फिल.) तह

तेस्रो सत्रको पाठ्यांश (६०९ र ६१०)

को प्रयोजनार्थ

प्रस्तुत

शोधप्रबन्ध

शोधकर्ता

रुकमनकुमार फुयाल

क्रमाङ्क : १४/२०७६

विश्वविद्यालय क्याम्पस,

त्रि.वि., कीर्तिपुर

चैत्र २०८१

शोध निर्देशकको सिफारिस

दौलतविक्रम विष्टका उपन्यासमा सीमान्तीयता शीर्षकको प्रस्तुत शोधप्रबन्ध नेपाली केन्द्रीय विभाग, दर्शनाचार्य (एम.फिल.) तहका विद्यार्थी श्री रुकमनकुमार फुयालले मेरो निर्देशनमा तयार पार्नुभएको हो । सामग्रीको विषय उपयुक्त ढङ्गले विश्लेषण गरिएको फुयालको यस शोधकार्यबाट म सन्तुष्ट छु र आवश्यक मूल्याङ्कनका लागि सिफारिस गर्दछु ।

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प्रा.डा. कृष्णप्रसाद न्यौपाने

विभागीय प्रमुख/शोधनिर्देशक

मिति: २०८१/१२/२१

स्वीकृति पत्र

त्रिभुवन विश्वविद्यालय, मानविकी तथा सामाजिक शास्त्र सङ्कायअन्तर्गत नेपाली केन्द्रीय विभागद्वारा सञ्चालित दर्शनाचार्य (एम. फिल.) तह तेस्रो सत्रको निर्धारित पाठ्यांश (६०९ र ६१०) को आंशिक प्रयोजनार्थ शोधार्थी रुकमनकुमार फुयालद्वारा तयार गरी विभागीय प्रमुख/शोधनिर्देशक प्रा.डा. कृष्णप्रसाद न्यौपानेको सिफारिसबमोजिम यस सङ्कायमा पेस गरिएको *दौलतविक्रम विष्टका उपन्यासमा सीमान्तीयता* शीर्षकको प्रस्तुत शोधप्रबन्ध मूल्याङ्कन गरी स्वीकृत गरिएको छ ।

शोधप्रबन्ध मूल्याङ्कन समिति

हस्ताक्षर

१. प्रा. डा. कृष्णप्रसाद न्यौपाने

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(विभागीय प्रमुख / शोधनिर्देशक)

२. प्रा. डा. षडानन्द पौड्याल

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(आन्तरिक परीक्षक)

३. प्रा. डा. ध्रुवप्रसाद भट्टराई

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(बाह्यपरीक्षक)

प्रतिबद्धता पत्र

दौलतविक्रम विष्टका उपन्यासमा सीमान्तीयता शीर्षकको प्रस्तुत शोधप्रबन्ध त्रिभुवन विश्वविद्यालय, मानविकी तथा सााजिक शास्त्र सङ्कायअन्तर्गत नेपाली केन्द्रीय विभागद्वारा सञ्चालित दर्शनाचार्य (एम. फिल.) तह, तेस्रो सत्रको पाठ्यांश (६०९ र ६१०) को प्रयोजनार्थ तयार गरिएको हो । यो शोधप्रबन्ध कतै प्रकाशन गरिएको छैन ।

प्रस्तुत शोधप्रबन्धमा स्रोत खुलाएर साभार गरिएका स्रोत सामग्रीहरूबाहेक अन्य सबै सामग्रीहरू मौलिक रहेका छन् । गैरकानुनी रूपमा कहीं कतैबाट साभार गरिएको छैन । अन्त्यमा, प्रस्तुत शोधप्रबन्धको मूल्याङ्कनका लागि त्रिभुवन विश्वविद्यालय, नेपाली केन्द्रीय विभाग मूल्याङ्कन समितिसमक्ष पेस गरिएको व्यहोरा अनुरोध छ ।

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रुकमनकुमार फुयाल

मिति: २०८१/१२/२१

कृतज्ञता ज्ञापन

दौलतविक्रम विष्टका उपन्यासमा सीमान्तीयता शीर्षकको शोधप्रबन्ध त्रिभुवन विश्वविद्यालय, मानविकी तथा सामाजिक शास्त्र सङ्कायअन्तर्गत नेपाली केन्द्रीय विभागद्वारा सञ्चालित दर्शनाचार्य (एम. फिल.) तह, तेस्रो सत्रको पाठ्यांश (६०९ र ६१०) को प्रयोजनका लागि विभागीय प्रमुख/शोधनिर्देशक आदरणीय गुरु प्रा.डा. कृष्णप्रसाद न्यौपानेको निर्देशनमा तयार गरिएको हो । प्रस्तुत अध्ययनलाई यथासमयमा सम्पन्न गर्न सहयोग पुऱ्याउने त्रि.वि. नेपाली केन्द्रीय विभागका विभागीय प्रमुख प्रा.डा. कृष्णप्रसाद न्यौपाने र सम्बद्ध गुरुवर्गप्रति कृतज्ञता व्यक्त गर्दै शोधसामग्री उपलब्ध गराउने कार्यमा सहयोग गर्नुहुने नेपाली केन्द्रीय विभाग र मदन पुरस्कार पुस्तकालयका पदाधिकारीहरूप्रति हार्दिक आभार व्यक्त गर्दछु ।

प्रस्तुत अध्ययनलाई गुणस्तरीय र व्यावहाकि बनाउन प्राज्ञिक निर्देशन गर्नुका साथै स्नेहपूर्ण सहयोग तथा सैद्धान्तिक एवम् व्यावहारिक रूपमा मलाई सधैं उत्प्रेरित गर्नुभएकोमा आदरणीय गुरु स्वर्गीय ताराकान्त पाण्डेयप्रति विशेष आभारी छु । त्यसैगरी यस कार्यमा आवश्यक सल्लाह सुझावका साथै अध्ययनसामग्री उपलब्ध गराई थप सहयोग पुऱ्याउनुहुने श्रद्धेय गुरु प्रा.डा. रमेशप्रसाद भट्टराईप्रति पनि आभार व्यक्त गर्दछु । त्यसैगरी मलाई अध्यापन गराउँदाको क्षणमा प्राज्ञिक सल्लाह तथा सुझाव दिनुहुने सम्पूर्ण गुरुवर्गप्रति सम्मान व्यक्त गर्दछु । साथै यस कार्यमा प्रत्यक्ष एवम् परोक्ष रूपमा सहयोग पुऱ्याउनुहुने सबैप्रति कृतज्ञ छु ।

मेरो उक्त प्राज्ञिक कार्यमा आवश्यक सहयोग पुऱ्याउनुहुने माता-पिता, श्रीमती सविता तथा परिवारका अन्य सदस्यहरू धन्यवादका पात्र हुनुहुन्छ । अमूल्य समय उपलब्ध गराई अध्ययनका लागि सहजीकरण गर्नुहुने म कार्यरत सेन्टजेभियर्स स्कुल, जावलाखेल परिवारप्रति पनि आभारी छु । अन्त्यमा, प्राविधिक पक्षमा सहयोग गर्नुहुने मित्रहरू मणिराज दाहाल, हरिओम दाहाल तथा दाजु रामकृष्ण अधिकारीलाई विशेष धन्यवाद व्यक्त गर्दछु । साथै यस कार्यमा प्रत्यक्ष एवम् परोक्ष रूपमा सहयोग पुऱ्याउनुहुने सबैप्रति कृतज्ञ छु ।

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रुकमनकुमार फुयाल
क्रमाङ्क : १४/२०७६
दर्शनाचार्य तह, तेस्रो सत्र
नेपाली केन्द्रीय विभाग,
त्रि.वि. कीर्तिपुर

मिति: २०८१/१२/२१

अध्ययनको सार

दौलतविक्रम विष्टका उपन्यासमा सीमान्तीयता शीर्षकको प्रस्तुत अध्ययनको मुख्य उद्देश्य विष्टका उपन्यासमा सीमान्तीयताको पहिचान र त्यसको विश्लेषण गर्नु रहेको छ । यस प्रयोजनका लागि सीमान्तीयताका कोणबाट उनका मञ्जरी (२०१६) बगिएको बाटो (२०३३) र भोक र भित्ताहरू (२०३८) उपन्यासको सूक्ष्म रूपमा अध्ययन एवम् विश्लेषण गरिएको छ । यस क्रममा उक्त उपन्यासमा अभिव्यक्त वर्गीय, जातीय तथा लैङ्गिक प्रतिनिधित्व र पहिचानको अवस्था तथा आवाज र प्रतिरोधी चेतनासम्बन्धी पात्रगत अवस्थाको अध्ययन गरिएको छ ।

विष्टका उपन्यासमा वर्गीय, जातीय र लैङ्गिक रूपमा सीमान्तीयकृत पात्रहरूको प्रतिनिधित्व र पहिचानको अवस्थाको खोजी र त्यसको विश्लेषण, ती पात्रहरूको प्रतिरोधी चेतनाको अवस्थाको मूल्याङ्कन गर्नु यस अध्ययनको मुख्य समस्या हो र ती समस्याको खोजी गरी त्यसको यथार्थपरक विश्लेषण गर्नु यसको उद्देश्य रहेको हुनाले दौलतविक्रम विष्टका शोध्य उपन्यासमा केन्द्रित भई सम्बन्धित विषयवस्तुको सूक्ष्म रूपमा अध्ययन र निश्चित सैद्धान्तिक विधि तथा पद्धतिको आधारमा समस्याको समाधान गरिएको छ ।

प्रस्तुत अध्ययन साहित्यिक अध्ययनसँग सम्बन्धित भएको हुँदा यसको अध्ययन प्रक्रिया पाठविश्लेषण विधिमा आधारित छ । अध्ययन एवम् विश्लेषणका लागि विष्टका विश्लेष्य उपन्यासहरू प्राथमिक सामग्रीका रूपमा र ती उपन्याससँग सम्बन्धित विभिन्न अनुसन्धानात्मक कार्य, समीक्षात्मक टिप्पणी तथा स्थापित सीमान्तीय सिद्धान्त र त्यसको अवधारणात्मक आधारसँग सम्बन्धित भएर लेखिएका पुस्तक तथा लेख रचनाहरूलाई द्वितीयक स्रोत सामग्रीका रूपमा उपयोग गरिएको छ । अध्ययनका लागि छनोट गरिएका उपन्यासको विश्लेषणका क्रममा निर्धारित शोध्य प्रश्न तथा उद्देश्यहरूमा केन्द्रित रही पात्रहरूको वर्गीय, जातीय र लैङ्गिक आधारमा सीमान्तीय पक्षको मूल्याङ्कन गरिएको छ ।

प्रस्तुत अध्ययनको सैद्धान्तिक आधारका रूपमा स्थापित सीमान्तीय सिद्धान्तका साथै त्यससँग सम्बन्धित अवधारणा रहेको छ र यसैमा आधारित भई विश्लेष्य उपन्यासमा वर्गीय, जातीय तथा लैङ्गिक रूपमा सीमान्तीयकृत पात्रहरूको प्रतिनिधित्व र पहिचानको अवस्था र सीमान्त समुदायको आवाज र उनीहरूमा विकसित प्रतिरोधी चेतनासम्बन्धी अवस्थाको अध्ययन गरिएको छ । उपन्यासमा प्रभुत्वशाली समुदायको वर्चस्वबाट अधीनस्थ सीमान्तीयकृत

वर्ग तथा समुदायका पात्रहरूले भोग्नु परेको शोषण र दमनको स्थिति र त्यसबाट आफूहरू सामाजिक रूपमा किनारीकृत अवस्थामा पारिएको बोध गरी आफ्नो अस्तित्व रक्षार्थ सामाजिक प्रतिनिधित्व र पहिचान कायम गर्न स्थापित परम्परागत सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक, आर्थिक, राजनीतिक संरचनात्मक मूल्य र मान्यताका विरुद्ध सीमान्तीकृत समुदायका पात्रहरूले उठाएको आवाज र प्रतिरोधी अभ्यास जस्ता पक्षहरूको अध्ययन गर्दै उनीहरूको आवाजका सम्बन्धमा के कस्तो सुनुवाई भएको छ भन्ने कुरालाई विभिन्न उद्धरण र सन्दर्भहरूका आधारमा सूक्ष्म ढङ्गले विश्लेषण गरिएको छ ।

समग्रतः सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक, आर्थिक, राजनीतिक आदि कारणबाट सिर्जित वर्गीय, जातीय र लैङ्गिक विभेद र अन्यायका विरुद्ध सामाजिक जनचेतना अभिवृद्धि गरी आफ्नो सामाजिक अस्तित्व र पहिचान स्थापित गर्न सीमान्तीकृत वर्ग तथा समुदायबाट भएका विरोध, प्रतिरोध तथा सङ्घर्ष र क्रान्ति जस्ता प्रतिरोधी चेतनाका प्रक्रियाबाट सामाजिक परिवर्तन सम्भव हुने लेखकीय दृष्टिकोण रहेको देखिन्छ । यसरी विष्टका उपन्यासमा तत्कालीन नेपाली समाजको सामाजिक एवम् सांस्कृतिक पक्षको यथार्थपरक प्रस्तुति भएको छ । यस सन्दर्भमा अधीनस्थ एवम् उत्पीडित वर्ग तथा समुदायका मानिसहरूको जीवनभोगाइको अवस्थालाई मूल विषयवस्तु बनाइएको र सामाजिक असमानता र अन्यायको विरुद्धमा आवाज उठाई न्याय स्थापनार्थ त्यस्ता उत्पीडित पात्रहरूलाई सशक्त रूपमा प्रस्तुत गरिएको हुनाले सीमान्तीय दृष्टिले उनका उपन्यास सशक्त छन् भन्ने निष्कर्ष निकालिएको छ ।

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परिच्छेद : एक

शोधपरिचय

१.१ विषयपरिचय

बर्हितीज्जिद ली 6 -!(*#@)%(_ cfwlgs gkfnl pkGof; k/Dk/f cGtuft ; fdlhs oyfyf fbl kl|tef xg\ pgl gkfnl ; flxTosf lj lj w lj wdf ; zSt 2kdf snd rnfpg]; l6f xg\ pgn]@))# ; fndf cff zlif\$sf] slj tf k\$zfg u/] ; fj hlgS ; flxTo ofqf kl/De u/\$f xg\ pgsf] n]vg slj tf, syf, lgaGw, ult, cgj fb, gf6s, ; d/Of, ; dnfjrgf tyf pkGof; n]vgdf lj :tf/t 5 . pgl gkfnl ; flxTodf pkGof; / syf n]vgdf lj z]f kl; 4 5g\ . @)!^ ; fndf d-h/l pkGof; sf] k\$zfg; E} lj i6sf] cfkGofl; s ofqf cf/De ePsf] xf] . pgsf hDdf gf} 6f pkGof; x2 k\$flzt 5g\ pgsf cGo pkGof; x2df Ps knj]f cg\$ffofd -@)^_ , rkfOPsf cgxf/ -@)#_ , lalufsf] af6] -@)##_ , yfs\$] cfsfz -@)#\$_ , ef\$ / leQfx2 -@)#*_ , lxdfn / dff5 -@)#\$_ , Hof]t Hof]t dxfHof]t -@)#\$_ / knfFlsf] knbbfdf -@)#_ /x\$ 5g\ . logsf pkGof; x2n] uXOf u/\$f] sfnv08sf] gkfnl ; dfhsf]; fdlhs, ; f:s[ts tyf cfly\$ klfnf0{/fd/L lraqOf u/\$f 5g\ pgn]lkt[QfIdstf / ; fdGtl cfly\$; s[tsf] cf8df gf/Ldfly xg] j ul6, hftlo / n]Nus z]f]of, bdg / pTkl8gsf]; Gberf0{klg pkGof; dfknft hlj Gt 2kdf k|t't u/\$f 5g\

; ldfGtlo j u{ eg\$] cfj fhj xlgx2sf] j u{ xf] . ; ldfGtLst j uX2nf0{ 0ltxf; df ; d]6Psf] kf0Eg . ; dfhdf zflift kl8t eP/ afF\$; ldfGtLst j u\$] cWooG lj Zn]fOf ug]; 4fGtsf 2kdf ; ldfGtlotf cfPsf] xf] . ; dfhzf:qlo cWooGsf] k[7el'daf6 cfPsf]; ldfGtlotf l; 4fGtsf] kl/Dej Gb' klZrdl ; dnfjrgf xf] . gj dS; fbl lrgtgsf 2kdf kl/lrt 06fn]hl lrgts cfG6f]lgof] ufd; L -; g\ !*(!-!(#&_ ; ldfGtlotf l; 4fGtsf kj t\$ xg\ . ; ldfGtlotf tyf kE]j; DaGwl wf/Off ufd; ls} lkhg gfbas -; g\!(&#_ k':tsdf pNn]y ePsf] 5 . pQm lkhg gfbasdf .: afNvgU z Absf] kpfu ePsf] 5 . c^u]hl zAb ; afN6g\$] gkfnl

٤ kfgt/0f ; ldfgtlotf efg]x65 . kēTj -lxh٥fgL sf ; Gbedf cfPsf]; ldfgtlotf
 l; 4fgt klZrdl dh'saf6 ef/tdf ; g\!(*) It/af6 kōf٥df cfpq yfn\$]xf].
 c:6٥nfnl lj Bfnosf k٥٥fks /l-ht uxfsf] g٥٥Tj df ef/tdf ; ldfgtlotf
 c٥٥og ; d'xsf]:yfkf eof]. lj z٥f u/L klZrd a^a٥fnst n٥ysx٤ ; dfj ٤ ePsf]
 o; ; d'xdf ufoql r٥mj tl{ l:kefs, blk٤ r٥mj tl{ 1fg٥b| kf08] kfZj { r6hl{
 ; blk slj /fh, ; ldt ; /sf/, ; /f٥ngl ; fx' cflb ef/tlo dhsf lrgtsx٤ /x\$
 5g\ . o; ; d'xn] ; ldfgtlo ju\$٥ ٤ kdf ; fdfhs ju{ hflit, k]f, wd{ lj rf/,
 zf/l/s ; ٥s, kb, wd{ :s[t ; ٥s, x٥; ot, lfg cflbsf cfw/df ckx٥nt ju{/
 ju{ d'xnf0{lrgfpg ; ldfgtlotf zAbsf] kōf٥ u/\$] 5 . o; ٥/L ; ldfgtlotfsf]
 c٥٥og klZrdl dh'sb٥v k٥L{ dh's x٥}lj Zj Jofkl ٤ kdf k٥ngdf cfPsf] 5 .
 ; fdfhs ; Argfleq /x\$٥ kēTj zfnl ju{/ cwlq:y ju٥arsf lj leq lj e٥sf/L
 Joj xf/nf0{ sg} klg s[t df ; ldfgtlotfsf b٥٥sfaf6 lj Zn٥f of ug{ ; ldfgtlotf
 l; 4fgtsf]dVo p2٤o xf].

b٥ntlj s٥ lj i6sf pkGof; df ; fdfhs, cfly\$, ; f:s[ts lj ifox٤sf]
 hlj Gt lraqof ul/Psf] kf065 . pgsf pkGof; df jul٥, hftlo / n٥٥us lj e٥n]
 kf/\$] kēfj nf0{lraqof ul/Psf] 5 . pgsf pkGof; df k٥Qm ; ldfgtls[ju\$٥
 kfqsf] c٥٥og ug{ k٥tt zfw]sf] dVo z٥٥o lj ifo ePsfn] b٥ntlj s٥ lj i6sf
 pkGof; df ; ldfgtlotfsf] cjwf/0ffcgtu٥ kg٥ jul٥, hftlo / n٥٥ustfsf]
 k٥tlgwTj, klxrfq / k٥t/f٥L cfj fhsf]c٥٥og ul/Psf]5 .

٩.٢ समस्याकथन

k٥tt zfw]sfo{ b٥ntlj j٥d lj i6af/f ; Art pkGof; x٤sf] ; ldfgtlo
 c٥٥og; ٥ ; DalGwt /x\$]5 . @)!^ df d-h/l pkGof; sf]k\$zga6 cfkGof; s
 ofqf kf/De u/\$] lj i6sf h٥df gf}6f pkGof; k\$flzt 5g\ . logn] ; dsfnlg
 ; dfhsf ; ldfgtlo cj:yfnf0{ cf'gf pkGof; df /fd/L k٥tt u/\$]
 5g\ pgsf pkGof; sf]lj leq sf)faf6 k٤:t c٥٥og sfo٤ ; DkGg ePsf 5g\
 pSt c٥٥ogx٤ ; ldfgtlo c٥٥ogdf s٥b٥t geP/ k/Dk/fut c٥٥ogdf s٥b٥t
 5g\ lj i6sf pkGof; x٤sf] ; ldfgtlo c٥٥og lgtfGt gjlg c٥٥ogsf ٤ kdf /x\$]

5 . bñtljj ðd lj i6sf pkGof; df cleJoSt ; ldfGtlo klfsf] cllboognf0{ dVo ; d:ofsf 2kdf ln0Psf] o; zfvwsfo\$ dVo ; d:of; E ; Da4 zfvkZgx2nf0{ lgDgfg; f/ k|t't ul/Psf]5 M

-s_ bñtljj ðd lj i6sf pkGof; df ; ldfGt ; dbfosf] k|tlglwTj / klxrfgsf] cj :yf s:tf]5 <

v_ bñtljj ðd lj i6sf pkGof; df ; ldfGt ; dbfosf] cfj fh / k|t/fvL r]gfs ; /L cleJoQm ePsf]5 <

१.३ शोधको उद्देश्य

k|t't zfvwsfo\$] k|1s p2Z0 bñtljj ðd lj i6sf pkGof; df k|t't ; ldfGtlo ju\$] jul6, hftlo / n]Nus klfsf] k|tlglwTj, klxrfg / k|t/fvL cfj fhsf] vfhL ug{g} zfvwsf] dVo p2Z0 xf]. oxl p2Z0 k'f ug\$ nflu k|t't zfvwsfo\$; d:ofsyg; E ; DalGwt lgDglnlvt p2Zox2 /x\$ 5gM

-s_ bñtljj ðd lj i6sf pkGof; df ; ldfGtlo ju{tyf ; dbfosf] k|tlglwTj / klxrfgsf] lj Zn]f0f ug{

-v_ bñtljj ðd lj i6sf pkGof; df cleJoQm ; ldfGt ; dbfosf] cfj fh / k|t/fvL r]gfsf] dNof^a\$g ug{.

१.४ पूर्वकार्यको समीक्षा

bñtljj ðd lj i6 cfwlgs gkfnl pkGof; k/Dk/fsf dx2j k0f{ k|t'ef xg\ . pgn]@)!^ df d-h/L pkGof; sf] k\$zfzga6 cfkGof; s ofqf k|/De u/\$f xg\ . o; kl5 sl/a ; f9] tlg bzs pkGof; /rgfdf ; lj ðp /x\$ lj i6sf hDdf gf} 6f pkGof; k\$flzt 5g\ . km/skm/s sfnv08df k\$flzt pgsf pkGof; x2n] ; dsfnlg ; fdflhs, /fhglts / cfly\$ cj:yf tyf cGt/f]60 ; Gbe{x2nf0{ ; d] sl; nf]2kdf lrq0f u/\$f 5g\ jul6 / ; fdflhs :j2k tyf cfly\$ lj t/0f k0ffnldfly tlj |c; xdltsf] snf]ds k\$6ls/0f pgsf pkGof; df k0G5 . pgsf pkGof; df ; dsfnlg ; fdflhs jul6, hftlo, ln^aNlo ; Gbe{ ; d:of / ; ~r]gfsf] k\$6ls/0f k0fj sf/L 2kdf k|t't ul/Psf]5 . ; ldfGtlo cllboogsf b[6n]lj i6sf

pkGof; x₂ dx₂ kOf{ ; fdu| xg\ . ctM tl k' \$fo{x₂sf] ; dLIff / Itgsf] sfnqmds lj j /Ofnf0{lgDgfg; f/ k|tt ul/Psf]5 M

; ltf zdfh] ; flxTosf/ bfh₂tlj j₂ d lj i6sf] hlj gl / JoS₂त्त्वsf] cllboog - @)#*_ zlif\$sf] zfv₂sfo₂df lj i6sf] hlj glut klfx₂sf lj ifodf vfh cg; Gwfg ug\$₂f ; fy} @)#* ; fneGbf cufl8 k\$flzt pgsf pkGof; x₂sf] kl/rofTds ₂kdf cllboog u/\$₂l 5g\ . pgn]lj i6sf pkGof; sf] cllboog ug[j j₂ ddf ; dsfnlg sfnv08sf] ; fdlhs, ; f:s[ts oyfyh] dx₂ kOf{ :yfg kfPsf] 5 eGg] lgisif{ k|tt u/\$₂l 5g\ . k|tt k' \$fo{h]lj i6sf pkGof; ; DaGWL ; 'rgfx₂ ; ^a\$ng ug{ ; xof|u u/\$₂f]5 .

Uffkls[Of zdfh] / f^a v₂adf .Ps kfn] f cg\$₂ f₂ofd pkGof; df aG₂U-@) \$@_ zlif\$sf] km₂s / ; dnfj₂rgfTds n|ydf Ps kfn] f cg\$₂ f₂ofd pkGof; df cleJoSt aG₂nf0{b|yfpG] sfo{u/\$₂f 5g\ . pgn]k|tt pkGof; df k₂St aG₂nf0{b|yfpG] ; Gbedf lj i6sf cfkGofl; s kj [Qx₂sf] ; d₂ rrf{u/\$₂f 5g\ . o; j₂ ddf pgn] lj i6sf pkGof; df ; fdlhs ; Gbe{x₂n] dx₂ kOf{ :yfg kfPsf 5g\ eGg] rrf{u/\$₂f 5g\ . pgsf cg; f/ lj i6sf pkGof; df Psflt/ ; fdlhs s; #sf/, gf/lk|tsf] k' f₂x, ; fdlhs n₂Nus e₂efj nf0{ b|yfoPsf] 5 eg] csf{t/ tt\k\$[tsf k/Dk/fut ; fdlhs dNo / dfGotfk|t Jo^alo-lj /fv ; d₂ k\$6 ePsf]kf0G5 .

kzklt g₂pkfgh] ₂pkGof; sf/ bfh₂tlj j₂ d lj i6 / pgsf] Hof]t Hof]t dxHof]t pkGof; sf] cllboog₂ -@)%)_ zlif\$sf] zfv₂kqdf pSt pkGof; sf] lj wftf₂ej s cllboog ug[j ; Gbedf lj i6sf] cfkGofl; s ofqf tyf kj [Qsf] rrf{ub} k\$flzt pkGof; x₂sf] sYo; Gbe₂nf0{ ; ^aNfkt ₂kdf k|tt u/\$₂f 5g\ . o; j₂ ddf pgn]lj i6sf cfkGofl; s /rgfdf ; dsfnlg ; dhsf ; fdlhs lj s[₂t, gf/Ldflysf] zfv₂ofs] /fdl] pkl:yIt kf0G5 eGg] rrf{u/\$₂f 5g\

/fh₂ | ; j₂ |Ln] g₂kfnl pkGof; k/Dk/f / kj [Q -@)%#_ ; dnfj₂rgfTds s[tdf g₂kfnl pkGof; sf] k/Dk/f / kj [Qnf0{P3f/j 6f zlif\$df Joj :yfkG ul/Psf] 5 . pgn]bfh₂tlj j₂ d lj i6nf0{cfbzfv₂ oyfy} fbl k/Dk/fsf ; i6sf ₂kdf rrf{ub} pgsf rf/j 6f pkGof; sf] lj Zn]f₂of u/\$₂f 5g\ . ; j₂ |Ln] oxF@))& ; fn /

To; kl5sf] ; a\p0ffTds åã tyf j0f{ hflit, wd{/ ln^usf lj ljw klfxçnf0{
d-h/l pk6of; n] lraq0f u/\$f] s/f k|tt u/\$f 5g\ . pgsf cg' f/ afXd0f
; dfhsf ljwj f 5f]laxf/lxçsf] kglj }fx xgk5{e6g] c3f]lft cfux, c6thf{lo
lj jfxkl|tsf]; dyg tyf :j t6gçkdf kltkTglSf]j /0f ug{kfp' kg]s'/fnf0{dVo
çkdf k|tt pk6of; n]JoSt ug{vfh\$]5 . lalupsf]af6]gf/L ; d:ofdf s]b|t
pk6of; xf]e6g]lj rf/ ; j]lSf]5 . ef\$ / leQfxç pk6of; n]; dfhdf ck/fwl
lgw\$S eP/ a:g]t/ lgbf]f / u/La ; hfo efl]g afllo xgkg]kl/j çnf0{; zSt
çkdf k|tt u/\$f]s'/fsf] rrf{; j]lN]u/\$f 5g\ . k|tt k] \$fo(n)bf]tlj j]d
lj i6sf pk6of; df k0St n]Nus kl|tlgw]j , klxrfg / kl|t/f]w ; Da4 tyof^S
; a\$ngdf ; xof]u k'ofPsf]5 .

s[0fxl/ a/fn / g0 P6dn] pk6of; l; 4f6t / g]knl pk6of; -@)%^_
zlif\$sf] ; dnf]r]gffTds s[tdf bf]tlj j]d lj i6nf0{hljgsf lj ljw klfxçnf0{
; f:s[ts ; r]ttsf ; fy lraq0f ug]pk6of; sf/sf çkdf lrgfPsf 5g\ . n]ys
åon] lj i6n] cf^gf pk6of; xçdf hftlo, jul0 / n]Nus ; d:ofxçnf0{p7fg
u/\$f 5g\ e6g] rrf{u/\$f 5g\ . d-h/l pk6of; n]ljwjf gf/Lsf] ; d:of tyf
cgd]h lj jfx / axlj jfxn] lgD]ofpg] ; d:ofsf] lraq0f u/\$f] / lalupsf]af6]
pk6of; n]sf7df8f]j j]of] [Qsf] ; d:ofnf0{pb3f6g ug{vfh\$]s'/f pglxçn]
k|tt u/\$f 5g\ . To; u/L o; c]loogdf lj i6sf] ef\$ / leQfxç pk6of; sf]
cf]kGofl; s तत्वxçsf cfwf/df lj Zn]f0f ul/Psf]5 . k|tt pk6of; df k0St k?if
/ gf/L kfqxçsf]lj Zn]f0f ug]; Gbedf pglxçn]hg]/ em]hf0{lgD]gul0 gf/L
kfqsf çkdf pk6of; sf/n]k|tt u/\$f 5g\ e6g]s'/f k|tt u/\$f 5g\ . k|tt
pk6of; n]jul0 ; dfhsf lj ; a\ltxçsf]pb3f6g ub]u/Lasf]ef\$sf]cfj fh wgl
j u(n); Gb0 e6g]; Gbç lbPsf]5 e6g]s'/f o; c]loogn]k|tt u/\$f]5 .

cle ; j]lN] sfl6tk'df bf]tlj j]d lj i6sf] ; doofqf -@)%(_ zlif\$sf]
km6\$ / n]ydf pk6of; sf/ lj i6n] cfkm]f pk6of; xçdf kl/j çnf0{dxçj lbPsf]
s'/f pNn]y u/\$f 5g\ . ; fdlhs s; :sf/ tyf lj ; a\ltsf] ; hlj lraq0f /
lj /f]wdf pgsf pk6of; xç ; lfd /x\$]f] lgisif{ ; j]lSf] pSt n]yn] u/\$f]5 .

To; u/L pgn] lj i6sf] /aluPsf] af6] pkGof; gf/lj fbl cllwoogsf nflu dx=ej kOf{ ; fduu] xf] eGg] lj rf/ klg o; n]ydf k|t't u/\$f 5g\ . lj i6sf pkGof; x2sf] n]Nusttsf]lj Zn]f0fsf nflu ; 'rgfx2 ; a\$ng ug{k|t't n]y pkof]ul /x\$]5 .

g/0b/fh k| f0fn] bft]t]j]j]d lj i6sf] kl/j]d -@)^_ zlif\$sf] k':tsdf lj i6sf]hlj gsf lj ljw cfofdx2sf]rrf{ug]j]d]df lj i6sf pkGof; x2sf]; aNfkt 2kdf lj Zn]f0f u/\$f 5g\ . o; j]d]df pgn] d-h/l pkGof; df ; dfhdf gf/Ln] a]fb]cfPsf ; d:ofsf]lrqOf ul/Psf]5 eGg]lj rf/ k|t't u/\$f 5g\eg] /aluPsf] af6] pkGof; n] ; fdlhs pkGof; sf 2kdf lrqOf ub]gf/Lsf] cl:dtf ; 8sdf k'of0g] / gf/Lsf]OHht a]g]oyfy{f0{k|t't u/\$f]5 eGg]lgisif{k|t't u/\$f 5g\ . ef\$ / leQfx2 jul6 oyfy\$]k|t'itdf s]G6t pkGof; sf 2kdf lrqOf u/\$f 5g\ . t]tsfnlg ; dfhdf pRr ju\$ dflg; x2 zlst / ; DklQsf cf8df gf/Lx2sf]; f]b]d]fly s; /L sfd's 2kdf k|t't xGy]eGg]s/fnf0{k|t't pkGof; n] ; zSt 2kdf k|t't u/\$f]5 eGg]s'/f o; cllwoogdf k|t't 5 . o; k] \$fofn] k|t't z]v]sfodf pSt pkGof; x2df cleJoSt n]Nus klfsf]lj Zn]f0fsf nflu tYofa\$ x2 ; a\$ngdf ; xof]u u/\$f]5 .

efh/fh vltj 8fn] ef\$ / leQfx2 pkGof; sf] s[tk/s cllwoog -@)^^_ zlif\$sf] z]v]kqdf lj i6sf] pkGof; sf] /rgf0qfnf0{ rf/ r/0fdf lj efhg u/L pkGof; ut k] [Qx2sf]; d]t lg2kOf u/\$f 5g\ . o; cllwoogdf pkGof; sf]oulg k[7el'dnf0{; d]t k|t't ul/Psf]5 . pkGof; sf]lj Zn]f0f ug]j]d]df pgn]hut]/ dfx/L ; fx' pRrjul6 / xs] rGb] hg]cflb lgDg jul6 r/qsf 2kdf /x\$]s'/f pgn]k|t't u/\$f 5g\ . ; fdGtl ; dfhdf gf/Lx2d]fly xg] cTofrf/, of]z]f]f0f, an]sf/sf]lrqOf tyf gf/Lx2nf0{s; /L j]Zofj [Qdf ; m]lg u/f0GYof]eGg]s'/nf0{ hut]h]emg]/ hg]d]fly u/\$f]Jo]xf/sf df]lodaf6 pkGof; sf/n]u/\$f 5g\eg]lj Zn]f0f vltj 8fn]u/\$f 5g\ k|t't z]v]kqn]ef\$ / leQfx2 pkGof; sf]n]Nus lj Zn]f0fsf nflu tYofa\$; a\$ngdf ; xof]u u/\$f]5 .

nldl clwsf/Ln] rkfOPsf cgxf/ pkGof; sf] s[tk/s cllwoog -@)^^_ zlif\$sf] z]v]kqdf lj wftf=ej s cfwf/df rkfOPsf cgxf/ pkGof; sf] cllwoog lj Zn]f0f ug]j]d]df lj i6sf]cf]kGofl; s ofqf / k] [Qsf]rrf{ub}pgsf pkGof; sf]

sYo; Gberf0{ k|t't u/\$l 5g\ . o; j|dddf pgn] g|kfnl ; dfhdf lj Bdfg
afnljjfx, jxlljjfx, cgd|h ljjfxh:tf e|efj dhs 29 ; #sf/ / To; sf lj ?4
gjl g r]gf ux0f u/\$f gofFlk0ldf b|vfk|//x\$] lj b|k g}pk6of; sf/ lj i6sf
; fdfhs pk6of; x2sf]dh kl|tkfB lj ifo xf]eGg]rrf{u/\$l 5g\

tf/fnfn >|7 -@)^*_ _ n] z|Qm ; /6f / ; afN6g{ k:tsdf ; afN6g{Uz Abn]
tNnf]bhf\$JolQm ; dX jf ; dbfo, hfthflt, ju{ wd{ ; #s[t, ln^a, k]f tyf
lfq cflb x/\$ b|i6sf0faf6 bldt, zflift / pTkl8t ju\$; fy}cwlg:ytfstf
cfwf/df cfd ; dfh, hgtf jf /fi6«d] klg hf] z|Qmzfnl eP/ klg sg}csf]
/fi6af6 ; afN6gl6 cyjf z|Qmj xlg kl/l:yltdf afRg afWo kfl/Psf]cj:yfnf0{
aenfp5 eg\$ 5g\ . o; ; Gberf ; afN6g{cWoog cleofgsf cu0fl lrgts tyf
n]ys /l-ht uxfs]j }fl/s dfGotfnf0{pNn] ub}pgl n]5g\

..afN6g{cWoogsf kfgfx2 df ; afN6g{z Abn] ; fdfGotM] u{ ln^a, hflt,
pd], sfo{t bhf{nufot c6o x/\$ lx; fan]lj e| ul/Psf, zflif0f / pTkl8gsf
l; sf/ ePsf lj z]ftM blif0f Pl; ofnl ; dfhsf JolQm jf ; dbfonf0{hgfp5U -
; afN6g{;6l8h ef]hd Ps ^, k\$!\$ - !% _ . To; f]t /l-ht uxfn]ufdl0f -; fgf_
ls; fgnf0{dfq xf0g ; DkGg ls; fg, hldGbf/, dWod pRrj u\$; DkGg ls; fgnf0{
klg ; afN6g\$}bhf0f /fv\$ 5g\oBlk ltgn]; e|t ju{j f zf; ss}k[7 kf]fssf]
2kdf sfd u5g\ . To; u/l cf]klgj]zs ef/tlo hgtf ; fdfHojfbl z|Qmsf cl3
k/fwlg aGg afWo xBf ; du0f ; a}hgtf g}; afN6g{aGg ku\$]klg pgsf]ts{
5 .

uxfs]j }fl/s dfGotf; E ; DalGwt >|7sf] pkoQm lj Zn]f0faf6 ; afN6g{
cWoogsf]lj ifo|f ; fdfGotM 3/kl/jf/b]v lnP/ ju{ hflt, ; dX, ; dbfo, ; dfh
tyf /fi6«x5}lj Zj:t/; Dd g}z|Qmzfnl / z|Qmj xlgx2sf lardf z|Qm; DaGwsf]
km/flsnf] cGt/; E ; DalGwt ePsf] s/f :ki6 x65 . To; h] k|t't cWoogdf
; afN6g\$; f]lGts tyf Jofj xfl/s b] }klfsf]cfwf/ lgdf0f ug{o; n]d2t u/\$]
5 .

/fh|b|; j|bl -@)^*_ _ n] g|kfnl ; dfnff]gf M k/Dk/f / k]/t gfds k:tsdf
; ldfGtlo cWoogsf]; aNfkt rrf{u/\$f 5g\ pgn]o; nf0{kl5Nnf]; dodf vf;

; f{bo{lrGtg af\$} ; flxTosf lfhdf byf k/\$f]Ps gjlg kj [Qsf 2kdf lnPsf
5g\ . ; dfhsf] ; Argfdf dfG5]hf0{hflt, ju{ ln^a\, /a\, Joj ; fo, >d, cf^a\us
b^h}tf, kl/ro cflbsf sf/0f dfG5\$}f] dNonf0{ dgflj z]ftf ; d]sf ; ldfdf
ljeflht u/} st}sgflt/ yGsofpg] sfd ul/g]l:ylt ljsl; t ag\$}f] 5 . o;
l:ytsf sf/0f dfG5\$}f]; dbfo dfG5\$}f/f g}vI08t ePsf]cj :yf ; dfhdf ljBdfg
5 . o; kl/l:ytsf]lg/fs/0fsf lglDt ul/g]; ^Sif\$} cleofgx2 cfh ; flxTo
l; hgf / ; dlffsf cfwf/e't lj ifoj :t' ag\$}f] 5g\

vu|bk} fb n06]hn] g}kfnl pkGof; sf] 0ltxf; -@)^(_ zlif\$}sf]
; dnf]rgf]ds s[tdf b]h}tlj j]d lj i6nf0{cfwlgS g}kfnl pkGof; sf]bf] f]r/0f
-@)!^~@)@)_ sf] dx=jk0f{kl}tefsf 2kdf rrf{u/\$f] 5g\ . oxfF; i6f lj i6sf
ljleG cfkGofl; s /rgfx2df cleJoSt lj ifoj :t' / lj rf/nf0{ ; ^N}kdf rrf{
ul/Psf]5 . n06]hn] d-h/l ; fdlhs lj ifoj :tdf s]Gb}t e0{afnlj j fx, axlj j fx
/ cgd]h lj j fxsf]lj kl f / lj wj f lj j fxsf]klfdf plePsf]pkGof; eg} rrf{u/\$f
5g\ . o; u/l lalufsf]af6f]nf0{ofghGo ljs[t, ; fdlhs ljs[t / lj ; ^\ltsf]
lraqdf s]Gb}t pkGof; sf 2kdf rrf{ug]sfo{o; c\loogdf ul/Psf]5 . efs /
leQfx2 pkGof; n]; dfhdf pRrj u\$}f/f lgdgj uk}lt ul/g]z]f]f0fsf]lraqf ul/Psf]
/ zf; gloj :yf ; d] wglSf]klfdf /xg]u/\$f] tltf]oyfyhf0{pb\$}f6g u/\$f]s/f
n06]hn]k}t't u/\$f] 5g\

b]f 8fEln] lalufsf]af6f]pkGof; sf] s[tk/s c\loog -@)&)_ zlif\$}sf]
z]f]kqdf lalufsf]af6f]pkGof; sf]pkGof; sf]zf:qlo तत्वsf cfwf/df lj Zn]f0f
u/\$l 5g\ . pgn] o; c\loogdf k}t't pkGof; sf] /rgf ePsf] sfnsf08sf]
/fhgllts, cfly\$ / ; fdlhs k[7el]dsf] rrf{ub} lj wfतत्वsf cfwf/df o;
pkGof; sf] c\loog u/\$l 5g\ . ; dfhdf lalufsf af6fx2nf0{pb\$}f6g ug]
p2]osf ; fy /rgf ul/Psf] o; pkGof; n]; fdlhs ljs[t, lj ; ^\lt, z]f]f0f,
c6of, cTofrf/, z]f]ift / lgdvf ju}k}lt dflyNnf] ju}n] ug]lyrf]drf] tyf
; fdGtl ; dfhaf6 lgdfl]7Psf lgdg jul6 g}kfnl gf/lx2sf] syfnf0{/fd}l k}t't
u/\$f]5 eG]lgisif{pgsf]5 .

ejfglk} fb ; fksf]fn] d-h/l pkGof; sf] ljwftf]ej s c\loog -@)&)_
zlif\$}sf] z]f]kqdf lj i6sf] cfkGofl; s ofqf tyf kj [Qsf] rrf{ub} d-h/l

pkGof; sf] cf]kGofl; s t#j sf cfwf/sf lj Zn]f0f u/\$f 5g\ pgn]o; cllwoogdf
d-h/nf0{ @))& ; fnsf] cl3 / kl5sf] ; fdfllhs kof] /0fnf0{ hlj Gt 2kdf
cleJoSt ug{; kmn pkGof; sf 2kdf rrf{ub}tTsfnlG ; dodf gf/Lx2n] efl]g'
k/\$f lj leGg ; d:ofx2nf0{o; pkGof; df ; hlj 2kdf lraq0f ul/Psf] 5 eGg]
lgisif{k}tt u/\$f 5g\

Clif/fh a/fn -@)&#_ sf] dFS; {fb / ; afN6g{ cllwoog gfds k':tsdf
; afN6g{ cllwoog eg\$] ; dfh / ; dfh lj sf; sf] P]ltxf]; stf, pTKlI8t ju{/
To; sf] dlQmsf af/\$f] cllwoog, lj Zn]f0f / ; Zn]f0f ug{ cyf; t hf]8Psf] ; Gbe{
tyf Ps sf]f l; 4fgt dfq ge0{Joj xf/l; t uff; Psf] kZg klg xf] eGb}o; sf
cj wf/Ofx2 a%9 cfj Zos /x\$]f] dfGatf k:tt u/\$f 5g\ o; qmddf pgn]
l; aNf] pQ/cfwlgstfjfb, km\$]sf] lj dz{ tyf zIQmsf] l; 4fgt /
pQ/cf]klgj 2jfbaf6 o; sf lrgtsx2 k]t /x\$]f] / Ps k\$]f/n] dFS; {fbnf0{
lgif]v ub}o; cj wf/Ofsf] lj sf; ul/Psf] ts{ub}; ldfGtlo cllwoogn] ; dfhsf
zIQm]j xlg ; ldfGtx2sf af/]f s'f u/]klg / Itgnf0{s}b|agfP/ 0ltxf; n]ygsf]
cllof; u/]klg ; ldfGtx2sf] dlQmsf] kZgnf0{o; n] uf0f agfPsf] eGb}o; k]t
cfnf]gf u/\$f 5g\ pgsf]o:tf] ts{/x]klg o; k] \$foh] ; ldfGtlo cllwoogsf
s]l dx=ak0f] cj wf/Ofx2 a%9 / lj Zn]f0f sf cfwf/ lgd0f ug{; 3fp k'ofPsf]
5 .

tf/fsfGt kf08p -@)&#_ n] dFS; {fb, ; f:s]f]ts cllwoog / ; flxTosf]
; dfhzf:q k':tsdf ; ldfGtlotf; DaGwl 06fn]hl gj dFS; {fbl lrgts c66]lgof]
u]fD; lsf dfGotfsf]; Gbe{pNn]v u/\$f 5g\ u]fD; L h]h hlj gdf /x]f pgn]n]y\$]f]
/k]hg gf0 aS; df kof]u u/\$f zAb / To; sf]dVo ; f/sf 2kdf x]udf]l -k]tj /
j r{j_ nf0{lnPsf 5g\ x]udf]l]sf] dh dfGatf lagfan kof]u klg ; dfhleqsf
lj leGg ju{/ ; dbfosf dflg; x2nf0{k]tj / j r{j sf dfModn]; j fe]lj s 2kdf
afw]sf]xG5, hg s'f pglx2nf0{kQ}x5] eg\$] 5g\ o; sf]dh sf/Ofsf 2kdf
; dfhdf pRr]u(n]af]4s / g]ts g]t]j sf]l; hg]sf dfModaf6 zIQm k]k't ug]f0{
lnPsf 5g\ k]t't tYonf0{k}6dfpg pgn]o; lsl; dsf]af]4s / g]ts g]t]j
k]k't ug{>dh]l]l ju{tyf ; dbfo; E ; xdl't ul/G5 / Itglx2sf lardf cfk; L

; DaGw cyjf ; feif dfGotfsf] lj sf; ul/G5 eGg] lj rf/ k|t't u/\$f 5g\
kf08p]sf] o; lsl; dsf] lj rf/af6 ; j {fwf/Of ju{/ ; dbfosf dflg; xG s; /L
pRrj u{f ; DeflGtxGsf] cwlG:y ePsf xG5g\cyjf ItglxGnf0{s; /L cwlG:y
cj :yfdf k%of0G5 / To; sf]klqmfut cj :yf s:tf]xG5 eGg]s'/fsf]cWooG tyf
lj Zn]f0fsf nflu dx~~क~~Of{cfwf/ k|t ePsf]5 .

lgg' rfkfuf0F -@)&#_ n] k'j'fb / ; Objhl lj rf/ gfds k':tsdf
; afN6g{ DaGwL rrf{ug]qmdf ; fdfhs dNof cfwf/df ; afN6g\$sf] cWooG /
k[7eld, Oltxf; sf]; DaGw, /fi6kfb, ls; fg lj bflxnf0{xG]b[i6sf]Of, o; sf dfBxG,
uflD; ls}gfddf uflD; ls}lj /fW tyf dfS; j fbsf]lj /fW, leGgtfsf]/fhglit, ; afN6g{
/ k|t/fW h:tf lj leGg lj ifosf] rrf{u/\$f 5g\
kfl/Psf hgtfsf] s'/f u/] hgtfnf0{g} lsgf/df kfgxGsf lxtdf lj sf; xB}
cf0/x\$] ; afN6g{ cWooGaf/] j }fl/s lj dz{xg' cfj Zos 5 eGb} ; fef / k|6
Gkdf hgtfsf lj klfd b]vg]lj rf/eGb hgtfsf] s'/f u/]h:tf]u/] hgtfs}lxt
lj?4 hfg] lj rf/ a9L vt/gfs xG5 / ; afN6g{ cWooGsf] j tdfg cj :yf o:t}
lj rf/leq kb5 eGg] j }fl/s dfGotf k|t't u/\$f 5g\
o; /L rfkfuf0Faf6
dfS; }fbl sf0faf6 ; afN6g{ cWooGsf] cfnf]gf ul/Psf] 5 tyflk pgsf] o;
lsl; dsf]j }fl/s dfGotfn]k|t't zfvdf ; flGts cj wf/Off lgdfOf u/L ; d:ofsf]
; dfwfgdf klG cfj Zos ; xofu k%ofPsf]5 .

/dZk}fb e\$/f0h] cfwlgs gkfnl pkGof; sf] ; f:s[ts cWooG -@)&#_
zlif\$sf] zfvkGwdf o; df ; f:s[ts cWooGsf] ; flGts kl/ro lbB}pkGof;
lj Zn]f0fsf] kltdfg lgdfOf u/L cfwlgs gkfnl pkGof; xGsf] ; f:s[ts ; j {fOf
tyf kl|tlglw pkGof; xGsf] lj Zn]fOf u/\$f 5g\
e\$/f0h] pkGof; sf] ; f:s[ts
cWooGsf nflu jul6, ln^ulo / hftlo ; Gbe{ rl/qxGsf] juUt, ln^nut /
htlo cfwf/, pkGof; df j lOf j u{ ln^u / hft; DaGwL b[i6sf]Of, n]yssf] ju{
ln^u / hft; DaGwL b[i6sf]Ofsf cfwf/df pkGof; sf] lj Zn]f0fsf] ; f:s[ts 9fFf
lgdfOf u/\$f 5g\
pkGof; sf] ; f:s[ts cWooG ug] ; Gbedf pgn] tof/ u/\$f]
n]Nus cWooGsf] ; flGts 9fFf / lj Zn]f0fsf] kltdfg lgs}dx=j kOf{/x\$] 5 .
oxfFcfwlgs gkfnl pkGof; xGsf] ; f:s[ts ; j {fOf ug] ; Gbedf e\$/f0h] e/\$ /

leQfx; ju[rGtgdf cfwfl/t pkGof; sf 2kdf lnPsf 5g\ . lgDg jul6 rI/q
xs[fly ePsf] zlf0fsf]lrqOf tyf ; fdGtl ; dfhdf pRrju\$6 dlnfx; s; /L
zflift xg kl5g\eg] emg] / hg\$df dflodaf6 pkGof; df /fd/L lrqOf ul/Psf]
lgisif{pgsf] 5 . n\$us pTkl8gsf]lrqOf o; pkGof; n]/fd/L u/\$f] 5 eg]
lj rf/ e6&/f0\$] 5 . k|tt cll oogdf o; k] \$fo[n] dVo 2kdf lji6sf
pkGof; x;sf] ; ldfGtlotfsf] lj Zn]f0fsf] cfwfl/ lgdf0f / cflzs 2kdf pSt
pkGof; sf]lj Zn]f0fsf ; Gbedf ; rGfx; ; a\$ng ug{; xoflu u/\$f] 5 .

kbdf kf\$hn] bfh t l j j d l j i 6 s f] e f \$ / l e Q f x ; p k G o f ; d f k f q l j w f g
-@)&%_ zlif\$sf] zlvkqdf ef\$ / leQfx; pkGof; leqsf rI/qx;nf0{ rI/q
cll oogsf lj leGg dfGotfsf cfwfl/df lj Zn]f0f u/\$l 5g\ . o; cll oogsf] kdlv
p27o klg oxl g}blv65 . o; j ddf pgn]xs] rGb]h:tf kfqx;nf0{j ul6 2kdf
lgDg / hut] dfx/L ; fxh:tf kfqnf0{pRrju\$] kl|lgwIj ug] rI/qsf 2kdf
k|tt u/\$l 5g\ . hg]/ emghf0{lgDg jul6 zflift gf/L kfqs 2kdf lrgfPsl
5g\ . kf\$hn]k?ifk wfg ; dfhdf pRr ju\$ k?ifx;af/f cfly\$ x]; ot sdhf]
ePsf gf/Lx; s; /L zflift lyP eg]s/fnf0{pkGof; n]hljGt 2kdf k|tt u/\$f]
rrf{u/\$l 5g\ k|tt cll oogn]pSt pkGof; n]cfd; ft\ u/\$f]n\$us ; f:s[ts
klfsf]lj Zn]f0fdf ; xoflu k\$ofPsf] 5 .

lr/~hljL e08f/L -@)&&_ n] ; \$; \$sf pkGof; df ; ldfGtlotf zlif\$sf]
bzgrfo{ txsf] ck\$flzt zlvkqGwdf ; fdfGols[lgisif\$ 2kdf
; ldfGtlotfnf0{ cfly\$, ; fdlhs, /fhg]ts, ef]f]ns, P]txfl; s, z]fs cflb
lj ljw lj ifo l f \$ s f ; a}lsl; dsf ju{ hft, ln^u, pd] ; dxsf dflg; x;sf bMv,
kl8f, zlf0f, bdg, cGof, cTofrf/ h:tf ; DkOf{ dfgj l; lh[; fdlhs
; d:ofx;nf0{; d\$]cGt; BalGwt / cGtlj fof cll oog x]eg\$ 5g\ To; }u/L
; ldfGt[ju\$ dflg; x; kl8t xgfsf] sf/Of pNny ub] To; sf] oyfyafv
kZrft\to:tf]bdgsf/L tyf k\$Tj zfnl pTkl8s ; dbfosf lj?4df ; ^u7t 2kdf
lj b]x ug]/ cGtMTo:tf]dfgj lgld[bf; Tj af6 dOm eP/}5f8g]lj Zj f; ; ldfGt
; dbfosf dflg; x;df lj sl; t x\$}cfPsf]s/f pNny u/\$f 5g\ e08f/Lsf]o;
lsl; dsf] lgisifaf6 ; ldfGt ; dbfosf] kl|lgwIj / klxrfgsf] cj:yf,
; ldfGt[Ofsf]klqmf tyf ; ldfGt ; dbfodf lj sl; t kl|t/f]M r]gf / kl/OffdtM

c6ofosf] cj :yff6 dlQmsf nflu pglx2n] u/3f] ; a3if3f] cEof; h:tf lj leGg
klfsf] cWooog ug{; 4flGts cfwf/ kfl't ePsf] 5 .

k] 3fo3f] ; dlffsf qmddf ; ldfGtlo l; 4fGtsf] kof3sf 2 kdf ; afN6g{
cj/hg tyf ; ldfGtlotf cfib zAbx2sf] ; dfgfyl{ kof]u tyf To; sf] JofVof /
lj j]rgf ePsf] kfOG5 . ; fy}o; sf] ; 4flGts rrf{ ug] qmddf cG6fl]gof] u]DrL,
ufoql rnmj tl{l:kefs, /l-ht uxf, P8j 8{ sfn{dfs; , Pl/s :63; , kfZj {r6hl{
8]e8 cfgr]8, 1fg]b|kf08] ; /f]hgl ; fx' ; ldt ; /sf/ cfib k]L6 tyf klZrdL
lj 3fgx2sf j} fl/s dfgotfsf] pkof]u ul/Psf] kfOG5 tfklg lj i6sf s[tx2df
; ldfGtlotfs} sf]af6 uxg cWooog ePsf] kfOG5 . To; h] pgsf pkGof; df o;
lsl; dsf] cWooogsf] cefj /x3f] 5 / oxl cefj kl/kl't{ ug{ :yflkt ; ldfGtlo
l; 4fGt tyf cjwf/OffTds cfwf/sf ; fy} lj leGg lj 3fg\ Pj d\ ; dlfsx2af6
ul/Psf plNnvt lj dzx2df cfwf]/t kfl'ktx2sf] pkof]u u/L cWooogsf nflu
5gf6 ul/Psf s[tx2sf] lj Zn]f0f ul/Psf] 5 .

१.५ शोधको औचित्य र महत्त्व

k]t't z]v]sfo{ pkGof; sf/ bfi]tlj j]d lj i6sf pkGof; sf] ; ldfGtlo
kl'tlgw]j , klxrfg / kl't/f]v]sf] lj Zn]f0fdf s]Gb]t 5 . pgsf pkGof; sf] cWooog
ug] ; Gbedf k] {cWoo]fx2n] lj i6sf pkGof; sf] syfj :t' ; kfqlj wfg, kl/j 3lj wfg,
ldyslo kof]u, pkGof; sf]/tf cfibsf sf]af6 cWooog / lj Zn]f0f u/3f] 5g\ ol
cWooogx2 k/Dkl/t b[i6sf]0fdf g} ; ldt 5g\ . k]t't z]v]sfo{ lj i6sf
pkGof; sf] ; ldfGtlo cWooogsf] dfgotfsf s; ldf s]Gb]t /xl lj Zn]f0f ul/Psf] 5 .
ctM k]t't z]v]sfo{k/Dk/feGbf lgtfGt gjlg ePsf]n]o; sf] cfl]rTo / pkof]ut
/x3f] 5 . lj i6sf pkGof; x2df c6tlg]xt ; ldfGtlo cj] :yltsf af]0f 1fg lng
rfxg]kf7sx2sf nflu of] z]v]sfo{pkof]ul /x3f] 5 . To; u/L k]t't cWooogdf
k0st ; ldfGtlo lj Zn]f0fsf] 9fFfnf0{ kof]u u/] c6o ; flx]osf/sf l; h3fsf]
; ldfGtlo lj Zn]f0f ug3f nflu klg k]t't z]v]sfo3f] dx2j clws /xg] . ctM
; ldfGtlo cWooogsf ; ldfGtlo kl'tlgw]j , klxrfg / kl't/f]v] ; DaGwl dfgotfsf
cfwf/df ; DkGg ul/Psf] k]t't z]v]sfo3f] cfl]rTo /x3f] 5 .

१.६ शोधको सीमाङ्कन

k|tt c\loogsf nflu b|htljsd lji6sf cfkGof; s s[tx; d-h/l -@)!^_ lalup[sf]af6f]-@)##_ / ef\$ / leQfx; -@)#*_ nf0{5gf ul/Psf]5 . cGo pkGof; sf thgdf ol pkGof; x;df ljzlf u/L ; dfhdf gf/Lx;n] eflg' k/\$f]jul, nNus / hftlo lje / kl8fx; r/d ;kdf b|vPsf]5 . To; h] pQm pkGof; sf]-jul, hftlo tyf nNus _ klfsf]c\loog ul/Psf]xf]. ; ldfGtlo c\loogsf cwf/sf ;kdf zIQm ; DaGw, kTj / bdg, ; a\$if{/ k|t; a\$if{ tyf jrj / k|tjrj h:tf ljleGg klfx; eP klg k|tt c\loog dhTM lji6sf pkGof; df k|tlglwtj / klxrfgsf]cj:yf / ; ldfGt ; dbfosf]cfjfh / k|t/f\l rjgfsf]c\loogdf dfq ; ldt /x\$]5 .

१.७ शोधविधि

k|tt z\vsf{/ ; DkGg ugsf nflu cEflnPsf ; fdul ; a\$ngsf]klqmf, ; flGts kofw/ tyf cyfkgsf]k4ltsf af/df tn :ki6 kl/Psf]5 .

१.७.१ सामग्री सङ्कलन विधि

k|tt c\loog ; flxTo; E ; DaGwt ePsfn]cfjZos ; fdul ; a\$ng dhTM k':tsfnolo c\loog ljwsf cwf/df ul/Psf]5 . o; sf nflu lji6sf d-h/l -@)!^_ lalup[sf]af6f]-@)##_ / ef\$ / leQfx; -@)#*_ pkGof; nf0{ kfylds ; fdulsf ;kdf lnOPsf]5 . To; u/L jul, hftlo tyf nNus k|tlglwtj, klxrfg / k|t/f\l rjg; DaGw :yflkt ; ldfGtlo l; 4fGtsf ; fy}cjwf/OffTds cwf/df z\vsf]lgisifdf klg ljleGg k':ts, z\vsf{/ ; dlff, k' {c\loogsf]1fg tyf ; dnfjrgf / ljB'tlo dflodaf6 k|t latlos ; fdulsf]pkofu u/L lji6sf pkGof; sf]ljZn]f0f ul/Psf]o; df ; fdul rogsf]k' c\loog k4ltsf]pkofu ul/Psf]5 .

१.७.२ सामग्री विश्लेषणको सैद्धान्तिक आधार

gkfnl ; ldfgtlotf zAb c^au^hL eifffs fj ; afN6gUz Abs fj ; kfG / Of xfi .
c^au^hLdf o; zAbsf] cy{ ahfotL ; gfsf] Sofk6geGbf tnsf] bhffnf0{ aemfpg
kpfu ul/GYof] . 06fn^hL dfS; j fbl cfflgof] u^hD; Ln] o; z AbnfQ cf'gf] cWogdf
klg .tNhf] txs fUj f .p.TkL8tUs fj cydf kpfu u/]. pgsf] of] wf/Of j u{lj eQm
; dfhsf tNnf] tx jf lgdgj u\$; Gbeaf6 k|tt ePsf] 5 . u^hDrLn]; dfh zf; s
j u{/ zfi; t ju^hdf lj eQm xg] / zfi; t ju{rflixFpTkL8t xg] wf/Of k|tt u/\$f
5g\ . pgsf b[i6df bldt, cwlg:y, czQm, blaPsf, cfjfhlij xlg, kfvf kfi/Psf,
lgwf{ >lds / ; j x/f j u{g}; ldfgtls[j u{xf] . ; g\!(*) kl5 dfS; j fbaf6
kpfij t ef/tlo 0ltxf; n]ys ; dx -h:t} /Ofiht uxf_ n]ef/tlo pklgj zj fb /
/fli6oj fbsf ; Gbedf ls; fg / >lds j u\$]; ldfgtlotfsf] cWooog u/]. oxLaf6
; afN6ghf0{ef/tlo zf; sj uaf6 pl5l6xPsf] / bdgdf k/\$f] j u\$; kdf ln0of].
:6e a] / :6e g 0onl\$ f cg; f/ ; g\!(*) kl5sf] bzsd f o; z Abnf0{dhtM
j fdklfw/x^hn] kpfu u/\$f] kfOG5 . o; /L ; afN6ghf0{zf; s j u{/ u}zf; slo,
cx\$dj fbl, cwlg:y tyf k/fwlg j u\$ f larsf] cwoogsf ; kdf ln0Psf] kfOG5 .

To; u/L ; afN6g\$ f ; DaGwdf ufoql rnmj tl{l:kefssf] lrgtg / ofubfg
klg plQs} pNnyglo dflgG5 . ; afN6g{cfkm} afflg g; Sg] / lj zjftM ; afN6ghf0{
cfly\$ kifi; t eGbf klg n]ustf; E hf\$B}; afN6g{eg\$} vf; df dlxfx^h xg\
eGg] dfGotf pgsf] 5 . To; } qmddf pgn] s; /L sfgg / lj lwn] dlxfnf0{
; ldfgtlo agfPsf] 5 eGg] s/f b]yfPsl 5g\ . pgsf b[i6df ef/tsf] lxGb' sfggn]
agfPsf] cfVofgsf] :j^hk / sf\$ls/Ofs} sf/Of ef/tlo lzIf kOfnL nufotsf
klfx^h dlxfn l j /fM /xl pglx^hnf0{; ldfgtlo agfPsf] s/f pNny u/\$L 5g\
pgsf b[i6df u^hDrLsf] dfGotfnf0{ef/tlo ; Gbedf x^hf{of] cfk]lgj lzs b]V65 /
o; n] dlxfnf0{dfq geP/ cfibj f; L ; dxnf0{klg bdgsf] l; sf/ agfPsf] 5 .
o; /L l:kefsn] ef/tlo ; Gbedf cfwl/t x^hB}; ldfgtlo j u\$] lj Zn]fOf dfq u/\$L
5gg\ltglx^h cfj fhlij xlg cj:ydf ; d] /x\$ 5g\ eGg] dfGotf k|tt u/\$L
5g\

; afN6g{cWloogs}qmddf lj go xnsf] lj rf/ klg dxक्क0f{dflg65 . o;
; Gbedf lj go xnsf lj rf/nf0{p4t ubI/dzk} fb e6&/f0{nV5gW

pgn]/fli60 :t/df ef/tdf rn\$]gS; nj fbl cfGbfhg / To; dflysf]bdg,
; a\$6sfnsf] 3fj]0ff, sDolgi6 kf6Ldf cfPsf] lj efhg, sQbll0 ; Qf; fd' jfdkGyl
al4hljlx;sf] cfTd; dk0f / lg/fzfsf] Joflkt clg cGt/fi60 2kdf gj-
pbf/j fbsf] lj sf; ; E} dfs; j fb lj ?4sf] ; fdHoj fbl ofhgfa4tfsf kl/0ffd:j 2k
pQ/cfwlgstfj fbsf] lj sf; / lj :tf/sf k[7elddf o; sf] hGd ePsf] xf] eGg]
j }fl/s dfgotf k|tt u/\$f 5g\ . pkoQm b[i6sf]0fdf ; LdfGtlo cWloog ; Qf,
ZflQm / kE]j sf] j r{j af/f cwlg:y ju{ ; dbfosf dflg; sf] cWloog; E ; DalGwt
cj wf/0ff xf] . To; }u/L ; LdfGtlo cWloognf0{ ; fdfhs lfQ; E ; DalGwt lj ifosf
2kdf lnE} /fhQb| ; j }ln] ; LdfGtlotfsf] kZg oxF ; flxTosf] ; dfhzf;q; E
hf]8Psf]lj ifo eGg]dfgotf k|tt u/\$f 5g .

kE]j zfnl jf bdgsf/L ; d\$sf]lj rf/wf/fdf cfwl/t ; fdfhs lgld{taf6
jul6, hftlo, n}Nus cflb 2kdf ; LdfGtlo ; dbfosf]lgdf0f xG5 . o; /L lgldt
; dbfosf] cglg:ytf]sf] l:ylt / To; af6 dlQmsf nflu ul/g] lj /fW, kl|t/fW /
; a\$if\$] cWloog; E of] ; DalGwt 5 . Ps lsl; dn]of]To; /L kl5 kfl/Psf ju{
; dbfosf dflg; sf] kl|tlgwTj / klxrfgsf] kZg klg xf] . sfn{ dfs; \$f]
ju{ a\$if\$]clgj fo{kl/0ffd ; j }f/f ju\$]clwgfostj xG5 / nlggsf]; dfhj fb
lgdf0fdf ; j }f/f ju\$]clwgfostj Ps dfq ; fwg xf] . tf/fnfn >]7n]o; nf0{
kf/De df 0ltxf; sf]kgnIvg cyft\; fN6g\$]0ltxf; sf]vfhl / n}vg ug]p2Zosf
; fy ; ~rfng ePsf]xf] . o; /L of] ; dfh lj sf; df dxक्क0f{ofubfg lbPsf t/
0ltxf; lj xlg agf0Psf ; LdfGtls{ ju{ ; dbfosf klfd / zIQm / ; Qfsf cf8df
pglx2nf0{ ; LdfGt cj :ydf k\$ofpg] j rZj zfnlx;sf] ; DefGt kj [Qsf lj /fWdf
kf/De ePsf] cj wf/0ff xf] . ; LdfGtls{sf] kl/efiff ubI gkfn\$] ; lj wfg
-e)&@:~e)&&_ df elgPsf] 5- ..fnglts, cfly\$ / ; fdfhs 2kn] k5f8
kfl/Psf, lj eb / pTKl8t tyf efuf]ns lj s6tfsf]sf/0fn]; j f ; lj wfsf]pkefu
ug{g; s\$] jf To; af6 j l~rt /x\$] ; dbfo ; Demg' k5{. o; ; Gbeaf6 xbf{x/\$

b[6n] /fHosf] dhwf/eGbf k/ /x\$fx; g} ; LdfGtLst xg\ / To; k|qmf; E ; DaGwt cWooog g}; LdfGtlo cWooog xf].

; LdfGtlo cWooogsf] ; Gbedf ufoql rqnj tl{ l:kefssf] pkl:ylt klg dx~~क~~0f{5 . pgn]; g\ (^& lt/ lj lgdf0f] fbl HofS 8\8fsf] 8f nf ufd0f]f]f]f] k:tssf] cg] fb / k\$zfg u/k|5 pQm k:tssf] eldsfdf ; dflxt l:kefssf ; LdfGtlotf; DaGwl lj rf/n]8\8f / pgsf]lj lgdf0f] fbl dfGotfnf0{af]4s lj Zj df :yflkt u/fof]. pgn]; afN6g{ :68h e]hd \$ df .ln6\ / L /k|6} g ckmlb ; afN6g[n]v n]v] 0ltxf; / ; flxTosf] ; DaGwaf/] rrf{ ul/g\ h; af6 ; LdfGtLst x;sf]kl|tlglw]j sf]; Gbedf0{xg}b[6sf]0f lgdf0f eof].

df]S; ~~hd\ P08 066 /k6}zg ckm slr/~~ -; g\! (**_ df 5flkPsf] pgsf] . Sog lb ; afN6g{l:ks <l zlif\$ssf] n]v ; LdfGtlo cWooogsf nflu dx~~क~~0f{5 . o; df pgn]; afN6g[n]s; /L afN5 < ltgsf af/df s; n]afN5 eGg]af/df ; 'ld ; kdf JofVof u/\$L 5g\ ; afN6g{cfkmFaf]g ; Sb}gg\ ; afN6g{eg\$}af]g g; Sg] kfqx; xgV Itgdf r]gf vf]g' ; afN6g{cWooog eGbf afx/sf] cWooog xf]. olb pglx; af]g yfn]eg] pglx; ; afN6g{g}/x5gg\ eGg] pgsf] dfGotf 5, hg pRr cj :ydf klk|5 tNnf]cj :yf lgif]wt x65 - cyf{\of]To; ahf Toxl /x5g, hg cl3 lyof] eGg] x]h]sf] aG]sf]l; 4fGtsf lgs6 5 . ufoqlsf JofVofdf s] b]V65 eg]vf; ; afN6g{eg\$}f dlxnf x; xgV o; nf0{cfly\$ klf -pTkfbg ; DaGw_ l; t ge0{n}ustfl; t hfB} dfq cWooog ubf{Tof] k0f{ x65 . ; LdfGtLst eg\$}f ; dfhsf]nNnf] txsf]j u{x} tfklg o; sf]cy{of] kFl]; t hf]8Psf]5 eGg] rflxF xf0g . of]dfS; }fbsf]l; 4fGteGbf leGg 5 .

o; /L dflysf] lj j }gfaf6 s] b]V65 eg] ; LdfGtlo cWooog eg\$}f /fHosf] dhwf/af6 kfvf kfl/Psf jf jr{jzfnlx;sf cwlG:y tNnf] bhf\$}f JolQm jf ; dxnf0{s}bdf /fv} pglx;sf af/df ul/g]cWooog xf]. o; df kf0M; a}lj afgang ; xdt 5g\ . olt x5fx5}klg o; sf]; 4fGts dfGotfsf lj ifodf lj leGg lj afgang -cG6f]gof]u]d; L, ufoql rqnj tl{l:kefs, lj go xn, /l~ht uxf, kfy{r6hl{cf]lb_

sf lardf sxl leGgtf klg 5 . oBlk tl ; a)nf0{; d} ; ldfGtlo cWooGsf]; feif
cj wf/0ff agf0{k|tt cWooGsf]; }fIGts cfwf/ lgdf0f ul/Psf]5 .

; flxTodf ; dfhsf] 0ltxf; s; /L cfPsf] 5 < k}Tj zfnl ju}n] zIQmxlg
; dbfosf dflg; x}nf0{s; /L ; ldfGt agfPsf 5g\ cf`gf]j r {j :yflkt u/\$f
5g\clg To; jr{j / k}Tj zfnl ju}df bdg / lje}k|t ; ldfGt ; dbfosf
dflg; x} s:tf] k|tlqmf hgfp5g\< pglx}n]; xdtlo cfwf/df To; jr{j nf0{
:jlsf/ u/\$f 5g\j f jfrfn e0{To; k|t k|t/f}w hgfpG] sfd u/\$f 5g\< o:tf
dhe`t kfZgx}nf0{s}bdf /fv} ; flxTosf] lj Zn}f0f ug] / ol kZgsf cfwf/df
; flxTos kf7df ; ldfGtx}sf] k|tlglwtj , klxrfg / k|t/f}wsf] JofVof ug] sfd
o; cWooG k4ltsf cfwf/df ul/Psf] kf0G5 . k|tt zfv}df klg ; ldfGtlo
cWooGn] cufl8 ; f/\$f log} kZgx} / ol kZgx}; E ; DalGwt ; }fIGts
dfG0tx}nf0{cfwf/ agfP/ bf}htlj s} lj i6sf pkGof; sf]lj Zn}f0f ul/Psf]5 .

१.७.३ अर्थापनको पद्धति

k|tt zfv}df ; ldfGtlo l; 4fGt tyf cj wf/0ffTds cfwf/sf] pkof}u u/L
bf}htlj s} lj i6sf pkGof; df ; ldfGt ; dbfosf] k|tlglwtj , klxrfg / k|t/f}wsf]
cj :yf lj Zn}f0f ul/Psf] 5 . cyf}kgsf nflu dVotM kf7k/s lj Zn}f0f lj lwsf]
pkof}u ul/Psf] 5 . o; sf ; fy}pkGof; n]k|tt u/\$f] tTsfnlG g}kfnl ; dfhsf]
; Gbe\$] ; d} cWooG ug}k} ePsfn] ; Gbe}/s cWooG lj lwsf] klg pkof}u
ul/Psf] 5 . o; qmddf :ldfGtlo l; 4fGtsf cfwf/et ; `rsx} klxrfg u/L Itg}
; `rsx}sf cfwf/df pkGof; sf]lj Zn}f0f ub}zfv}o kZgx}sf] ; dfwfg klxNofpg]
sfd ul/Psf] 5 .

१.८ शोधप्रबन्धको रूपरेखा

क|tt zfwkqGwnf0{lDglnlvt kl/R5p df ; a\l7t ul/Psf]5 M

kl/R5p Ps M zfwkl/ro

kl/R5p b0{ M bftlj jpd lj i6sf pkGof; df ; ldfGt ; dbfosf]kl|tlglwTj
/ klxrfgsf]cj :yf

kl/R5p tlg M bftlj jpd lj i6sf pkGof; df ; ldfGt ; dbfosf]cfj fh /
kl|t/f\l r]gf

kl/R5p rf/ M ; f/fz / lgisif{

pkost kl/R5px;nf0{cfj Zostfcg; f/ lj leGg zlif\$ tyf pkzlif\$xd
lj efhg ul/Psf]5 .

परिच्छेद : दुई

दौलतविक्रम विष्टका उपन्यासमा सीमान्त समुदायको प्रतिनिधित्व र पहिचानको अवस्था

२.१ विषयप्रवेश

बर्हिर्तलजि सधैँ लजि ६ हलजि ग / हुतस्र् लजि लजि व च्लियस्र् त्यस्र् ; ददिलहस्र् ; दाग्वनफ० { ; 'ld 9^aun] ; flxTodf cleJoOm ug]pkGof; sf/ xg\ . pgsf pkGof; df ; dfhsf log}cflys्र् ; ddfilhs ; DaGwdf cfwf/t ju{/ Itgsf larsf]cGt/ãGa त्यस्र् zfi]f0f / bdg h:tf lj ifonf0{; /n / kfej sf/L २kdf k}tt ul/Psf]kf0G5 . o; sf ; fy} pgsf pkGof; df lgDgju\$kf klfdf pleP/ ; Defft jul6, hftlo / n}Nus ; ddfilhs lj ; ^aultklt Itvf]Jo^ano ul/Psf]kf0G5 . To; }u/L lgDg cflys्र् x}; ot ePsf dflg; x2n]j r}j zfnl ; dbfosf cwlgy ckdfghgs hlj gofkg ugk/}sf] oyfyhf0{klg pgsf pkGof; df ; /n / kfej sf/L 9^aun] b}yf0Psf] kf0G5 . ol lj leGg ; Gberhf0{x}f}; ldfGtlotfsf b[6n]lj i6sf pkGof; ; zOm /x}sf 5g\ o; b[6n]pgsf pkGof; sf]cWooog ug]qmddf pkGof; df cleJoOm ; ldfGt ; dbfosf kfqx2sf]jul6, hftlo त्यस्र् n}Nus kltlglwTj / klxrfgsf]cj:yf o; kl/R5}df pNNy ul/Psf]5 .

k}tt cWooogsf nflu 5gf6 ul/Psf lj i6sf pkGof; df ; dfhsf ; a}ju{ hfit / ln^au ; dbfosf kfqx2sf] pkl:ylt e}6gsf ; fy} kfej zfnl juaf6 lgldf leGgtsf] ; s[tn] lgDTofPsf] ; ddfilhs lje}sf] hljGt k}tt klg kf0G5 . kfej zfnlx2sf]jftf{/ ; xdlt त्यस्र् bdgsf klqmfaf6 ; ddfilhs २kdf alxisf ePsf pTkl8t ju{ त्यस्र् ; dbfosf dflg; x2 To; sf lj?4df afflg / cf'gf]cl:tTj sf]vfhLug{; Sg}x}; otdf gePsf]s'f klg pgsf pkGof; df dh २kdf cleJoOm ePsf] 5 . To; }u/L pkGof; /rgfsf] ; Gberhf0{x}f}; dfhdf jul6, hftlo त्यस्र् n}Nus lje}sf] c;dfg cj:yfnf0{ k}tt ug{ klg pgsf pkGof; ; lfd 5g\

kēTj zfnl j u{ tyf ; dbfosf dflg; x₂ zIQmsf s₀bd₀f /xg] x₅f ; dfh ; ~rfgsf klqmofdf cfkm"cg'shsf glit-lgodx₂ lgdf₀f u₅gV To; af6 pTKl8t j u₀hfQcf gf cwlg; y tNofQpglx₂ n₀QkltlglwTj / klxr fgj xlg pk₀ ft h₀lj g afRg af₀lo agfp5g\efg] s/f lj i6sf pkGof; sf] dVo sYo xf]. ctM k|t't kl/R5₀df ; ldfGtlotfsf log} klfx₂df cfwf/t ; ₀flGts d₀gotfsf s₀faf6 lj i6sf pkGof; df k₀Qm ; ldfGt ; dbfosf]j ul₀, hftlo tyf n₀us k|tlglwTj / klxrfgut cj :yfsf]c₀woog Pj d\j Zn]f0f u/L lgisif{lgsflnPsf]5 .

२.२ प्रतिनिधित्व र पहिचानको सैद्धान्तिक परिचय

; f:s[ts c₀woog; E k|tlglwTj / klxrfgsf] lgs} glhssf] ; DaGw /x₅f] 5 . ol bj } ; E; E}hf]8P/ cfpg]lj ifo xg\ To; ₀kltlglwTj / klxrfgsf]lgld{t cfly\$, ; f:s[ts, P]t₀xf; s, /fhglits cflb cfwf/af6 xg] ub₅ . ; f:s[ts c₀woogdf h:t}; ldfGtlo c₀woogdf klg zIQm ; DaGwsf] c₀woog ul/G5 . zIQm ; DaGw eg₅f] /fhglit xf]. To; ₀ ; ldfGtlo c₀woog eg₅f] klg Ps lsl; dsf] /fhglit g}xf]. /fhglitsf ; Gbe₀f k|tlglwTj / klxrfgn]To; df hft, hghft, n₀us, blnt / ju₅f] pkl:yltnf0{ ; ^as₀t ub₅ eg] ; flx₀osf lf₀df ltgsf] k₀fu ; Gbe{/ To; sf ; fk]ftdf s; /L l₀rq0f ul/Psf]5 efg] s'/fsf]lj Zn]f0fnf0{ a₀enfp5 . o; ; Gbe₀f tf/fsfGt kf08₀ -@)&#_ n₀v5g₀M

; f:s[ts c₀woogdf dVo s/f ; f:s[ts k|tlglwTj xf]. ; f:s[ts ₂kn] s; sf] k|tlglwTj u/₅f]5 < s; nf0{sg ₂kdf k|t't u/₅f]5 < To; n]s:tf] klxrfgsf] lgdf₀f u₅{ < To; sf k5fl8sf] /fhglit s] xf] < ol dhe't k₀zgsf pQ/sf]vf]hl; E of]k4lt ; DalGwt 5 . o; sf nflu sg}kf7nf0{ ; Gbel₅ t u/₀ x₀g] sfd ul/G5 . o:tf] ; Gbel₅/0f ; fdfllhs 0ltxf; ; E ul/G5, ; fdfllhs Jojxf/; E ul/G5 -kmsf₅f] vl08t 0ltxf; b[i6df o; nf0{ lj dzf{ds ; Argf elgPsf]5_ t/ o; f] ubf{n₀ys klg c5'tf] /x₅g . kf7nf0{n₀yssf] /fhglits :yfg, e₀lf] / ; f:s[ts lj rf/wf/f h:tf lj lw klf; E ; Gbel₅ t u/₀ x₀g{ ; lsG5 . -k₅ * & - **_

k|tlglwTj / klxrfgnf0{ ; f:s[ts c₀woogsf] Ps dhe't klfsf ₂kdf ln0G5 . ; fdfllhs lgld{tdf o; n]s:tf]el₀dsf lgj f₀ u/₅f]5 < To; af6 ; dfhsf]

s:tf]:j ڪ lgdf(ePsf] 5 < To; sf]/fhgllts k[7el'd s]xf] cflb kZgx;sf] pQ/ vf]g]sfd ; f:s[ts cll'oogn]ub5 . kf7 lj Zn]f0sf]o; kllqomofdf n]yssf] /fhgllts 0ltxf; , p; sf]eluf]h / ; f:s[ts lj rf/wf/fnf0{cfwf/ agf0{lj dzf]ds ; Argdf ; ldfGt]s[x;sf]k|t|glwTj / klxrfgsf]cj:yfsf]vf]hl ul/G5 .

; ldfGt ; dbfox;sf]k|t|glwTj / klxrfgaf/]ufD; Lsf wf/0ffsf] rrf{ub} tf/fnfn >]7 -@)^*_ nV5g\ ; afN6g{ju\$]0ltxf; ; efgt ju\$]0ltxf; hlQs} hl6n / cem a9L dx\svsf]xG5 t/ ; afN6g\$]0ltxf; ; efgtsf]bdgsf/L zIQm kof]usf]sf/Of 5I/P/ cInlvt dfWodaf6 6qmf6fqmL cj:yfdf dfq kfk't ug{; lsG5 -k\$ \$ _ . >]7sf pQm lj rf/nf0{; DefGtlo 0ltxf; sf]lgdf(zIQmkof]usf]cf8df ul/Psf] xG5 / o; /L lgdf(ul/Psf] 0ltxf; n] ; afN6g{-; ldfGtlo_ x;sf] 0ltxf; nf0{vl08t u/\$]xG5 .

; ldfGt]s[t ju{tyf ; dbfo ; lbof]v kEj zfnL zf; g k4Itsf cwlg:t 5 . cfly\$, ; fdf]hs, /fhgllts tyf ; f:s[ts cflb lj ljw lf]df ; ldfGt]s[x;sf] ; lqmotf / ; xeFlutf /x] tflkg pglx;sf] 0ltxf; n]lvPg . pglx;nf0{cfj fhj xlg / zIQmj xlg agf0of} . ; xeFlutf / cj; f/sf kllqomofdf pglx;nf0{lg/fz kf'of] To; h] pglx;sf] lg/fzfnf0{cfzdf kl/0ft ug{ 0ltxf; n]yg kllqomofs lf?4 k|t/f]L cfjfhx; p7fpg' k5{ clg dfq ; ldfGt]s[x;sf]0ltxf; n]vg ; lsG5 .

۲.۲.۹ प्रतिनिधित्वसम्बन्धी अवधारणा

; f:s[ts cll'oogsf ; Gbedf /fhgllts, ; fdf]hs, wld\$ tyf cfly\$ lf]df JolSt tyf ; dbfosf]pkl:yltnf0{k|t|glwTj elgG5 . k|t|glwTj sf] dVo lj ifo ; fdf]hs ; Argf s; /L lgdf(ePsf] 5 / To; df hgtfsf]k|t|glwTj s; /L ePsf] 5 eg] x] (xf] . sg}klg ; fix]Tos l; h]df kPSt kfqn]cf'gf]j }lSt s hljgz}hlnf0{cfd; ft\ul//x\$] xG5 eg] ; E; E}p; n] ; du| ; dbfosf] hljg ef]uf0 / lrgtgnf0{klg k|t|glwTj ul//x\$] xG5 . s[tdf sg}lj rf/nf0{k\$6 ug\$ nflu pk:yfkg ul/Psf]kfqn] ; fdlxstfsf]efj gf / cfjfhnf0{k|t|glwTj ug{; S5 . o:tf]cj:yfdf pSt kfq JolSt gag] ; dx agg kllb5 . p; n]k\$6

u/\$f]cfj fh Ps JolStsf]cfj fhsf] 2 kdf dfq k|t't geP/ ; dxsf]cfj fh a6g
kU5 . o; k\$F/ clwsfzsf] efj gf, cfj fh, hljgz}hl / cj :yfnf0{ axg ug
; fdYo{hf0{ kl|tlglwTj elg65 . s[tdf cfPsf] kfqn] s[tsf] /rgf ; dosf]
lj dzf{ds ; Argrdf dhwf/ jf kl/wlo wf/dWo] sg}Pssf] kl|tlglwTj ul//x\$F]
xG5 .

; ldfGtLst [j u{ ; dbfosf dflg; x2 cfm}kl|tlglwTj ug{g; Sg] ; Gbedf
l:kefssf j }fl/s dfGotfsf] rrf{ub}df}g/fh zdf{efG5g\M ufoql rnmj tl{
l:kefsn]s]cj/hg afflg ; S5g\ eG]kZg p7fPsl 5g\ o; kZgsf]pQ/ klg
pgl cfm}l]lPsl 5g\ pgsf lj r f/df cj /hg cf gf lglD afflg ; Sbgg\ t; y{
aff]4s ju{h] ltgsf nflu aff]hlg' k5{ eG] pgsf] dfGotf /x\$F] 5 . To; f] t
cj /hg cf gf ; v bM JoQmug{ ; Sbgg\ eG] xF]g t/ To:tf cleJolQmsf] :j/
Hofb} dl; gf] ePsf] g; lgp/ cfm}F blaG5 jf c2 s; h] g; gf] \ eg]
zIQmzfnlaf/f baf0G5 . l:kefssf lj r f/df cj /hg cf gf] kl|tlglwTj klg cfm}h
ug{ ; Sbgg\ . t; y{ aff]4s ju{h] ltgsf] kl|tlglwTj ul/lbg' k5{ eG] dfGotf
5 .

; flxTos /rgfdf kPst lrgtgsf] kl|tlglwTj ; DalGwt JolSt, ; dx jf
; dbfo, ln^u / hfltn]u/\$f]5 cyjf cGo ju{ ln^u / hfltn]u/\$f]5 eG]
kZg kl|tlglwTj sf ; Gbedf lgs}dx}ej kOf{/x\$F]5 . of]kZg ; ldfGtLst [; dbfon]
cfm}g]kl|tlglwTj / klxrfg cfm}Fug{ ; S5 ls ; Sbgg eG] ; jfn; E hfl]8P/ k|t't
ePsf] xf] . o; ; Gbedf ld; h] kmsf] / ufoql rj}mj tl{l:kjfsn]k|t't u/\$f
; flGts kl|tdfgx2 dx}ej kOf{/x\$F]5g\ . krs}h]x/\$ JolStn]cf gf]kl|tlglwTj
cfm}Fug{ ; S5 eG]cledt k|t't u/\$f 5g\ ; ldfGtLst [; dbfosf]aff]4s ju{h]
kl|tlglwTj ubf{efiffsf dfWodaf6 ug}kg]xG5 . efiffsf] ; DaGw /fhgllts, cfly\$,
; f:s[ts ; :yfx2 ; E ; DalGwt xg] ePsf]ToxfDdhwf/sf] zlStn]v]lg]cj ; /
kfp5 . efiffsf dfWodaf6 xg]o:tf]n]yg zlStsf pSt ; -hfnx2af/f lgb]zt /
lgolqt xgkU5 . o; /L aff]4s ju{af/f efiff jf cGo sg}dfWodaf6 ul/g]
kl|tlglwTj n] ; ldfGtLst [; dbfosf]kl|tlglwTj ug{ ; Sbgg eG]lj rf/ kmsf\$F]/x\$F]
5 . ; j fN6g{cWo}f ufoql rj}mj tl{l:kefssf]dt pgsf]eGbf 7ls lj k/Lt /x\$F]

5 . pgn] ; ldfGls t ; dbfon] cf'gf] kltlgwTj cfrnFug{ ; Sog\efg] cledt
k|tt u/\$l 5g\ . pglx; n] cf'gf] af/df afn\$ f s'/fx; d\wv/df cf0gkllb}
x/f0; s\$ f xG5g\ j f zlstzfnl ; dxn]To; nf0{lgoGq0f ul/; s\$ f]xG5 .

; f:s[ts cllwoogcGtu t kltlgwTj ; DaGwdf :6j f6{ xnsf] dfGotf lgs}
dx= j k0f{/x\$ f]5 . pgl ; du| ; f:s[ts k0ffnlfnf0{g}kltlgwTj sf ; kdf lng5g\
eflifs ; Argfn] kltlgwTj nf0{ lgoGqt / lgbLzt ul//x\$ f] xG5 . oflgstf,
kfunkg, ck/fwl, ; dn\$ustf, blnt, gf/LTj h:tf lj ifox; lj lzi6 lj dzaf6
lgld t ePsf xG5g\ o:tf ; Tox; sf]efiffaf6}kltlgwTj ePsf]xG5 . kltlgwTj n]
cyx; sf] pTkfbg, pkefj / lgoGq0f ub5 . To:tf cyx; hflt, ju{ ln^u,
:yfglotf, /fli60tf, wd{ cflbaf6 lgl t ePsf xG5g\ . ctM cy\$ f] lgdf0f
kltlgwTj s} k0ffnlaf6 xG5 . xnn] eflifs k0fj uaf6 cyx; sf] pTkfbg ug{hf0{
kltlgwTj sf] klj pof dfg} o; nf0{eflifs ; Gbe{ E hf\$ \$f 5g\ kltlgwTj ; DaGwl
; lj :tf/df rrf{ug} ; Gbe0f pgn]o; sf kltlaDafds, cfzodhs / lgdf0ffids
u/L tlgc0f k\$ f/x; sf] pNn\ u/\$f 5g\ . pgn] kltlaDafds kltlgwTj nf0{
jf:tlj s hutsf sg} klg JolSt, j:t', lj rf/, 36gf tyf eflifs k\$ fo\$ f]
kltlaDasf ; kdf lngPsf 5g\ . o; df ; Tosf] cgS/Of xG5 . To; u/L cfzodhs
kltlgwTj eg\$ f] jStf j f n\ysn] efiffsf d\wodaf6 lj lzi6 cy{k|tt ug{xf].
sg} j:t' j f JolStut k0fj ustf af/f cy{lgwv/t geP/ ; dbfon] cy\$ f] lgdf0f
ub5 eGg] wf/0ffnf0{pgn] lgdf0ffids kltlgwTj sf ; kdf lrgfPsf 5g\ . To; h]
of]efiffsf] ; fj hlgS r/q; E ; DalGwt xG5 .

; flxTo l; hGfdf ; dbfout ln^u, ju{ hfltnufotsf ; f:s[ts 36sx; sf]
pkl:ylt /x\$ f]xG5 . s[tdf sg]ln^u, ju{ hflth:tf 36sx; sf]s; /l pkl:ylt
ePsf] 5 eGg] klfsf] vfhl ug] sfo{nf0{ kltlgwTj elgG5 . cem kltlgwTj sf]
cllwoog ubf{ ; dbfodf kl5 k/\$f j f ; ldfGtdf k/\$f klfx; nf0{ s{bdf /fv}
cllwoog lj Zn]f0f ug] sfo{ xG5 . o; /l ; flxTodf k0St kfqx; sf] pkl:yltnf0{
cfwf/ agfP/ kltlgwTj sf] vfhl ul/G5 . o; cGtu t ; fdlhs ; Argf / zlstsf

; f]txġdf pk]lft, lsgf/lst, bldt / ptkl8t ju{ ln^a\ / hflttut ; dbfosf] kltlgw]j sg ġkdf ePsf]5 eg] xg]ul/ġ5 .

२.२.१.१ वर्गीय प्रतिनिधित्व

; fdf]hs / cfly\$ lj e]sf laraf6 hġd\$] dfgj lgld]t; E ; Dalġwt lrġtgsf]Ps kltlaDaf]ds klqmf ju{xf]. ju\$]pTkt ; DaġwL dfs; {fb tyf pQ/dfs; jfb h:tf l; 4ġtdf lj]w wf/0ffxġ k]Int 5g\ . dfs; jfbn] ju{ lgwf{0fsf]dh cfwf/ cy{f0{dfġb5 .

; dfhdf jr{jzfnl ju{ tyf ; dbfosf dflg; xġn] cfkm" cgshsf] ; s[tsf] lgdf0f u5ġ\ / To; nf0{jftf{ / ; xdltsf dfwodaf6 ġ]ts ; ^as6 l; hġf u/L ; dbfodf nfu"u5ġ\ o; af6 kġTj zfnl ; dbfosf dflg; xġ ; wFzIQm / ; Qfsf] kltlgw]j df /xġ5g\eg] cġonf0{To; lsl; dsf]cj ; /af6 j]~rt u/L ; ldfġt]stf cj :ydf k{of0ġ5 . qm]ġt c; Dej /x\$] / To; n] tfgzfx hġdfp5 eg] b[6sf0f /Vg] dfġotfn] ; fdf]hs cfly\$ ju{/ ju{ ^a3if{ eg] s/fnf0{g} k'/fg] cy{lg / cgj Zos 7ġb5 . o; n] ju\$ 7fpġf hftlo, n]us / cġo vl08t :yfglonf0{/Vg rfxġ5 / ju{ ^a3if{f0{klxrfgsf]; ^a3if{6 lj :yflkt ug{ rfxġ5 . o; b[6df ju\$]cj ; fg / klxrfgsf]pbo ePsf]5 .

kf08]sf] pkoQm lj rf/nf0{ x]f{ pQ/dfs; {fbn] dfs; {fbl dh dfġotdf cfwf]/t ju{/ ju{ ^a3if\$]hg cEof; / lrġtg 5, To; klt lj Zj; ubġ eg]k]m{ hfġ lb0Psf]k0ġ5 . o; af6 julġ dIQmsf nflu qm]ġt xġ g; Sg]t/ tfgzfxsf] hġd eg]xg]s/fsf]; ^as] ul/Psf]tYo cem k]6 ġkdf cleJoQm ePsf]5 .

julġ ; ldfġtlotfsf lj ifodf uf]Dr]lsf]lj rf/ klg dx^{त्र}k0f{df]ġ5 . pgn] af]4s ju\$] rrf\$] qmddf bzġ, ; fdfġo cj wf/0ff, efiff / nf\$; flxTonf0{ nf\$]kġ lgld]tsf ġkdf ln5}k]m{; j]l qm]ġtkZrft\j sl; t /fhg]lts bzġn]klg ; ldfġtlo ju\$]lxt ġu/\$] ts{k]t't u/\$] 5g\ . o; qmddf pgn]; ldfġtlo ; fdf]hs ; d\xnf0{c; ^al7t / kl5 kfl/Psf]; d\xsf ġkdf lnPsf 5g\ . o:tf] ; d\x s[bl]stf /fho; Qfsf]kġTj af6 cwlġ:y / jr{j lgdf0fsf]c]llof; ug]ju\$ ġkdf /x\$]xġ5 .

; dfhdf kēTj zfnl ju{; dbfosf dflg; jr{j df /xg]/ cGonf0{cwlG:y ug[Ps lsl; dsf]:yflkt k/Dk/f g)xj]df]l cyff\w\$ ds fl:l:ylt xfl. o; y{..Pp6f ju{]csf]df kēTj hdfpg' xj]df]l xfl] x\$sd xfl] -uf]d, @)&% M kē \$@ - \$#_ . o; ; Gbedf /fhglts, af]s tyf g]ts g]Tj kēTj zfnl ju{]InPsf]xG5 / o; af6 cfkm"cgslnt Joj :yf lgdff u/L cGonf0{lsgf/lst c] :ydf k%of0G5 .

s[tdf kfqs]pkl:ylt clehft, dWod tyf lGfDg jul6 u/L tlG k\$f/n] xG5 . kf7df Itglx]sf]kltlgwTj sf]cj :yf; E ; DalGwt klqmofsf]vf]hl u/L ju{ lGwf{0fsf]k[7el'd klxNofpg' cfj Zos xG5 .

jul6 kltlgwTj sf] ; Gbedf ; flxltos s[tdf s]s:tf jul6 kfqx]sf] kof]u tyf pkl:ylt 5 / kēTj zfnl ju{sf ; fk]ftdf Itglx]sf]x]; ot s]s:tf /x\$]f] 5 eGg] s'/fsf] cWooG ul/G5 . s[tdf sg ju{sf dflg; tyf kfqx]sf] kltlgwTj u/f0Psf]5 < jul6]kdf pglx]sf]x]; ot s]5 < jr{j sfod /Vg tyf k]kt ug\$] nflu s]s:tf afws tत्वx] /x\$]f 5gV To; sf]klt/f]vsf nflu s]s:tf]j]f]l/s ; a]if{ugk/\$]f]5 < cflb klfx]sf]cWooG u/L s[t lj Zn]f0fsf] lgisifdf klgsf nflu jul6 kltlgwTj sf]cj :yfnf0{xg]kb5 .

२.२.१.२ जातीय प्रतिनिधित्व

; f:s[ts kltlgwTj df hftlo kltlgwTj n] klG dxtj kf0f{ eldsf v]h]sf] xG5 . o; cGtuft ; fdlhs ; Argfsf lj ljw txd f kēTj zfnl ju{sf cwlG:y lGdgju{ tyf ; dbfosf dflg; sf] hftlo kltlgwTj sf] cj :yf; E ; DalGwt dh ; d:of s] xfl] eGg] s'/fsf] vf]hl ul/G5 . /d]zk] fb e6&/f0h] ; dfhdf hfltsf sf/0f ePsf e]efj , pTkl8gsf]s]b]g]hftlo ; d:of xfl]-kē (_ eg\$]f 5g\ o; /L ; f:s[ts kēTj af6 ; ldfGt]st] ; dbfosf] cWooG; E ; DalGwt hftlo kltlgwTj sf] cWooG ubf{ pk]lft ju{ sf] 5 < zlQmdf /x\$]f] ju{ sf] 5 < ; ldfGt]st] sf] 5 < ; dfhdf s; sf] jr{j /x\$]f] 5 < -s[tdf pk]lft kfq ; dfhdf jr{j eP/ klG cfpG ; S5_ cflb s'/fsf] Vofn ug]kb5 . hftlo kltlgwTj sf] ; Gbedf P8u/ / ; ulj s n]V5gM

kl|t|glwTj nf0{ pQ/; Argfj fblx; efifsf txd f x5g\ . efifdf JoQm
kl|t|glwTj / ljZj sf] cgej sf] efiff j } flgs kl|t|glwTj sf cydf efifdf o; sf]
kpfj eP klg ; fdfhs cydf o; sf b0{; Gbe{5g\ klxnfj}/fhgllts cy{/V5
eg] bf] fh] cEof; / dNosf]; DaGwsf cfwf/df xg] kl|t|glwTj sf] afw u/ p5 .
P8u/ / ; ulj ssf lj rf/df pQ/; Argfj fbln] xg] efifsf txd f JoQm xg]
kl|t|glwTj ; fdfhs cydf ; Gbedf /fhgllts / cEof; tyf dNosf]; DaGwsf
cfwf/df b0{isl; daf6 afw xG5 . hftlo kl|t|glwTj s}; Gbedf P8u/ / ; ulj s
cuf18 nV5g M

/fhgllts ; Gbedf of]; yfut Psf0 j f bafa ; dxsf ; kdf sfd ug] j f
nf\$tfllqs klqmofdf cfwf/t xG5 eg] cEof; / dNosf cfwf/df o; n] sg}
lj lzi6 ; fdfhs ; dx; sf] laDanf0{ k|t t ub5 eg] sltko cj : ydf o; n]
k/Dk/fut ; ks} kl|t|glwTj klg ug{ ; S5 . oyfydf o; n] klxrfg lgdf{sf]
kl|t|glwTj ug{ ; Sgk5{ . o: tf] kl|t|glwTj klxrfg; E} lj rf/wf/f / ; Qfsf] kZgdf
hf]85} lj dz{ lgdf{sf txd f klg ; Sof] eg] gofFlaDax; sf] lgdf{f xg] klqmof
sfof{og xG5 . o; /L ln^u, hflt / of]gstf h:tf ; d:ofx; / o; sf af/]
ag\$ f cj wf/0ffx; kl|t|glwTj sf kZg aGg klb5g\

२.२.१.३ लैङ्गिक प्रतिनिधित्व

n^Nus kl|t|glwTj cGtu f dxnf, k?if j f cGo sg k\$ f/sf] kl|t|glwTj sf]
kl|t|glwTj /x\$ f]5 eGg] s'/fsf] vf]hl ul/G5 . k?Tj zfnl ju\$ f thgdf ; ldfGt
ju\$ f kfqsf] n^Nus kl|t|glwTj s]s:tf]5 / klxrfgsf nflu pglx; n] s]s:tf]
; ^Sif{ugk/ \$f]5 < cflb s'/fsf]; Gbedf s[t lj Zn]f0fsf] klqmof cuf18 a9fpg'
kb5 . n^Nus cfwf/df ; dfhdf pglx; sf] eldsf tyf bdg / zf]f0fsf] cWof; sf
; fy} kl|t/fwL r]gfsf] lgdf{f / j } fl/s ; ^Sif\$ f] klqmof s]s; /L cEfln Psf]5
eGg] s'/fsf] lj Zn]f0f u/L lgisifdf klGkb5 . n^Nus kl|t|glwTj dhTm dxnf /
k?ifsf larsf]; fdfhs ; Argfut pkl:yltdf cfwf/t 5 . o; af/] kfy{nV5g\ M

lkt{ QfTds ; dfhn] /fi60 kl/r osf dfkb08 tyf .gfi/Tj sfW
kl/efifx; nf0{ Pscsf{ E hf\$ } xg] ub5 . pQm ; dfhsf] j } fl/s lflthleq

:qLnf0{ ; f:s[ts k/Dk/fsf] ; Af0fsf 2 kdf x05 . o:t}u/} gf/Lnf0{3/leqsf] cftl/s :yn; E hf]8065 eg] k?ifnf0{3/afix/sf] ; #f/; E . o; lsl; dsf] lkt[Qfids ; f]rcg'k gf/Lsf]z/L/, dgf]fj gf / Joj xf/n]/fli60 tyf kfl/j fl/s b]} lsl; dsf k/Dk/fx2sf] kl/t/lff ug]k05 . k?ifn] eg] tl k/Dk/faf6 afix/ lg:s} cfwlgs kl/kf6L l; s0f s}L km/s kb0} . k?ifsf] sfd xf] cfo cfh0} ug] tyf .lj.b} W}j f afix/L cfqrd0af6 /fi6x/ kl/j f/sf] kl/t/lff ug] . o; lj k/Lt gf/Lsf]lhDd] f/L xf] 3/leq a; } kfl/j fl/s tyf ; f:s[ts k/Dk/fsf] hu0f{ug} . -pk}L, @)^* M k} @#^_

kfy}f pko0m df0otfsf cfwf/df dlxfn -gf/L=:qL / k?ifsf] lje0 lkt[Qfids ; f]df cfwf/t ; fdlhs lgld(t xf]/ o; n]klfsf thgdf dlxfnf0{ ; fdlhs 2 kdf kl}tal6wt agfPsf] 5 . gf/Lnf0{ ; f:s[ts k/Dk/fsf] ; Afssf 2 kdf dfq x0} t/ k?ifnf0{ cfwlgs /a}Lg blgof}f] afix/lof kl/j 2 ; fk]f dgnflbf] ug} :j t6qtf lbg] k?ifj fbl ; f]n] ubf{g} ; fdlhs ; Argfsf lj lj w lf0df dlxfnsf] ; xelutf / eldsf 600 agfPsf] xf] h; n] n}Nus bl[6n] kl}tlglw}sf txd f lje0sf]l:ylt l; h0f ul/lbPsf] 5 . lkt[Qfsf] cf0l8of]hln] cj r}gsf] txd e65- zf/ll/s zl0m k0z0} k?ifj sf] kl/rfos xf] . gf/Lx2 sf0n x65g\ k?ifx2 s7f} . gf/Lsf] sf0n z/L/dfly lx+fsf] 5fk c^st u/L axfb/Lsf]gd0f k} ug} ; Sg]k?if g}j f:tlj s k?if x65 pk}L, @)^* M -k} @%^_

pk}Lsf] k}t't lj rf/nf0{ x0f{ lkt[Qfids lr0tgfsf] km:j 2 k dlxfn / k?ifsf] zf/ll/s agj 6ut cfwf/df ; fdlhs ; Argfsf sg} klg lf0lj z}fdf k?ifnf0{ cfj Zos eldsf lb0g' / dlxfnf0{sdhf} zf/ll/s cj :yf / rl/qsf bl[6n]x0} ; fdlhs ; xeflutfsf]cj ; /af6 g}j l-rt ug}{n}Nus lje0 xf] . o; /L zf/ll/s agj 6 / zl0msf cfwf/df dlxfndfly ul/g}n}Nus lje0sf] dh sf/0f lkt[Qfids ; f] xf] . lkt[Qfsf] o:tf] cf]8of]hln] dlxfn ju0f0{dfly p80 lb0} . To; h}o:tf]k/ftgj fbl lr0tgfsf]cj ; fg cfj Zos 5 . o; sf nflu kl}t/f}L r}gfsf]cfj Zostf kb0, h; df h}j s al4hlj lx2sf]eldsf dx}k0f{x65 .

; fdlhs, cfly\$, /fhgllts tyf ; f:s[ts cflb lfdof n]us 2kdf
; ldf6tltst ; dbfosf kfqx2 -dlxf, k?if / c6o_ sf] kl'tlgwTj sf] cj :yf /
eldsf s]s:tf] 5 < kl'tlgwTj sf k[7el'daf6 pglx2sf] klxrfgsf] ; Gbedf0{s]
s; /L :yflkt ul/Psf] 5 < s:tf] k\$[tsf] k\$Tj af6 pglx2nf0{0ltxf; lj xlg,
cfj fhlij xlg / zlQmj xlg agf0Psf] 5 < To; nf0{ pglx2n] s; /L ux0f u/\$f
5g\< ; ldf6tltst/0fsf]klqmf s]xf]/ o; klqmfdf JolQm j f j u{s; sf]kl'tlgwTj
ePsf] 5 < dhwf/sf] ; f:s[ts kl'tlgwTj sf nflu s]s:tf] eflts tyf j }fl/s
; a3if{/ kl't/f]M r}tgsf]klqmf cEflnPsf]5 < e6g]s/fsf]vf]hl ul/65 .

dfg; lgoldt 9a\un] zflift-kl8t xg] u/kl5 dfg; leq lglxt bMn]
lgsf; sf]dfu\$]vf]hl u5{-lqkf7L, ; g\@)!@ M k\$!^%_ . o; /L clxn]o; j u{
tyf ; dbfosf dfg; x2 klg c6ofoaf6 dlQm / :j t6qtf kflktsf nflu ; /sf/
lj /f]M cfGbf]ngsf lj lj w 2k lnP/ ; fj h]lgs 2kdf b}fkg{yfn\$]b}vPaf6 oxl
s'/fsf]kli6 x65 .

२.२.२ पहिचानसम्बन्धी अवधारणा

; f:s[ts clloogsf] dxत्त्वk0f klfsf 2kdf klxrfgnf0{klg lng ; ls65 .
j u{ hft tyf ln^uJoj :yfdf cfwl/t ; fdlhs tyf ; f:s[ts lgl'd[tsf laraf6
; ldf6tltst j u{ tyf ; dbfosf dfg; x2sf] :yfg / pkl:yltst]vf]hl; E klxrfg
; Dal6wt 5 .. ; fdlhs ; b:osf 2kdf df65] afF\$] ; fdlhs tyf ; f:s[ts
; Argn]p; sf]kl/ro u/f0/x\$] x65 . ToxL; Ar gfeq g}p; n]cfkrh/ cf'gf
klxrfgnf0 kkt u/\$] x65 / x/\$ JolQm] cf'g} lsl; dsf] klxrfg /
kl'tlgwTj nf0{af\$]x65 . To; h]klxrfg kl'tlgwTj ; E ; Dal6wt lj ifo klg xf].

dfS; {fbsf]cy{Joj :yfsf lj k/Lt ; :s[tn]j ul6 klxrfgsf]d2fnf0{a9L
uxg 2kdf p7fp5 / gjdfS; {fbl df6otf klg oxl xf] e6b}a]hfol ; f:s[ts
clloog -; f:s[ts clloogsf] h7f] ; Dk}fo_ ; Dk}fosf ; :yfs dfllg] l/rf8{
ufxf6{ /p08 lj lnoD; , 0= lk= yDk; g / :6cf6{xnsf df6otf; E ; Dal6wt j ul6
klxrfgsf] ; Gbedf cf'gf vf/Of /fVb}t f/fs fG kf08p -@)&#_ n]y5gM

; f:s[ts Jojxf/n]s; /l ljlelg ; dx juhf0{ ; f:s[ts jr{jsf nflu
; a3if{ug{k/t u5{ To; sf]cwoog ug[sfo{o; ; Dkbfon]ug{yfnof}. ; dfh
ln^v, hflt, wd{ lfq; E}ju{arsf]ååaf6 ; ~rflnt 5 . ; :s[tn]cy{Joj:yfn]
h:t}Toxl ċkdf hgtdf klxrfgsf]r]gfnf0{cfsf/ lb65 . -kċ ^)

kf08psf pkoQm j}fl/s dfgotfaf6 s] b]v65 eg] kFljfbdf cfwfl/t
cy{oj:yfn]ju{sf]lgwf{of t u5{t/ jul6 ċkdf klxrfglxlgxċnf0{To; af6
dlQmsf nflu ; a3if{ug{k/t ubq . To; }u/L dh-dfS; {fbaf6 jul6 qmflċt
; Dej 5q / jul6 ; dfgtfsf]l:ylt klq l; hqf xg ; Sbq . To; h]vf; lj sNksf]
ċkdf gj dfs; {fbl dfgotfdf cfwfl/t ; f:s[ts cwoogsf]kl/De ePsf]xf] h; n]
; dbfosf dflg; xċdf klxrfgsf] r]gfnf0{ dt{ ċk lb65 / ; a3if{sf nflu
clek/t u5{.

; fdlhs ; Argsf lj lj w lfqdf dfgj lgldċ ; fdlhs-; f:s[ts leGtfsf
txdf kfom kċtj df /xg]ju{h] tyf ; dbfosf dflg; nf0{cj ; /af6 j|-rt u{/sf]
x65 . pglxċsf]klxrfgsf]; Gbehf0{p7fPsf]x6q . cwlq:ytf]l:ylt df bdg /
zffof ul/Psf]x65 . jul6, hftlo tyf n}nus ċkdf pglxċnf0{/fHoJoj:yfsf
sg}klg txdf cj ; / lb06q . cydf cfwfl/t ; DkGg / lj kGg ; dbfo, ; f:s[ts
lgld{tdf cfwfl/t slyt clehft / lgDghf]tsf]; dbfo tyf ; fdlhs eldsfdf
cfwfl/t k?if / dlxnfsf]n}ustf; E ; DalGwt ; dbfosf dflg; xċsf larsf]
leGtfsf]sf/s / To; sf laraf6 /fHo; Argsf lj lj w lfqdf ; ldfgtlsċ ju{tyf
; dbfosf dflg; xċsf]pkl:ylt / ; xeflutfsf lj ifodf lj dz{ub}Clif/fh a/fn
n}5gW

uxfn]; afN6g{-; ldfgtlo_ kbj nlnf0{tNnf]bhf{lgwf{/ lgd'vf gful/ssf]
ċkdf lnPsf] b]v65 . xfn; Dd blifof Pl; ofnl ; dfhsf cwoog-cg' Gwfg
ugċn] tNnf] bhf{sf pTKl8t lgwf{lgd'vf To; df klq ls; fgsf af/df ; xl
lsl; dn]cwoog gu{/sf] cwoog-cg' Gwfgdf ; Defċt / pklgj zj fbl dflg; stf
kċfjL ePsf]/ ; xl Oltxf; gn]vPsf]xgfn]; afN6g{:6l8hsf]cfj Zostf k{/sf]

xf] / o; sf] p27o lgwf{lgd'vfsf] 0ltxf; nf0{gofFlsl; dn] lnka4 ug{xf]. -k[
!&&_

a/fnsf] pQm lj rf/nf0{xpf{; afN6g{:6l8h -; ldfGtlo cll'oog_ k[et]j zfnl
; dbfoaf6 cwlgy tyf ; ldfGtls[t tNnf] bhf{/ lgwf{lgd'vf gful/s / To; df
klg ls; fg ju\$[f] klxrfgsf] vfhldf s[gb]t cll'oog xf]. ; DefGt / pklgj zj fbl
dfgl; stdf cfwf/t unt 0ltxf; n]ygsf ljsNkdf lgwf{lgd'vfsf] klxrfgdf
cfwf/t gjlg 0ltxf; n]ygd o; n] hf[lbPsf] 5 . o; /L ; dfhdf x/ t/xn]
; ldfGtls[t agf0Psf ju{ hflt tyf n]Nus ; dbfosf] klxrfgsf] cll'oog; E
; DalGwt d2nf0{uxfn]dh 2kdf p7fPsf] b]vG5 .

२.३ सीमान्तीय पात्रको प्रतिनिधित्व र पहिचानको अवस्था

; ldfGtlo cll'oogsf ; Gbedf kl'tlglwTj / klxrfg Ps dxत्त्वk0f{kIf xf].
; dfh Pp6f ; Argf xf]. ju{ hflt, In^u cflb Joj :yf klg ; dfhs}pkh xg\
; fdfhs ; Argdf ; f:s[ts lj dz[af6 lgwf{/t dfkb08sf] cxd\eldsf /xG5 .
oxl ; f:s[ts lj dz[af6 lgb]zt l; 4fGtcg; f/ g}; dfh ; ~rflnt xG5 . ; dfhdf
dflg; n] ug{sfo{/ ; dfhaf6 p; nf0{tf]sPsf] lglZrt eldsf, p; n] k[ph] ug]
efiff, p; n] dfGg] wd{/ ; s[t, p; sf] ju{ hft / n]Nus klfsf ; fy}p; sf]
/fli60tf tyf ; fdYo{cflbsf] cfwf/df kl'tlglwTj / klxrfg :yflkt ePsf] xG5 .
eflifs, ; f:s[ts, ef]f]ns, jul6, hftlo tyf n]Nus cflb cfwf/df To:tf
kfqx2sf] s]s:tf] pkl:yIt / eldsf 5 eG] s'/fn] kl'tlglwTj sf] JofVof ub5 .
To; }u/L klxrfgsf] ; Gbe{pm jf pglx2 -; ldfGtlo ju\$[f kfqx2_ sf] xg\
; dfhdf pglx2sf] x]; ot s]5 < eG] s'/f; E ; DalGwt 5 . ; dfhdf JolQmsf]
klxrfg jul6, hftlo tyf n]Nus cflb cfwf/df lgwf{0f ePsf] xG5 . oxl
cfwf/df s[tdf k[ph] kfqx2sf] klxrfg u/L pglx2sf] kl'tlglwTj / klxrfgsf]
cj :yfsf] cll'oog ul/G5 .

; dfhdf ; Qf, zIQm / k[et]j sf]; ldf / Joflktdf jul6, hftlo tyf n]Nus
2kdf ; ldfGtls [x2 n] cf'gf] cl:tTj sf] vfhL tyf kl'tlglwTj / klxrfgsf nflu
; fdfhs ; Argfsf txd] jr}j zfnl ju{ E ugk{/sf] ; ^Sif{/ To; klqmfdf

; fdgf ugk/\$f]kl/j zsf]lrq0fn]; ldfGtlo kfqsf]k|t|glwTj / klxrfgsf]JofVof ub5 .

२.४ मञ्जरी उपन्यासमा सीमान्त समुदायको प्रतिनिधित्व र पहिचान

d-h/l pkGof; sf/ bftlj jpd lj i6sf]lj =; ≠@)!^ df k\$flzt ; fdlhs pkGof; xf]. pkGof; df lj =; ≠@))& cl3 / kl5sf]gkfnl ; dfhsf ; fdlhs, ; f:s[ts / wld\$; Gbe{nf0{dx= sf ; fy p7fg ul/Psf]5 . pkGof; dVo 2kdf lxGb' wdf lgifw ul/Psf]lj wj flj jfxnf0{ ; fdlhs dfGotf lbgkgI klfdf s|Gbt ePsf]5 . o; sf ; fy}pkGof; n]cgdjh / axlj jfxsf]lj /fw / cGt/hftlo lj jfxsf]; dyG ugI p27o; dt /fv\$]5 .

pkGof; sl kplv gf/l kfq d-h/l afn pd}d}lj wj f xg kul kfl/j fl/s / ; fdlhs 2kdf ; ldfGtls{ agg kul\$ 5 . p; n]tTsfnlG afXd0fj fbl k?ifk\wfg ; dfhleq kl/wlo cj:yfdf /x\$] lj wj f afXd0fx2sf] k|t|glwTj u/\$ 5 . To; y/L ld; lah} sktfGgl dvGF, efd, 0lGb/f, sGtl, d-h>L, ; flxFL, u^uf, ; jL, lj dnf, ; l/tf h:tf gf/l kfqx2sf]n}Nus eldsf ; xfos / ufOf 2kdf pkl:yt /x\$]5 . pkGof; df kphSt ol gf/l kfqx2n]pkGof; /rgf ; dosf]; f:s[ts lj dzf{ds ; ArgfcGtu{ lj ljw:j 2ksf]n}Nus eldsfsf]k|t|glwTj u/\$ 5g\ ld; lah} efd, dvGF, u^ufh:tf kfqx2 k/Dk/fut k?if ; s[taf/f pTKl8t t 5g\g)t/ pglx2n]To; nf0{afw ug{; s\$ 5gg\ pglx2sf]n}Nus k|t|glwTj gf/ldfly pTKl8gdf ; xeful ePsf]5 . pkGof; sf ufOf kfq ; jL / lj dnf k?ifk\wfg ; dfhsf pRrj ulG k?ifx2sf]pkel]of agg kul\$ 5g\ ; xfos rl/q 0lGb/fn]pkGof; df gf/ldfly xg] zlf0fsf]lj /fw u/\$ 5 . To; y/L pkGof; df pRrdWod j ulG k?if kfqx2sf]clws pkl:ylt /x\$]5 .

j}flxs hljgsf] Ps j if\$] ; dofj lw glaTb} ; Aaf xfdk} fbsf] b}fGt ePsf]d-h/l afnj od}lj wj f agg kl5]. of]tTsfnlG lj dzf{ds ; ArgfcGtu{ k?if; 0fsf]cgdjh lj jfxsf]; s[tn]l; hGf u/\$]hl6n cj:yf xf]. lj jfxkZrft\ d-h/l kl/j f/df zlstxlG ag5]. 3/sf]Inkkfj tyf eff; fsf]ultlj lw Pj d\; f}f

ld; lah\$fi; jf; ; f/h:tf sfo{df d-h/Lsf]bljgs kl/j t6 xg kl5 . Toit dfq
xf0g h7L ; ftf tyf axf/Lx2sf]lg/Gt/sf]6f\$; f]p; dfly vlg0/x65 . k/Dk/fut
lkt[Qffds ; f:s[ts ; ArgfcGtu{ ; f:fx2s}k6Tj vk} afRg ljz lg/Lx
; f:fsf]kl|tlglwTj ; d: d-h/Ln]u/\$L 5 . To; u/L p; n] em8\$hf axf/Lx2
efdf, s6tl / d-h>laf6 ; d: ktf18t xgk/\$f]5 . To; sf]s0bdf efdf /x\$L
5 . efdf slxn]rf]hf]rf]/\$f]cf/fk nufP/, slxn]sg}u{k k?if; E ; Da6w 5 eg}
cf/fk nufP/ d-h/Ldflysf]pTkl8gdf cfB6t ; lj p 5] . gf/Ldflysf]zf]f0fdf
gf/Lx2nf0{ ; #sf/ut 2kdf pkofu ug{k?if; Qfdf cfwf/t dhwf/sf] ; f:s[ts
ljz]ftf g}xf]e6g]uf0rLsf]lj rf/nf0{cfwf/ agfpg]xf]eg]d-h/Lsl ; f: /
axf/Lx2 k?if ; #s[t6f/f xhdf0H8 5g\ / p; dfly k}fuXl 2kdf pkl:yt
ePsf 5g\ . o; /L kl/j f/sf gf/Lx2af6; ldf6t j f lsgf/fdf k%of0Psf gf/Lx2sf]
kl|tlglwTj pk6of; sf/n]d-h/Lsf dff0daf6 u/fPsf 5g\

d-h/L pk6of; df lj i6n]tTsfnlG ; dfhsf ljwjf gf/Lx2 kfl/j fl/s tyf
kl/j f/e6f aflx/sf k?ifaf6 of0b]o}xf/ eflg ljz lyP e6g]sf?l0fs lj dzhf0{
; d: lraq0f u/\$f 5g\ pk6of; sl k6v r1/q d-h/Ln]oxl hl6n kl/j zsf]; d:
kl|tlglwTj u/\$L 5 . afnhljgd}ljwjf ePsl d-h/L pd]/sf]j [4; E}tf?0odf
kj z u/k15 em8\$hf]5f]f]an/fdsf]of0kl/t cf6f ; fdf]hs g]tstfsf]; d:
cInslt kjf6 gu/L p; kl|t cfslif6 x65 . d-h/L afah]k-r6fhf ahfP/ NofPsl
; f:gl cdf xf]e6g]; d: la; 7 of06f/f kl/t eP/ p; nf0{>P\fl/s ; fdfgx2
lbg; p; sf]; f:bo\$ f]tfl/kmug{ cf gL >ldtL ; f:gl cdfh: t}ePsf]eP e6g]
sNkgf ugh:tf lj pfsnfkx2 an/fdaf6 k\$6 ePsf 5g\ . :jo+d-h/Ln]; d:
an/fdsf of0kl/t sb]i6nf0{klxrfg u/\$L 5 . o; n]pRr j ul6 cf8df cf gf]
k]fut dof6nf0{klg la; 7 of0 b]o}xf/df pqg]an/fdsf]r1/qnf0{g^NofPsf]
5 . olt dfq xf0g p; n]3/df >ldtl tyf ef0axf/Lx2 sf]kl klg gePsf]df\$
5fk} dwo/ftdf lgbf0/x\$L ; f:gl cdf d-h/L; E ; fdf]hs g]tstfnf0{eh}
of0h6o ; Da6wsf nflu c; kmn k6Tg u/\$f]5 . an/fdsf]eldsfn]d-h/Lnf0{
kfl/j fl/s 2kdf ; ldf6st agfPsf]5 . an/fdn]pk6of; df cf gf]z lQmkp z g
u/L gf/L pTkl8s r1/qsf]kl|tlglwTj u/\$f]5 . To; u/L wd{ efsf] >lk} fb /

aXdrf/Lsf ofgk|/t cfVfx; ; d: d-h/Ldfly sb[6 /Vg pBt 5g\ tTsfnlg
k?ifk\wfg ; Argfdf zLStxlg gf/Lx; s; /L kfl/j fl/s ofg bJo} xf/sf] zflf0fdf
ky[eGg]s'/fsf]kl|tlglwTj d-h/Lsf dWodaf6 pkGof; sf/n]u/fPsf 5g\

lj i6n] cfkGofl; s cGtodf d-h/Ln] s}hf; ; E lj wj flj j fx cfd; ft\ u/L
cGt/hftlo lax] u/}sf] ; Gbe{k|t't u/}sf 5g\ . pgn] o; sf dWodaf6 gjlg
j }nks ; s[tsf] lgdf0fdf hfB lbPsf] b]V65 . o; sf k[7elddf tTsfnlg
/fhgllts kl/j tgn] dx= kOf{ ; xof] u/}sf] b]V65 . kfl/j fl/s sfddf lg/Gt/
hfl]tBf klg ; wF pTKlI8t e0/xg' kgI kl/j }sf sf/Of d-h/Ldf Psk\$}/sf]
cfnf]Gffds r]sf] lj sf; xB} hfg' tyf s}hf; sf] ; flGwoaf6 wd{efh:tf]
:yfgdf d-r kf0{JolSतत्वsf]lj sf; df cj ; / kfpgh]d-h/Lsf]hlj gn]gjlg dfB
kfpB} uPsf] b]V65 . p; sf] JolSतत्वaf6 k}flj t eP/ s}hf; df klg p; kl|tsf]
klj q xflb\$ k}n]:ki6 cfsf/ lnPKI5 kfl/j fl/s bafasf alr klg hlj gdf ; fy
lbg cg/fw ub5 . sktfGgl dvgfn]s}hf; ; E sf]lgs6tf 7ls gdfGg' tyf wld\$
eon]ubf{d-h/L s}hf; ; E sf] ; DaGwaf6 6fl9g]dg; fosf sf/Of rfx} klg d-h/L
s}hf; nf0{k|tpQ/ lbg ; lSbg . csf|t/ s}hf; sf] cfuxnf0{Tofu} hlj gdf Psn]
a:bf an/fd, >lk} fbh:tf JolStx;af6 hlj gnf0{s; /L hf]fpg ; lSpnf eGg]
kZgn] ; d: p; nf0{3fl]r/x65 . cGtodf la/fdl s}hf; sf] cfuxnf0{:j lsf/ u/}
pRrhftlo j} flxs lgodsf lj k/Lt lfql o} s; E p; n]j} flxs ; DaGw ufF \$L
5 . d-h/Lsf]of]lg0f6 ; fdlhs ; fdfGo klj }pofdfq geP/ tTsfnlg k?iflrGtgdf
cfwfl/t dhwf/sf] ; s[tsf lj?4 rfl6nf] kl|t/fw xf] . o; /L pkGof; df lj i6n]
d-h/Lnf0{ ; fdfGo gf/leGbf leGg eldsfdf ; d: kl|tlglwTj u/fP/ gjlg
; s[tsf]lgdf0fdf hfB lbPsf]b]V65 .

d-h/L pkGof; df d-h/Lsl cdf u^afn] dhwf/ s]Gbt lj rf/sf]
kl|tlglwTj u/]klg ; ldfGtsf] gf/L g}xf]. tTsfnlg ; f:s[ts lj dzf{ds ; Argf
k?if ; Ofds /x}sf]xBf lgDg jul6 afXdof hf|tsf]kl|j f/sf gf/Lx; ; d: k?if
cwlg:y g}xGy]. kfl/j fl/s lg0f6 klj }pofdf pglx; kl/wlo cj :yfdf lyP . u^afn]
kl/wlo cj :yfdf /x}sf] Itg}gf/Lx;sf]kl|tlglwTj u/}L 5 . cf7 j if\$L 5f]lnf0{
5kGg j if\$ >ldfg\; dfg cem h}f kf9 k?if ; Aaf xf}k} fbnf0{ ; lDkg]kl|tsf]

lg0f0sf] sg} k|t/f|v ug{ ; s\$ 5g . ; f:s[ts c|w0]f kfyf{ rf6hl\$] egf0nf0{
; fk6L lng] xf] eg] u^uf lkt[Qf|ds ; dfhsf] ; f:s[ts k/Dk/fsf] ; Afs xf].
o; /L pk6of; df p; sf] pkl:y|tn] k?ifk\wfg lj rf/áf/f cwlg:y k/Dk/fut
oyfl:y|tj fbl gf/lx¿sf] k|t|glw|j ; d|t hj 6t ¿kdf u/\$f] kf0G5 .

pk6of; sl ; flx|l d-h/l\$] kl/j f/sl gf\$gl{lgDgj ul6 gf/L r|/q xf]. pm
jul6 / n|us ¿kdf z|f|f0f / pTkl8g v|lg lj z 5]. pm dhwf/sf] 1fg /
z|Staf6 al-rt 5]. t|Sfnlg lj dzf{ds ; Argdf ; flx|ln] sdhf} cfly\$
x|; otsf sf/0f hj ge/ d|lnssf] 3/df gf\$/ a:g a|llo ; ldf6ts|t gf/lx¿sf]
k|t|glw|j u/\$L 5 . k?ifk\wfg ; dfhn] gf/Lnf0{pkf|lo j:t\$¿ ¿kdf lraq0f
ub5 . ; flx|l klg pd} /xGh| ; Aaf xf|k| fbsf] ofg z|f|f0sf] df/df k/\$L 5
eg] pd} ; lsPkl5 ; Aaf kl/j f/sf] gf\$gl{ agg ku\$ 5 . o; /L pk6of; df
; flx|ln] lkt[Qf / ; fd6tl cfly\$; Argfsf sf/0f ; ldf6t agf0Psf gf/L
; dbfosf] k|t|glw|j u/\$L 5 .

d-h/l pk6of; df ; fd6tj fbl lkt[Qf|ds ; dfhdf gf/ldf|ysf] pTkl8gdf
gf/lx¿ g}s; /L ; xeful xG5g\eg] lj dz\$] k|t|glw|j efdsf d|l|odaf6 k|t|t
ul/Psf] 5 . efd k|l/j fl/s ¿kdf kltaf6 pTkl8t 5] t/ pm ; f|gl cfdfd|ysf]
pTkl8gdf cfB|k|f6t ; lj |o 5]. slxn] r|f|f] r|f|f] t slxn] u|t gf7f] E cg|ts
; Da6w 5 eg] cf/fk nufP/ d-h/Lnf0{pTkl8g lbg] sfo{u/\$L 5 . gf/Lnf0{ofg
lkkf; ' cf|faf6 xg| k|t an/fdaf6 s6f0 v|f|f; d|t p; df gf/L r|t|gsf] lj sf;
ePsf] b|vbg . pN6} k|l/j fl/s snx l; h|gf u/L gf/L pTkl8gdf /dfpg] t|Sfnlg
lkt[Qf|ds ; dfhdf v/fa cfr/0f ePsf bR5/ axf/lx¿sf] k|t|glw|j u/\$L 5 .
efdfsl b|p/fgl s6tl k/Dk/fut k?ifk\wfg ; dfhs} 1fg / z|Staf6 cwlg:y
gf/lx¿sl k|t|glw| xf]. pk6of; sl csl{gf/L d-h>l cfwlgs lz|ff k9} klg
dhwf/s} ; s[tsf] klk|f]s ag\$ 5 . p; n] cfwlgs lz|ff cfhg u/} klg
k?ifk\wfg ; dfhsf] s7f} ; fdf|hs agwgd f k/L dhwf/e6f leG kl/wlo hj g
aff /x\$ f gf/lx¿ sf] ; ldf6t f|f|ga%g] ; du|gf/lx¿ sf] k|t|glw|j u/\$L 5 .

d-h/l pk6of; df lj i6n] lj wj f xg' t|f|j s lgl|t geP/ ; fdf|hs
; f:s[ts lgl|t xf] eg] lj rf/nf0{ k| flxt u/L lj wj f lj j fxsf] kl|df cfk|hf0{

pEofPsf 5g\ To; sf lglDt pgn]ljwjf eP/ kl/wlo hljg affr/x\$gf/Lx;sf] ; fdfllhs ; xeflutf / kg]j}fx xgk5{eGg] lj rf/nf0{ k|tt ug{ gf/L r|/q 0lGb/fsf]kl|tlglw]j u/fPsf 5g\ 0lGb/f cfwlgs hljgz}lnf0{cftd; ft\ug]gf/L kfqsf ;kdf pkGof; df pkl:yt ePsl 5 . p; n]dlxnf ; }sf]; b:osf]el'dsdf cfa4 0lGb/fn] s}f / s}l b}sf] d-h/l'df dfq lj jfx xgkg] ljwjf lj jfxn] ; dfhdf dfGotf kfpkg] dflxnf0{s7k'tnl agf0{klxrfgxlg agfpg]cj:yfsf] cfto xgkg] h:tf k|ltzln lj rf/ /fv}l 5 . k/Dk/fut k?ifk\wfg ; dfhsf s6\ cgbofL kl08t rj}kl0fn] k|ftGq cfPk15 sltko gf/Lx;n] ljwjf afxglx;sf]lj j fxsf]s/f u/} ; dfhnf0{laufb}uPsf]lj rf/ k|tt u/}f]; Gbedf To; sf]; zSt kl|tj fb pkGof; df o; /L u/}l 5 M

s]s'f ug{xG5 kl08t ah] tkf0}f]zf:qdf c.; L j if\$}a9fsf]3f6l'df ; ft j if\$}l aflnsfnf0{en}ofpg]s'f n\}sf]5 eg] ljwjf laxf klg cjZo rnfPsf]xgkb5 l=x}f} \kl08t ah] d t ; kif aSb5' tkf0} dnf0{h} s}eGgxf] \} hg wd}f :ql-hfltnf0{s7k'tnlsf] ; k lbP/ cf0df0nf0{cft}nf]3f6sf]g klnf]tl/sf]tlnofPsf]5, To:tf]wd}f0{d wd}dfllbg l-!)\$-!)%

o; ; flon]k/Dk/fut ; dfhdf lj Bdfg cgd}h lj jfx sf/0f gf/Lx; ; fg}f ljwjf agl klxrfgxlg cj:yfdf klg] u/}f] tYonf0{pb}f6g u/}f] 5 . ; E; E}gf/L lj /f\ k?ifk\wfg ; dfhsf oyfl:yltj fbl wld\$ lrGtgk|tsf]lj /f\ ; zSt ;kdf k\$6 ePsf] 5 . oxF0lGb/fn] dflxnf0{dNo glbg] tTsfnlG ; dfhsf] wld\$ Joj:yfsf]; zSt kl|tj fb u/}l 5 .

lj jfxnf0{dfGotf glbg] k?if s}b}t wd{ :s[t]sf] ; zSt lj /f\ dflysf] ; flodf k|tt ePsf] 5 . :ql hfltdf dfq nfu' xg] gf/L lj /f\ lgodsf lgdf}stf}nf0{p; n]x}oxlg /fif; sf]; 7f lbE}To:tf]lj wfgnf0{/fif; L lj wfg eg}l 5 . ol s'k lgodx;nf0{k}f dfG} cGwf}f}kfngf u/} cufl8 a9} gf/lnf0{s7k'tnl agfpg]v}hdfq xf]eGg]lj rf/nf0{p; n]; zSttsf ; fy k|tt u/}l 5 . lj=:)& sf] kl/j tG; E} lkt}Gqsf k/Dk/fut s7f} wld\$ lgodx;sf] /fk}f/f clezkt hljg affr/x\$gf/Lx;sf] kl'df cfjfh p7fpg] /fhgllts kl/j } l; h}f ePsf] kf0G5 . 0lGb/fn] lkt[Qfsf wld\$ lgodx;sf

lj ?4 pqg] ; lldt gf/lx; sflkl|t|glw|j u/\$L5 . cf'g}>ldfgV cfdfn]d-h/L /
s]hf; alrsf] ; DaGwnf0{ :jLsf/ ul/ g; s\$]f]l:y|tdf pglx; alrsf] ; DaGwnf0{
; a\$Gbf klxn] :jLsf/ u/\$L 5 . ; f:s[ts c|lo]f ufoql rj|j tl{ l:kfsn]
lsgf/fdf k/\$fx; n] cf'gf] ; ldfGtfnfQ JoSt ug{ ; ls/x\$ f x\$gg\ To:tf]
l:y|tdf cGon] g}To; nf0{ cleJoSt ul/lbgk5{ eGg] 3f/0ff k|tt u/\$L 5g\
o; /L x\$|f{ O|Gb/fn] t|Sfnlg lj dzf{ds ; Gbedf g|kfnl ; dfhdf sxfnl n|lbf]
hlj g afR/x\$ f ljwj fx; sf]klfdf cfj fh k|tt u/\$L 5 . k/Dk/fut z|SteGbf
leGg z|Stxlgx; sf]s'/fnf0{k|tt u/\$f sf/0f u|f; Lsf dfGotsf cfwf/df p; n]
hlj s af|4ssf]kl|t|glw|j u/\$L 5 .

d-h/L pkGof; sf] s]hf; k|v k?if r|/q xf] . :gfts; Dd lz|ff xfi; n
u/\$f]pm pRr d|lod j ul| kl/j f/sf] ; b:o xf] . @))& ; fnsf]k|hftGqsf]pbo; E}
g|kfnf g|lg /fhg]ts Joj :yfsf] :yfkf eP klg ; fdlhs ; f:s[ts :j; k
k/Dk/fut lkt[Qf s|Gbt ; fdGtl /x\$]f] / Toxl k[7elddf ; Art k|tt
pkGof; df s]hf; sf] pkl:y|t lgs} dx; k0f{ /x\$]f] 5 . cf|Gofl; s cf/Dedf
ljwj flj j fxsf] ljklfdf /x\$]f] s]hf; afnljwj f d-h/Lsf] ; flG|lo; E}p; sf] lzi6,
nhfn' tyf klj q Joj xf/ clg lfdtfaf6 ; Ddf]xt eP/ x|lb\$ k| ug{kul p; E
cGt/hftlo lj j fx ug{k|f\$]f] 5 . ljwj flj j fx / cGt/hftlo lj j fxnf0{ Ps ; fy
cfd; ft\u/ s]hf; n] t|Sfnlg dhwf/sf]k?if s|Gbt ; dfhsf ; fd' 7hf]rgf]L
lbPsf] 5 . pkGof; df p; n] lj j fxsf] pSt :j; knf0{ l; 4fGt tM / Joj fx/tM
cfd; ft\u/ t|Sfnlg ; Gbedf ; lldt t/ ; r] k?ifx; sf]kl|t|glw|j u/\$f]5 .
oBlk s]hf; n]o; kl/l:y|tdf cf0kl|gsf nflu cfk|mf]j] fl/s :j; kdf :j feflj s
ul|tdf kl/j l|t tNofpg' k/\$]f] 5 . pRr d|lod j ul| af|xdof kl/j f/df x\$]f
pkGofs/ lj i6 dhwf/sf]lkt[Qf]ds ; f:s[ts :j; kx; nf0{cfnf]rgf]ds 9^aUn]
x|] ePsf] ljwj flj j fxnf0{ ; fdlhs dfGotf lbgk5{ eGg] pgsf] b|l6sf]f
pkGof; df k\$6 ePsf]5 .

d-h/Lsf]kl|j fl/s sx/nf0{/fd/L aem\$]f] s]hf; ; fG]gf lbE}wd{ efd ; xeful
u/fp/ p; sf] Jo|सत्त्वnf0{ plhNofpE} hfG5 . t|Sfnlg hftlo ; Qsf] hAa/

; Argfsf sf/of kl/j f/ / ; dfhdf ol b0{lr sf] klj q ; Da6wnf0{cg}ts eg} cfnf]rgf / k]ofnf]rgfsf] pkj d ; ? x65 . s}hf; sf ol Joj xf/x; t]sfnlg k/Dk/fut k?ifk\wfg ; Dffhsf]lr6tg lj k/Lt lyP . To; u/L s}hf; kfl/j fl/s 0{of{ / 8fxaf6 dSt eP/ ; Gtf]fsf]hljg latfpg df0t uPsl d-h/L; E kqJoj xf/ ug{ kU5 . o; df d-h/Ln] klj ; fy lbPsf] b]v65 . lkt[Qfsf] hftlo Joj :yfsf] dfGotf lj k/Lt s}hf; n] pkNnf] hftsl af\Xdofl :qlnf0{ lr7L n]y}sf] lyof} . Toltdfq xf0g d-h/L k/Dk/fut af\Xdof ; :sf/sf lj k/Lt kglij}fxsf nlu af6f] a6b ePsl gf/L ly0{ . j :t'tM t]sfnlg lj dzf{ds ; Argfdf s}hf; n]egh:tf]k / ; DKIQ ePsl s}pl kfpq ; SYof]t/ :qlk?ifalrsf]jf:tlj s k}p; Da6w ;k/aU, ; DKIQ / jf; fgfe6bf dfly x65 e6g]cfbz}af6 blift cfwlgs k?if ePsf]xgn] hljgdf d-h/Lsf] clgj fo{fnf0{ cfld; ft\ug{ kU5 . o; n] k/Dk/fut cfbz}sf] tfrfaf6 ylgPsf gf/Lklt x}g]gjlg j }Nks ; :s[tsf] kl/; a}st u{/sf] 5 . d-h/Lnf0{n]y}sf]lr7Lsf sf/of lax}sf nflu kflj fl/s bafa a9g' k}08 / cdfn] afxgl t]Sg] eg} ufnl ugh:tf 36gfsf lj k/Lt d-h/Lklt]sf] cf6tl/s k}p s}hf; df cem ; zSt a6b}uPsf]5 . of]s]n dvgfsf]kl/j f/leqsf]a6a / lj }pof-kl}tlj }pof dfq xf0g . of]t t]sfnlg s}p}lo ; :s[tklt]sf]kl}t/fw xf] . s}hf; n] To; }sf] kl}tlgwlj u{/sf] 5 . pkGof; df d-h/Ln] :jlsf/ u/] c?; E lax] gug] lj rf/ k}08; E s}hf; o; /L k}6 ub5 M

; lgalS; of] \sfg v}h} ; lg a}S; of] V}xh'/sf]76}f ug]; fwg ePsl afx}sl 5f}L d-h/Lnf0{d cfk}yf]lz/sf]k}h ; De65' U}olb d-h/L d; E laxf ug{/fhl x65g\eg] d ltgnf0{5f} c;nf0{lax]ulb} . sg}:ju}L ck; /f P}jo{nflbP/ cfp5g\eg] t}klg d p; n]d-h/ u5]eg]c; ; E lax]ulb} . lsg xh'/sf]b}l}6df of]t plrt}x}hf < -k} \$) (-\$!)_

o; ; flon]s}hf; sf]lj j fx; Da6wL cfk}yf]b}l}6sf0f, OR5f / rfxgnf0{k}6 kf{/sf] 5 . h/; fx}sl 5f}L lax]u/} wgbf}t ; d} xft kf/L p; sf] kfl/j fl/s ; v}sf] sNkgf ug]cdfd / Hj f0Fk}08sf]cf6tl/s of}hgfnf0{s}hfzn]k}6; kdf kl}tj fb u{/sf] 5 . d-h/Ln] :jlsf/ u/] c; s}pl; E lax] gug] lj rf/ k}6 u/} lj j fx bafaaf6 xf0g s}fs}lsf]OR5faf6 ; Dk6g xg]lj ifo xf]e6g] s}hf; sf]cf6tl/s

OR5f o; ; flodf k\$6 ePsf]5 . o; sf nflu d-h/Lsf]; d: jLs[t cfj Zos
xgkg] 7fg\$] 5 . of] k/Dk/fut k?ifk\wfg ; dfhsf] ljj fxdf xg] cleefj slo
lgoGqOfkltsf]kl|t/f\w xf]. tTsfnlG lj dzf{ds ; Gbedf kl/wlo cj :yfdf /x\$]of]
cfj fhsf] kl|tlglwTj pkGof; sf/n] s}hf; af6 u/fPsf 5g\ . pm k/Dk/fut
k?iflrGtgdf cfwf/t wd{h] ljwj fljj fxnf0{ lgif\w ug] lgodsf lj ifodf kOf{M
hfgsf/ 5 . To; nf0{pkGof; df vh} rbgf}L lbPsf]5 . pm d-h/L; E o; /L k|t't
xG5 Md-h/L ltdn]dh" dfq ub}mo; ; dfhsf]aGwgn]dnf0{afWg ; Stg . of]
Joy\$]lat8fj fbl wd{h]dnf0{k5fg}; Stg -k\$\$(.

plNnlvt ; floaf6 ljwj fljj fx lgif\w ug]wfld\$ lgod vf; sg}tsdf cfwf/t
xf0g eGg]s}hf; sf]lj rf/ k\$6 ePsf]5 . To; n]cfkmhf0{afWg g; Sg]s/f u/\
d-h/Lsf]; fy dfu\$]5 . lsgf/fdf kfl/Psfx;sf]kl|t/f\wL cfj fh s}bdf cf0klg
g; Sg]cj :yfdf ; r}t af}4s ju{h]To; nf0{k\$6 u/L k?ofpg]sfd ug{k5{eGg]
ufoql rj}ij tl{ l:kefssf] dfGotfnf0{ cfTd; ft\ug] xf] eg] af}Xdof kl/j f/sf
ljwj fx; Ps k\$6/n] lsgf/Lst{ gf/Lx; xg\ . d-h/L cgd}h ljj fxsf sf/Of
afnljwj f aGg ku\$}l gf/L xf] . p; sf] Psn cfj fh] tTsfnlG lj dzf{ds
; Argfdf sg} cy{ /fVb}Yof] . s}hf; n] ljwj fljj fx; DaGwL k/Dk/fut aGwgsf
lj?4sf]cfj fhnf0{p7fg dfq u/\$]5} d-h/Ln]rfx]lj j fx u/L gjlg hlj g lbg]
rfxgf ; d: k\$6 u/\$]5 . o; /L s}hf; n] tTsfnlG k?ifj fbl ; dfhdf dhwf/sf]
; b:o eP/ klg km/s kl|tlglwTj u/\$]5 .

Psflt/ ; fdfllhs eosf sf/Of d-h/Ln] cfGtl/s ; kdf rfx} klg
s}hf; nf0{:jLs[t lbg g; Sg'csf]t/ kfl/j fl/s rsf]bafa y}lg g; sl h/; fx}asl
5f}L; E :j oDa/ u/\$]lbgblv dfq; s ; kdf ; }kt ag} s}hf; Hj/u}t eP/
d[off]dv xBf 5f}fsf]:j:ytfsf nflu dvgfsf]OG5fcg'; f/ g}d-h/Ln]cfP/ ; fy
lbg]j rg lbPkI5 s}hf; df afRg] OR5fn] hfut xG5 / lgsf] xG5 . pkGof; sf]
pk; xf/df z^as/sf]dWo:ytfdf s}hf; / d-h/Lalr ljj fx eP/ Ps; fy ljwj fsf]
kglj }fx / cGt/hftlo ljj fxn]d't{f k}k{t u/\$]bl}V65 . o; /L pkGof; df @))&
; fnkl5sf]; a}ndoffds cj :yfdf k/ftg / gjlg j }fl/s dfGotfalrsf]aGanf0{
; Dos ; kdf pk:yfkg ul/Psf]5 . tTkl/j ; zdf s}hf; n]gjlg r}gfnf0{j :tk/s

كدف قفد; فت\و/ف]5 . لـ وـ جـ فـ; داغـ وـ لـ كـ/فتـ دـفـوتـفـسـفـ سـفـ/وفـ اـفـخـدـوفـ ; دـبـفـوسـفـ
لـ وـ جـ فـ xـ كـ فـ لـ xـ اـفـ6 ; دـتـ قـفـjـ fـhـlـjـ xـlـgـ aـgـlـ pـTـkـlـ8ـgـ vـlـkـ/xـفـ] تـTـسـfـnـlـgـ
لـjـ dـzـfـ[ds ; Gـbـeـfـ sـhـfـ; nـ]dـ-hـ/Lـ; Eـ لـjـjـ fـxـ uـ/Lـ zـlـsـtـxـlـgـ lـsـgـfـ/لـsـfـtـ gـfـ/لـxـكـnf0{
gـjـlـg ; ~rـ]gـfـ kـjـfـxـ uـ/فـ]5 .

pkGof; sf] ; xfos kfq d-h/Lsf] ddfsf] 5f/f bfh' z^as/ lkt[Qftds
; dfhsf gf/L lj/fwL k?iflrGtgsf sf/Of ; dfhdf gf/Lxك cem ljwjf gf/Lxك
zflift / kll8t ePsf 5g\eg] ; wf/sf nflu n8ف] ; fdfhs cleoGtfsf كدف
pkGof; df pkl:yt 5 . ctM n⁹us kltlgwTj sf ; Gbeef k?if eP klg
; ldfGtLst gf/Lxكsf] klfdf p; sf] pkl:ylt dx^ej kOf{/xف] 5 . lzllft ojs
shf; ; dt p; sf] lj rf/af6 kefij t 5 . ljwj fsf] kgij } fxnf0{ ; dfhn] kOf^tM
cfldLst ugk5{eG] p; sf] lj rf/af6 shf; d-h/L; E ; DaGw lgdf^fsf nflu
alnof]cfwf/ kfp5 . p; n]wd{; dfhdf kflxكsf]kfkj [Qnf0{; dfhdf 5fllg]9fn
xf]-k{##)_ eg] kgij } fxnf0{cfld; ft\ug{ljwjf alxglnf0{cg/fw ub5 . clxn]
cfnf]rgfsf]l:ylt l; h^gf eP klg sfnGt/df cfbz{aG5f}eg] pTk\|t ub5 .
kfl/jfl/s pTkl8gn] r/d ك ln⁵ uPkI5 d-h/Ldf k?if; Qfsf] wd^rGtGklit
cfnf]rgf]ds bll6 lgdf^fdf p; sf]lj rf/n]; xofw u/ف]5 . o; n]d-h/Lsf nflu
shf; ; E cGthf^tlo j} flxs ; DaGwsf nflu cfwf/ lgdf^f u/ف] 5 . o; /L
tTsfnlG k/Dk/fut ; dfhsf c; fdfhs n⁹us lgodsف lj?4df n8g] gjlg
; wf/fTds r]gf af\$] lj pofzln ; lldt oj fj u\$]kltlgwTj z^as/n]u/ف]5 .

pkGof; df uf^f eldsfdf /xف] jf; b] / Zofdsf] gf/L; DaGwL bll6sf^f
k/Dk/fut dhwf/ s^lbt /xف] 5 eg] /fdsf] bll6sf^f lj/fwefifl b]vG5 .
d-h/Lsf]afa' /f06/ jf; b] tTsfnlG dhwf/sf] afXdfj fbl ; :sf/sf]kltlgwTj
ug]lgDgj ul6 j fXdf xf]. p; n]dhwf/sf]1fg / ; Tonf0{dh sfgg dfg\$ف sf/Of
d-h/Lsf]afn pd}d}5kGg j if\$ف j 4 k?ifnf0{ ; Dk\$ف] 5 . gf/Lnf0{ xG] p; sf]
bll6sf^f k/Dkl/t /xف] 5 . afXdf shdf hlGdPkI5 5f]Lsf]afn pd}d}lj fj fx
xGk5{eG]dfg]; stf af\$ف]5 . oxl 1fgsf sf/Of d-h/Ln]; fg}pd}df ljwjf
eP/ kfl/jfl/s pTkl8g eflg' k/ف] 5 . pkGof; df k^ost d-h/Lsf] dflxnf]
em8shf] 5f/f] Zofd lzllft 5 t/ dhwf/sf] ; :s[ts} klkfl]fs /xف] 5 .

pkGof; df ; f; gL cdf d-h/Ldflysf] pTKL8gdf pm ; xeful ePsf] 5 . o; /L
pkGof; df tTsfng k?iflrGtgs} sQblotdf gf/Lx; nf0{xgI/ ; f; Lcg; f/ Joj xf/
ugIoj f k?ifx; sf] kl|tlglwIj p; n] u/\$f] b]V65 . pkGof; sf/ lj i6n] pkGof; df
cfwlg lziff k|t u/} klg ; #sf/ut ; kdf lkt[QfTds ; #rgfsf lj rf/x; nf0{
kOfM Toflg g; s\$ f kfqx; sf] ; r; kdf kl|tlglwIj u/fPsf 5g\ . d-h/Lsf]
sf65] em8s]hf] 5f]f] /fd bfhx; sf] eGbf clns leGg ; jefj af\$ \$f] kfqs]
el'dsdf cfa4 5 . oBlk kfl/j fl/s ; kdf lsgf/Ls[d-h/Ldflysf] Joj xf/df
p; sf] pkl: ylt lgoGqOfTds /x\$] 5 . ljwj f lj jfxnf0{ dfGof lbgk5{ eGg]
dfGof /fv] klg p; n] kl/j f/leq n; us tyf hftlo ; dtf lgdfQdf ofubfg ug{
; s\$ f] b]V6g .

k|t't pkGof; df lkt[QfTds ; dfhdf ljwj f gf/Lx; s; /L kfl/j fl/s
; kdf lgoGqT / zIStxlg aG5g\ eGg] s/fnf0{ hljGt ; kdf k|t't ul/Psf] 5 .
d-h/L kfl/j fl/s ; kdf lgoGqT / cwlgy aGg ku\$ 5 . p; sf] b]lgsl kl/j tG
ePsf] 5 . pm 3/sl gf\$/glh: t} aGg kU5] . 3/ lnkg] eG; fsf] sfddf Ao: t
xgkgI h; L ; f; fsf] ; j] fdf tNnlG xgkgI cflbdf p; sf] el'dsf ; lldt xgkU5 .
kfl/j fl/s ; b:ox; ld; lah} em8s]hf 5f]f / axf/Lx; af6 p; n] af/Daf/ k|t'8gf
/ zf; g vlg' k/\$f] 5 . d-h/Lsf nflu ld; lah} g}xf]To; 3/df afRg] cfwf/ t/
3/sf axf/Lx; n] lg/fwf/ cf/fk nufpBf, aflx/af6 clns l9nf 3/ cf0kUbf
p; af6 klt 6f\$]L, /flf; gl, s\$ pL eg] ufnl vfp/ p; n] lk6f0; d; vfgk/\$f]
sf?lOfs b; o pkGof; df k|t't ePsfn] ; f; f; ; tfalrsf] zISt; DaGwdf d-h/Lsf]
klxrfg zIStxlg aGgkU5 . lj xfgb]v /flt; Dd sfddf hf]tBf em8s]hf 5f]fx;
axf/Lx; af6 ufnl kfpG' p; sf] lgolt aG5 . k; #fdq e0lbP s: tf] xGyof] eg]
sNkgf ug{d-h/L kl/j f/af6 ; w} lgoGqT / k|t'f8t dfq xgk/\$f] 5 eGg] s'/f
pkGof; df o; /L k|t't ul/Psf] 5 M

*o; ufpBf] 5ftldf Ps 8B ; o 3/x; 5g\ x/\$ 3/df axf/L, ; f; '5g\
x/\$ 3/df axf/L, ; f; '5g\ lsgt' tl ; a; f0{3/ 3/ h: tf] 5 U ; fR-}
eGg] xf] Itglx; nf0{ h^an klg 3/} h: tf] 5 . t/ ; laagl bhf]f]
ljellft ePsl s]n d-h/Ls} pk/ dfgf] ; w} ckdfg, si6, bM,*

*nf65gf a; {5g\ . dfgf] d-h/ldf dglosf] h:tf] xpo lyPg, cfsf/
k\$ff/ lyPg ũ dfgf] ltbl kmmfd ly0g\, 9^adf ly0g\ ũ d9f] ly0g\.
ltgnf0{cfF'v; flg] d]t dfgf] clwsf/ lyPg ũ-kf *\$*

k|tt ; flon] kl/jf/leq d-h/lst] klxrfg slt ; ldfgt cj:yfdf lyof] e6g]
; Gbefn0{hljGt; kdf k|tt u/\$f]5 . pRrj ul6 kl/jf/sl ; b:o eP/ klg To;
3/sf ; b:ox; af6 lg/Gt/sf] ktf8gf dfq vlgk/\$fn] p; sf] klxrfg sf?l0fs /
dfld\$ ag\$]5 . pkGof; df p; nf0{; ldfgt agfpg kl/jf/sf tlGcf6}axf/Lx;
plQs}; lj 1p 5g\ . To; sf] s]bdf efd /x\$] 5 . d-h/ldfly cg\$ nf-5gfx;
Yffk/] cfg6 lngdf efdedf ; Gt]f k6f x65 . pm slxn] rfhf] rf/\$f] cf/flk
nufp5] . slxn] bh' z^a\$/n] k7fPsf] lr7lnf0{ sg} ukt oj sss] lr7l eg]
kltnf0{ kfh nuf0{ cg\$ nf65gf nufp5] . slxn] s]f; / d-h/lalr cg]ts
; Da6w 5 eg] Jo^abo s:5] . o; /L d-h/ln] pkGof; leq ; jul6 gf/Lx; af6]
pTKL8g vlg' k/\$f] klxrfg k|tt ePsf]5 . of] lkt[Qfids ; fdGtl ; Arfgfn]
lgdf0f u/\$f] n] Nus ; f:s[ts :j; k xf] . o; nf0{pkGof; sf/n] hljGt ; kdf
k|tt u/\$f 5g\

k/Dk/fut 3/flgof kl/jf/sl 5f]L / axf/L eP/ klg 0lGb/fn] pkGof; df
dhwf/sf]; :s[teGb km/s lj rf/ k\$6 u/L gf/L :j t6qtfsf lj ifodf k]6 wf/Off
/fv\$] 5 . afnpd]df lj jfx u/f0{; ldfgt kfl/Psf gf/Lsf] cfj fhsf] kl|tlglw]j
u/\$] xgn] dhwf/sf k/Dk/fut gf/Lx; sf] eGb p; sf] klxrfg gjlg /
kl/j t6sf/L b]v65 . pkGof; sf] cGtodf s]f; / d-h/lst]k6; Da6wnf0{; a6Gb
klxn p; h]:jlsf/ u/] t]sfnlg ; fdlhs, ; f:s[ts kl/k]odf leGg kl/ronf0{
cfd; ft\ u/\$] 5 . dlxf; 3df cfa4 ePk]5 ; dfhdf /x\$]n] Nus c; dfgtfsf]
/fd/L cjaf]w ug{ ku\$] 0lGb/fn] lj wj f gf/Lx; sf] ; ldfgt hljgnf0{ /fd/L
lgofn\$] 5 . kl08t rj kfl0fn] k]hftGq cfPk]5 k/Dk/fut ; fdlhs wdf cfF
cfpg yfn\$]/ o; sf] k6fj gf/Lx; df ; d]t kg{uP/ pglx; gv/df]L / kye]6
a6g ku\$] lj rf/ k|tt ubf{pkGof; df To; sf]; zSt kl|tj fb ug] j]ddf c; L
j if\$] a9fn] ; ft j if\$] aflnsfnf0{ et6ofpg] ; dfhn] gf/Lx; nf0{ ; dfhdf
s7k'tnl agfpg] sfo{u/L klxrfgxlG agfpg ku\$] s/f k|tt u/\$] 5 . o;

; Gbedf p; n]cf'g}bfh' s}f; n]ljwjf lj jfxsf]lj klfdf wf/0ff k|t't ubf{gf/L
hfltdf dfq nfu' xg]lgodx₂sf sf/0f gf/Lnf0{lj j z hlj g eflg afWo agf0Psf]
5 eGg]lj rf/ k|t't u/7 ; zSt kljtjfb u/\$L 5 . cfwlgs blvg] t/ ; f/df
k/Dk/fs}kl|t/lfs 0lGb/fsf]kl|t k|08 h7fgn]d-h/Lnf0{n}y\$}kq b}vbf j}f]wt
ePsf]5 . d-h/Lnf0{j 7of gf/Lsf]; 4f lbPsf]5 . t/ 0lGb/fn]k}d ug{ck/fw
xf0g eGb}bfh'sf]sfohf0{; fdfGo 7fg\$L 5 . o; af6 p; sf]k/Dk/feGbf leGg
klxrfg k\$6 ePsf]5 . pkGof; sf/ k|t't ub5gW æhlt hlt Itgl kltsf]j}f]vsf]
sf/0f kQf nufpg]k}t}g ug{yflng\plt plt d-h/Ldfly l/; p7g}sf]; 6&fdf
cf^g}kl|t dx}f}odfly /L; p7g yf}nof]Æ -k{#*\$-#*%_ . o; ; flon] 0lGb/f
k|08sf]lj rf/af6 k}f]j t geP/ d-h/Lsf]hlj gkl|t g}; j}hgzln 5]eGg]k|6
kf/\$f]5 . k?ifs}lGb}t ; fdf}hs lgodsf sf/0f gf/Lx₂dfly n}Nus j r{j sfod
u/L z}f}f0f ul/Psf]5 eGg]aem\$ 0lGb/f bfh' l; ls:t la/fdl eP/ d[osf]d}vdf
x}f d-h/Lnf0{af}h}fpg hfG5]. bfhh]tldLnf0{To:tf]:yfg lbPsf]5 eGg]yxf
kfPsf]eP bfh'sf]lax\$}f]s'/f]rnfp}g}ly0g -k{&#%_ eg} pglx₂sf]alrsf]
; Da6wnf0{k?ifk}vfg ; dfhsf lj rf/wf/fsf lj k/Lt ; a}ebf klxn]; dyg u/\$L
5 . o; /L 0lGb/fn]k/Dk/fut dhwf/sf gf/Lx₂sf]lj rf/wf/f / eldsfeGb}f lj k/Lt
leGg klxrfgnf0{c}Id; ft}u/\$L 5 .

pRrhftlo u/La kl/jf/sl 5f7L ; }lsf]afxg s}f]E lj jfx ePsf] t/
cfly\$ cefj n]; tfPkI5 kl|t kb}z uPsf]cj:yfdf ; dfhsf]7fnaf6 pm anfs}t
ePsl 5 . 7fn'sf]ue{af\$}L p; nf0{7fnh]pN6}sfgg xftdf lnP/ cbfntdf
; Dk}f u/L %}fnvfgdf a:g afWo kfb5 . o; /L pkGof; df t}sfnlg lj dzf{ds
; Argdf ul/alsf sf/0f z}f}fsx₂af6 of}z}f}f0fsf]df/ v}g lj j z eP/ lsgf/Lst
; }lsf]lj b}k klxrfg k|t't ePsf]5 . k?if; Qfsf lj?4df sg}kl|t/fw ug}lfdtf
gePsl ; }L sf7df8f}cfPkI5 klg pd} 5pGh}h b/af/x₂df df}nsx₂sf]of}g
rfxgf k'/f u/L hlj g rnfPsl 5 . t}sfnlg k?if; Qf}ds ; fdGtl ; Argfsf sf/0f
g}k}nsf upfFtyf ; x/df of}gs₂kdf z}f}f0f v}g lj j z gf/Lx₂sf]sf?l0fs /
; j}hgzln klxrfgnf0{p; sf d}Wodaf6 kl|t}glw}j u/f0Psf]5 .

pkGof; df lxGbwdsf] j }fl/s cfbz{af\$}sl lgDgj ul6 j f\Xdof kl/j f/sl
u[x0flsf 2kdf u^afnf0{ lrlqt u/f0Psf] 5 . klt /f06/ jf; b]sf x/\$
lg0f6x2nf0{cftd; ft\ug{ku\$}l xgfn]ePs}sf/0f p; sf]klxrfg k?if cwlG:y
aGg ku\$}5 . afn pd}d}d~h/Lnf0{5kGg j if\$; Aaf xfk}fb; E ; lDkg]lg0f6
kltn]ubf{To; nf0{gf/Lsf] kf/Aw eg} ; xh}:jLsf/ ug{ku\$}l xgfn]pkGof; df
u^afsf]klxrfg lkt[6qdf cfwf/t dhwf/sf]; #s[t; fk]f /x\$}5 .

pkGof; sl ; xfos rl/q dvgfsf] gf/L klxrfg tTsfnlG dhwf/sf]
k?ifk\wfg ; #s[taf6}lgld{ xgku\$}5 . 5f}Lnf0{3/flgofFkl/j f/sl axf/L agfP/
k7fPsl dvgfn]lzlft 5f}fsf nflu ; dt ; DklQj fn sh3/fgsL 5f}L vf}h} lax]
u/fpg] dgl:ylt af\$}ln] p; sf] klxrfg dhTm k/Dk/fut dhwf/sf] ; To /
1fgaf6}lgM { ePsf]5 . k9\$}5f}fn]kl/>d u/} pGgl xfl; n u/f] \eGg}km{
Wofg glbg]tyf sh3/fgsL 5f}Lsf]; DklQklt dxej lbg]j ul6 lj rf/ lbP/ To:tf
:qL; E gftf hf}g tID; Psl 5 . @))& ; fnsf]kl/j tGnf0{2kdf cftd; ft\u/\$}
h:tf]clego u/]klg ; f/df pm lkt[QfTds ; dfhs}lj rf/ ; 4fg / ; Tocg}k
lx8g vf}h}sl 5 . s}f / s}lslf] /fhf0d}5f}fsf]lj x]xgk5{t eG5}t/ 5f}fsf]
OR5f lj k/Lt k/ftg gf/Lx2n]emfsgn / hg}sf 5f}Lx2 vf}h}b}5f}fnf0{lj j fxsf
nflu bafa lbG5} . d~h/L; E s}hf; sf] ; DaGwnf0{ lnP/ ; dfhdf cfnf}gf
k}ofnf}gf x}f tyf d~h/Lnf0{lr7L n}y\$}lj ifodf Hj f0af6 yxf kfPkI5 lrlGtt
xg ku\$}l dvgf s}hf; nf0{bafadf /vL hg}sl 5f}L; E lj j fxsf nflu bafa
lbG5} . o; af6 pm k/ftg gf/L klxrfgcg}k afF\$}l gf/L xf] eGg] k}6 xG5 .
cfkGofl; s cGtodf p; n] afWofTds 2kdf s}hf; / d~h/lalrsf] cGt/hftlo
j}flxs ; DaGwnf0{ cftd; ft\ug{ ku\$}l 5 . o; sf dfWodaf6 pkGof; sf/n]
tTsfnlG ; Gbedf gjlg ; f:#s[ts klxrfg lgdf{f x}u/\$}; #s}t u/\$}5g\

d~h/L pkGo; sl efd f n}us 2kdf pTKll8t eP klg bR5/ gf/L rl/qsf
2kdf lrlqt 5]. kltkTglut zIst; DaGwdf p; sf]klxrfg zIstxlg ag\$}5 .
d~h/Lsf] tf?oaf6 cfslif{ ePkI5 an/fdn] :jf:gl efdfdly ; dt ufnl ug]
tyf lagfsf/0f s6\$}5 . lkt[QfTds lrlGtg / Joj xf/af6 pTKll8t / zflift eP
klg To; nf0{afw gu/L gf/L dflys}zflif0fdf ; mlg p; n]; f}gl ; f; dfly lg/Gt/

ġkdf pTkl8g yfġ/\$l 5 . o; /L p; sf]kl|tlglwġj n]pkġof; df k?ifk\wfg ; dfhdf
gf/L klxrfgnf0{sdhfġ agfpg :j od\gf/L g}S; /L ; xeful xġ5g\egġ]; ġbe\$ġf]
pb\$ġf6g u/\$ġf] 5 . k|t't pkġof; df sġtl k/Dk/fut dhwf/s}k?if ; f:\$lts
klxrfgnf0{cġfd; ft\uġI pRrj ulġ kl/j f/sl axf/Lsf ġkdf lrlqt 5].

k?if; Qfn]cfj ġġt tTsfnlġ ; dfhJoj :ydf gf/Lxġ cem lj wj f gf/Lxġsf]
cj :yf lj bġ lyof]. afn cyfġ t?Of cj :ydf lj wj f xg ku\$ġ af\Xd0fshlg
gf/Lxġnf0{tTsfnlġ ; fdġtl ; dfhn]kġlj j}fxsf]cġdlt lbġYof]. o; sf lj k/Lt
pkġof; df sġf; n] afnhljgd} lj wj f eP/ kf/lj fl/s / ; fdfhs ġkdf
; ldfġstġ ag\$ġ d-h/L; ġsf] kġfTds ; Daġwdf afFwP/ cġthfġlo j}flxs
; Daġw sfod ug{ku\$ġf] 5 . oBlk sġf; n]of]; Daġw kġktsf nflu lgs}; a\$if{
ugġ/\$ġf] 5 . pkġof; sf/n] ol b0ġlrsf] ; Daġw sfod u/fP/ lj wj flj j fx /
cġt/hftlo lj j fxk|t ; dyġ ubġn]us ; dfgtfd hf\$ lbPsf]5 .

pkġof; sf]cf/Deblv g}sġf; sf]klxrfg afġs kfqsġ ġkdf pkl:yt 5 .
pm gf/L / k?ifdf ; dfg ; xdlT /fvb5 / dfgj tfsf]efj gf JoQm ub5 . pkġof; df
k/Dk/fut k?ifk\wfg lrgtgeġbf k\ys\ġkdf p; sf] gf/Lk|tsf] b[ġ6sf0f k|t't
ePsf]5 . gf/Lxġn]bġleq Jofġt cġfrf/sf]cġTosf nflu dxġ k0f{el'dsf lgj fġ
ug{; S5g\egġ]lj rf/ /fvġ]sġf; n]d-h/Lsf]JolSत्तन्f0{wd{ ef, uf]7L cflbsf
dfWodaf6 plhNofpg d4t u/\$ġf] 5 eg] p; n] vfġh\$ġf] gofF lj Bfnodf c5't
hftnf0{; dġ klj li6 lbPsfn]; dfhdf pm cfnfġgfsf]kfq aġgkU5 . d-h/L; ġsf]
kġdf k/kġ5 p; df gj lg 1fgsf]lj sf; xġ}uPsf]5 . kġ hflTlj zġfsf]3}feġbf
dfly xġ5 egb}lxġf\$ġf]cfl:ts oġs sġfz gfl:ts aġġ]cj :yf kul leġg klxrfg
cġfd; ft\uġ{ kU5 . o; sf k5f18 z^a\$/sf] ; dfh ġkfġt/Of; DaġwL gfl:ts
lj rf/n]; dġ kġfj kf/\$ġf]5 . x/\$ kl/l:yltnf0{uDel/ ġkdf lj Znġf0f ugġlfdtf
ePsf]sġf; sġh / hgġsf 5f]Lxġsf]lj j fx ugġk|tfj nf0{c:jLsf/ u/L j ulġ
ġkdf lj eb' xg'gXg]eb|; xdlT /fvb5 . d-h/Ln]:jLsf/ u/]cġt/hftlo lj j fx
ugġlgZsifdf kUbf kl/j f/df tgj sf]:ylt l; hġf xġ5 . p; nf0{kl/j f/ / ; dfhn]

lgn[hsf]klxrfg le/fp5 . wglsl 5f]L ljj fx u/fP/ 5f]fsf] ; vsf]sNkgf ug[
cdfsdf]dhwf/ s]Gb+ dfgl; stfn]shf; sf]klxrfgd ; a\$6 cfp5 . ; fdlhs
2kdf ; dt p; n]tlj |cfnf]rgf ; xgk5{. k?ifk\fg ; #s[t kvfn ag] cufl8
pkl:yt xbf p; sf]klxrfg ; jhgzln a6g ku\$]5 . ; dfh / kl/jf/sf]cfnf]rgf
/ bafasf sf/of d-h/L p; E]sf]; DaGwsf nflu rfx] klg tof/ gePsf]l:ytdf
pm dffd\$ a6g kU5 . kfl/j fl/s rsf]bafa / d-h/Lsf]clgOf6sf sf/of hg]sl
5f]L; E :j oDa/ u/\$] lbgblv d-h/L; E]sf] lj of]uj hgn] lyNynPsf] shfz
d[osf]cj :yfdf klbf p; n]; fy lbg]atfPkI5 lgsf]x65 Pj d\pplx2alr ; DaGw
sfod xgkU5 . o; /L k|tt pkGof; df jul6, hftlo / n]lus lje]n]cfj rft
ag\$]ttsfnlg ; dfhsf j]fl/s dfGotfeGbf lj k/Lt lxGbwD{lgif]wt lj wj flj j fx
/ c6thf]lo ljj fxnf0{cfTd; ft\u/] shfzn]k/Dk/feGbf k\ys\k?if klxrfgsf]
kltlglwTj ug{ku\$]5 .

pkGof; sf/ lji6n] d-h/L pkGof; df z^s/nf0{af]4s klxrfg af\$]f]
rI/qsdf 2kdf pkl:yt u/fPsf 5g\ . pkGof; df @))& ; fn cl3 u^Nfnfn /
wd6Stx2sf] ; xsdl{eP/ khftGq kflKtsf nflu n8\$] z^s/ gjlg zf; g
Joj :yfsf]cfudg; E}; fdlhs cleoGtf a65 . lkt[QfTds ; dfhsf :j 2kx2nf0{
; Dos 2kdf shfPsf] p; n] gf/Ldflysf] pTkl8g, zfl]of, lje] / bdgnf0{
glhsaf6 lgofn\$]5 . ef/t / g]kfnf gf/Lx2 s; /L pTkl8g vlg ljj z 5g\
e6g] s'/fsf]kli6sf nflu lje6g pbfx/Ofx2 k2 ub] shfz; E ax; ub5 .
lkt[QfTds ; dfhsf]gf/Ldflysf]pTkl8gnf0{; dfkt kfg{:j o+gf/Lx2sf]; lj]otf
cfj Zos xg]ePsf]n]d-h/Lnf0{; dfh; wf/sf nflu cl3 a9] cfbz{gf/L a6g
af/Daf/ pTkl]t ub5 . kg]j]fx u/] j]flGtsf]l/tf k]z6 ug{cg/f]w ub5 .
pkGof; df d-h/L; E e65 M

*ltdl g}eg, cfh ltdf]cj:yfdf slt cf0df0x2 5g\< tl :qlx2n]k?if
a/fa/ xs kfPsf]eP cfh ; dfhdf aa]tf k]f xG\of]<E -k#^(_ .*

kU5]. o; /L pkGof; df d-h/Lsf] k|t|glwTj sf]; Gbe{lj lj w :j ُ kaf6 k\$6 ePsf] b]V65 . tTsfnlG k/Dk/fut k?ifk\wfg ; fdGtl ; dfhdf j f\Xd0fshdf hlGdPsf 5f]Lxُsf]pd] gklul aflNofj :yfdf g}lj j fx xGyof]. pkGof; df j } flxs hlj gsf] jf:tlj s cy{ gaemlsg d-h/L klg of] lgolt ef]lg lj j z xG5]. k/Dk/fut k?ifk\wfg ; dfhsf s6x/ cgbfol kl08t rj kfl0fn] khftGq cfPkI5 sltko gf/Lxُn]lj wj f afxglxُsf]lj j fxsf]s/f u/] ; dfhnf0{laufb\uPsf]lj rf/ k|tt u/]sf]; Gbedf To; sf]; zSt k|tj fb pkGof; df o; /L u/]L 5 M

s] s/f ug{ xG5 kl08tafh] tkf0Esf] zf:qdf c::L j if\$] a9fsf] 3f6ldf ; ft j if\$L aflnsfnf0{emsofpg]s/f n\]sf]5 eg] lj wj f laxf klg cj Zo rnfPsf]xgkb5 0=xg]xf] \kl08t afh] d t ; kmf aSb5; tkf0Ednf0{h} s}eGgxf] \ hg wddf :ql-hfltnf0{s7ktnlsf] ُk lbP/ cf0df0nf0{cf]nf] 3f6sf] g kNnf] tl/sf] tNofPsf] 5, To:tf] wdhf0{d wd\df]Gbg 0 -!) \$-!)%_

o; ; flon]k/Dk/fut ; dfhdf lj Bdfg cgd]h lj j fx sf/Of gf/Lxُ ; fgdf lj wj f agl klxrfgxlg cj :yfdf klg] u/]sf] tYonf0{pb3f6g u/]sf] 5 . ; E; E}gf/L lj /f\ k?ifk\wfg ; dfhsf oyfl:yltj fbl wld\$ lrGtgk|tsf]lj /f\ ; zSt ُ kdf k\$6 ePsf] 5 . oxf0lGb/fn] dflxnfnf0{dNo glbg] tTsfnlG ; dfhsf] wld\$ Joj :yfsf]; zSt k|tj fb u/]L 5 .

cfkGofl; s cf/Dedf lj wj flj j fxsf] lj klfd /x\$] s]hf; afnlj wj f d-h/Lsf] ; flGwlo; E} p; sf] lzi6, nhfn' tyf klj q Joj xf/ clg lfdtfaf6 ; Ddf]xt eP/ xflb\$ k\ ug{ kul p; E cGt/hftlo lj j fx ug{ kl]sf] 5 . lj wj flj j fx / cGt/hftlo lj j fxnf0{Ps ; fy cfD; ft\u/] s]hf; n] tTsfnlG dhwf/sf] k?if s]Gb\ ; dfhsf ; fd' 7hf] rgf]L lbPsf] 5 . pkGof; df p; n] lj j fxsf] pSt :j ُ knf0{l; 4fGttM / Joj fx/tM cfD; ft\u/] tTsfnlG ; Gbedf ; lldt t/ ; r] k?ifxُsf]k|t|glwTj u/]sf] 5 . oBlk s]hf; n]o; kl/l:yltdf cf0kl]gsf nflu cfk]j] fl/s :j ُ kdf :j fe]lj s ultdf kl/j It\ tNofpg' k/]sf]

5 . af\Xdof kl/jf/df xS\$pf pkGofsf/ lj i6 dhwf/sf] lkt[Qfids ; f:s[ts :j 2kx2nf0{ cfnf] gfidS 9^un] xg] ePsf] lj wj flj j fxnf0{ ; fdlhs dfGotf lbgk5{eGg]pgsf] b]i6sf] pf pkGof; df k\$6 ePsf]5 .

kflrlg cfrfo{x2sf]; dodf x\lxt gf/L clxn]cfP/ x\ agf0Psf]5 eGg] wf/off k\$6 u/\$f] 5 . Pp6L lj wj f gf/L; E vh] ukm ubf{ km/s gh/ nfpG] ; dfhleq} s]hf; n] lagf ; ^sf] lj wj f af\Xdofl d-h/L; E gf/Lx2s} klfd f o; /L ts{u/\$f] 5 . csf{k km{ k?ifs] b]t ; Qfsf] 1fg / zlstsf cf8df d-h/Ldflysf] ofg b]o] xf/df c; kmn ePkI5 an/fd pN6}p; nf0{; fdlhs 2kdf kltt / j 7of gf/Lsf] 2kdf lrgfpg pBt ePsf] 5 . x/\$ ofhgfx2df c; kmn ePsf] an/fd d-h/L; E sf] l fAwtfnf0{ cdf / kTgldfly ; d]t efl]ts cfj idof u/] k\$6 u/\$f] 5 .

d-h/Lsf] afa' /f06/ jf; b] tTsfnlG dhwf/sf] af\Xdofj fbl ; :sf/sf] kl|tlglw]j ug] lGdgj ul6 j f\Xdof xf]. p; n] dhwf/sf] 1fg / ; Tonf0{ dh sfgg dfG\$pf sf/of d-h/Lsf] afn pd]d} 5kGg j if\$ j 4 k?ifnf0{; Dk\$] 5 . gf/Lnf0{ xg] p; sf] b]i6sf] k/Dkl/t /x\$] 5 . af\Xdof shdf hlGdPkI5 5f]Lsf] afn pd]d} lj fj fx xgk5{eGg]dfgl; stf af\$] 5 . oxl 1fgsf sf/of d-h/Ln]; fg] pd]df lj wj f eP/ kfl/j fl/s pTkl8g efl]g' k/\$] 5 .

pkGof; sf] gfos s]hf; / ; xfos rl/q z^s/ k/Dkl/t gf/L klxrfgsf] kl/j tGsf] klfd f b]vG5g\ . s]hf; n] d-h/L; E sf] cGt/hftlo j } flxs ; DaGwnf0{ cfd; ft\u/] n] Nus ; d; Qfsf] lgdf]df hfB lbPsf] 5 . ctM k/Dk/fleGg k?if klxrfgsf] cWooGsf nflu pglx2sf] pkl:ylt dx2j kOf{/x\$] 5 .

pRrhftlo u/la kl/j f/sl 5f]L ;]Lsf] afxg s]hf] E lj j fx ePsf] t/ cfly\$ cefj n]; tfPkI5 klT kb]z uPsf] cj :ydf ; dfhsf] 7fn'af6 pm anflst ePsl 5 . 7fn'sf] ue{af\$]L p; nf0{ 7fnh] pN6} sfgg xftdf lnP/ cbfntdf ; D] f u/L %afnv fgdf a:g afW kfb5 . o; /L pkGof; df tTsfnlG lj dz fids ; Argdf ul/alsf sf/of z]f]sx2af6 ofg z]f]f0sf]df/ v]g lj j z eP/ lsgf/Lst ;]Lsf] lj b] klxrfg k]t't ePsf] 5 .

pkGof; df lxGbwd\$] j }fl/s cfbz{ af\$}L lgDgj ul6 j fXdof kl/j f/sl
 u[x0flsf 2kdf u^a\fnf0{ lrlqt u/f0Psf] 5 . klt /f06/ jf; b]sf x/\$
 lg0f6x2nf0{ cfd; ft\ug{ku\$}L xgfn]ePs}sf/0f p; sf]klxrfg k?if cwlG:y
 aGg ku\$}5 .

२.४.३ मञ्जरी उपन्यासमा लैङ्गिक प्रतिनिधित्व र पहिचान

d-h/l pkGof; @))& cl3 / kl5sf]gkfnL ; dfhsf ; fdflhs, ; f:s[ts /
 wfld\$; GbeX2nf0{dx2j sf ; fy p7fg ul/Psf]pkGof; x]. o; pkGof; sl kDv
 gf/L kfq d-h/l afn pd}d} ljwjf xg kul kl/j fl/s / ; fdflhs 2kdf
 ; ldfGtLst aGg ku\$}L 5 . oxFld; }lah} sktfGgL dvgf, efd, 0lGb/f, sGtL,
 d-h>L, ; flxhL, u^a\, ; }L, lj dnf, ; l/tf h:tf gf/L kfqx2sf]n}Nus eldsf
 ; xfos / uf0f 2kdf pkl:yt /x\$}5 . pkGof; df kDSt ol gf/L kfqx2n]
 pkGof; /rgf ; dosf]; f:s[ts lj dz}fDs ; ArgfcGtu} lj ljw:j 2ksf]n}Nus
 eldsfsf] kl}tlglwIj u/\$f 5g\ . ld; }lah} efd, dvgf, u^a\h:tf kfqx2
 k/Dk/fut k?if ; s[táf/f pTkl8t t 5g\g} t/ pglx2n]To; nf0{ af}w ug
 ; s\$}f 5g\ pglx2sf]n}Nus kl}tlglwIj gf/Ldfly pTkl8gdf ; xeful ePsf]5 .
 k/Dk/fut k?ifk}wfg ; dfhsf j }fl/stfnf0{ af\$} an/fd, Zofd, k}08h:tf
 kfqx2n]gf/Ldflysf]pTkl8gdf ; xeful ePsf 5g\ . pkGof; sf]kDv kfq s}f;
 / ; xfos kfq z^a\$/ lj Bdfg ; fdflhs n}Nus lj e}sf]lj kl}df plePsf 5g\
 k?ifj fbl lrgtg s}b}efudf /x\$} t}tsfnlg ; fdflhs oyfy\$} ; 'd 2kdf af}w
 u/\$f pkGof; sf/ lj i6n] ol kfqsdf df}modaf6 lj wj fsf] kglj }fx / cGt/hftlo
 lj j fxsf]kl}df cfm}hf0{pEof0{n}Nus pTkl8gsf]kl}t/f}w u/\$f 5g\ o; /L ol b0{
 kfqsdf]k?if kl}tlglwIj k/Dk/fut geP/ k}ys\agG ku\$}5 . d-h/l pkGof; df
 lj i6n] t}tsfnlg ; dfhsf lj wj gf/Lx2 kl/j fl/s tyf kl/j f/eGbf aflx/sf
 k?ifaf6 of}gb}o}xf/ efl}g lj j z lyP eGg]sf?l0fs lj dz}f0{ ; d} lrg0f u/\$f
 5g\ . pkGof; sl kDv rl/q d-h/l n]oxl hl6n kl/j }zsf]; d} kl}tlglwIj u/\$L
 5 .

d-h/l pkGof; df ld; lah}kfl/j fl/s 2 kdf :j ul6 ; Aj f xfdk} fbsl h7L
>ldlt, d-h/lsl ; f}f xf]. tTsfnlG k?ifk\wfg ; dfhcfGtuft klteSt gf/lSf]
kl|tlglwTj ugI ld; lah}df afXdof ; dfhsf hftlo 29 cfbz{x2sf] 5fk /x\$}f]
kfOG5 . tTsfnlG lxGb' ; f:s[ts lj dzf(ds ; Argn]k?ifnf0{axlj j fxsf]:j ls[t
lbPsf]lyof]. pkGof; df d-h/lsl cdf u^afn]dhwf/ s]Gb}t lj rf/sf]kl|tlglwTj
u/] klG ; ldfGts}t gf/L g}xf]. pkGof; sl ; flxFl d-h/lSf] kl/j f/sl gf\$gl{
lgDgj ul6 gf/L rl/q xf]. pm j ul6 / n}Nus 2 kdf zfl}f0f / pTkl8g v}lg lj j z
5]. ; flxFl klG pd} /xGh}h ; Aaf xfdk} fbsf] ofG zfl}f0fsf] df/df k/\$l 5 eg]
pd} ; lsPkI5 ; Aaf kl/j f/sf] gf\$gl{aGg ku\$sl 5 . o; /l pkGof; df ; flxFln]
lkt[QfIdstf / ; fdGtl cfly\$; Argsf sf/Of ; ldfGt agfOPsf gf/L ; dbfosf]
kl|tlglwTj u/\$l 5 . k}t't pkGof; sl gf/L rl/q dvgf s}hf; / OlGb/fsl cdf
xf]. p; n] dhwf/sf] n}Nus ; s[tsf lj k/Lt s}fs}lsf] lj j fx pglx2s}
aenf0af6 xgk5{eGg]dfGofsf]; d}t lj sf; e0/x\$}f]tTsfnlG ; Gbedf :j feflj s
2 kdf geP/ afWofTds 2 kdf lj wj f lj j fx / cGt/hftlo lj j fxnf0{:j lSfg{ku\$}f
s}bllo ; s[tsf cleefj sx2sf]kl|tlglwTj u/\$l 5 .

d-h/l pkGof; df ; fdGtj fbl lkt[QfIdS ; dfhdf gf/Ldflysf] pTkl8gdf
gf/Lx2 g}s; /l ; xeful xG5g\eGg]lj dz\$}f]kl|tlglwTj efdsf dfWodaf6 k}t't
ul/Psf]5 . efd fkl/j fl/s 2 kdf kltaf6 pTklI8t 5]t/ pm ; f}gl cdfdflysf]
pTkl8gdf cfBf}kfGt ; lj }o 5]. slxn]rf}hf]rf}f]t slxn]u}t gf7f] E cg}ts
; DaGw 5 eGg]cf/fk nufP/ d-h/lnf0{pTkl8g lbg]sfo{u/\$l 5 . gf/Lnf0{ofG
lkkf; ' cfVfaf6 xG}kl|t an/fdaf6 s6f0 v}bf; d}t p; df gf/L r}tgfsf]lj sf;
ePsf]b}lvbG . pN6}kfl/j fl/s snx l; h}f u/L gf/L pTkl8gdf /dfpg]tTsfnlG
lkt[QfIdS ; dfhdf v/fa cfr/Of ePsf bR5/ axf/Lx2sf]kl|tlglwTj u/\$l 5 .
efdfsl b}p/fgl sGtl k/Dk/fut k?ifk\wfg ; dfhs}1fg / zIStaf6 cwlg:y
gf/Lx2sl kl|tlglw xf]. pkGof; sl csl{gf/L d-h>l cfwlgs lzIff k9} klG
dhwf/s} ; s[tsf] klkf}fs ag\$sl 5 . p; n] cfwlgs lzIff cfhG u/} klG
k?ifk\wfg ; dfhsf] s7f} ; fdfhs aGwgdf k/L dhwf/eGb leGg kl/wlo hljg

affr /x\$ f gf/Lx; s f]; ldfG t fnfQ ga%g]; du| gf/Lx; s f] k|t|glwTj u/\$L 5 .
d-h/l pkGof; sf]s}hf; kdv k?if r|/q xf]. :gfts; Dd lzIff xfl; n u/\$f]pm
pRr dWod j ul6 kl/j f/sf]; b:o xf]. @))& ; fnsf]k|ftGqsf]pbo; E}g|kfnf
gjlg /fhg}ts Joj:yfsf]:yfkf eP klg ; fdfhs ; f:s[ts :j 2k k/Dk/fut
lkt[Qf s|Gb| ; fdGtl /x\$ f]/ Toxl k[7elddf ; Art k|t't pkGof; df s}hf; sf]
pkl:y|t lgs}dxej kOf{/x\$ f]5 . pkGof; sf]; xfos kfq d-h/Lsf]dfdfsf]5f}f
bfh' z^a\$/ lkt[Qf]ds ; dfhsf gf/L lj /f}M k?iflrGtgsf sf/Of ; dfhdf gf/Lx;
cem lj wj f gf/Lx; zflift / kl|8t ePsf 5g\veg} ; wf/sf nflu n8\$ f]; fdfhs
cleoGtsf 2kdf pkGof; df pkl:y|t 5 . ctM n}Nus k|t|glwTj sf ; Gbedf k?if
eP klg ; ldfGt|s|t gf/Lx;sf]klfdf p; sf]pkl:y|t dxej kOf{/x\$ f]5 .

pkGof; sf] cf/Dedf ; gftg wd\$ f] j sfnt ug{ s}hf; n] ; gftg k|rlg
wdn]dlxnfdly slxNo}lj eb u/\$f]5g eGb}wd\$ f cf8df /x\$ f lj s[tx; ; dft
ug{dlxnfsf] of|ubfg dxej kOf{xg}ePsfn] ; xof|usf nflu p; nf0{cfux u/kl5
s}hf; n] cfof|hgf u/\$f]wd{ efd d-h/Ln] cfknhf0{pkl:y|t u/fp5}. To|tdfq
xf0g d-h/L cfudl of|hgf;sf af/df s}hf; ; E 3G6f}a; } 5nkmn ug{yfN5].
lj wj f d-h/Lsf] o; k\$ f/sf] pkl:y|t tTsfnlg k?ifk}wfg ; dfhsf nflu kfRo
x5g . p; sf 3/kl/j f/sf gf/Lk?ifx; p; sf]; fdfhsLs/Ofsf]; m|gtfnf0{/f\$g
pBt x65g\ . cfkGof; s cGtodf kfl/j fl/s rk}fdf k/} h/; fx] sl 5f}L; E
:joda/ u/\$f] lbgblv Hj/u|t ag} d[of]dv xg ku\$ f] s}hf; nf0{ d-h/Ln]
tkf0\$ f] aRRffsf] cdf aGg] 3f}f0ff u/kl5 pm lgsf] ePsf] / pglx; j } flxs
; DaGwdf uF, Psf 5g\ . o; /L kfl/j fl/s 2kdf z|Stxlg gf/L d-h/Ln] lfql
o} s s}hf; ; E cGt/hftlo / kbj } flxs ; DaGw cfd; ft\ u/} gjlg klxrfg
lgdf0f u/\$L 5 . of]tTsfnlg dhwf/sf]k?ifk}wfg ; dfhn]ck]ff u/\$f]eGb km/s
klxrfg xf]. k?ifk}wfg ; dfhdf afnlj wj f gf/Lx;sf] pTkl8gnf0{hlj Gt 2kdf
lrqOf u/L gjlg j \$|Nks ; fdfhs ; f:s[ts :j 2ksf]lgdf0f ug{n}yslo ; r|
rfxgf cg; k g}pkGof; df d-h/Lsf]gjlg klxrfg lgdf0f ePsf]b|v65 .

d-h/l pkGo; sl efd n³us 2kdf pTkl8t eP klg bR5/ gf/L r/qsf 2kdf lrlqt 5]. kltKglut zlst; DaGwdf p; sf] klxrfg zlstxlG ag\$] 5 . d-h/l sf] tf?0oaf6 cfslift ePk15 an/fdn]:jf:gl efdfdly ; d] ufnl ug[tyf lagfsf/of s6\$] 5 . lkt[QfTds lrgtg / Joj xf/af6 pTkl8t / zflift eP klg To; nf0{ afw gu/L gf/L dflys} zff0fdf ; mlg p; n] ; f]gl ; f; dfly lg/Gt/ 2kdf pTkl8g yfk/\$l 5 . o; /L p; sf] kltlglwTj n]pkGof; df k?ifk\wfg ; dfhdf gf/L klxrfgnf0{sdhf] agfpg :j od\gf/L g}s; /L ; xeful xG5g\ eGg] ; Gbe\$] pb3f6g u/\$] 5 . k?if; Qfn] cfj fGt tTsfnlG ; dfhJoj:yfdf gf/Lx2 cem ljwjf gf/Lx2sf] cj:yf lj bk lyof]. afn cyft t?of cj:yfdf ljwjf xg ku\$] afXdofshlg gf/Lx2nf0{ tTsfnlG ; fdGtl ; dfhn] kglj{fxsf] cgdlt lbEgYof]. o; sf lj k/Lt pkGof; df shf; n] afnhljgd} ljwjf eP/ kfl/jfl/s / ; fdlhs 2kdf ; ldfGtsft ag\$] d-h/l; E\$] kpfTds ; DaGwdf afwP/ cGthftlo j}fixs ; DaGw sfod ug[ku\$] 5 . oBlk shf; n]of]; DaGw kktstf nflu lgs}; a3if{ugk/\$] 5 .

२.५ बिग्रिएको बाटो उपन्यासमा सीमान्त समुदायको प्रतिनिधित्व र पहिचान

lalupsf] af6] kdv gf/L r/q 1fg'sf sblotfdf ; Art ; ldfGtlotfsf] ; d:ofnf0{ hljGt 2kdf lrqof ul/Psf] pkGof; xf]. ; fdGtj fbl lkt[QfTds ; dfh gf/Lsf] kltlglwTj nf0{zlstxlG / cwlG:y agfpg s; /L ; lj p xG5 eGg] s/fnf0{1fg'sf dfModaf6 k]tt ul/Psf] 5 . lkt[QfTds ; dfhdf lj sl; t bf0hf] kyfn]l; hgf u/\$] dlxnfsf]; d:ofnf0{o; pkGof; n]p7fPsf] 5 . k~rfotsfnlg zf; g Joj:yfsf] ; fdlhs kl/j 2nf0{ cfwf/ agfP/ /rgf ul/Psf] k]tt pkGof; df dhsl Pgn] gf/L / k?ifnf0{ nueu a/fa/Lsf] l:yltdf /fv] klg ; dfhsf] ; fdGtl ; Argf / /fHo; Qfdf ; d] ; f]l ; Argfsf] kltlglwTj ePsf sf/of gf/Lx2 k?ifx2af6 lgoGqt xg' k/\$] n³us ; Gbe\$] lrqof ; d] ePsf] 5 . ; fdGtl ; dfhsf] lkt[QfTds ; f]n] dlxnfx2nf0{jf; gfTds 2kdf dfq xg] / ; f]l cg2k dMof^asg ug[ub5 . o; r/qnf0{ lj z]ftM clehft jul6 k?ifx2n] cfTd; ft\u/\$] xG5g\ . k]tt pkGof; sf 3g6fps] lxkl cgxf/h:tf k?ifx2 gf/Lnf0{s] n k?ifsf efl]ofsf 2kdf xg] v/fa dgl:ylt af\$] kfqx2

xg\ . loglx₂ /fHosf] zIStnf0{lgo6q0fdf lnP/ c]w₂ kdf ; DklQ cfhg ug{
pBt 5g\ To; sf nflu pglx₂n]gf/Lx₂sf]z/L/nf0{; d]t pkof] u/\$f]b]V65 .
pk6of; sf] kdv k?if rl/q kj {n} pk6of; df gf/Lx₂k]t ; sf/fTds b]i6sf0f
af\$]f]b]V65 . p; n] 1fgsf x/\$ cK7df/fx₂df ; fy lbP/ n]Nus ; dtfdhs
; dfhsf]l; hgfnf0{cufl8 a9fpg gf/L klfw/tfnf0{cfTd; ft u/\$f]5 . To; u/L
pk6of; sf s]l gf/L rl/qx₂ ; DklQ / zIStsf cf8df jf; gfnf0{dfq dx₂ lbg
pBt /x\$ 5g\ dlgfxh' / >ldtl xh/n]Toxl kj [Qnf0{cfTd; ft \u/\$f]b]V65 .
pglx₂sf] rl/q pk6of; df gf/L dflys} pTkl8gdf ; xeful ePsf] 5 . o;
z]vso\$]k]t't pkzlf\$df pk6of; sf log}kdv, ; xfos tyf c6o rl/qx₂sf
lrGtg, wf/Of tyf Jojxf/nf0{kdv cfwf/ agfP/ pk6of; df k0St ; ldfGtlo
k]tlglwTj / klxrfgsf]lj Zn]f0f ul/Psf]5 .

pk6of; sl kdv gf/L rl/q 1fg' xf]. p; \$f]s]b]lotfdf pk6of; sf]; Argf
tof/ ePsf] 5 . ; fdGtl ; dfhsf] lkt[QfTds ; f]sf sf/Of n]Nus z]f]f0f /
pTkl8g e]lg ku\$ 1fgh] cfly\$ kdf lgDgj ul6 gf/Lx₂sf] k]tlglwTj u/\$L
5 . df0t]sf]sdhf] cfly\$ c]l:y]ltn]ubf{p; n]n]Nus ; d:ofnf0{e]lg' k/\$f]
5 . k?ifk]wfg ; fdf]hs ; #s[tsf]kdv j r{j /x\$]; dfhn]gf/Lx₂sf] JolSत्त्व,
l; hgzLntf / lfdtnf0{dx₂ lb5g . pk6of; df 1fg'sf] klg Toxl xfnt ePsf]
5 . z]v]s b]i6n]:gfts tx k'f ug{nfu\$] af]4s gf/L eP/ klg k]taf6 pm
d]Noxl ePsl 5]. ; f]x; q j if\$]pd]df ljjfx u/] kltsf]3/ uPsf]Ps÷b0{
dlxgfd}k]taf6 pTkl8t / ckdf]gt xgk]5]. nf]g]h]p; nf0{sg}dfgj lo d]No
lb5g . k] fut kdf kqsf]l/tfnf0{cEfn\$] 1fg'sf] >ldfg bf0hf] sd ePsf]
lgx]f df/; f0sn lsGg]k}f lnP/ dfq 3/ c]pg' eg] 1fghf0{df0t}k7f0lb65 .
df0tl cfly\$ kdf sdhf] ePsf]n] pm df0t]df a:g af]wo x65]. k?ifk]wfg
; dfhsf] bf0hf] k]yfn]l; hgf u/\$f] lj b]k kl/ly:y]ltsf sf/Of k]taf6 pTkl8t,
z]f]ift, bldt / j r{j xlg aGg ku\$ gf/L ; dbfosf]k]tlglwTj pk6of; df 1fg'sf
df]Modaf6 o; /L u/f0Psf]k]t't ul/Psf]5 M

*kfn]k0o df/]kfkÆ e]g]:j^a el/Psf efiffx₂ uXoZj /lsf]k6fl^augldf
//IQPk15 d df0tsf cgxf/x₂sf]:d]t dfq lnP/ of] 3/df c]Psl*

lyPF. km// of]3/df dxlgf b0{dxlgf klg laTg gkfp5}nflg//oh] km//
dnf0{df0ltlt/}kmsf@lbgèPsf]lyof]. df/ ; f0sn lsGg]k}f lnP/
dfq kmsg"eg". -k\$ \$#

pNnlvt ; Gben] ; fdGtl ; dfhsf]lkt[QfTds lrGtgsf sf/Of ckdfigt eP/
df0td}a:g aNlo dxnfxçsf]lj j ztfnf0{k|tt u/\$f]5 . 1fgh]pkGof; df
Toxl s'/fsf]kl|tlglwTj u/\$l 5 . nflg]h]p; nf0{bf0hf\$]gfddf ckdfg t
u/\$f]5 g} pN6} axlj j fxsf] ; :s[tfnf0{ ; d] k|o lbPsf]5 . o; /L
kl|tkTglalr zISt; DaGwsf b[6sf]af6 x|f{1fgh]zIStxlg, zflift, pTKlI8t
gf/L ; dbfosf]/ p; sf]kltn]pTKlI8s k?if ; dbfosf]kl|tlglwTj u/\$f]5 .

kfl/j fl/s çkdf nflg]af6 sdhf] ag\$l 1fg' ; fdfhsf]k?if ; f]af6 ; d]t
pTKlI8gsf]lzsf/ aG5]. k9\$]l 5f]lnf0{kSs}klg Hj f0F]uXOf unfG\eGg]cfzf
af\$]l p; sl cdfn]p; nf0{k9]sf nflu pTKlI/t u/\$l 5 . 1fgh]k9f0nf0{/fd]
u/L cufI8 a9fp5]. p; sf]k9f0sf]lj sf; df kj {sf] ; d]t dxçj k0f{ ; fy /x\$]f
5 . pglxç sn]hsf ; xkf7l klg xg\ . k9f0b]v cG0 ultlj lwdf ; d]t pglxç
cleGg çkdf ; xeful xG5g\ . lkt[QfTds ; dfh gf/Lsf] o:tf] lj pofsnfknf0{
g]ts çkdf cFf]p7fp5 . cem 1fg' t lj j flxt gf/L ePsfn]p; sf nflu of]56
555ç . df0tl j l/kl/sf]k?if dgf] [Q af\$]f] ; dfhn]kj { ; Fsf] ; DaGwnf0{lnP/
g]tstfsf]kçg p7fp5 df0tl 3/ klg p; sf nflu k/f0h:tf]aGg klI5 . o; /L
nflg]f]3/af6 nv]6P/ df0t cfP/ a; \$f gf/Lxç Toxf5] ; dfhaf6 klg s; /L
ckdfigt / pTKlI8t xG5g\eGg]lj dz\$]f kl|tlglwTj pkGof; df 1fgh]hljGt
çkdf u/\$l 5 .

k|tt pkGof; df 1fg'n]us çkdf lkt[QfTds ; dfhsf]k?iflrGtg, ; f]
/ Jojxf/af6 t pTKlI8t 5]g} pm cfly\$ j f julç çkdf klg cwlg:y 5].
df0ltsf]sdhf] cfly\$ kl/l:y|tn]laxfga]hsfsf]5fs 6fg{ufx]xg' tyf nflg]f]
3/df ; d]t :yfg gkfPkI5 pm ; a\$6sf]cj:yfdf klI5]. p; nf0{kfl/j fl/s
ul/alsf]af]vn] ; tfp5 . pm dlgf xh/sf]3/df >ldtl xh/sf] ; j]b/Lsf]sfd
kfp5]. kfl/j fl/s / ; fdfhs çkdf pTKlI8t 1fg'sf]eldsf o; cj:yfdf
cf0klbf km/s b]vG5 . clehft julç kl/j f/sl ; b:o >ldtl xh/ rGfasf

dfWodaf6 ; fdfhs g]t]j df kl]g]dg; fo af\$}L kfq xf]. cfly\$ l:ylt alnof]eP
klg ; fdYo{/ JolSत्त्वsf b[6n] sdhf} >ldtl xh'/sf] efif0f n]vlbg]lhDd]f/L
1fg'sf]5 . ; dfhsf] :j 2k ; fdGtl xBf lfdtfj fg gf/Lx2 klg s; /L pRrj ul6
kl/j f/sf]cwlg:y xG5g\eg]s'/fsf]kl]tlglwTj oxF1fgh]u/\$L 5 .

pQm pkGof; sf ; fdGtl k?if rl/qx2 3g6fps] cgxf/, lxKkl cgxf/,
1fg'sf] pkrf/df ; ml]g 8fS6/ PsfIt/ ; Qf / zIStsf] cf8df cjw ; DklQ
cfhgdf d:t 5g\eg]pglx2 gf/Lx2sf]z/L/nf0{j f; gflds b[6af6 dfq x5g\
Hj /f] cfP/ lj nfi; glsf] 3/df cf/fd ul//x\$]f] ; dodf pkrf/sf nflu cfpg]
8fS6/sf] j f; gflds Joj xf/nf0{ 1fgh] klxrfg u/\$L 5 eg] dlgf xh'/sf] 3/df
a:bf lxKkl cgxf/n]p; dfly j f; gflds Joj xf/ b]vPsf]5 . pm gf/LTj kl]t ; r]t
ePsf]n] pkGof; df rt'/tfk} \$ lxKkl cgxf/nf0{ kG5fpg ; kmn ePsl 5 .
dlgfxh'/sf] 3/sf] tTk\$[tsf] kfi/j fi/s kl/bZon] 1fgdf lj /lSt l; h6f eP klg
; E; E} cfni]r]gflds 2kdf xg] b[6sf]0'sf] ; d]t lj sf; xB}uPsf]5 . p; nf0{
To; 3/df a; } sfd ug{slt klg hfE/ 5g t/ kfi/j fi/s l:ytsf sf/Of pm To;
3/af6 lg:s} hfg klg ; s}L 5g . o; /L k~rfotsfnlg lj dzf[ds ; Argsf]
k[7elddf /rgf ul/Psf] k]t't pkGof; df pkGof; sf/ lj i6n] ; fdGtl ; dfhdf
pRrj uaf6 af]4s gf/Lx2 s; /L cwlg:y / sdhf} xGy]eG] ; Gbehf0{ 1fg'sf]
rl/qsf dfWodaf6 kl]tlglwTj u/fPsf 5g\
*lalufsf] af6] pkGof; sl kdv rl/q 1fghf0{ s]b] agfP/ /rgf ul/Psf]
k]t't pkGof; ; xl/of ; dfhsf lgDgj ul6 JolQmx2sf] hlj gofkgsf] ; Gbehf0{
hljGt 2kdf lraqOf ug{ ; kmn ePsf]5 eg] hit bf0hf] Nofpg g; Sg] gf/Lsf]
jul6 tyf ln^ulo ; d:of / cwlg:ytfnf0{ pkGof; df 1fg'sf] kl]tlglwTj n] k]6
kf/\$f]5 . gf/L kfqx2sf] kZ:t dfqdf pkl:ylt /x\$]f] k]t't pkGof; df 1fg'sf]
cltl/St c6o gf/L rl/qx2n] ; dfhsf lj ljw :j 2ksf] kl]tlglwTj u/\$f 5g\
1fg'sl cdf, kj {sl efphh:tf kfqx2 k?if; Qf / jul6tsf sf/Of ; ldfGtlst
aGg ku\$} 5g\ eg] pkGof; df sltko gf/L rl/qx2 ; dfhdf gf/Lsf]
kl]tlglwTj nf0{ ei6ls/Of ug{ ; d]t pBt ePsf] b]vG5 . pkGof; df dlgfxh',
>ldtl xh', lj nfi; gl, uhfkm lbbh:tf kfqx2sf] eldsf gf/Lsf] kl]tlglwTj*

sdhf] agfpg s]bt /x\$] 5 . pkGof; df kPSt ol gf/lkfqx;sf] kltlgwTj sf] ljZn]fOf ; d]t oxfFul/Psf] 5 .

ul/aln] lklN; Psl 1fgSl cdf Hj f0Bf] dfucg;ksf] bf0hf] lbg g; Sbf 5f]lnf0{3/d}/Vg ljz 5]. 5f]lnf0{k9fP/ leG r/qsf] kltlgwTj ug{vfh] klg pm dhtM k?ifk\wfg ; :s[tsf] 1fg / ; Tonf0{ cfd; ft\ug[gf/L r/q xf]. To; h]gf/Ln]hxFeP klg klt elStnf0{cj nDag ug{k5{eGg}k?if; QfTds lrGtgsf] kPj p; df /x\$] 5 . pm k9\$] 5f]ln] hljgnf0{/fd/L ; ~rfng ug{ ;S5] eGg] gjlg 1fgeGbf 6f9f 5]. kx/L vf]df ylgg ku\$] 1fg' Pslbg 3/ gcfpBf kj {; E]sf] ; DaGwnf0{lnP/ p; sf] cfnf]gf xg yfnk]5 1fgSl cdf lr]Gtt 5]. 5f]lnf0{nf]lg\$] 3/ k7fpg p; nf0{xtf/f] nfu\$] 5 . o; /L ul/al / lkt[QfTdstfsf sf/Of ; ldfGt]s[ag] klg To; sf] ; DkOf{ bf]f eflonf0{ lbg] k/Dk/fut dlxnfx;sf] kltlgwTj pkGof; df 1fgSl cdfn] u/\$] 5 . *lalufsf] af6]* pkGof; df ; 'd eldsfdf b\yfk/\$] kj {sl efph" pTKl8s / pTKl8tsf] bfxf]f] ; DaGwdf lkt[QfTds kQffnlcGtu[bldt gf/L ; dbfosf] kltlgwTj ug[gf/L r/q xf]. dft] cfPsf] >ldfg\n\$fnl ; Aafn]p; dfly xftkft / ufnl ubf{ To; sf] klt]fb gu/L ; x] a; \$] 5 . cftl/s ; kdf hit; s} cftdkl8f eP klg To; nf0{p; n] JoSt u/\$] 5g . kltsf] h:tf] s}zf; g v]k] eP klg dlxnfn]To; nf0{; xgk5{/ kltelSttnf0{cfd; ft\ug{k5{eGg] s'/fnf0{ p; n] Jofj xfl/s ; kdf k]t't u/\$] 5 . o; /L lxGb' ; fdGtl ; dfhsf pTKl8t / zflift pRr hftlo dlxnfx;sf] kltlgwTj pkGof; df kj {sl efph\$sf dflModaf6 u/fOPsf] 5 .

lalufsf] af6] pkGof; df dlghxh/, >ldtl xh/, ;kf -1fgSl ; f]f_, lj nfi; gl lbbL, uhfkil lbbLh:tf r/qx; efl]ts lj nfi; tdf 8a\$gf/Lx; xg\ pkGof; df :j tGq / :j fwlg b]vP klg loglx;sf] r/q gf/L pTKl8s ag] k\$6 ePsf] 5 . gf/Lsf] lj lzi6 klxrfg / lfdtnf0{af]w ug{g; s\$]f loglx; ; ju\$} kl8s ag\$]f 5g\ . pkGof; sl ; xfos r/q >ldtl xh/ 3g6fps\$] >ldtl xf]. pm efl]ts ; DkGgtfsf] cf8df dflQPSL gf/L xf]. pm kfl/j fl/s ; kdf :j fwlg t 5] t/ p; sf nflu /S; L / jf; gf g} dx; kOf{ lj ifo ag\$]f 5g\ . n]us r]gfsf

lj ifodf 1fg gePsl >ldtl xh/ sF7gl oj tldfly eflts bdg u/ ; ju\$}
pTkl8s ag\$ 5 . p; sf] eldsfn] k?ifk\wfg ; :s[ts}j r{j nf0{ ; xofu u/ }
gf/Lx_{sf] kl|tlglwTj nf0{ sdhf} agfPsf] 5 . >ldtl xh/sl 5f}L dlgfxh/
o/fk}hl lXkl ; :s[tsf]cgstf{xf}. kj {sf]; f}boaf6 nfl]eP/ dlgfxh/n]p; nf0{
cf^gf] sfdj f; gfsf] kf; f}df km; fpg] k}og u/\$ 5 . dlgfxh/sf] eflts
lj nfi; tfnf0{/fd/L aem}sf]kj {n]To; nf0{dtna lbPsf]5} . 1fg' / kj {alrsf]
ldqtfnf0{p; n] aflx/ k\$6 gu/) klg 0{of{ds }kdf lnPsl 5 . kj {sf] 5fk
1fgdf 5 eG}7fg} p; n]1fg'sf]ufnf / cf}df rDag u/ af/Daf/ of} b}o{ xf/
u5}. cf0=P= bf] f}j if}df c}loog ul//x\$}L gf/L rl/q dlgfxh/sf]sfo{ofkf/n]gf/L
kl|tlglwTj nf0{ lj s{ agfPsf] b}V65 . pkGof; sf lj nfi; gl lbbL / uhfkL lbbL
oj tlx_{nf0{ sfd nuf0lbg] axfgdf x}h}x_{df k}ofP/ ha/h:tl b}Jofkf/df
nufpg]gf/L kfq xg\ lzllft eP/ klg gf/L clwsf/ / r}gfsf lj ifodf df} /xg]
loglx_{sf] eldsfn] k?ifk\wfg ; dfhdf gf/Lx_{sf] kl|tlglwTj nf0{ ; ldfGt agfpg
d2t u/\$f]5 .

k}v k?if rl/q kj {sf]; f} / Joj xf/ gf/Lk|t ; sf/flDs /x\$f]5 eg]
1fg'sf] >ldfg\ 3g6fps] cgxf/, lXkl cgxf/h:tf rl/qx_{sf] gf/Lk|tsf] Joj xf/
k?if s}b}t /x\$f]5 . loglx_{sf] eldsf gf/Lx_{sf] kl|tlglwTj nf0{k?if cwlG:y /
j r{j xlg agfpgdf s}b}t b}V65 . pkGof; sf]k}v rl/q kj { lgDgj ul} k?if xf]
. 1fg'sf]; xkf7L pm lzllft 5 / p; n]pkGof; df ; dsfnlg ; fdfhs ; f:s[ts,
cfly\$ tyf /fhglts lj s{tk|t tllof }kdf cfnf}gfTds lj rf/ k|t't u/\$f]5
. pkGof; df k|t't lrGtg / sfo{ofkf/sf cfwf/df p; sf] gf/Lk|tsf] b}i6sf}f
; sf/flDs /x\$f]5 . pkGof; sf cG} k?if rl/qx_{n] k/Dk/fut s}b}lo ; Qf
k?ifk\wfgtnf0{ cfd; ft\ u/ } ; dfhdf gf/Lsf] kl|tlglwTj sdhf} agf0/x\$f]
; Gbedf To; sf lj k/Lt kj {n]kltaf6 bf0hf\$} gfddf kl/ToStf ag\$ 1fghf0{
lg:jfy{ }kdf ; xofu / ; fy lbPsf] 5 . o; /L kj {n] k/Dk/feGbf leGg k?if
kl|tlglwTj nf0{cfd; ft\ u/\$f]5 . kj { j f; gfnf0{Vofs / k}nf0{OZj / dfG5 .
p; n] pRrj ul} gf/Lk?ifx_{sf] k}nf0{ :j f^a / j f; gfnf0{OZj / dfG} kj [Qsf]

cfnf]rgf u/\$f]5 . oxl kj [Qnf0{cf]d; ft\u/] pkGof; df dlgfxh/n]kj {dfly
of]b]o]xf/sf]k]p]g u/\$l 5 . kj { lzllft 5 t/ cfly\$ 2kdf sdhf] 5 .
lgDgj ul6 kl/jf/sf]ePsf sf/Of pm j ul6 ; ldfGtlotfsf]rk]k]df k/\$f]5 . p; sf]
oxl cj:l:yltnf0{cj ; /sf] 2kdf k]p]u u/] dlgfxh/n]kj {sf] ; f]bo]df v]lg]
k]p]g u/\$l 5 . p; sf] k?if]j sf] x]of ug] k]p]g u/\$l 5 . pSt ; Gbe]nf0{
pkGof; df o; /L k]t't ul/Psf]5 M

*af]b]af]b]dlgfxh/ j]d]z]M ; b]hf]5] ; b]hf]5]. t/ kj { kl5 ; b]
hf]5 t/ dlgfxh/ sg ultdf lx]5]sl]g pm Ps}k]n]6 kj {nf0{a]g]
kl]5]. p; nf0{a]x] dft nfu]em]To; }To; }r]Dg y]N]5]kj {sf]ufnfnf0{
sd]nf0{/ xftnf0{ oyfy]df dlgfxh/leq kj {k]t k]p] lyPg p; leq
dfq x]ofsf]efj lyof]. pm dfq p; sf]k?if]j sf] x]of ug]{rfx]yl .
-k](\$-(% .*

o; /L o; ; flodf dlgfxh/n]k]p]sf]gfddf kj {af]6 jf; gf]ds kl/t]t ug]{rfx]sf]
k]6 b]v]5 t/ kj { jf; gf]ds k]p]sf]kl]df 5] . pm t k]p]df 0]j / / jf; gdf
Vofs b]v]g]k?if xf]. oxl lj rf/sf sf/Of pm g gf/Ldfly jf; gf]ds cfj]d]of ub]5,
g gf/Lsf] pSt cfj]d]ofnf0{ :j]Lsf/ ub]5 . o; /L pkGof; df kj {n] k?if]k]v]fg
; dfhnf0{lg/Gt/tf lbg rfxg]k?if]x]2e]G]f leGg k?if kl]t]glw]j nf0{ cf]d; ft\
u/\$f]b]v]5 .

pkGof; sf] ; xfos k?if r]l/q 3g6fps]h] cfly\$ 2kdf pRr ju\$]f]
kl]t]glw]j u/\$f]5 . ; g / k'/fg d]t]x]2sf]cj]w 2kdf t:s/L u/] cst]2kdf
; Dk]O cfh]g u/\$f] ; fd]Gtl r]l/q 3g6fps]sf]gf/Lk]t]sf]b]i]6sf]0f / lj]p]ofsnfk
k?if]s]b]t /x]sf]5 . lkt[Qf]ds ; dfhsf k?if]x]2gf/Lnf0{ jf; gf kl/kl't]sf]
; fwgsf 2kdf lnP/ pglx]2sf]kl]t]glw]j nf0{ ; ldf]Gtl]t / z]f]ift agfpg cg\$
lj]p]ofsnfkx]2 ; -rfng ub]5g\ . pkGof; df 3g6fps]sf] kl]t]glw]j ; d]t ; f]x]
2kdf cl3 a9]sf]5 . pm h]j s b]i]6n]gk]s 5 t/ gf/Lsf]z/L/nf0{g^]v]ofP/
jf; gf]ds cf]G]b ln]5 . s]F]gl o]tl tyf lj n]f; gl h:tf gf/Lx]2nf0{o; /L g]
k]p]u u/\$f]5 eg]kj {nf0{g^]v]ofP/ ; df]g n]us of]g]x]2sf]k]p]g u/\$f]5 t/

kj {sf] kl|t/f|yn] tTb|sfo{ ; kmn ePsf] 5g . To; u/L 3g6fps\$] ef0 lxkkl
cgxf/ klg gf/Lnf0{jf; gfd|s 2kdf xg|k?if xf]. p; n] ; dflhs g|tstfsf]
kj f| gu/L cfkm|}efph' >ldtl xh'/; E of|gs ; DaGw /fv\$]5 eg]pglx2alrs}
; DaGwaf6 dlgfxh'/sf] hGd ePsf] xf]. p; n] 1fg'sf] z/L/; E ; d| v|lg] k|t|g
u/\$]5 t/ gf/LTj kl|t ; r| 1fg' p; sf] of|g Joj xf/nf0{c; kmn agfpg ; kmn
ag\$| 5 . ol b|}kfqsf]Joj xf/af6 pTkl|8t ag\$| 1fg' pglx2sf]3/ 5f\$|g afl|o
agl cfly\$ 2kdf ; d| pTkl|8t ag\$| 5]. o; /L pkGof; /sf/ lj i6n]3g6fps]/
lxkkl cgxf/h:tf k?if rl/qx2sf sf/0f ; dfhdf pTkl|8t / zfl|ift ag\$| gf/L
; dbfosf]kl|t|glwTj pkGof; df u/fPsf 5g\

k|t't pkGof; df 1fg' ln^ulo / jul6 b|}; d:ofaf6 pTkl|8t aGg ku\$|
gf/L kfq xf]. k?ifk|wfg ; dfhsf]bf0hf] ; s[tsf sf/0f kltaf6 x|kPsl 1fg'sf]
hlj gut klxrfg lgs}; ^Sifk0f{/ ; j|hgzln /x\$]5 . z|fs b|[6n]:gfts tx
k0f{ug|cj:yfdf ku]klg tTsfnl|g ; dfhsf]9fFf lkt[Qf|ds ePsf|n]kfl/j fl/s
/ ; dflhs 2kdf pm zfl|ift / pTkl|8t aGg ku\$| 5 . ; Eotfsf]lj sf; ; E}ha
; dfh lkt[Qf|ds xE}uof] ta gf/Ldflysf] zfl|f0f / bdgsf lj lj w :j 2kx2n]
cfsf/ lnE}uP . kltn] 1fg'; E|sf]kl|tk|glut ; DaGwnf0{wgsf]t/fhdf tfh|\$fn]
p; n]kltsf]3/df a:g]:yfg kfp|f|g . lj j fxkl5 kltsf]3/df klts}; dfg gf/Lsf]
klg clwsf/ xgkg| xf]. t/ k?ifk|wfg ; s[tn] lj sf; u/\$] bf0hf] ; s[tsf
sf/0f 1fg'sf]klxrfg clwsf/lj xlg aGgkl|5 . o; /L lkt[Qf|ds ; fdGtl cfly\$
; s[tn]l; h|gf u/\$]o; k\$|/sf]lj b|k kl/l:y|tn]ubf{ ; dfhdf gf/L klxrfg
s; /L pTkl|8t / bldt aGg ku\$]5 eGg]s/fnf0{pkGof; n]k|fj sf/L 2kdf
k|t't u/\$]5 .

1fg'sf] df0t|sf] cfly\$ l:y|t sdhf] ePs} sf/0fn] p; sf] kltsf]
rfxgfnf0{k'f ug|kl/l:y|t aGg . lgDgj ul6 cfly\$ x|; ot ePsf dlxnf|2
; fdGtl ; dfhdf jul6 / n|us 2kdf pTkl|8t / zfl|ift aGg kl|5g\ tTsfnl|g
; dfhdf 1fg'klg oxl lj dzaf6 cwl|g:y aGg ku\$| 5 . df0tdf ul/alsf]/fkn]
lklN; Psl cdfsf] sf?|ofs cj:yfn] p; nf0{lr|Gtt t tNofp5 g}. To|tdfq
xf|g, p; sf] ef0; d| cGwf]ePsf|n]To; sf]pQ/bf|oTj ; d| p; h|lgfpg' kg|

cj:yf /x\$] 5 . kltaf6 ckl]nt eP klg ; a\$if\$ dfllodaf6 gjlg klxrfg
cflD; ft\ug{; ls65 eGg]b9 cflDlj Zjf; sf ; fy cll oogdf nfu\$] 1fgh]cf^gf]
cll oognf0{:gfts; Dd txsf] clGtd j if{ Dd k\$ofp5] . p; sf] cll oognf0{o;
cj:yfdf Nofpgsf nflu kj {n] bxf] ; fy / ; xof] u/\$] 5 . kj {; E p; sf]
ldqtf xflb\$ 5 . ; fdlhs ; Argfids 9FFf ; fdGtl k\$[tsf]ePsf]p; ; E sf]
; DaGwnf0{ lnP/ ; dfhsf] k?if lrGtg g]ts kZg p7fpg kl5 . ljjflxtf
5f]lx;n] kltaf6 zfl]ift, pTkl8t / ; ldfGt eP/ kltaf6 kl/ToStf eP klg
kltelSt / >4nf0{eg]Toflg' x5g eGg]lx6b' ; dfhsf]k?if lj dz{h]p; nf0{; d]t
:kz{u/\$] 5 . kj {kl]t cGtt{df cg/fu eP klg ; fdlhs ; kdf p; nf0{Tof]
56 5g, hg ; fdlhs ; a\$ygnf0{p; n]klg aem\$] 5]. pm e65]M

*clxn] Dd t d p; sf] ; f9] kF lkm6 clnf] 5l/tf] tGg]l z/L/nf0{
7Dofpg ; ls/x\$] 5' . uf]f] uwG, sfw-sfw; Dd lkmFhPsf] d6b] skfn
clg To:t} lsl; dsf] ldNbf] sb -p; dfly lrNnf-IrNnf dxEf ; f/L,
DofS; l / :s6x; sf] t?gl cFef s]l l5g; Dd atfl; g ; Qm5g\p; nf0{
tfs] . ?dfgl ; Defj gfleq lgs}lgs}/df0nf 36gfx; 36g ; St5g\
t/ dh] eg] To; lsl; dsf] atf; nf0{ k>0 lbg x5g . d ljjflxtf
:jf:gl df65]. df0t a; l nfflg\$] af6f] sl/x\$] . To; lsl; dsf]
lj rf/nf0{xf} nf lbPFeg]afa' afh\$] OHht hf65 . OHht dfq}hfg]
sxFFxf]/ kfk klg nllb5 . dgsf kqx; df h: tf] s}e0Ffnf] uP klg
dh]t v#8l ahfpgk5{nfflg]xh/nf0{; lDemP/ . -k\$!*

k]tt ; flodf kltaf6 kl/ToStf eP klg 1fgh]kltsf]gfd hk] a:gkg]; fdlhs
lj dz\$]k]ttls/of ePsf] 5 . o; af6 lkt[QfTds ; dfhdf gf/Lx; slt hl6n
klxrfgsf ; fy afF\$ x65g\eGg] ; jhgzln klfsf]kli6 x65 . dflysf] ; flon]
1fgsf] cGtt{df kj {kl]t cfsif0f 5 eGg] s/fnf0{k]tt u/\$] 5 t/ To; nf0{
k\$6 ug]; fdlhs kl/l:ylt 5g . ; fdlhs ; kdf kltnf0{s/] a:gkg]lj sNk
dfq p; sf cufl8 5 . of] lkt[QfTds ; fdlhs ; Argfsf]k?if lj dz{h]lgdf0f
u/\$]1fgh:tf gf/Lx;sf]; fdLxs klxrfg xf].

klxrfgsf]clloogcgtut s[tdf ;ldfGtx; cfknyf]cj:yfsf af/df ; fRg
/ afflg ; S5g\ls ; Sb;gg\eg/ xg]ul/G5 . oxF1fgh]cf^gf]hl6n cj:yfnf0{
/fd/L aem]sf] b]vG5 . tIf0f p;n]kl|tjfb dfq u/\$L 5g . o; /L pkGof; df
1fg'sf dfModaf6 kfl/jfl/s / ;fdflhs ;kdf k?iflrGtg / Jojxf/af6
;ldfGtLst / jr{jxlg ag]sf gf/L ;dbfosf] klxrfgnf0{pkGof; sf/ lj i6n}
k;fj sfl/tfsf ; fy lraqOf u/\$f 5g\

dlgfxh'/sf]3/ cfly\$;kdf pRrjul6 /x\$]5 . cjw wGbfssf dfModaf6
cfly\$; DkGgtf kkt u/\$]pSt kl/jf/ jf:tjdf lj ; a\ultsf]ykf] /x /x\$]5 .
dlgfxh'/sl cdf >ldtl xh'/sf]; j]b/Lsf]el'dsdf /x\$] 1fg'sf]klxrfg oxfg]
af]4s gf/Lsf ;kdf lrlgg kl]5 . To; kl/jf/sf ;b:ox;sf] pRr cxdaf
cfwfl/t Jojxf/x; 1fghf0{slQ klg dg kb;gg\ . n]Nus ;kdf pglx;n]
jf; gfs]bl rl/qnf0{/ cfly\$;kdf pRrjul6 cxdnf0{cfd; ft\u/\$f 5g\
pSt 3/df ; j]b/Lsf]el'dsf kl/jxg ug]I; nl; nfd 1fgh]c; /lft /x\$]dx; ;
ub]hfG5]. dlgfxh'/sf]p; dflysf]Jojxf/ of]gs b]Joj x/sf ;kdf k\$6 xG5 eg]
lxkl cgxf/n]of]b]Jojxf/sf]k;Tg u/\$]5 . p;n]g]tstfsf]cfj/0fnf0{x6fpg]
xf]eg]kz:tdfqdf efl]ts p;glt ug{; lsG5 eGb}1fghf0{kmsfP/ gf/LIj nf0{
xTof ug]k;Tg u/\$]5 . ; fdGtl ; dfhsf]k?ifkj [Q gf/Lnf0{pkell]ofsf]klxrfg
dfq lbG5 . pkGof; sf lxkl cgxf/ / la/fdl eP/ lj nfi; gl lbbsf]3/df a; \$f]
; dodf 8fS6/n]1fghf0{; f]l b]i6af6 x/\$f 5g\ . lxkl cgxf/n]1fgdfly
jf; gflDs ;kdf lgoGtqOf lng]k;Tg ubf{1fgh]p; nf0{; r]t ;kdf kG5fP/
gf/LIj nf0{arfpG ; kmn ePsl 5 . gf/Lx; ; r]t xg; s]ck7af/f]cj:yfdf klg
gf/L klxrfgnf0{hf]ufpg ; lsG5 eGg]1fg'sf]dfModaf6 pkGof; df k|t't ul/Psf]
5 . of]lkt[Qf]ds n]Nus ; s[t / pRrjul6 ; s[t|t 1fgdf l; h;f ePsf]
gjlg 1fg xf].

o; /L ; fdGtj bL lkt[Qf]ds ; Argf / cfly\$; s[tsf sf/Of 1fg'hl6n
klxrfgsf ; fy aff\$]l gf/Lsf ;kdf pkGof; df pkl:yt 5]. n]Nus ;kdf pm
lkt[Qf]ds zf]f0f / bdgaf6 cwlg:y 5]. dVo ;kdf p; dflysf]zf]f0fsf]s]bdf
p; \$f] klt /x\$]5 . /fHosf] sfggl ; Of dhwf/ s]b]t ePsf]p; n]kx/L

kzf; gaf6 ; d] pTkl8g vlg' k/\$f] 5 . oBlk ; a3ifk] \$ cfkmg] cWboognf0{ :gfts; Dd k?ofPsl 1fgh] tTsfnlG lj dzf{ds ; Argfdf lzllft gf/Lsf] gjlg klxrfgnf0{ kl|tlglwTj u/\$l 5 . ; dfhsf pTkl8gsf/L zlstnf0{ klxrfg ugI r]tgfut lfdtfnf0{ulx/f]u/L lrgb}uPsl 1fgdf kl|t/f]vTds r]tgfsf]lj sf; xE} uPsf]b]V65 . cfkGof; s cGto pTkl8gsf/L zlstlj?4sf]lj b]kdf gkul ePsf] p; sf] gjlg klxrfg eg]lgdf0f ePsf]b]V65 . oBlk To; tkmsf] ; Defj gf eg] :ki6 2kdf kl/nllft 5 .

ul/aln] lkin; Psl 1fgsl cdfn] kltsf] d[okZrft kl/j f/sf] ; DkOf{ ef/ cfkmg] wfGg' k/\$f] 5 . lbg/ft rvf{ rnfP/ cfPsf] yf}k} fn] b]Mk] \$ kl/j f/ rnfpg' kgI cj:yf t Pslft/ 5E5 eg] csf{t/ lax] ePsf] s]L dlxgdf g} lkt[QfTds ; dfhsf] bf0hf] ; #s[tsf sf/Of bf0hf] gNofPsf] lgxEf df0t} ws]n]Psl 5f]Lsf]lrgtfn]; d] p; nf0{plQs}; tfPsf] 5 . 5f]Lnf0{Pd= P=; Dd k9fpg] rfxgf /fv\$ 1fgsl cdfn]leGg klxrfgnf0{cfTd; ft\u/h:tf]b]Vp klg k9\$ 5f]Lnf0{Hj f0f]; lhn}uXof ub5g\eg]p27o af\$ \$f]b]V65 . k9\$ 5f]Ln] cfkmg] u/L vfG5] eg] gjlg lrgtg p; n] cfd; ft\uug{ ; s\$ 5g . o; /l pkGof; df tTsfnlG lj dzf{ds ; Argfdf 1fgsl cdfn] dhTm oyf:yltj fbl / k/Dk/fut gf/L klxrfgsf]kl|tlglwTj u/\$l 5 . k|t't pkGof; df kj {sl efph" -n\$fnl ; Aafsl >ldlt_ lkt[QfTds lrgtg / Joj xf/af/f pTkl8t / zfljft gf/L xf] . pm 3/fo; L zfljof / bdgnf0{zfljofsf 2kdf af]v gu/L k/Dk/fut 2kdf st{ok/fof dlxnfsf] klxrfgnf0{cfTd; ft\uugIgf/L xf] . >ldfg n\$fnl ; Aafn] /S; Lsf] g; fdf efl]ts 2kdf pTkl8t agfpEf ; d] p; n] To; sf] sg} kl|t/f]v u/\$l 5g . o; /l lkt[QfTds lj dzf{af6 ; ldfGt agf0Psf gf/L ; dbfosf] lj b]k klxrfgnf0{kj {sl efph\$ dfWodaf6 pkGof; df k|t't ul/Psf] 5 .

Ps wgf9a o]s; E k|Int lj lwcg' f/ lax\$] 6^af] l5lgP klg s\$lsf] kl/j f/sf]u/Lal yxf kfPk15 bf0hf]lbg g; Sg]7fg] s\$ klf]n]lj j fx gugIlgwf] u/k15 lkt[QfTds ; dfhdf afRg hl6n xg]l:ylt b]v} pSt o] tln] cfdxTof h:tf]knfogtfsf af6f]/fh\$]b]V65 . ; fdGtL ; dfhsf k?ifx 2 lghL} k'tnlnf0{ ; f]ysf 2kdf 5f]L dfg] lj j fxsf]gf6s ub5g\t/ ul/alsf sf/Of ; dfhdf gf/Lsf]

klxrfg ; ^as6df kl\$]f] cj:yfdf pglx_uf0{ sg} ; jhgfn] 5eg e6g] k?if
; fdlhs lj dzhf0{ lj i6n] pk6of; df ; 'ld _kdf k|tt u/\$f 5g\ . To; u/L
pk6of; df ; 'ld eldsfdf b]vPsf b0{s7gl gf/Lx_uf]klxrfg jf; gflds kl/kl't{
ug]pkef]ofsf _kdf k|tt ePsf]5 . 3g6fps]cgxf/sf]lgb_uf gf^ug ku\$
pglx_ >ldtl xh/af6 ; d] pTkl8t / zflift ag ku\$ 5g\ ; fd6tl ; dfhdf
pRrj ul6 ; jul{gf/Lx_uf]bdg, zflif / pTkl8gaf6 gf/Lsf]klxrfg sf?l0fs /
; jhgzn ag\$]; Gbehf0{pglx_uf]kl'tlglwTj sf dflloaf6 k|tt ul/Psf]5 .

cfly\$ _kdf clehft jul6 kl/jf/sl ; b:o >ldtl xh/ of]kkfz' gf/L
xf] . b] / lxkl cgxf/; E cg]ts ; Da6w /fv] p; n] gf/L klxrfgnf0{ lj st
agPsl 5 eg] pm /li6 k-rfotsf] ; b:osf] rgfadf dlxf ; ^as sf tkmaf6
p7g] ofhgfsf ; fy cl3 a9\$ 5 . gf/L kl'tlglwTj / klxrfgsf b[i6n] of
dx_ k0f{lj ifo eP klg p; df gf/L clwsf/ / ; r]ttsf lj ifodf sg}hfgsf/L g}
5g . ; DklQ / zlstsf e/df cl3 a9g vfh\$ p; n]; fd6tl rl/qnf0{cfd; ft\
u/\$ 5 . 3g6fps\$]jf; gflds zflif0df k/\$f b0{s7gl oj tlx_ufly eflts
_kdf pTkl8g lbP/ p; n] gf/L klxrfgnf0{ sdhf] agfpg] sfo{ u/\$ 5 .
pk6of; df p; sf] eldsfn] lkt[Qfnf0{g}alnof] agfpg] sfo{ u/\$] 5 . p; df
k?ifk\fg ; :s[tn]lgdf0f u/\$]k0Tj sf]k0Tj /x\$]5 . ctM p; sf]klxrfg klg
tIsfnlg ; dfhsf] ; Argdf lgld Pp6f ; To xf] . k|tt pk6of; df ; xfos
eldsfdf /x\$ dlgfxh/ cfwlgs o/fkaf6 lj sl; t lxkl hljgz]lnf0{cfd; ft\
u/\$ gf/L xf] . pm jf; gfnf0{hljgsf]s[b]df65]. 1fgs}; dj ol eP/ klg gf/Lsf]
klxrfgkl't p; df vf; 1fg 5g . 1fgsf]z/L/df kj tsf]5fofFb]y\$ dlgfxh/n]
1fgdfly of]b]o]xf/sf]k0Tg u/\$ 5 eg] ; DklQsf] nfe b]vP/ kj tsf]k?if
z/L/; E vlg]k0f; u/\$ 5 . ; du0f dlgfxh/sf]cfk6of; s kl'tlglwTj n]gf/Lsf]
lj lzi6 klxrfgnf0{afw ug{ ; s\$] 5g . To; u/L k|tt pk6of; sf lj nfl; gl /
uhflkngl lbbl sf7df8f\$ xf6nx_uf oj tlx_ grfpg] / b]Jofk/df nufpg]
gf/Lx_ xg\ . pk6of; df lj nfl; gl / uhflkngl lbblsf] eldsfn] ; fd6tl ; dfhsf]
tTk\$[tsf] cfly\$; :s[tnf0{ ; xof]u u/L gf/L klxrfgnf0{ lj b] / ; jhgzn
agfPsf]5 .

z]lfs b[i6n] :gfts tx k'f ug{nfu\$] kj t lgDgj uló cfly\$ x]; ot ePsf] kl/jf/sf] ; b:o xf] . /fhgllts, cfly\$ tyf ; fdlhs ; f:s[ts lfqsf af6fx; laufg;sf] tll0f lj /fv u/] p; n] pkGof; df h]j s af]4ssf] eldsf ; j+g u/\$]5 . p; n]pkGof; df cfly\$ tyf n]Nus ; kdf kltaf6 pTkll8t / cwlg:y ag\$] 1fghf0{kf/jf/s / ; fdlhs ; kdf cfnf]rgf xbfx\$] klg ; fy lbPsf]5 . p; sf]b[i6sf] / Joj xf/af6 1fgh]; fdlhs / ; f:s[ts lfqsf lj st klfklt cfnf]rgf]ds b[i6r]sf] lj sf; u/\$] 5 . pkGof; df p; sf] pkl:y]tn] t]tsnlg lj dzf]ds ; Argdf dhwf/sf]; s[tsf]vh] cfnf]rgf ug]lzlft o]f k?ifx;sf]klxrfgnf0{kl]t]glw]j u/\$]5 . To; y/L pkGof; df b]yfk/\$] cGo k?if r/qx; 3g6fps] cgxf/, lxxkl cgxf/, s[0fdfg tyf n\$fnl ; Aafsf] n]Nus eldsf dhwf/ s]Gb]t k/Dk/fut /x\$] 5 . pglx;sf] eldsf gf/L klxrfgnf0{sdhf] agf0{k?if ; s[tnf0{alnof]agfpg s]Gb]t 5 .

२.५.१ बिग्रिएको बाटो उपन्यासमा वर्गीय प्रतिनिधित्व र पहिचान

lalupsf] af6] kpv lgDg juló r/q 1fg'sf s]b]otfdf ; Art ; ldfGtlotfsf] ; d:ofnf0{hljGt ; kdf lrqof ul/Psf] pkGof; xf] . ; fdGtj fbl pRr juló ; dfh gf/Lsf]kl]t]glw]j nf0{z]stxlg / cwlg:y agfpg s; /L ; lj]p xG5 eGg] s'/fnf0{1fg'sf dflwodaf6 k]tt ul/Psf] 5 . lkt[Qf]ds ; dfhdf lj sl; t bf0hf]kyfn]l; hgf u/\$]dlxnfsf]; d:ofnf0{o; pkGof; n]p7fPsf]5 . k-rfotsfnlg zf; g Joj:yfsf]; fdlhs kl/j ; znf0{cfw/ agfP/ /rgf ul/Psf] k]tt pkGof; df dh'sl P]n]gf/L / k?ifnf0{nueu a/fa/Lsf]l:y]tdf /fv]klg ; dfhsf] ; fdGtl ; Argf / /fHo; Qfdf ; d]t ; f]L ; Argfsf] kl]t]glw]j ePsf sf/of gf/Lx; k?ifx;af6 lgo]qat xg' k/\$]n]Nus ; Gbe\$]lrqof ; d]t ePsf] 5 . ; fdGtl ; dfhsf]lkt[Qf]ds ; f]n]dlxnfx;nf0{jf; gf]ds ; kdf dfq xG] / ; f]L cg; k dNof^a\$g ug] ub5 . o; r/qnf0{l]z]ftM clehft juló k?ifx;n]cf]d; ft\u/\$] xG5g\ . k]tt pkGof; sf 3g6fps] lxxkl cgxf/h:tf k?ifx; k}fnf0{dflwod agfP/ gf/Lnf0{s]n k?ifsf e]ofs] ; kdf xG]v/fa dgl:y]t af\$]sf kfqx; xg\ . loglx; /fHosf] z]stnf0{lgo]qofdf lnP/ c]w

٤kdf ; DklQ cfhg ug{pBt 5g\ . To; sf nflu pglx٤n]gf/Lx٤sf] z/L/nf0{
; dt pkof] u/\$f] b]vG5 . ; fdGtl ; dfhsf] lkt[QfTds ; f]sf sf/of n]Nus
zf]f0f / pTkl8g eflg ku\$]l 1fgh]cfly\$ ٤kdf lgDgj ul٥ gf/Lx٤sf]kltlglwTj
u/\$]l 5 . df0t]sf]sdhf] cfly\$ cj:l:yltn]ubf{p; n]n]Nus ; d:ofnf0{efl]g'
k/\$f] 5 . k?ifk\wfg ; fdf]hs ; :s[t]sf] k٥v j r{j /x\$]f] ; dfhn] gf/Lx٤sf]
JolSत्त्व, l; hgZlntf / lfdtfnf0{dx٤j lb٥g . pkGof; df 1fg'sf]klg Toxl xfnt
ePsf]5 . z]f]s b[6n]:gfts tx k'f ug{nfu\$]l af]4s gf/L eP/ klg kltaf6
pm d\loxlg ePsl 5]. ; f]٤; q j if\$]f]pd]df lj j fx u/] kltsf]3/ uPsf]Ps÷b0{
dlxgfd}kltaf6 pTkl8t / ckdf]gt xgkU5]. n]l]g]h]p; nf0{sg}dfgj lo dNo
lb٥g . k] fut ٤kdf kqsf]/tfnf0{ cEfn\$]f] 1fg'sf] >ldfg bf0hf] sd ePsf]
lgx٥f df/; f0sn lsGg]k}f lnP/ dfq 3/ cfp'eg] 1fghf0{df0t}k7f0lbG5 .
df0tl cfly\$ ٤kdf sdhf] ePsf]n] pm df0t]df a:g af\lo xG5]. k?ifk\wfg
; dfhsf] bf0hf] kyfn]l; hg]f u/\$f] lj b]k kl/ly:yltsf sf/of kltaf6 pTkl8t,
zf]ift, bldt / j r{j xlg aGg ku\$]f gf/L ; dbfosf]kltlglwTj pkGof; df 1fgh]
u/\$]l 5]. 0ltxf; sf]of]sfnv08df cf0kUbf g]k]nsf]s]b]lo /fhwfgl sf7df8f]f]
; xl/of ; dfhleq}lj j flxt gf/Lx٤ bf0hf\$]f gfddf s;/L k?ifx٤af6 ; af\6g{
af0Psf lyP eGg]s'f 1fg'sf]hlj g; Gbe]n]kltlglwTj u/\$]f]5 . df0t]sf]sdhf]
cfly\$ kl/l:yltn]laxfga]h'sfsf]5fs 6fg{ufx]xg' tyf n]l]g]f]3/df ; dt :yfg
gk]Pkl5 pm ; a\$6sf]cj:yfdf kU5]. p; nf0{kfl/j fl/s ul/alsf]af]vn]; tfp5 .
pm dl]gf xh'/sf]3/df >ldtl xh'/sf]; j]n]l]sf]sfd kfp5]. kfl/j fl/s / ; fdf]hs
٤kdf pTkl8t 1fg'sf]el'dsf o; cj:yfdf cf0kUbf km/s b]vG5 . clehft j ul٥
kl/j f/sl ; b:o >ldtl xh/ rgfasf dfl\odaf6 ; fdf]hs g]t]j df klg] dg; fo
af\$]l kfq xf]. cfly\$ l:ylt alnof]eP klg ; fdYo{/ JolSत्त्वsf b[6n]sdhf]
>ldtl xh'/sf]efif0f n]v]bg]lhDd]f/L 1fg'sf]5 . ; dfhsf]:j ٤k ; fdGtl x٥f
lfdt]fg gf/Lx٤ klg s;/L pRrj ul٥ kl/j f/sf] cwl]g:y xG5g\ eGg] s'/sf]
kltlglwTj oxf1fgh]u/\$]l 5 . clt ; 'ld el'dsdf b]fk/\$f sf7gl cgxf/sf b0{
cf]l oj tlx٤n]; fdGtl ; dfhsf pRrj ul٥ k?ifx٤af/f ofl]gs ٤kdf zf]ift /
pTkl8t xg ku\$]f dlxnf]x٤sf] kltlglwTj u/\$]f 5g\ . pkGof; df loglx٤

3g6fps]h: tf k?ifx_ sf] j f; gf kl/t[tsf]; fwg ag\$ f 5g\o; /L lalupsf]af6f] pkGof; sl kdv rl/q 1fghf0{s|b|agfP/ /rgf ul/Psf]k|t't pkGof; ; xl/of ; dfhsf lgdgj ul6 JolQmx_ sf] hlj gofkg sf]; Gbehf0{hlj Gt _ kdf lraq0f ug{ ; kmn ePsf]5

pkGof; sf]kdv rl/q kj {sf]; f] / Joj xf/ gf/lk|t ; sf/flds /x\$ f]eP klg p; sf] lgdg jul6 cfly\$ cj:yfsf sf/of p; nf0{laxfg ah'slsf] 5fs 6fg{ d] wf}wf}k/\$f] blvg5 . kj { lzllft 5 t/ cfly\$ _ kdf sdhf] 5 . lgdgj ul6 kl/jf/sf]ePsf sf/of pm jul6 ; ldfGtlotfsf]rk}fdf k/\$f]5 . p; sf] oxl cj:l:yltnf0{cj ; /sf] _ kdf kpf] u/] dlgfxh/n} kj {sf]; f]bo}df v]lg] kpf]g u/\$l 5 . p; sf]k?if]j sf]xTof ug{kpf]g u/\$l 5 .

२.५.२ बिग्रीएको बाटो उपन्यासमा जातीय प्रतिनिधित्व र पहिचान

lalupsf]af6f]kdv gf/L rl/q 1fgsf s|b|otfdf ; Art ; ldfGtlotfsf] ; d:ofnf0{hlj Gt _ kdf lraq0f ul/Psf]pkGof; xf]. o; pkGof; df ; 'ld e'ldsdf b]f k/\$l kj {sl eph" pTkl8s / pTkl8tsf] b]f]f] ; DaGwdf lkt[QfTds kOffnlcGtu{ bldt gf/L ; dbfosf]k|t|glwTj ug]gf/L rl/q xf]. dft] cfPsf] >ldfg\n\$fnl ; Aafn] p; dly xtkft / ufnl ubf{To; sf] k|tjfb gu/L ; x] a; \$l 5 . cfGtl/s _ kdf hlt; 's}cfTdkl8f eP klg To; nf0{p; n}JoSt u/\$l 5g . kltsf] h:tf] 's} zf; g vk] eP klg dlxnf] To; nf0{ ; xgk5{ / klteSttfnf0{cfTd; ft\ugk5{eG}S/fnf0{p; n}Jofj xfl/s _ kdf k|t't u/\$l 5 . o; /L lxGb' ; fdGtl ; dfhsf pTkl8t / zflift pRr hftlo dlxnf_ sf] k|t|glwTj pkGof; df kj {sl eph'sf dfWodaf6 u/f0Psf] 5 . To; u/L sf7df8f] ef]lx6L, hdn nufPtsf 7fpdf a; f]f; ug] g] f/L ; dbfo / ltglx_ n]ug]Jofkf/ Joj ; fo h; n]pglx_ sf] blgslnf0{ ; xh agfPsf]j ftfj /of klg pkGof; df pNn] 5 .

२.५.३ बिग्रीएको बाटो उपन्यासमा लैङ्गिक प्रतिनिधित्व र पहिचान

lalupsf]af6f]kdv gf/L rl/q 1fgsf s|b|otfdf ; Art ; ldfGtlotfsf] ; d:ofnf0{ hlj Gt _ kdf lraq0f ul/Psf] pkGof; xf] . ; fdGtj fbl lkt[QfTds

; dfh gf/l\$] k|t|glwTj nf0{zIStxlg / cwlg:y agfpg s; /L ; lj p x65 e6g] s/fnf0{1fgsf dflodaf6 k|tt ul/Psf] 5 . k|tt pk6of; sf 3g6fps] lxkl cgxf/h:tf k?ifx; gf/Lnf0{ s] n k?ifsf efllofsf ; kdf xg] v/fa dgl:y|t af\$]f kfqx; xg\ loglx; /fhosf] zIStnf0{lgo6q0fdf lnP/ cjw ; kdf ; DklO cfhg ug{pBt 5g\ . To; sf nflu pglx;n] gf/lx;sf] z/L/nf0{ ; d]t pkof] u/\$] b]v65 . pk6of; sf] kd v k?if r|/q kj t n] pk6of; df gf/lx; k|t ; sf/flds b]6sf] af\$]f] b]v65 . p; n] 1fgsf x/\$ ck7df/fx; df ; fy lbP/ n]us ; dtfdhs ; dfhsf]l; h6gnf0{cuf18 a9fpg gf/L klfw/tfnf0{cfd; ft u/\$]5 .

kfl/j fl/s ; kdf nllgaf6 sdhf] ag\$]l 1fg' ; dfhsf]k?if ; f]af6 ; d]t pTKl8gsf] lzsf/ a65] . k9\$]l 5f]lnf0{kSs} klg Hj f0F] uXof unfg\ve6g] cfzf af\$]l p; sl cdfn]p; nf0{k9}sf nflu pTK]t u/\$] 5 . k|tt pk6of; df 1fg' n]us ; kdf lkt[Qfids ; dfhsf] k?iflr6tg, ; f] / Joj xf/af6 t pTKl8t 5] g} pm cfly\$ jf jul6 ; kdf klg cwlg:y 5] . df0ltsf] sdhf] cfly\$ kl/:y|tn] laxfga]hsfsf]5fs 6fg{ufx]xg' tyf nllg\$]f]3/df ; d]t :yfg gkfPk15 pm ; a\$6sf]cj :ydf kl]5] . To; h]gf/Ln] hxfFeP klg k|t elStnf0{ c]nDag ug{k5{e6g]k?if; Qfids lr6tgsf]k6]j p; df /x\$] 5 . pm k9\$]l 5f]ln] hljgnf0{/fd\l ; ~rfng ug{ ; S5] e6g] gjlg 1fge6bf 6f9f 5] . kx/L vf]df ylgg kl]l 1fg' Pslbg 3/ gcfp6f kj t ; E6sf] ; Da6wnf0{lnP/ p; sf] cfnf]gf xg yfn]k15 1fg\$]l cdf ln6tt 5] . 5f]lnf0{nllg\$]f] 3/ k7fpg p; nf0{xtf/]nfu\$] 5 . o; /L ul/al / lkt[Qfdstfsf sf/0f ; ldf6t]s] ag] klg To; sf] ; Dk0f{bf]f eflonf0{lbg]k/Dk/fut dlxnf;sf] k|t|glwTj pk6of; df 1fg\$]l cdfn]u/\$] 5 . lalufsf]af6]pk6of; df ; 'd eldsdf b]vk/\$]l kj t sl efph" pTKl8s / pTKl8tsf] b]x]f]f] ; Da6wdf lkt[Qfids k6ffnlc6tu\$ bldt gf/L ; dbfosf]k|t|glwTj ug]gf/L r|/q xf] . dft] cfPsf] >ldfg\n\$fnl ; Aafn] p; dfly xftkft / ufnl ubf{To; sf]k|t]fb gu/L ; x] a; \$]l 5 . 5f]lnf0{Pd= P=; Dd k9fpg] rfxgf /fv\$]l 1fg\$]l cdfn]le6g klxrfgnf0{cfd; ft \u/h:tf]

b]VP klg k9\$]L 5f]Ln]f0{Hj f0F]; lhn}u}of ub5g\eg]p2]o af\$}f]b]V65 .
 k9\$]L 5f]Ln]cfk]Fu/L vf65]eg]gjlg lrGtg p; n]cf]d; ft\ug{; s\$]L 5g .
 o; /L pkGof; df t]sfnl]g lj dzf]ds ; Argdf 1fg]sl cdfn]dhtM oyfl:y]tj fbl
 / k/Dk/fut gf/L klxrfgsf]k]t]glw]j u/\$]L 5 . k}t't pkGof; df kj {sl efph"
 -n\$]nl ; Aafsl >ldlt_ lkt[Qf]ds lrGtg / Joj xf/af/f p]kl]8t / z]f]ift gf/L
 xf] . pm 3/fo; L z]f]f0f / bdgnf0{z]f]f0fsf ; kdf af]v gu/L k/Dk/fut ; kdf
 st]ok/foof dlxnfsf] klxrfgnf0{cf]d; ft\ug]gf/L xf] . >ldfg n\$]nl ; Aafn]
 /S; lsf]g; fdf e]f]ts ; kdf p]kl]8t agfp]f ; d]t p; n]To; sf]sg} k]t/f]v
 u/\$]L 5g . o; /L lkt[Qf]ds lj dz]f]6 ; ldfGt agf0Psf gf/L ; dbfosf] lj b]k
 klxrfgnf0{kj {sl efph}sf df]odaf6 pkGof; df k}t't ul/Psf]5 . Ps wgf9a
 o]s; E k]r]nt lj lwcg; f/ lax\$]f]6^af]l5]gP klg s\$]Lsf]kl/j f/sf]u/lal yxf
 kfPk]5 bf0hf]lbg g; Sg]7fg] s\$]f k]fn]lj j fx gug]lgwf]u/k]5 lkt[Qf]ds
 ; dfhdf af]Rg hl6n xg]l:y]t b]v] pSt o]tln]cf]dx]of h:tf] knfогtfsf
 af6f]/f]h\$]f]b]V65 . ; fdGtl ; dfhsf k?ifx ; lgh]j k'tnlnf0{; f]ysf ; kdf 5f]L
 dfg] lj j fxsf]gf6s ub5g\t/ ul/alsf sf/0f ; dfhdf gf/Lsf]klxrfg ; ^\$6df
 ku\$]f cj:y]df pglx ; nf0{sg} ; j]bg]n] 55g eg] k?if ; fdf]hs lj dz]f]f0{
 lj i6n]pkGof; df ; !d ; kdf k}t't u/\$]f 5g\

२.६ भोक र भित्ताहरू उपन्यासमा सीमान्त समुदायको प्रतिनिधित्व र पहिचान

k-rfotl zf; g]oj:y]fsf] /fhgllts, cfly\$ / ; fdf]hs ; f:s[ts
 kl/j }zsf] k[7e]l]ddf /rgf ul/Psf] k}t't pkGof; df ; dfhsf] j ul6 z]f]f0fsf]
 :j ; knf0{hlj Gt ; kdf k}t't ul/Psf]5 . o; sf ; fy}; fdGtl ; dfhdf z]f]ift xg
 ku\$]f gf/Lx ; sf ; d:ofx ; nf0{ ; d]t ox]FpkGof; sf/n] plQs} ; r]t]tfsf ; fy
 lrqof u/\$]f 5g\ pkGof; sf]k]d]v rl/q xs] ; flx]f j ul6 z]f]f0fsf]p]kl]8g v]g
 kul kl/wlo ag] ku\$]f]kf]q xf]eg]p; sl >ldtl em]g]/ 5f]L hg]j ul6 ; E}n]P]us
 z]f]f0fsf]bf]x]f]df/ v]g kul ; ldfGt ag] ku\$]f 5g\ pkGof; sf]vn rl/q hut]
 ; Qf / cfly\$; DaGwsf cf8df pglx ; d]fly r/d z]f]f0f ub5 . hut]h] ; fdGtl
 ; dfhsf] 1fg / z]lSteg]bf aflx/ /x\$]f] xs]nf0{ km]F]P/ lj gf s; / !^ j if{ Dd
 %ofnv fg]s f]af u/Psf]5 . To; u/L p; sL >ldtL em]g] Qof]z f]f]f u/] x]of

ubf{; d} pN6} sfggsf b[i6df pm lgbf}f a6g ku\$}f] 5 . pk6of; sf] k?if rI/q
r6b]j ul6 zffjif0fs}sf/0f vfglvf}hf ufpE}f]zff}fs dfx/L ; fx'af6 cdfsf]d[okl5
; fg}pd}df nv}l6P/ sf7df8f}Fcf0ku\$}f]lgDgj ul6 rI/q xf]. o; /L pk6of; df
; Qf / cfly\$; Da6wsf cf8df pRr j u}h]ug}j ul6 / n}Nus zffjif0nf0{k}t't
u/} pk6of; sf/ lj i6n] jul6 / n}Nus 2kdf kl/wlo ag\$}f] ; dbfonf0{
; r}t}fk} \$ kl}tlglw}j u/fPsf 5g\

j ul6 kl}tlglw}j sf b[i6n] k}t't pk6of; sf gf/L tyf k?if rI/qx2
pRrj ul6 k?if dfgl; stfsf sf/0f zffjift / p}Tkl8t a6g ku\$}f 5g\ pk6of; df
emg]/ hg]d~rlo e'ldsfdf cfa4 gf/L kfq xg\eg]g}k}Yo 2kdf k}t't ePsl
r6b}\$l cdf ufdl0f ; dfhsf]j ul6 p}Tkl8gdf k/\$}f gf/L ; dbfosf]kl}tlglw xf].
pk6of; sl emg]xs}]; flx}fisl >ldtl / afn pd}d}hut\$}f jf; gf}ds cf}f}af6
8l; g ku} ; 8ssf]hljg latfpg af}llo ePsl hg}\$l cdf xf]. pk6of; df emg}h]
; fd6tl ; fdf}hs Joj :yfsf sf/0f n}Nus 2kdf zffjift, p}Tkl8t / lsgf/Ls}t
a6g ku\$}f gf/L ; dbfosf]kl}tlglw}j u/\$}l 5 . a}Nsn] ufpE}f] 3/hluf lnnfd
ul/lbPsf sf/0f kl/j f/; lxt sf7df8f}FlelqPsl emg}df Joj l:yt 2kdf 3/hd ug}
tyf 5f}l}nf0{/fd}L k9fpg]; kgf 5 . Odf6bf/ / ; f}em}l pm sf7df8f}Fkj }z u/} E}
hut\$}f jf; gf}ds cf}f}fx2af6 8l; g kU5]. t}Isfnlg ; fdf}hs ; Argfsf]s}b}llo
; :s[t zffjif0fdhs /x\$}f]/ hut]; f}x}l ; :s[t}sf]j fxs ePsf}n]af}Nosfnlg ; fyl
eP/ klg xs}ip; af6 jul6 zffjif0df k5{eg}emg]j ul6 ; fy}n}Nus 2kdf zffjift
a6g kU5]. p; sf]klit xs}ihut\$}k~hdf k/} ; /sf/L l; d}6 rf}f}f]cf/f}k}df ; f}x}
j if{Ddsf] h}h ; hfo eff}g kU5, hg lj ifosf af/}df pm a}ya/ 5]. hut\$}f6
nf}lg}h]cs}f}l lnP/ efu\$}f]em}f]lj j /0f ; 65]. pm clj Zj f; ubf}ub}klg hut\$}f]
ld7f]af}hlaf6 lj Zj f; ug{kU5]. hut\$}cfu}xdf p; \$}f] 3/df uP/ cf>o lng
kU5]. jul6 zffjif0sf]df/df lk}N; /x\$}l emg]ca hut\$}f6 n}Nus 2kdf zffjift /
p}Tkl8t a65]. 1fg g}z}l}stsf] ; f}t} xf] e6g] pQ/; Argfj fbl km}sf\$}f]lj rf/nf0{
cfwf/ agfP/ xg}I xf] eg] emg}h] s}b}llo ; :s[t}sf] 1fgaf6 al~rt ePsf}n]
hut}h:tf] 7u / sl6n clg Jofkf/j fbl dfgl; stfaf6 lg/6t/ jf; gf}ds 2kdf

zflift xgk/\$f] 5 . pm hut\$af6 zlstxlg afg kl]5]. pkGof; df k|t't lgDg
; flon]o; \$f]kli6 ub5 Mæhut]p; sf]cfF' k5\fk5\}p; nf0{; d; Dofpg ku\$]f
lyof]. km/ t Ps lbg /ftl b'; fx; b\yfp g}ku\$]f lyof]. grfxBgrfxB}klg
p; sf] gf/LIj df 8fBf k/k]5 pm dl0fxlg ; kEePsl ly0{Æ-k{\$_ . k|t't
; Gbef]jul6 2kdf kl/wlo ag\$]l emg]hut\$af6 of]gs 2kdf ; d} zflift eP/
n}Nus pTKl8g vlg ku\$]f s/fnf0{k}6 kf/\$f] 5 . o; af6 tIsfnlg ; fdGtl
; dfhsf lgDg jul6 dlxfx 2 pRr jul6 k?if dfgl; stf6 s; /l n}Nus
2kdf kl/wlo agf0Psf lyP eG]kli6 xG5 . pkGof; df emg]Itg}lsgf/Lst /
; ldfGtlst dlxfx 2sf]hljGt 2kdf kl|tlglwTj u/\$] 5 .

hg] ; fdGtl ; dfhdf pRr juaf6 pk]lft, bldt / lsgf/Lst xg ku\$]l
gf/L rl/q xf]. pm pkGof; sf]kDv rl/q xs[/ ; xfos rl/q emg\$]l 5f/l xf].
k-rfotl zf; g Joj:yfsf] kl/j 2ut k[7fwf/df ; Arlt k|t't pkGof; df
pkGof; sf/ lj i6n] ; fdGtl ; dfhsf k?ifx 2sf] cdfglifs jf; gf]ds Joj xf/sf
sf/0f afn pd/d} ; 8sdf ws]ng ku\$]f gf/Lx 2sf] hljGt kl|tlglwTj u/fPsf
5g\ pkGof; sl hg]Itg} ; 8s afnaflnsfx 2sf]kl|tlglwTj u/\$] 5 . afa' xs[
; flx\fsf]h] kj 2 ePk]5 cdf; E}hut\$]f3/d}a; \$]l gf;a; [slnnl s]l hg]
afn pd/d} cleefj sxlg aG5]. pRr jul6 zf]fs hut\$]f Jofkf/j fbl cfVfn]
p; nf0{; jf:gl dfG5]bVg kul -k{e!!_ anftsf/sf]l:ylt df kl|bf cdfsf]; xof]udf
pm efu] ; 8sdf aaf/;]xG5]. p; sf]elj io clglZrt xgk]5 . o; af6 tIsfnlg
dhwf/sf]s]bllo ; Qf n}Nus 2kdf sltsf]bdgsf/L / cgQ/bfol lyof]eG]k}6
xG5 . oxl bdgsf/L rl/qsf sf/0f kl/wlo afg ku\$]f gf/L ; dbfosf]kl|tlglwTj
pkGof; df u/f0Psf]5 .

gf/LIj sf]xTof xgaf6 ar\$]l hg\$]f cufl8 ; 8ssf k]l / kf6lx 2df ; t}
hljg uhfg{kg]kl/l:ylt l; hg] xG5 . hljg lhpg]sg}cfwf/ gxBf rf]vfg'
kg]kl/l:ylt df kl]5]. ; fdGtl ; dfhsf]lj ePsf/L rl/qsf sf/0f ; 8sd}hljg
uhfg{kg]kl/l:ylt ePklg p; df cfzj fbl hljgb]l6 /x\$]f] 5 . tIsfnlg
dhwf/sf]s]bllo ; Qfsf]bl]6 o; /l lsgf/df k/\$]f gf/L tyf afnaflnsfx 2sf]

; Af0fdf klg ; Sbğ . pN6}pSt ; Qf s]Gb̄t 1fg / zIStaf6 pglx; zflift / pTkl8t aGg kU5g\ hg]jul6 ċkdf pTkl8t t 5]g}. p; df gf/L] sf] ; d̄t ; Af0f ug[kg]r̄gf̄tL klg /xšf]5 . o; sf af/df pm k0f{ċkdf ; r̄t 5}. p; dfl y anfsf/df plqg vfl]g}ċnf0{cfkm; E ePsf]r̄kl b]v/P/ p; n]kl̄t/f]v u/šL 5 . ufpāf6 dfx/L ; fxsf]jul6 pTkl8gaf6 aRg g; s] sf7df8f]cfP/ aāf/;]agšf] r̄b] E ldqtf sfod ePkI5 pm cem}cf̄6nl aGg kU5]. pm zIStxlg eP klg cfzj fbl 5]. kl/>d u/] afRg]sg}dfu{gx̄f̄ rf]v vfg' /x/ geP/ cfj Zostf xf]eG]alnof]ts{k} ug[hg]h]pk̄Gof; df ; 8sdf cleefj slj xlg eP/ kl/wlo hlj g af̄r/xšf] lsgf/lst̄ gf/L ; dbfosf] kl̄tlgw]j u/šL 5 .

efš / leQfx; pk̄Gof; df gk̄Yo rl/qsf ċkdf /xšL gfdut ċkdf klxrfgxlg kfq r̄Gb̄šL cdf lgDg jul6 gf/L xf]. kl̄tsf] d[okI5 3/sf] dhl agšL hljgsf]x/š ; do kl/>ddf 3f]6̄f̄ klg p; sf] cflyš p̄Ggt xg ; sšf] b]vb̄ğ . clwsfz ; do dfx/L ; fxsf] l9sl hf̄f] ug{kušL p; sf] hlj g lgs} ; ašifzln /xšf]5 . dhwf/sf] 1fg / zIStaf6 al-rt eP klg r̄Gb̄šL cdfn] 5f]fnf0{k9fpg]nlo lnPsl 5 . ; fdGtl ; dfhsf]jul6 rl/qsf sf/0f p; sf] nlo k'f xg ; Sbğ eg] nx/] v]šlaf6 ul; t ag] d[o' ; d̄t xG5 . o; kšf/ r̄Gb̄šL cdfn]jul6 ; dfhdf tNnf]jušf pTkl8t / zflift gf/L ; dbfosf] kl̄tlgw]j u/šL 5 . To; ū/L pk̄Gof; df ; 'ld ċkdf b]vk/šL hutšL >ldtIsf] rl/q gf/L s]Gb̄t ag] pkl:yt ePsf]5ğ . p; sf] lr̄Gtg / Joj xf/n] tIsfnlg dhwf/s]Gb̄t ; #s[tsf]kl̄tlgw]j u/šf]5 .

२.६.१ भोक र भित्ताहरू उपन्यासमा वर्गीय प्रतिनिधित्व र पहिचान

efš / leQfx; pk̄Gof; df k-rfotl zf; gJoj :yfsf] /fhgl̄ts, cflyš, ; fdfhs / ; #s[ts kl/j z̄sf]k[7el'ddf /rgf ul/Psf] ; dfhsf]jul6 zfi]f0fsf] :j ċknf0{hlj Gt ċkdf k|t't ul/Psf]5 . o; sf ; fy}; fdGtl ; dfhdf zflift xg kušf gf/Lx;sf ; d:ofx;nf0{ ; d̄t ox̄f̄pk̄Gof; sf/n] plQs} ; r̄t̄tfsf ; fy lr̄qof u/šf] 5g\ pk̄Gof; sf]k̄v̄ rl/q xs]; flx̄f̄ jul6 zfi]f0fsf]pTkl8g v]g kul kl/wlo aGg kušf]kfq xf]eg]p; sl >ldtl emg]/ 5f]l hg]jul6 ; E}n}Nus

zffif0fsf]bfxf]f]df/ vlg kul ; ldf6t a6g ku\$5f 5g\ pk6of; sf]vn rl/q hut] ; Qf / cfly\$; Da6wsf cf8df pglx2dfly r/d zffif0f ub5 . hut]h] ; fd6tl ; dfhsf] 1fg / zlstegbf aflx/ /x\$]f] xs]hf0{ kmFFP/ ljgf s; / !^ j if{ Dd %afnvfgfsf] af, u/fPsf] 5 . To:t}pk6of; sf] k?if rl/q r6b]j ul6 zffif0fs} sf/0f vfglvf]hf ufp5f] zff]fs dfx/L ; fxaf6 cdfsf] d[okl5 ; fg} pd]df nv]6P/ sf7df8f]f]cf0ku\$]f]lgDgj ul6 rl/q xf]. o; /L pk6of; df ; Qf / cfly\$; Da6wsf cf8df pRr j u6]ug]j ul6 / n]Nus zffif0fnf0{k}t't u/] pk6of; sf/ lj i6n]j ul6 / n]Nus 2kdf kl/wlo ag\$]f] ; dbfonf0{ ; r]tkj} \$ kl|t|glw]j u/fPsf 5g\ . :fld6tlo kl|t|glw]j sf b[i6n] k}t't pk6of; sf gf/L tyf k?if rl/qx2 pRrj ul6 k?if dfgl; stfsf sf/0f zff]ift / pTKl8t a6g ku\$5f 5g\ . pk6of; df emg]/ hg]d-rl0 el'dsfdf cfa4 gf/L kfq xg\eg]gk]Yo 2kdf k}t't ePsl r6b]\$L cdf uf]dl0f ; dfhsf]j ul6 pTKl8gdf k/\$f gf/L ; dbfosf]kl|t|glw xf] . pk6of; sl emg] xs[; flxhfsl >ldtl / afn pd]d} hut\$5f jf; gffds cf7faf6 8l; g ku] ; 8ssf] hljg latfpg afllo ePsl hg\$5L cdf xf] . hg] ; fd6tl ; dfhdf pRr j uaf6 pk]ift, bldt / lsgf/ls[xg ku\$5L gf/L rl/q xf]. pm pk6of; sf]kdv rl/q xs[/ ; xfos rl/q emg]5L 5f]L xf]. pk6of; sl hg]h] ltg}; 8s afnaflnsf]x2sf]kl|t|glw]j u/\$5L 5 . afa' xs[; flxhf]sf] h]h] kj 2 ePk15 cdf; E} hut\$5f] 3/d} a; \$5L gf} a; [slnnl s5L hg] afn pd]d} cleefj sxlg a65]. pRr j ul6 zff]fs hut\$5f]Jofkf/j fbl cf7fn]p; nf0{:j f:gl df65] b]vg kul -k[!!_ anftsf/sf]l:y]tdf kl]bf cdfsf] ; xof]udf pm efu] ; 8sdf a\$fl/;]x65]. afNofnd}a\$fl/;]ag\$5L hg]glrg]klg h]haf6 lg:s\$]f] afa' xs[; flxhf; E]sf]; Dksk15 p; sf]; Nnfxcg'; f/ rf]L sfoaf6 lj dv ePsl 5 . r6b] E] ldn] sfd vff]bf pRrj ul6 k?ifx2af6 du6t\$5f] cf]f]k vfPsl hg] hljgkl|t cfz]f fbl t 5]t/ p; sf hljgdf cg\$; d:ofx2 cf0/x65g\ . afa' / r6b] E}eFL kfng sfo6f ; lj]p hg] hut\$5f] sb[i6sf sf/0f cfzfsf]s[|b]eFL dfl/Pk15 kgM ; ldf6t a65].

२.६.२ भोक र भित्ताहरू उपन्यासमा जातीय प्रतिनिधित्व र पहिचान

ef\$ / leQfx; pkGof; k-rfotl zf; gJoj :yfsf] /fhgllts, cfly\$ / ; fdfllhs ; f:s[ts kl/j zsf] k[7el'ddf /rgf ul/Psf] pkGof; xf]. lj =; = @))& sf] cl3 / kl5sf] ; fdfllhs oyfy{f0{ s{bdf /fv} n}lvPsf] d-h/l pkGof; n] dh; kdf ln^ulo ; d:ofdf klG pRrhftlo j fXdof kl/j f/df lj wj f gf/Lx; dfly xg] kfl/j fl/s / ; fdfllhs lj e, pTkl8g / zfi0fsf] lraqof ug{g}o; pkGof; sf] kdv p27o /xsf] b}lv65 .

pkGof; sl kdv gf/L kfq d-h/ln] k?ifk}wfg ; dfhdf a k?if; E lj j flxt eP/ afn pd}d}lj wj f agg ku\$; ; ldfGts{ gf/L ; dbfosf] hlj Gt kl}tlglwTj u/\$l 5 . o; sf ; fy} lkt[QfIdstf / ; fdGtl cfly\$; s{tn} l; hg} u/\$f gf/Lx; sf lj lj w ; d:ofnf0{klG oxfPlQs} dx; sf; fy pk:yfkg ul/Psf] 5 .

२.६.३ भोक र भित्ताहरू उपन्यासमा लैङ्गिक प्रतिनिधित्व र पहिचान

ef\$ / leQfx; pkGof; sf] kdv rl/q xs[; flxfl j ul0 zfi0fsf] pTkl8g v}g kul kl/wlo agg ku\$; kfq xf] eg] p; sl >ldtl emg] / 5f}l hg] j ul0; E} n}lus zfi0fsf] b}xf}f] df/ v}g kul ; ldfGt agg ku\$ 5g\ . :ldfGtlo kl}tlglwTj sf b{in} k}tt pkGof; sf gf/L tyf k?if rl/qx; pRrj ul0 k?if dfgl; stfsf sf/of zflift / pTkl8t agg ku\$ 5g\ . pkGof; df emg] / hg] d-rlo eldsfdf cfa4 gf/L kfq xg\eg] gkYo ; kdf k}tt ePsl rGb}l cdf ufldof ; dfhsf] j ul0 pTkl8gdf k/\$f gf/L ; dbfosf] kl}tlglw xf]. pkGof; sl emg] xs[; flxflsl >ldtl / afn pd}d}hut\$ j f; gflds cf}faf6 8l; g ku} ; 8ssf] hlj g latfpg aflo ePsl hg}l cdf xf]. pkGof; df emg]h] ; fdGtl ; fdfllhs Joj :yfsf sf/of n}lus ; kdf zflift, pTkl8t / lsgf/ls{ agg ku\$ gf/L ; dbfosf] kl}tlglwTj u/\$l 5 . o; /l pkGof; sf/ lj in} pkGof; df tIsfnlg ; fdGtl ; dfhdf pRrj ul0 k?ifx; af6 dlxnf; s; /l lsgf/ls{ / ; ldfGts{ aggku\$ lyP eG]s/f emg} dfllodaf6 kl}tlglwTj u/fPsf 5g\

hg] ; fdGtl ; dfhdf pRr j uaf6 pk}lft, bldt / lsgf/ls{ xg ku\$ gf/L rl/q xf]. pm pkGof; sf] kdv rl/q xs[/ ; xfos rl/q emg}l 5f}l xf].

k-rfotl zf; g Joj:yfsf] kl/j žut k[7fwf/df ; Arlt k|t't pkGof; df
 pkGof; sf/ lj i6n] ; fdGtl ; dfhsf k?ifxčsf] cdfglifs j f; gfTds Joj xf/sf
 sf/0f afn pd}d} ; 8sdf ws}ng kušf gf/Lxčsf] hljGt kl|tlglwTj u/fPsf
 5g\gf/LTj sf] xTof xgaf6 aršl hgšf cufl8 ; 8ssf kšl / kf6Lxčdf ; t}
 hlj g uhfg{kgIkl/l:ylt l; hgf x65 . hlj g lhpq]sg}cfwf/ gxšf rf} vfg'
 kgIkl/l:yltdf kU5] . ; fdGtl ; dfhsf] lj ešf/L rl/qsf sf/0f ; 8sd} hlj g
 uhfg{kgIkl/l:ylt ePklg p; df cfzfj fbl hlj gb}6 /xšf]5 .

२.७ निष्कर्ष

pkGof; sf/ bftlj j d lj i6n]; dsfnlg ; dfhsf]; fdflhs oyfy{nf0{dVo
 lj ifoj :t' agfP/ pkGof; xčsf]/rgf u/šf 5g\ pgn]lkt[QfIdstf tyf ; fdGtl
 cflyš ; s[tn] l; hgf u/šf] ; ldfG lo ; d:ofnfQ cf'gf pkGof; xčdf kđv
 :yfg lbPsf 5g\ . pgsf pkGof; xčdf dhwf/af6 kvf kfl/Psf]gf/L ; dbfosf]
 kl|tlglwTj ; fdflhs, cflyš, /fhg]ts ; Qf nufotsf x/š lqdf kl/wlo
 cj:yfdf /xšf] 5 . o; /L pkGof; sf/ lj i6n] cf'gf pkGof; xčdf ; fdflhs
 ; Argf / zIstsf ; f}xčdf pk}lft, lsgf/Ls[/ cwlg:y j ul6, hftlo / n}us
 kl|tlglwTj nf0{ dxčj k0f{ :yfg lbPsf 5g\ . To; u/L lkt[QfIdstf / ; fdGtl
 ; s/nf0{cfd; ft\ugI k?ifxč lj z}f u/L gf/Ldflysf]bdg, pTkl8g / z}f0fdf
 ; mlg /xšf 5g\

lj =; = @))& sf] cl3 / kl5sf] ; fdflhs oyfy{nf0{s}bdf /fv} n}vPsf]
 d-h/l pkGof; n] dhčkdf ln^aulo ; d:ofnf0{pbšf6g u/šf] 5 . pRrhftlo
 j f}xdof kl/j f/df lj wj f gf/Lxčdfly xg] kfl/j fl/s / ; fdflhs lj eš, pTkl8g /
 z}f0fsf]lrqof ug{g}o; pkGof; sf]kđv p2}o /xšf]b}v65 . pkGof; sl kđv
 gf/L kfq d-h/Ln]k?ifk}fg ; dfhdf a} k?if; E lj j flxt eP/ afn pd}d}lj wj f
 aGg kušf ; ldfGtLs[gf/L ; dbfosf] hljGt kl|tlglwTj u/šL 5 . o; sf ; fy}
 lkt[QfIdstf / ; fdGtl cflyš ; s[tn]l; hgf u/šf lqdgj ul6 gf/Lxčsf lj lj w
 ; d:ofnf0{klg oxfPlQs}dxčj sf ; fy pk:yfkg ul/Psf] 5 . pkGof; sf c6o
 gf/L rl/qxč ld; }ah} u^auf, dvgf cflb k/Dk/fut dhwf/sf]; fdflhs ; s[ts}

kIfkf]fs ag\$ 5g\ . To; u/L efd, sftl, d-h>l nufotsf] kl|t|glwTj
gf/Ldflysf] pTkl8gdf ; xeful ePsf] 5 . pkGof; df k\$st an/fd,
k?08axfb/h:tf k?ifx;sf] n?Nus b[6sf]gf gf/L lj/fwL b]vG5 . pglx;sf]
n?Nus kl|t|glwTj tTsfnlj lj dzf]ds ; Argdf pTkl8s ag\$]5 . pkGof; df
k\$V k?if r/q s]f; tyf ; xfos r/q z^s/ / OIGb/fn]k/Dk/fut n?Nus
; #s[tsf] lj/fw u/\$f 5g\ . pkGof; sf/n] pglx;sf] kl|t|glwTj u/fP/
pkGof; dfkmt gj lg j \$Nks ; #s[tsf]vf]hl ug]; r] k\$Tg u/\$f 5g\

*lalupsf]af6f]*pkGof; df jul\$ tyf n?Nus ; df:ofaf6 ; ldfGt]stf ag
ku\$; dbfosf] kl|t|glwTj u/fOPsf] 5 . pkGof; sl k\$V gf/L kfq 1fgh]
lkt[Qf]ds ; dfhsf] pSt ; #s[ts 9fFfsf sf/Of ; dfhdf z]l]ft, pTkl8t /
z]Stxlg agg ku\$ gf/L ; dbfosf] kl|t|glwTj u/\$L 5 . To; u/L gf/L
; ldfGt]tsf] csf] sf/Of ju\$ cfwl/t ; fdGtl cfly\$; #s[t /x\$] s'/fnf0{
pkGo; df 1fg' kj t]sl eph' 1fgsl cdfh:tf gf/L r/qx;sf] kl|t|glwTj n]
k]tt u/\$]5 . *ef\$ / le0fx;* jul\$; d:ofsf] s]b]lotfdf ln^ulo ; d:ofnf0{
k]tt ul/Psf] pkGof; x] . k]tt pkGof; df ; fdGtl ; dfhsf pRrjul\$
k?ifx;af6 ; dfhdf lgd]jul\$ dlxfx; s; /L z]Stxlgf / ; ldfGt]tsf]
cj:ydf kl]5g\eg] n?Nus ; d:ofnf0{ k]tt ul/Psf] 5 . pkGof; sf hg] /
emg] ; fdGtl ; dfhsf lgd] jul\$ gf/Lx;sf] oxl lj dzf]f0{ kl|t|glwTj u/\$f
5g\ . ol b]gf/L kfqn] ; dfhdf lkt[Qf]dstf / jul\$tsf] b]x]f] df/df k/]
lsgf/lsf] gf/L ; dbfosf] kl|t|glwTj u/\$f 5g\ . o; /L lj i6sf pkGof; x;df
lkt[Qf]ds / ; fdGtl ; dfhsf] dhwf/sf] ; #s[taf6 kvf kf/Psf pk]l]ft /
z]l]ft gf/L ; dbfosf]kl|t|glwTj hljGt ; kdf k]tt ePsf]5 .

pkGof; sf] k\$V r/q xs]; flxf]fsf] h]hlj gsf] cf/De; E}p; sl >ldtl
emg]/ 5f]L hg]z]f]s hut]af6 pTkl8t / z]l]ft agg kl]5g\ . lj z]l]ftM emg\$]
lj b]k klxrfg oxlaf6 kf/De xG5 . To; u/L k]tt pkGof; sf] d-rlo eldsfdf
g/x\$] g]k]out r/q rGb]sl cdf uf]d]of ; dfhsf] jul\$ l]e, bdg /
cwg;y]tsf sf/Of ; ldfGt]stf ag\$] 5 . pkGof; df pRrjul\$ lrGtg, ; f] /

Joj x/ k0fē kdf gf/L lj/fjL /x\$] 5 . pkGof; sf] vn rl/q hut] / gkVo
eldsfdf /x\$]dfx/L ; fx"; Of / zIStsf]cf8df n}Nus ē kdf pTKl8s ag] b]yf
k/\$f 5g\ pkGof; df hg]/ emg]n}Nus ē kdf ; fdGtl ; dfhsf]pRrj ulō k?if
dfgl; stfaf6 pTKl8t ag\$] 5g\

dlxnfxē 1fg / zIStsf cefj df ofghGo lx+faf6 s; /L cwlg:y klxrfg
j/Of ug{ kU5g\ēGg]; Gbehf0{pkGof; df emg\$] dfModaf6 k|tt ul/Psf] 5 .
; /n, OdfGbf/ / ; fēml emg] kl/>dl 5] t/ ; fdGtl ; dfhsf] pRr j ulō k?if
dfgl; stfn] p; sf] klxrfgnf0{zIStxlG agfPsf] 5 . p; n] Ps JolStaf6 dfq}
xf0g ; ofJolStxēaf6 ofghGo x]fgl vlg' k/\$] 5 . /fHo ; ~rfngsf] dflyNnf]
txsf xflsdxēaf6}oflgs ē kdf zflift xg' k/\$] p; sf] sxfnl nflbf]kl/bZoaaf6
tIsfnlg /fHo; θGq dlxnfxēdfly slt lj e\$]sf/L / lkt[QfTds lyof] ēGg]
s/fnf0{pkGof; df k|tt ul/Psf] 5 .

ul/aln] ; tfPkI5 7hf] ; kgf af\$] klt; E} sf7df8f]lelqPsl emgd]f
5f]lnf0{/fd/L k9fpg]/ kl/jf/nf0{Jojl:yt ē kdf ; ~rfng ug]; kgf lyof] t/
pm u/Lanf0{7u] wgl aGb}uPsf] zfl]fs kj [Qsf] hut\$] jf; gfTds cfēfaf6
8l; g' kg]sf?l0fs kl/l:yItdf kU5]. hut\$] kmGbfdf k/] h]hdf ku\$] nfl]g\$]
af/df sG}xfn va/ kfpēG . hut\$}nfl]gh]j Zof l6k] efu\$] embf]; dfrf/
kfp5]. pSt ; dfrf/af6 Jolyt ag\$] emg\$] klxrfg cf>oxlg aGg kU5 .
lkt[QfTds ; fdGtl ; dfhn]dlxnfxēnf0{1fg / zIStaf6 al~rt /fvG]ePsfn]
pglxē h] kl/l:yIt cufl8 cfp5, To; nf0{ ; sfb]hfg afllo xG5g\ . emg] klG
hut]h] nfl]g\$] af/df atfPsf] tI; drf/nf0{ ; fFf] 7fG5]. lrGtfn] Jofsh
kl/l:yItdf pm hut\$]dl7f]af]hlaaf6 kēflj t eP/ p; s}3/df cf>o lng kU5].
p; sf] ; /ntfsf] kmf0bf p7fp5}pRrj ulō ; fdGtl rl/q hut] emg\$] ; tIj sf]
x/Of ub5 . k?ifk\wfg ; fdGtl ; dfhn] gf/Lnf0{l; hgZlntfsf sf0faf6 gx]L
eff]of j :t'sf ē kdf x\$]. pkGof; df emg] klG Toxl cj:l:yItdf kU5]. Psflt/
kltsf]jf:tIj s xfnva/af6 al~rt ePsl emg]csflt/ p; sf] klxrfg hut\$]
eff]ofsf ē kdf kl/j tG xG5 . pm pTKl8t, ; ldfGtlst / pk]lft ePsl 5 . o; /L
hl6n cj:yfdf ku\$] emg\$]gj lg klxrfg sf?l0fs / ; jhGzln aGg kU5 .

k?ifk\wfg ; dfh gf/L klxrfgnf0{j leT; / lj b|k agfpg s; /L pBt xG5 eGg]lj ifo o; af6 k|6 ePsf]5 eg]clgR5t 2 kdf ofg zlf]f0sf]df/ v|g ku\$ f gf/Lx 2 s: tf] cj :yfdf kl5g\ eGg] lj ifonf0{ ; d|t oxFKe|fj sf/L 2 kdf k|t t ul/Psf]5 . hut]h] emg]dfly ofg zlf]f0f u/kl5 p; df cfdxTofsf] ; f| knfp5 t/ dft]j sf sf/Of pm Tft\ultlj lwaf6 kl5 x6\$ L 5] / hut\$ f] af/Daf/sf] ofg]x;faf6 cwlg:y / lg 2 kfo aG6}uPsl 5 .

k|t t pkGof; df emg]hut]f/f dfq}ofg zlf]ift ePsl 5g . p; n]cfkmg] Jofkf/nf0{cj w 2 kdf a9fpgsf nflu emg]sf]z/L/nf0{j 7ofsf 2 kdf ; d|t kl/Of t u/f0lbG5 . o; af6 p; sf]hlj g cem ; j|hgzln / sf?l0fs aGg kl5 . k?ifk\wfg ; fdGtl ; dfhn] gf/Lx 2 nf0{ ; ldfGt / zlstxlg agfpgsf nflu cg\$ k\$ f/sf :j 2 kx 2 tof/ ub5 . pglx 2 k?ifsf efl]ofsf 2 kdf lr|xgt xg kl5g\ Toitdfq xf0g pSt ; dfhn]gf/Lsf]z/L/nf0{cfly\$ pkfhGsf] ; f|t sf] ; fwgsf 2 kdf ; d|t kl/Of t ul/lbG5 . pkGof; sl emg]Toxl efl]of j :tsf 2 kdf ; d|t kl/Of t ePsl 5 . p; sf ; d: t cfGtl/s rfxgxf 2 lghl| xgkl5g\ . pm hut\$ f] ofqemFkl/rflnt xgkl5].

; /n / ; f|eml ufdLof gf/L emg]xs\$ f]h|h udgkl5 lgtfGt lg 2 kfo aGg ku\$ L 5 . p; sf]klxrfg szn u|x0fl x6}lkt[Qfids ; fdGtl ; dfhn]hut\$ L /v|6laf6 kgM j 7ofsf] :j 2 kdf kl/j tG ul/lbG5 . hg cToGt bbGfs / sf?l0fs b]lvG5 . pm hlj gsf]o; kl/l:yltdf cf0klbf k0f 2 kdf zlstxlg aG5]. p; sf]o; k\$[tsf]kl/Of]tsf]dVo sf/s jul6 lj e|bdf cfwf/t lkt[Qfids ; fdGtl ; dfh g}xf]. /fHo ; eGq klg ; fdGtl k\$[tsf]ePsf]n]emg]h:tf dlxfx 2 pTKl8t aGg ku\$ f 5g\ . hut]/fHo ; eGqsf] ; xof]udf cj w ; DklQ cfhg ug]bnfn kFlklit ; d|t xf]. ; /sf/L xflsdx 2 nf0{kmsfpgsf nflu p; n]emg]hf0{k0f]u u/\$f]5 . o; /L szn k\$ f; gsf nflu vl6g 2 af6 ; d|t gf/Lx 2 zlf]ift / pTKl8t eP/ ; ldfGt aGg ku\$ f]lj ifo pkGof; df snfids 2 kdf k|t t ePsf]5 .

af/Daf/sf]ofg pTKl8gaf6 ylnPsl emg]zf/l/s 2 kdf emqL xG5]. ca pm sfutlaf6 cldnf] lems] kndflnPsf]vf]6f ; /x xG5]. Ps k\$ f/n] pm klff3ft

ePsl 5 . hljgk|t p; df lg/fzfafx\$ sxl 5g . dftlj sf sf/of 5f/l sf lgldt
pm afF\$ 5 . ; fdGtl ; dfhn] lgdf0f u/\$f] lkt[QfTds / cfly\$; :s[tsf
sf/of p; sf]klxrfg k0f{ kdf zlstxlg t ag\$]5 g}. To; sf cltl/St p; sl
gf} a; [5f/l dfly ; d] pTkl8gsf] j|d ; ? xG5 . hut\$] k?if dflg; stfn]
/S; ln] dft\$] tfndf slnnl hgdfly :j:f:gl dflg; sf] :j k bVg kl5 /
anf/sf/sf nflu tD; G5 t/ emg\$] dftlj zlst kj n kdf hfut xg klbf hg]
p; sf] b/s fof6 aF5]. o; kl5 /flf L; j k ux0f u/\$f] hut] emg] fof6
ws] df5{. o; n] lkt[Qf slt j| eP/ gf/Lsf] klxrfgxlg cj :yf l; hg ug{
pBt xG5 eGg]; Gbe{ k|6 kf/\$f] 5 . /fhosf] sfggsf] lgldt / sfog
k0f kdf lkt[Qfdvl ePsf] oxfhut] lgbf b]vG5 / emg\$] d[o' cftdxTofaf6
ePsf] kdfloft xG5 . o; k\$ / pkGof; sf/ lji6n] lkt[QfTds gkfnl ; dfhdf
gf/Lx\$] klxrfg s; /L hl6n / sf?l0fs xG] cfPsf]5 eGg] s/fnf0{; r] kdf
k|tt u/\$f 5g\

pkGof; sf/ lji6n] ef\$ / leQf\$; pkGof; df ; fdGtl ; dfhdf xg] k?if
; Qf, ju{/ zlstn]l; hg u/\$f] n] us pTkl8gaf6 lgldt xg kl\$] gf/Lsf] lj bk
klxrfgnf0{ snfTds kdf lraqof u/\$f 5g\ . pkGof; sl kdv rl/q hg] d]
cdfemf; fdGtl ; dfhsf] k?if dflg; stfaf6 afNofj :yfd} lbgxlg agl ; ldfGt
ag\$ 5 . pm xs[; flxf / emg\$ Ps dfq 5f/L xf]. ul/aln]; tfP klg afa'
cdfdf k9fP/ p; nf0{ lzllft gf/L agfpg] 7hf] ef\$ 5 t/ pSt ef\$; fdGtl
; dfhsf] gf/L lj /fvl k?if rl/q kvf=leQf alg] b] k/f xg ; Sb\$. hut\$]
; fdGtl / bnfnl rl/qsf sf/of afacdfsf] hljg / cfsf^ff t sdhf] l; ; f
km] emf emf of dem?d km\$] 5 g} 5f/L hg\$] lgolt klg To; \$] >^vnf ag]
pTkl8t xG5 .

k|tt pkGof; df k|tj zfnl ju\$] k|tlglw] ug] hut] snf] sd{ ug{
nuf0{ lgbf afahf0{ km; fP/ h] k7fPkI5 p; sl cdf emg] klg p; sf] n] us
z] fofdf k/L pTkl8t xG5]. k?ifk\wfg ; dfhsf z] fslo kj [Q af\$] ; fdGtl
k?ifx k/fwsf >^vnx lgdf0f u/] klg lgbf eP/ afF\$ xG5g\ . o;
pkGof; sf] hut] klg o; \$] k|tlglw ag] xs[; flxfsf] kl/j f/dfly lg/Gt/ jul6

/ nʒNus zfiʃofdf bfgjlotfsf ; ffy pkl:yt ePsf] 5 . pm kydtM cfkm] ofg
zfiʃof u/kl5 cfkm] Jofkf/sf] pGgltsf nflu ; /sf/L xflsdx 2 af6 ; dʒ etgd]fly
oflgs 2 kdf zfiʃof ug{ nufp5 . o; af6 Ps kʃf/n] klff3ft ePsl etgd]f
cfsif]sf] sQb| bVg 5fʃkl5 hutʃf] kʒif cfVf gf}j if\$L p; sl 5f]L hgd]fly
; dʒ cfj]f ds aGg kl5 . pm /S; Lsf]g; fdf emgʃ}cufl8 hg]hf0{ : j f: gl dflg;
bV5 / cdfglifs 2 kdf p; dflysf] anTsf/hG0 ofg lx; fdf pqG5 . cfkm] }cufl8
5f]Lsf] ljbk klxrfg l; hGf xg] kl/: ylt bVkl5 emg]h] To; sf] kltsf/ u/]
5f]Lnf0{eufp5}. kʒif kwfg ; dfhsf] ofg dgf] [Q j f: tj df slt j ʒ xG5 eGg
s/fnf0{hut]h]gf}a; [hgd]fly u/ʃf] ofg hG0 bikof; n] kʒ6 kf/ʃf] 5 . o; af6
hgʃf] klxrfg lg 2 kfo aG5 . cdfsf] j leT; xTofnf0{bV} cflQPsl pm Hofg
arfpgsf nflu hutʃf] 3/af6 lgl: sP/ efl5] . o; kl5 p; sf] hljg
cleefj slj xlg aG5 . ca p; sf] klxrfg ; 8ssf] aflnsfsf] 2 kdf 2 kfGt/l/t
xG5, hg lgs}sf?l0fs /xʃf]s/f p; sf] lgDg sygn] kʒ6 kf5{M

pm sf7df8f]f ; 8ssf kʒL clg kf6lx 2 df a: b} hf]vdk] \$ xls5} hfG5].
; 8sdf /xʃf]sf] p; sf] hljg slt ; j hgzln lyof] eGg] s/f pkGof; df kʒtʒ
p; sf] lgDg sygn] kʒfj sf/L 2 kdf kʒ6 kf5{ æ cdfsf] nfz; E tl; P/ bfl8Psl
d cfh; Dd klg bfl8/xʃL 5'. vʃ dʒf] 7ʒfg < vʃ dʒf] 6ʒf < s]oxl xfljg
uNnlsf] ss'/sf] h: tf] <E -kʒ*!_ . kʒtʒ ; Gbe] cdfsf] xTofaf6 tl; P/ efuʃL
hg]s: tf] cj : ydf s; /L xsl{eGg] s/fnf0{kʒ6 kf/ʃf] 5 . ufpa6 dfx/L ; fxsf]
zfiʃofsf] rkd f k/L efu] s7df8f] fcfPsf] rGb] E p; n] pko\$ t syg kʒtʒ
u/ʃL xfl. k-rfotl zf; g Joj : yfsf]; fdlhs, cfly\$ / /fhg]ts oyfydf s]Gb
kʒtʒ pkGof; df tTsfng ; fdGtl ; dfhJoj: yfsf sf/Of lgDg] ul0 ; fgf
aflnsfx 2 s; /L ; 8s] hljg eflg klly] Pj d\j ul0 / nʒNus 2 kdf zfiʃif t /
pTkl8t xGy] eGg] l] ifonf0{kʒtʒ ; flodf hljGt 2 kdf kʒtʒ ul/Psf] 5 .
tTsfng /fhg]ts ; Qf klg ; fdGtl ePsf]n] ; 8sdf kuʃf afnafnsfx 2 sf]
; Af0fdf Wofg lbG] yof]. /Hosf tkn] af6 ; dʒ pglx 2 xʃ eP/ ljbk klxrfgsf
; fy afRy]. pkGof; df hgʃf] l] dz{klg o: t}/xʃf] 5 . ; 8sdf /xʃf] pm j ul0 /
nʒNus bʒ} 2 kdf lg/Lx aG5].

;dfhsf];fdGtl cfly\$;:s[tsf sf/0f ;8sdf c;xfo eP/ afRg uxfj]
ePkI5 pm lhpgsf nflu rf]] vfg kU5]. p;n]rf]] vfgfh0{/x/ geP/ aflWotf
7fg\$]L 5 . k?ifk\|fg ;fdGtl ;dfh gf/Lnf0{s]n jf;gf kl/kl't\$]j:t\$]f]kdf
dfq klxrfg lbG5 . pd]sf]j [4;E}hg]dfly klg k?if cfEfx; t];g yfN5g\ ;fg}
ePklg p;n]gf/L]j sf] dx;nf0{aem\$]L 5]. To;h]p;sf]of]g;E v]]g v]]g]
b]k] [Q af\$]f o]sx;nf0{cfkm;E ePsf]r]]klN]v]]fp5]. o;/L ;8sd}hlj g
latfpg' k/] klg hg]h] gf/Lsf] klxrfgnf0{/fd/L aem\$]f b]]vG5 . t/ ;fdGtl
;fdflhs ;Argfn]p;nf0{lg/Lx agfPsf]5 . Psf]t/ ;fdGtl ;Argfdf cfwfl/t
lkt[Qf]ds / cfly\$;:s[t clg csf]t/ ;8s / kf6lsf]a;f0 tyf sdfs]
cefj df rf]] vfg' kg]aflWotfsf sf/0f jf:tj df hg]hl6n klxrfgsf ;fy afF\$]L
gf/L xf].

rGb] E]sf]e]kI5 hg]cem cfE6nL / cfzfj fbl aG5]. juK] dx; k0f{xG5
eG]s'/f pglx;alr xflb\$;DaGw sfod ePaf6 kli6 xG5 . dhwf/sf]1fg /
z]Staf6 j]~rt eP klg p;df cfzfj flbt] 5 . glrg]klg afa' xs]; flx]f; E]sf]
e];E}pm rGb] E ldn] sfd v]]g lx85]. xs]e]FL lsg] NofPkI5 pT; fXk] \$
To;sf] x]]j rf/df nfU5]. xs]; flx]f, rGb] / hg]alrsf] ;DaGw xflb\$;kd}
rIn/x\$]f] xG5 . t/ cfzfsf] s]b] e]FLdf hut\$]f] sb]]6 k/] d/]kI5 pglx;
lj rInt xg kU5g\ . hg]\$]f]gf/L x]onf0{To;n]cem lj Xj n agfp5 . jf:tj df
hg]of]cj:yfdf lgs}sf?l0fs / d]ld\$ klxrfgsf]cj:yfdf ku\$]L 5 . t/ p;n]
cfzfj fbl r]gfnf0{eg] x/fpg lbPsl 5g . o;k\$]/ pkGof;df hg]h] cfly\$
;kdf lgDgjul6 tyf n]us ;kdf lkt[Qf]af/f pTkl8t / z]]ift gf/L
kflxrfgsf]kl]tlglw]j u/\$]L 5 . pkGof;df p;n]hut\$]f]sb]]6sf sf/0f af/Daf/
b]]v kfPsl 5 . dhwf/sf]1fg / z]Staf6 al~rt eP klg p;df ;dfhsf]jul6
/ n]us lj e]k]t s]l 1fg t 5 t/ To;kl]t cfGtl/s ;kdf cfn]g]f]ds b]]6
eP klg To;n]afXo;kdf k\$6ls/0fsf]:j;k k]]t u/\$]f] 5g . o;/L p;n]
pkGof;df ;dfhsf];fdGtl ;Argfsf sf/0f z]]ift / pTkl8t agl afn pd]d}
;8sdf ku] ;j]hg]zln / sf?l0fs klxrfgsf ;fy afF\$]f gf/L ;dbfosf]r]l/qnf0{
cf]d;ft\ u/\$]L 5 .

pkGof; sf/ lj i6n]cfkmgf pkGof; df ; dsfnlg gkfnl ; dfhsf] ; f:s[ts
:j 2knf0{ snflds 2kdf lraqof u/\$f 5g\ . o; jhddf pgsf pkGof; n]
lkt[QfIdstf / ; fdGtl cfly\$; :s[tn]l; hgf u/\$f]hl6n kl/l:yltsf sf/of
; dfhdf lgdg jul6 gf/L klxrfg s; /L pTKl8t / bldt a6g ku\$] 5 e6g]
s/fnf0{ k6fj sf/L 2kdf k|t't u/\$f 5g\ . gf/Lsf] klxrfg k/Dk/fut n}Nus
; :s[tnf0{ hugf{ ug{ xf] e6g] tIsfnlg ; fdfhs lrgtgnf0{ klG pkGof; sf/n]
lraqof u/\$f 5g\ . pSt ; f:s[ts lj dzf{ cfGtl/sls/of u/\$f gf/Lx2 c6o
gf/Ldfly zlfjof, pTKl8g / bdgdf pq\$ sf/of pkGof; df gf/Lsf]n}Nus klxrfg
cem ljbk / ; jhgzln a6g ku\$] 5 . jul6 ; d:ofsf] s[blotfdf ln^ulo
; Gbef0{ k|t't ul/Psf pkGof; df lkt[QfIdstf / ; fdGtl cfly\$; :s[tsf]
bfxf]f]kkl8gdf k/\$f gf/L ; dbfosf]kl|tlglwTj ePsf]b]V65 eg]pSt ; f:s[ts
r]gf kj n x6f ; dfhdf gf/Lx2sf]lj lzi6 klxrfg cj dNogdf k/\$f]lj ifonf0{
hljGt 2kdf k|t't ul/Psf] 5 . o; u/L lj i6n] sltko pkGof; x2df k/Dk/fut
; fdfhs ; f:s[ts lj st klfx2dfly k7g p7fP/ s]L jul6, hftlo / n}Nus
klxrfgsf]vfhL u/\$f 5g\

k|t't zfwysfoef lj Zn]f0sf nflu kl|tlglw pkGof; sf 2kdf rog ul/Psf]
d-h/l pkGof; df jul6, hftlo / n}Nus hl6ntfsf]cj :yfnf0{ lraqof ul/Psf]
5 . k?ifk\wf ; dfhsf]cgdh lj jxfsf] ; :s[taf6 afn pd]d]lj wj f a6g kul
kl/j fl/s / ; fdfhs 2kdf pk]lft / lsgf/Ls[a6g ku\$] gf/L ; dbfosf]hl6n
/ sf?l0fs klxrfgnf0{ o; pkGof; n] dx2j sf ; fy pb3f6g u/\$f] 5 .
lkt[QfIdstf ; dfhn] pglx2nf0{ s\$pl, klT 6f\$]L, /flf; glh:tf ckfs[ts
klxrfgx2 le/fP/ lj eb / bdg u/\$f]; Gbef0{pkGof; df afn pd]d]lj wj f a6g
ku\$]L d-h/Lsf dflModaf6 k|t't ul/Psf] 5 . tIsfnlg lj dzf{ds ; Argdf
pRrjul6 kl/jf/leqsf gf/Lx2 klG lkt[QfIdstfsf] kkl8gaf6 s; /L hl6n
klxrfgsf ; fy afF\$] lyP e6g]s'/fsf]kl|tlglwTj pkGof; df d-h/Ln]u/\$]L 5 .
o; sf ; fy}o; pkGof; df ; jul6 gf/L ; dbfoaf6 gf/Lx2 g}cwlG:y / bldt
ePsf gf/Lsf]lj lzi6 klxrfg ljbk a6g ku\$]l:yltsf]; d] lraqof ul/Psf] 5 .
efdf, sGtlh:tf gf/Lx2sf]n}Nus eldsfn]gf/Lsf]lj lzi6 klxrfgnf0{cj dNog

u/\$f] 5 eg] ; xfos rl/q 0lGb/fn] pkGof; df k/Dk/fut k?ifs]lrb] lrgtg /
Jojxf/af6 ljwjf gf/Lx; ; ldfGt aGg ku\$fn] pglx;sf] kglj {fxnf0{ ; dfhn]
dfGottf lbgkg{lj rf/ k|t't ub}gf/Lsf]k/Dk/feGbf leGg lj lzi6 klxrfgsf]vf]hl
u/\$l 5 . pkGof; sf] kDv rl/q s]f; n] ljwjf gf/L d-h/L; E cGthf{lo
j}flxs ; DaGw ufF] k/Dk/fut n]Nus ; #s[tsf lj k/Lt leGg k?if klxrfgnf0{
cfd; ft\u/\$f] 5 eg] ; xfos rl/q z^s/n] k/Dk/fut wd{h} ; dfhdf gf/Lsf]
klxrfgnf0{ ; j]hgzln agfPsf]clwsf/oSt leGg klxrfgsf nflu :j o+gf/Lx;sf]
; a\$if\$]cfj Zostfnf0{cf]fPsf]5 .

laluPsf] af6A In^ulo / jul6 ; d:ofnf0{ s]bdf /fv} /rgf ul/Psf]
; fdfhs pkGof; xf] . o; df n]Nus c; dfgtf tyf jul6 lje]n]l; hGf u/\$f]
gf/Lx;sf]lj bk klxrfgnf0{p7fg ul/Psf]5 . k?ifk\wf] ; dfhsf]bf0hf] ; #s[t
gf/Ldflysf]bdg / k|k8gsf]dfMod ag\$]f s'/fnf0{o; pkGof; df ; zSt; kdf
k|t't ul/Psf]5 . ; dfh k?ifs]lrb] / ; fdGtl cfly\$; #s[tdf cfwfl/t xBf
lzllft gf/Lx; klg k?if cwlg:y xgkg]lj dz{hf0{pkGof; sl kDv gf/L rl/q
1fgsf dfModaf6 pkGof; sf/n]; hlj tfsf ; fy k:t't u/\$f 5g\ To; u/L ; fdGtl
; dfhsf] cfly\$; #s[tn] gf/Lsf] z/L/nf0{ k0ols/0fdf kDf] u/} pglx;sf]
n]Nus klxrfgnf0{ef]ofsf]kdf lg?lkt u/\$f]5 eGg]lj ifonf0{pkGof; df lgs}
dx;jsf ; fy lraqOf ul/Psf]5 . *ef\$ / leOfx;* ju\$]f s]b]otfdf In^aut
; d:ofnf0{ pb\$6g ul/Psf] pkGof; xf] . o; pkGof; df ; fdGtl ; dfhdf
pRrj ul6 k?ifx;af6 lgDg jul6 gf/Lx; bldt / cwlg:y eP/ s; /L ; j]hgzln
/ sf?l0fs klxrfgsf ; fy afF\$]f xG5g\ eGg]lj ifonf0{ k|t't ul/Psf]5 .
pkGof; df dhwf/sf] 1fg / ; Toaf6 6f9f /x\$]l em]h] ; fdGtl ; dfhsf
zfl]sx;sf] ofG kl/tli6sf] ; fwg dfq gagl pglx;sf] xTof higt s[oa6
klxrfgxlg ag\$]f gf/L ; dbfosf]k|t|glw]j u/\$l 5 . pkGof; sl kDv gf/L rl/q
hg\$]f afNosfnlg ; Gb/ klxrfg ; fdGtl ; dfhsf pRrj ul6 k?ifsf] sfd's
rl/qsf sf/Of ; 8sdf ku} pTkl8t xg ku\$]f]5 . o; /L pkGof; sf/ lj i6n]
cfk]of pkGof; x;df k/Dk/fut k?ifk\wf] ; #s[t tyf jul6 ; #rgfsf sf/Of
gf/Lsf]lj lzi6 klxrfg pk]lft / zfl]ft aGg ku\$]f]lj ifonf0{kfyldstfsf ; fy
k|t't u/\$f 5g .

परिच्छेद : तीन

दौलतविक्रम विष्टका उपन्यासमा सीमान्त समुदायको आवाज र प्रतिरोधी चेतना

३.१ विषयप्रवेश

बर्हितीज्जिद ली ६ ; दहसि चोफो, चोत्रि/ / बद्ग ह:तु लीfox;nf0{
cf'gf pkGof; df :yfg lbg ?rfpg]pkGof; sf/ xg\ . pgsf pkGof; df ; dfhsf
log}cfly\$, ; fdfhs ; DaGwdf cfwf/t ju{/ Itgsf larsf] zj]f0f / bdgsf
lijfonf0{; /n / kēj sf/L 2kdf k}tt ul/Psf]kf0G5 . cWooosf sōdf oxF
ju]jeOm ; dfh / To; ; dfhdf zIom / ; Of k}ktsf nflu kFilkIt ju{/ ; j}f/f
ju\$ f larsf]; a3ifnf0{klg xI/Psf]5 . o; ; Gbedf kFij fbsf]lj sf; sf]qmdf
kFij fbn] g}lgdf0f u/\$f ah}f / ; j tGq Hofnfbf/L >lds ju{arsf] āāaf6}
kFij fbsf] gfz xG5 / ; dfhj fb hGdG5 eGg] o; ; Gbedf lj i6sf pkGof; df
cleJoOm oxl kl/j 2nf0{ cfId; ft\ u/L ; LdfGt ju{ tyf ; dbfosf kfqx;sf]
cfj fh / Itgdf lj sl; t kl/t/f]L r}gf; DaGwL cj :yfsf]lj Zn]f0f ulPsf]5 .

३.२ आवाज र प्रतिरोधको सैद्धान्तिक अवधारणा

; LdfGtlo cWooogdf cfj fhsf] ; Gbe{ cfj fh]j xlGx;sf] cfj fhsf] vf]hlsf]
lijfo xf] . To; h] of] ; fdfhs lgld{tdf cfwf/t ljePsf] l:yIt / kl/OffdtM
To; af6 zfi; t ; LdfGtLs [x;sf] bldt cfj fhsf] kl}tIglw]j sf] cWooog; E
; DaGwt cj wf/Off xf] . ; dfhdf kēTj zfnl ju{h] ; Of / zIomsf] cf8df zj]fs
juL6 lj rf/wf/fsf]lgdf0f u/L ljeGg lsl; dsf hfnemh / if8dGqaf6 lgDg ju{
; dbfosf dflg; nf0{; wF]sgf/fdf kf/\$f]xG5 . pglx;nf0{af]lg lb0Psf]xG5 .
pglx;sf] cfj fhnf0{ baf0Psf] xG5 . af]hlxfn] eg] klG pglx;sf] To] cfj fh
; lgGg . o; df ; fdGtL ju\$ f] lj rf/wf/fdf cfwf/t kēTj df jftf{/ ; xdtlo
ed]sf] kl}qomfn] sfd ul//x\$ f] xG5 . o; ; Gbedf pglx;sf] ; dbfoleqaf6
af]4sx;sf] hGd gxGh]h; Dd pglx;sf] cfj fhsf] kl}tIglw]j u/] cGo ju\$ f
af]4s -h]j s al4hljL x;n]af]nlbg' kg]xG5 . ; Of / zIomsf] cf8df

kēTj zfnlx; ; wF/fHosf]s]bdf /xgsf nflu j r{j sf]v]hdf /xG5g\eg]cG6 j u{
; dbfosf dflg; To; sf]lj?4df cfj fh p7fp5g\ Ps k\$F/n]of]zIQmsf]cWof;
/ To; sf]kl|t/f]vsf]kl/l:y|tut klqmf g}cfj fh / kl|t/f]vsf]cj wf/Off xf]. hxfF
bdg xG5, ToxfFkl|t/f]w xG5 . To; }h] ol b0{klqmf leGg geP/ ; E; E}cfpg]
lj ifo klg xg\ o; ; Gbedf ; ~hlj pk}tL -@)^(_ nV5g\M.h.xfFzIQmsf]cEof,
b]yf kb5, ToxfFg}To; sf]kl|t/f]vnf0{56&f56&}geP/ Pp6}klqmfosf b0{efusf]
kdf x]gkb5W -k\$ \$#_ . o; /L cfj fh / kl|t/f]w bdgsf] klqmf; E ; DaGwt
lj ifo xg\ o; }sf]cWooG; E ; DaGwt cj wf/Off g}cfj fh / kl|t/f]vsf]cj wf/Off
xf].

; ldfG ; dbfo kēTj z fnL j u{j f zIQmsf]bdf lj?4df cf g] klxr fgsf]
nflu cfj fh p7fpG ; Sg] x] otcf xG5g\ . ; DefGtx;sf] kēTj sf] klqmf]n]
pglx;nf0{o:tf]cj :yfdf k\$ofPsf]xG5 . cfkrdfly cG6fo ePsf]s/f af]w ePkI5
obfsbf ; ldfGt ; dbfo kēTj zfnlx;sf lj?4df cfj fh p7FP klg pglx;sf]
cfj fh zIQms]bdf cufl8 dNoxlg / lg:t]h xG5 . ; dfhdf kēTj zfnlx;af6
cwg:y ; ldfG]s]t ; dbfon] cf g] cl:tT /ffsf nflu s:tf] eldsf lgj f\$
ug[kb5 eGg]; Gbedf tf/fsfGt kf08p -@)&#_ nV5g\M

; Qf lgs6sf al4hljL, gful/s ; dfh / kl|t|glwTj n]s:tf]lj Zj f; l; hGf
u5G\eg]dfgfF/fHo t6:y 5, bdgsf/L 5G . kl/l:y|tx; ; xh, ; fdfG6 /
:jfe]lj s 5g\ h]e0/x\$]5, ; a 7ls 5 eg] Itgn]Ps k\$F/n]s]Geg; u5G\
To; }h]o; sf lj?4 ; ^Sif{ug{/ r]tgfsf]lj sf; ug{ufD; ln]hlj s al4hlj]sf]
cfj Zostfsf]cj wf/Off cl3 ; f/\$f 5g\k\$^%_

kf08p]sf] pkoQm lj rf/nf0{ x]b} ; ldfGt]s]t]x;sf] cfj fhsf] cleJolQmsf
nflu hlj s al4hlj]sf] cfj Zostf kb5 . o; sf nflu ; ldfGt ; dbfosf
dflg; x;df r]tgfsf]lj sf; geP; Ddsf nflu hlj s al4hlj]ln]dx k0f{eldsf
lgj f\$ ul/lbg'k5{.

To; }u/L hftlo n}Nus ; DaGw klg bdg / z]f]f0fsf klqmfdf ; ldfGt
; dbfosf] cfj fh / kl|t/f]vsf]lj ifo; E b0{j u\$F lardf k/:k/ lj /f]M ; DaGwsf

॒kdf hf]8P/ cfpg]lj ifo xg\ o: tf]; DaGw dhTM cfly\$ / o; sf ; fy}; fdflhs
 tyf ; f:s[ts klfa6 ; dt kl/t xG5 . log} cfwf/df zIQm; a\$if\$ qmddf
 ; dfhdf zlf]0f / bdgsf] cEof; kf/De xG5 / jrZj zfnl ; dbfon] ; ldfGt
 ; dbfodfly jr{j sfod ug[klqmfdf ; fdflhs lje\$sf]l:ylt pTKGg xG5 . o: tf]
 lje\$sf]l:ylt dhTM jr{j zfnl ; dbfodf lglxt kēTj df cfwf/t xG5, h; af6
 sdhf] ju{ tyf ; dbfodfly cwlg:ytfsf]l:ylt l; hgf u/L pglx;nf0{ ; ldfGt
 cj:yfdf kfof0G5 . o; af6 s]b]vG5 eg]bdg / zlf]0fsf]dh sf/0f ; Qf; DaGw
 g}xf]. o; n]lj leGg lsl; dsf c; Gtli6x;sf] hgd u/fp5 / ; dfh kl/j tGsf
 klqmfdf tl c; Gtli6nf0{; Gtli6df abNg pTKl8t ; dbfosf]; fa7lgs ; fdYo\$]f]
 dxत्र ; jRr xG5 -ld>, r]Go, k[*\$. To; h] jr{j zfnl ; dbfosf]
 cwlg:ytfsf]cGo / cf'gf]klxr fgsfnfu ; ldfGt ; dbfon]ug]; a\$if\$]; dli6
 g}dhTM cfj fh / kl't/f]vsf]cj wf/Off xf].

३.३ सीमान्त पात्रको आवाज र प्रतिरोधी चेतना

; ldfGtlo cWooqdf cfj fh / kl't/f]vL r]gfsf]; Gbe{j jr{j zfnl ; dbfosf
 cwlg:y ; ldfGtst[ju{ tyf ; dbfosf dflg; sf]kl'tlgwTj / klxrfgsf]vf]hlsf]
 kZg xf]. To; h]of]cfly\$ tyf ; fdflhs ; f:s[ts jr{j df /x\$fx;sf]kēTj sf
 klqmfaf/f baf0Psf cfj fh]j xlq;sf] cfj fhsf] vf]hlsf] lj ifo xf] . ; fdflhs
 lj 1fgsf lj leGg lj ifofq; E ; DaGwt ; ldfGtlotfsf]of]kZg lxhf;fh ; flxTosf
 lfqdf klg Jofkstfsf ; fy kof]u xE}cfPsf]5 . o; ; Gbedf ; flxTodf o; n]
 ; dfhsf] cfly\$ tyf ; fdflhs ; f:s[ts jr{j / To; af6 pTKGg ; fdflhs
 cwlg:ytfsf] cWooq; E of] ; DaGwt 5 . of] Ps k\$]n] ; flxTodf cleJoQm
 ; dfhsf] cWooqsf dfWodaf6 ; dfhtkm\$] cWooq klg xf]. To; h] of] ; dfh
 cWooqsf]; fdGols/0fsf]klqmf klg xf]. o; /L ; flxTosf]; dfhdf cleJoQm lj ifo
 / kfqx;sf] ju{ tyf ; dbfout jr{j / cwlg:ytfsf]l:ylt, To; n] hGdfPsf]
 pTKl8gsf] cj:yf, jr{j zfnl / cwlg:y ; dbfosf larsf] ; Qf; DaGwk]tsf]
 ; a\$if{ To; kl'tsf]c; Gtli6 / To; n] hGdfPsf lj /f]v / kl't/f]vsf]cj :yfsf ; fy}
 jr{j / kl'tjr{j sf af/\$] cWooqsf]cj wf/Off g}; ldfGtlo cWooqdf cfj fh /
 kl't/f]vsf]cj wf/Off xf]. ctM k'tt cWooqdf log}lj lj w :yflkt l; 4fgt tyf
 cj wf/Off]ds cfwf/sf]pkof]u u/L zfl]okZg; E ; DaGwt lj leGg klfsf]lj Zn]rof
 ul/Psf]5 .

bñhtljsđ lj i6 gkfnl pkGof; k/Dk/fdf ; fdfllhs hljgsf oyfy{
 klfxġnf0{ hljGt ġkdf lraq0f ug[oyfy}fbl pkGof; sf/ xg\ . pkGof; xġdf
 ; fdfllhs oyfy\$[lraq0f ug[; Gbedf pgn]gkfnl ; dfhsf] ; fdlhs ; f:s[ts,
 cfly\$ tyf /fhg]ts lqsf cGofo, ctofrf/ / ljs[klfxġdfly cfnf]gffds
 b[6 k|tt u/\$f 5g\ . pgsf sltko cfkGofl; s /rgfxġn]lkt[Qffds ; fdGtl
 ; dfhsf]n}Nus ; s[tn]l; hgf u/\$f]ln^ulo ; d:ofnf0{lraq0f u/\$f 5g\ ol
 pkGof; xġn] dhwf/sf] k?ifk\wfg s[bllo ; s[tsf sf/of ; dfhdf gf/Lxġsf]
 kl|tlglw]j cwlgy, bldt, pTKl8t / ; ldfGtlst[aGg ku\$[; Gbedf0{ hljGt
 ġkdf lraq0f u/\$f 5g\ To; y/L ; fdGtl cfly\$; s[tn]klg gf/Lsf]kl|tlglw]j /
 klxrfgnf0{sdhf} agfPsf]lj ifo ; d[pgsf pkGof; xġdf pb\$6g ePsf]5 t/
 olt dfq} pgsf pkGof; sf] lj z]ftf xf0g . dhwf/sf] k/Dk/fut ; fdGtj fbl
 lkt[Qffds ; s[tdfly kl/wlo ġkdf /x\$[] jul6, hftlo / n}Nus ; s[tn]
 u/\$f] kl|t/f]vsf]l:y]tsf]lraq0f klg pgsf pkGof; df ePsf]5 . ctM ; ldfGtlo
 kl|t/f]vsf cfwf/df pkGof; sf/ lj i6sf pkGof; xġsf] cWboog ug{ ; lsg5 .
 o; cGtu[s[tdf kl/wlo ; dbfon]s; /L dhwf/sf] ; s[tsf lj?4 ; ^\$if{u/\$f]
 5 eg} lj Zn]f0f ul/G5 . k|tt kl/R5]df jul6, hftlo / n}Nus kl|t/f]v ; DaGwl
 dfGotfsf]rrf{ub}; f]l dfGotfsf cfwf/df kl|tlglwsf ġkdf rog ul/Psf lj i6sf
 cfkGofl; s /rgfxġsf] ; ldfGtlo kl|t/f]vsf]lj Zn]f0f ul/Psf]5 .

३.४ मञ्जरी उपन्यासमा सीमान्त समुदायको आवाज र प्रतिरोधी चेतना

d-h/l -lj = ;)& ; fncl3sf] /f0ffsnlg / kl|ftGqkl5sf] lkt[Qffds
 ; fdfllhs ; f:s[ts dfGotf, lrgtg / Jojxf/nf0{ hljGt ġkdf k|tt ul/Psf]
 ; fdfllhs pkGof; xf]. pkGof; sf/ lj i6n]k|tt pkGof; nf0{lkt[Qffds n}Nus
 ; s[tsf lj k/Lt ; ldfGts[lj wj f gf/Lxġsf] kg]j}fxnf0{ ; fdfllhs dfGotf
 lbgkg] klfdf s[bt u/Psf 5g\ . o; sf ; fy} afnlj j fx, cgd]h lj j fx /
 axlj j fxsf] ; s[tsf] cGto / cGthf[lo lj j fxnf0{ dfGotf lbgkg] lj rf/; d[
 pkGof; df k\$6 ePsf]5 . lkt[Qffds ; dfhdf xs\$[f lj i6n]pRrhftlo afXdof
 kl/j f/sf 5f]Lxġ afn pd]d}lj j flxtf eP/ of]gfj :ydf g6\$b}lj wj f xgkg]/
 kfl/j fl/s ġkdf k|fl8t x[}hlj ge/ of]lgl / a}drfl/oflsf ġkdf gf/slo hlj g

latfpgkgI cj :yfnf0{ j :tut ُkdf lgofn\$yf lyP . afnljwjf d-h/L o;
pkGof; sl kϕV gf/L rl/q xf]. pm tTsfnlg lkt[Qfids n}Nus ; :s[tsf sf/Of
lsgf/fdf k/\$f ljwjfx_uf] kltlgw xf]. pkGof; df pRrhftsl afXdOfL d-h/L
pkGof; sf]k?if rl/q tNnf]hftsf]lfqlo o]s s}hf; ; Euf]kϕdf k/] cGthfϕlo
; DaGw sfod ug{ku\$sl 5 . s}hf; n]klg of]; DaGw sfod ug\$uf nflu kfl/j fl/s
ُkdf lgs}7hf] ; a}if{ ugk/\$f] 5 . To; y/L pkGof; sf] ; xfos rl/q z^a\$/
/fhgllts / ; fdlhs cleoGtf xf]. p; n]; dfhdf gf/L ; dtfsf nflu gf/lsf]
; dt] ; lj ϕtfsf]cfj Zostf xg]eGb}d-h/Lnf0{To; df nflu cg/fy u/\$f] 5 .
ljwjfx_uf]j f:tlj s hljgnf0{lrg\$sl ; xfos rl/q OlGb/f pkGof; sf]cf/Debljv
g}ljwjfx_uf]lj j fxsf]klfdf plePsl 5 / bfh' s}hf; / d-h/Lalrsf]; DaGwnf0{
; a}Gb klxnf :jlsfg{ku\$sl 5 . o; afx\$sf cGo gf/lk?if rl/qx_uf]dWof] sf]k
k/Dk/fut k?ifs]Gb}t ; :s[ts}j fxs 5g\eg] sf]k pSt ; :s[tsf lj?4 sg}
lj ϕfzIntf k\$6 gu/L cwlg:y 5g\ ctM pkGof; sf kϕV kfq d-h/L / s}hf; n]
cfd; ft\ u/\$f]ljwj fsf]kglj }fx / cGthfϕlo lj j fxn]tTsfnlg k?if; Qfsf lj?4
Ps}fy klt/fy u/\$f] 5 . o; /L k|tt pkGof; df d-h/L, s}hf; , z^a\$/ /
OlGb/fsf dWofdaf6 k\$6 ePsf]jul6, hftlo / n}Nus c; dfgtsf lj?4sf]
klt/fy]nf0{oxfFj ϕids ُkdf lj Zn]f0f ul/Psf]5 .

x/\$f lj ϕf; E; E} kltlj ϕf hlgdg] ; Defj gf klg plQs} xG5 . 3/df
laxfgbljv a}hsf; Dd o; /L hf]tE} klg To; sf]sg}dWof xg 5f}k15 d-h/L :j odf
klg cfnf]gfd s b[16sf]fsf]lj sf; xE}hfG5 . p; n]3/df axf/Lx_uf] Jo^Nnf0{
kltsf/ ug{ yfN5] . ofgk|t eP/ an/fdn] lbPsf >[Nfl/s ; fdfg af/Ldf
kmflnlbG5] . lxGb'; :sf/sf] ljwj f wd}nf0{ kljq xE}on] cfd; ft\ u/\$sl d-h/Ln]
an/fdsf cfEfdf k}f; L kj [Qsf]/fd}afy u/\$sl 5 . dWof/ftdf lgbf0/x\$f]; dodf
k?if cxd\$; fy p; sf] ; लक्व gi6 ug{cfPsf] an/fdnf0{ k|oflftM gb}v] klg
lglZrt ; r'sx_uf]cfwf/df an/fd g}xf]eg} lrg\$sl 5 . o; kl5 p; df cftl/s
ُkdf an/fdklt klt/fy r]gfsf]lj sf; xE}hfG5 . csf]t/ ; gftgl j ϕlGtsf/L
lzllft o]s s}hf; sf] ; flGgWof clg cGtMj ϕfaf6 p; df gjlg r]gf k|kt xE}
hfG5 eg] cGtdgl:yltf s}hf; kltsf] cg/fu klg a9b} hfG5 . hg cj:yfdf

s]hf; ; d]t /x\$]5 . d~h/Lsf]of]Jo]j xf/ t]tsfnlg k?ifk]wfg ; :s[tsf lj?4sf] k|t/f]w xf]. To; u/L lj w]j f af]x]d0flx]n]klg ; gftg wd]eq]af6 ; dfh kl/j t]g]sf nflu vf; of]ubfg ug{; S5g\eg]s]hf; sf]df]gotfn]; d]t p; nf0{k]k]f]j kf/\$]5 . s]hf; s}cg/f]w]df p; n]wd{efdf ; gftg wd]s]f]j }flgstfsf af/]df kj rg lb]5]. kfl/j fl/s p]Tkl8g]af/f ; ldf]t kfl/Psl d~h/Lsf]p]St ult]j lwn]kl/j f/leq em]8s]hf 5f]f tyf axf/lx]df a]f / Hj ng cjZo l; h]g]f u/\$]5 / To; nf0{lgo]G]of ug]k]k]f]g; d]t eP]sf]5 t/ p; n]To; nf0{vf; kj]fx u/\$]L 5} . lj w]j f To; df kl]g af]x]g]sl 5f]l]n]l]km]Nd x]g{wd]s]f]p]Nn^S]g xf]e]G]df]gotf /f]V]g]d~h/L d]v]g]sf] kl/j f/; E}uP/ s]hf; sf ; fydf a; } l]km]Nd x]5]. To; u/L d~h/L; E of]g]k|t b]Jo]j xf/]df c; km]n eP]kl]5 g]f]7fx] ; E kq]Jo]j xf/ ug]l]j Zo}eg] /f]f; L :j]k]sf ; fy p]q]s]f]an/]dnf0{k]lx]nf cf]k]m]g]f]cf^s]f]e]f]L x] -k]f]@^_ eg] k]lx]nf] k]N6 k]o]lf]k]df k]l]t]j fb u/\$]L 5 . d~h/Lsf ol Jo]j xf/x]n]p; sf]g]j lg k|t/f]w of]q]fnf0{cjZo ; ^s]t u/\$]f 5g\

d~h/L p]k]G]of; df kl/w]lo kf]q d~h/Lsf] lj]p]f]z]l]ntf t]tsfnlg s]b]l]o z]l]St]sf]k|t/f]w]df c]ledv 5 . lgZro g}s]hf; n]p; E hl]j g dfu]s]f]5 t/ p; sf cu]f]l8 k/]ftg ; dfh k]xf]8 ag] h]Aa/]k]df pleP]sf] x]g]fn] p; n] s]hf; sf] cfu]x]nf0{r]fx] kl]g d]G]h/L lb]g ; s]s]L 5} . To; a]f]6 56kl]6P]sf]s]hf; kfl/j fl/s r/d bafa v]lg g; sl h]g]h]sl 5f]l; E l]gh]l]; b]z eP/ :j]o]Da/ ug{k]U]5 t/ To]xl lb]g]b]v d~h/L; E]sf]lj of]l]n]/G]yl]gP/ Hj /u]t e0{d]of]d]v a]G]5 . s]hf; sf] xf]nt b]v] lj]X]j n x]g ku]s]L d~h/L k?ifk]wfg ; :s[tsf lj k/Lt s]hf; nf0{cf]k]m]g]f] hl]j g ; dk]q]f ug]l]g]of]6 u]5]. pm e]G]5]M a]To; f]g]el]g]al]S; of] \f]hf, xh] l]gs]f] xf]Q]al]S; of] \d a? xh]s]f]a]R]r]sf] cf]df a]G]5' /f]hf, dnf0{xh]s]f] af]x]s ca s; s]f]k]j]fx 5} l]d]f]f] /f]hf, To; f]g]el]g]al]S; of] \E -k]f]S]&(_ . o; /L p]k]G]of; sf] c]G]o]df d~h/Ln] t]tsfnlg lj]d]z]f]ds ; A]rg]sf] s]b]l]o dh]w]f/s]f] k?ifk]wfg ; df]hs]f]l]fg / ; Tos]f lj k/Lt Ps ; fy l]f]q]l]o o]j s s]hf; ; E lj w]j f / c]G]th]f]t]l]o lj]j]fx]nf0{u]x]of u/L j]m]G]ts]f]l]t]fnf0{k]b]z]g u/\$]L 5 . @)}& ; f]ns]f]kl]j t]g]kl]5 /f]hg]l]ts]k]df kl]j t]g eP kl]g ; fd]f]l]hs ; f:]s[ts l]f]q]df eg]h:]tf] kl]j t]g eP]sf] lyPg . tt\cj :y]df lj w]j f af]x]d0fl d~h/Ln] p]R]rh]ft]l]o k?if ; :s[tn]

lgifw u/\$f]ljwj flj j fxnf0{cfTd; ft\u/\$l 5 . of]tTsfnlg k/Dk/fut k?ifk\wfg ; :s[tsf]1fg, ; To / zlstdflysf]; zSt klT/fw xf].

d-h/l pkGof; df dhwf/sf] ; :s[tn] gf/Lx;dflly u/\$f] pTKl8g / zffif0sf lj?4 kl/wlo 2kdf /x\$gf/L ; dbfosf]j }fl/s klT/fwfnf0{; dT ; zSt 2kdf k}t't ul/Psf]5 . pkGof; sl ; xfos rl/q OIGb/fn]cgdh lj j fxsf sf/Of ; dfhdf gf/Lx2 zffif0f / pTKl8g vK] ; ldfGt xg' k/\$f]s/fnf0{; zSt 2kdf k\$6 u/\$l 5 . pRrjul0 kl/jf/sl ; b:o eP/ klg tTsfnlg ljdzf{ds ; Argdf p; n]nNus zffif0f vlg lj j z gf/Lx2sf]cfj fhnf0{klTlgwTj u/\$l 5 . pm pkGof; df kl08t rj kfl0sf gf/Lj /fwL lj rf/sf] ; zSt klTj fb u5]. pkGof; sf]cf/Dedf s}fzn]ljwj flj j fxsf]lj /fw u/\$f]5 . To; sf]; dT OIGb/fn] klT/fw u/\$l 5 . c; L j if\$]a9fn]; ft j if\$L aflnsf emSofpg]; dfhn]ljwj gf/Lx2sf] kg]j{fxnf0{ dfGof lbgkgI lj rf/ k\$6 u/] OIGb/fn] k?ifk\wfg ; :s[tsf]; zSt klT/fw u5]. pm e65]M

o:t}kyf g}a] xf]eg]tf of]lgod s]n :ql-hfltdf dfq xf0g k?if hfltdf klg nfu"xg]kg]. olb sg}:qlnf0{; Ltf ag]k]0ff lb065 eg]l k?ifnf0{klg /fd ag]k]0ff xg]kb5 . olb :ql-hfltdf dfq of]s'/f nfu" xg]xf]/ k?if-hfltdf nfu"gxg]xf]eg]o:tf lgodsf lgdf0fstf2nf0{ d dglo el6bg ls x]oxlg /ff; e65'. o:tf]ljwfg cflbnf0{/ff; L ljwfg e6b5'. t/ o; df dnf0{zsf nll5 . hg sdfs]leq sg}k]0ff cfp5g / s]n aflx/l bafasf]sf/Ofn]lj j z e}ugk5{eg] To:tf]wd{ ; fwg klg t Joy\$]xf]lg l]s]xflx2n]; r]tg ef]n]s]xl ug{hfg\$5f} wd{lj lw, ; dfh-lj lw cflb lj lw2nf0{c6wfh]emFcEof; j z kfg ub}cf0/x\$5f 5f} -k!) ^

p; Gof; df kpSt pInlvT ; GbeDf OIGb/fn]k?ifs]GbT ; fdflhs lgodsf] tfls\$ 2kdf cfnf]rgf u/\$l 5 . jf:tjdf tTsfnlg lkt[QfTds ; Argf OIGb/fn]eg]emF s7f] lyof] . d-h/lh:tf ljwj fx2sf ; d:t rfxgfx2nf0{ lj e]k0f{ ; fdflhs lgodn]k0f{2kdf alGwt agfpYof]/ OHhtsf gfddf hlXNo}cf]f]p7f0/xGYof]t/ an/fdh:tf bl6 ck/fwlx2 ; fdflhs / sfggl 2kdf cglts / ck/fwl eP/ klg lg/k/fw e0/xGy] . /Ho; Qfn] klg loglx2nf0{; Af0f lb0/xGYof] . o:t}k\$5f/sf]

k?if s]Gb}t wdlj lw / ; dfhlj lwdfly 0lGb/fn] ; zSt 2kdf cfj fh p7fP/
dhwf/sf] s]b]lo k?if s]Gb}t ; Qfsf] lj?4 j }fl/s kl|t/f]w u/\$]L 5 . o; /L
pkGof; df 0lGb/fsf] pkl:y|tn] @))& ; fnsf] kl/j tG; E} lkt[Qf]ds ; fdlhs
; a\$ygsf lj?4 gf/L ; dbfodf kl|t/f]w r]gf ; zSt 2kdf hfuf[xE} u/\$]f
tYonf0{k|6 kf/\$]f]5 .

k|tt pkGof; df s]hf; df j]l]ds 2kdf d-h/Lkl|t klj q k]dsf]lj sf; xE}
uPk]5 p; n]k/Dk/fut lj e]kOf{w]ld\$ lrGtgnf0{cfnf]rgf]ds 2kdf xG}{y]N5 .
k]d hg; s}hftn]hg; s}hft; E ug{; Sg]lgisif]df ku\$]f]s]hf; d-h/L kl|ktsf]
nflu cdfn]lj j fxsf nflu s]l xG}{u/\$]f]k|tfj nf0{k/ ; fb}hfG5 . pglx2sf
alrsf] ; DaGwnf0{lnP/ kfl/j fl/s / ; fdlhs cfnf]rgf a9]uP klg To; nf0{
dxej lbEg . cem df0t uPsl d-h/L; E kq]oj xf/ u/] k/Dk/fut k?if; Qfnf0{
p; n]lj]p]f]ds / efjgf]ds 2kdf rgf]L lbPsf]5 . d-h/L ljwjf af]Xd0fl
ePsf]n] k/Dk/fut k?if wd{dfhn] p; E]sf] ; DaGwnf0{/f\$5 e]g] yxf kfpE}f
kfpE}s]hf; c]thf]Lo lj j fxsf nflu tof/ ePsf]5 . pkGof; df s]hf; sf cufl8
k?if; Qf kvf]n ag] plePsf]5 . To; sf]kl|tlglw]j Hj f0Fk]08 / cdf dvgn]
u/\$]f 5g\ h; n]sg]h / hg]hsf 5f]Lx2; E lj j fxsf nflu af/Daf/ bafa lbPsf
5g\ ; DKlQ / s]qd 2knf0{dxej glbg]s]hf; n]Hj f0Fk]08; E d-h/Ln]:jLsf/
u/]cfkm" c?; E lj x]gug]lg0fodf ku\$]f]; gfpE} kl/j f/df bafa / tgf]sf]l:y|t
k]d xG5 . dvgn / k]08 s]hf; / d-h/Ldfly cfj]ds ag]f 5g\ . pRr d]lod
j ulG s]hf; kl/j f/leq cwlg:y aGg ku\$]f]5 . cdfn]; dfhsf]8/ b]v]P/ p; sf]
sbdnf0{/f\$g v]f]bf s]hf; n]; dfh s]xf]< / To; n]s; /L b]fE l^RofpE < ; a
yxf 5 0 -k]f\$!@_ eg] cdfsf] k?ifk]wfg dfg]; stfsf] kl|t/f]w u/\$]f]5 .
s]hf; sf]of]kl|t/f]w cdfk|t dfq}xf0g ; Qf / z]Stsf cfwf/df k]t]j sfod ug{
v]f]g]t]sf]nlg s]b]lo wf/dfl]ysf]kl|t/f]w]ds pkl:y|t xf]. o; n]gjlg j \$]Nks
; :s]t lgdf0f]tk]s]ofqnf0{cjZo ; a\$]t u/\$]f]5 . pkGof; sf]; xfos r]l/q
d-h/Lsf]dfdfsf]5f]f]z^s/s]gf]l:tstf / ; dfh kl/j tG; DaGwL lj rf/n]; d]t
s]hf; df d-h/Lkl|tsf] cf]tl/s rfxgfnf0{d]tL\$/of ug{; xof]u u/\$]f]b]v]G5 .
kl/j fl/s bafa / ; fdlhs cfnf]rgfn] tlj |2k lnP klg d-h/L; E]sf] k]d]af6

/GylgPsf] s]hf; lkt [Gqsf] k/Dk/fut wd]nf0{kj f& gu/L d~h/L; E hlj g dflg
kU5 . pkGof; df pm eG5 M

*olb ltdl d]f]x]posf]ult hf6bl xf}. t d Pp6f gjlg ; #f/ agfpg]
sllkgfdf af]hxf emF ; kgfdf, lj kgfdf s]n ltdlnf0{lnP/ lx]8/x]sf]
5' d-h/L l] s]n ltdln]d]h' dfq ub]pm o; ; dfhsf]aGwgn]dnf0{
af]lg ; Stg . of]Joy]sf]lat&f]fbl wd]nf0{k5fg{; Stg . olb
ltdnf0{d]f]s]/ :jLsf/ 5 eg] d]h]lbPsf]of]pkxf/ . -k]\$\$(\$*

pkGof; df k6St plNnltv ; flon] s]hf; sf] d-h/Lk|t klj q k]nf0{k|6 kf/]sf]
5 . p; df k/Dk/fut ; fdlhs aGwgsf lj k/Lt uP/ gjlg ; #f/ lgdf] ug{
; lsG5 eGg] r]gfsf] lj sf; ePsf] 5 . d-h/L lj wj f gf/L xf]. k/Dk/fut k?if
; Qfn] p; sf] kglj {fxsf] 9f]sf aG6 u/]sf] 5 . pQm k/Dk/fnf0{ s]hf; n] oxf
c; xdt hgfp] d-h/Lnf0{ cfkm' E lj j fx ug{ cg'/f] u/]sf] 5 . s]hf; n]
d-h/Ldfly ha/h:tl u/]sf] 5g . cf]fdf cf]L nuf0lbP/ d-h/Lnf0{xf]b]stf]k] \$
:jLsf/ ug{cg'/f] u/]sf] 5 . gf/Lk?ifsf]k] hflitut Joj :yf / jf; gfeG6 dfly
xG5 eGg]lgisif]of ku]sf] s]hf; pRr]jul6 / lzllft eP klg t]sfnlg dhwf/sf]
; #s[t]sf cufl8 cwlg:y ag]sf] 5 . s]hf; sf] dflysf] lj rf/ tt\ ; #s[t]dflysf]
; zSt kl]t/f] xf]. Psfl]t/ dvgfsf] bafa clg csf]t/ kfl/j fl/s tyf ; fdlhs
cfnf]r]gfsf sf/of blgofsf] cufl8 6fpsf] 7f8f]kf/] lx&g uxf] xg ; Sg]; Deflj t
hl6ntfsf af/]df atfp] d-h/Ln] rfx] klg s]hf; nf0{ lg0f6 lbg g; s]sf]
cj :ydf kfl/j fl/s r/d r]k]fdf k/] s]hf; cdfn] eg]sL s]L hg]nsl 5f]L; E
clgR5t :joda/ ug{af]lo xG5 . To; } lbgblv dfgl; s 2 kdf /GylgPsf] pm
d-h/L; E sf] lj of] j]bgfn]Hj /u]t eP/ d[of]d]v x]f d-h/Ln]hlj g ; dk]f ug]
jrg lbPkI5 af]G] cfzf knfP/ lgsf] xG5 Pj d\pglx 2 alr c]thf]Lo ; DaGw
sfod xgkU5 . s]hfzn] t]sfnlg lj dzf]ds ; Argfn] c:jLsf/ u/]sf]
lj wj flj j fxnf0{:jLsf/ ub] d-h/L; E ; DaGw uf] k?if; Qfsf cufl8 j]f]Gtsf]l/tf
k]z]g u/]sf] 5 . o; /L pkGof; sf/n] ; fdlhs / ; #s[t]s 2 kf]t/ofsf nflu
s]hfzn] b]yPsf] kl]t/f]L r]gfsf d]lodaf6 t]sfnlg lj dzf]ds ; Argfdf

ljwjfljjfxsf] cfjZostf cffofpg] ; lldt ojfxzsf] cfjfhnf0{ pkGof; df
snfids tl/sfn]k|tt u/\$f]5 .

khftGqcl3sf] /fhg]ts cleoGtf z^as/ @))& kl5 ; fdfhs /
; f:s[ts z kfgt/0fsf nflu ; lj p z kdf nfu\$]lg;jfy{ ; fdfhs cleoGtf xf].
o; j pddf p; nf0{ tTsfnlG /fHo; Qfn] h]h s]r] s7f] ; hfo klG lbPsf] 5 .
k?ifk\fg ; dfhsf] s7f] wd{ sfggsf sf/0f n]Nus pTkl8g / z]f]of v]k
klxrfgxlg hljg afR/x\$] gf/Lxzsf] hljgnf0{ j:tut z kdf glhsaf6
lgofn\$]z^as/n]afn pd]d}ljwjf aGg ku] kfl/j fl/s z kdf pTkl8t xg ku\$
alxgl d-h/l]sf] hljgklt lrlGtt 5 . wd{ ck/fwLxznf0{ kfk 9fSg] ; fwg dfq
ePsf]alxglnf0{ ; dfhdf z]l]ift, pTkl8t / bldt ; ldfGtlo gf/Lxzsf]pTyfgdf
nfluG cg/f\$ ub\$. cem p; n] alxglnf0{ kg]j]fx u/] ; dfhdf j]f]Gtsf]/tf
b]fpg cg/f] u/\$f]5 . j t]dfgdf cfn]g]gsl kfq eP klG snfGt/df To; n]
cfbz{jz k k]t ub\$ eg] ; DemPsf] 5 . ; gftg s]hfznf0{ z^as/sf] n]Nus
; dtf; DaGwL lj rf/n] k]fj kf/\$f] 5 . p; sf] j] fl/stfn] tTsfnlG ; fdfhs
; f:s[ts kl/k]odf d-h/L / s]hfzsf alr cGthf]lo ; DaGw sfod ug\$ nflu
; qwf/sf] sfo{u/\$f] 5 . ; dfhdf jul6, hftlo / n]Nus z]f]ofsf] h/f] eg\$}
lkt[Qfids ; fdGtl ; dfh g} xf] eG] lgisif{ af\$]z^as/ gf/L :j tGqtsf]
; zSt j sfnt ub\$. pm eG5 Mæd t ; dfhj fbl ; wf/sf] rSs/df dfq 5g, d]f]
z]Stn] e} :qlsf] lG]dt TolQs} cfhfblsf] P] kf; ug] lyPF. hlQsf] cfhfbl
k?ifnf0{5Æ -k#^(_ . k|tt ; Gbe]k/Dk/fut k?if; Qf s]G]t sfggl Joj :yfk|t
z^as/df /x\$] k|t/f]L r]gfnf0{ k]6 kf/\$f] 5 . o; /L pkGof; df z^as/sf]
pkl:y]tn]tTsfnlG lj dzff]ds ; Argdf kl/wlo z kdf /x\$] z]l]ift, pTkl8t /
bldt gf/Lxzsf] :j tGqtsf nflu s]b]o ; Qsf lj?4 gjlg 1fg / ; To lgdf]f
ug{s]L k?if ; dbfodf b]f]k/\$]k|t/f]L r]gfnf0{c]fd; ft\ u/\$f]5 .

३.४.१ मञ्जरी उपन्यासमा सीमान्त समुदायको अस्तित्वपरक चेतना

d-h/L k|t't pkGof; sl kðv gf/L kfq xf]. pm afXd0fshlg pRrhftlo k?ifk\wfg n?nus ; #s[tsf sf/0f cf7 j if\$] pd\}d} 5kGg j if\$; Aaf xfdk\ fb; E cgdh ljj fx eP/ ljj fxs]Ps j if{glaTb}afnlj wj f xg ku\$ 5 . afnlj wj f xg' tTsfnlg ; dfhdf clezfk lyof]. Toxl clezkt hlj g afRg pm klg ljj z ag\$ 5 . lax]u/\$]Ps j if{lglatb}kltsf]b\fgt ePsf]x\p; n]; f\ / ; dfhaf6 klt 6f\$]L, s\$ph:tf clfDo cf/fkx\af6 ; Daf\wt eP/ afnlj wj fsf] sn^a af\$gkg[cj :yfsf]l; hgf ePsf]5 . ljj fxnf0{k'tnlstf]v\h dfGg]d-h/Ln] ljj wj f xg\sf]vf; cy{ghfg]klg k?ifk\wfg ; dfhsf]pSt lj dzhf0{kf/Aw dfg\ hlj g rnfpg' kg]sf?l0fs kl/j z l; hgf xG5 . p; sf nflu of\ugl / a\drfl/0fl ag\ afRg] 9f\$fdq vhf xG5 . ca pm kfl/jfl/s / ; fdfhs \kdf kOfM ; ldfGtst / lsgf/lst ag kU5]. Ps ; f\ / cfkmEgf h7f tlg-tlgj6f 5f\faxf/lst] pTkl8g vlg ku\$ d-h/L kl/jf/leq gf\$glh:t} ag kU5] eg] ; fdfhs \kdf czesl k\ts ag5]. o; /l p; nf0{tTsfnlg k?ifk\wfg ; dfhn] n?nus \kdf kOfM cwlg:y agfP/ kl/wlo agfp5 . p; df of}gh6o hlj s ; 'rsx\ n]lj sf; sf]ult kfp5}uPk5 3/s}h7f em8shf]5f\]an/fd ; fdfhs g]tstfnf0{j kj fx u/L p; dfly of\k\ / t b]o\ xf/sf cf\fx\ n]sfpg yfN5 eg] h7l axf/L slxn]rfhf]rf]\$]tyf slxn]uf]o oj s; E\$] ; DaGwsf]cf/fk nufP/ d-h/Ldflysf]pTkl8gdf ; mlg xG5].

d-h/L pkGof; df kl/wlo kfq d-h/Lsf] lj\pofzIntf tTsfnlg s\bllo zlstsf] k|t/f\vdv cledv 5 . lgZro g}shf; n]p; E hlj g dfu\$]5 t/ p; sf cufl8 k'/ftg ; dfh kxf8 ag\ hAa/ \kdf plePsf] xgfn]p; n] shf; sf] cfuxnf0{ rfx\ klg dGh/L lbg ; s\$ 5g . To; af6 56kl6Psf]shf; kfl/jfl/s r/d bafa vlg g; sl hghsl 5f\; E lgh\ ; b\ eP/ :j oDa/ ug{kU5 t/ Toxl lbgblv d-h/L; E\$]lj of\un]/GylgP/ Hj /u\ t e0{d[of\vdv ag5 . shf; sf] xfnt b\} ljj Xjn xg ku\$ d-h/L k?ifk\wfg ; #s[tsf ljk/Lt shf; nf0{cfkmEgf] hlj g ; dkOf ug\lgof6 u5]. pm eG5]M

To: f] gelgals; of] \fhf, xh"/ lgsf] xfoals; of] ,\ d a? xh"/sf] aRrfsf] cdf
af5' /fhf, dnf0{ xh"/sf] afx\$ ca s; \$f] kjf\$ 5g ũ d]f] /fhf, To: f]
gelgals:of] V -k\$\$(_ .

o; /L pkGof; sf] cGtodf d-h/Ln] tTsfnlg lj dzf(ds ; Argfsf] sŵblo
dhwf/sf]k?ifk\fg ; dfhsf]1fg / ; Tosf lj k/Lt Ps ; fy lfql o] s sŵf; ; E
ljwjf / cGthf(lo lj jfxnf0{uxof u/L jŵGtsf]/tfnf0{kŵzg u/\$L 5 . @))&
; fnsf]kl/j tŵkl5 /fhgllts ŷkdf kl/j tŵ eP klg ; fdfhs ; f:s[ts lfqdf
egh:tf]kl/j tŵ ePsf]lyPg . tt\cj:yfdf ljwjf afXdofl d-h/Ln]pRrhftlo
k?if ; :s[tn] lgifw u/\$f] ljwjflj jfxnf0{ cfd; ft\u/\$L 5 . of] tTsfnlg
k/Dk/fut k?ifk\fg ; :s[tsf]1fg, ; To / zIstdflys] ; zSt kl|f/w cl:tj sf]
vfhl xf].

pkGof; sf]kŵv k?if rl/q sŵf; pRrdWod julŵ kl/jf/sf]la-P=; Ddsf]
lzlf kŵt u/\$f]af]s / tfs\$ o] s xf]. pkGof; sl kŵv rl/q ljwjf gf/L
d-h/L; E cGthf(lo j}flxs ; DaGwdf cu| / eP/ sŵf; n] tTsfnlg dhwf/sf]
k?if sŵbt nŵus ; :s[tsf]; zSt kl|f/w u/\$f]5 . @))& ; fndf kŵftŵgsf]
cfudg eP klg ; fdfhs ; f:s[ts :j ŷkn] kl/j tŵnf0{ cfd; ft\u{ ; s\$]
lyPg . ; dfhdf gf/Lxŷnf0{xŵjŵlŵsf] k/ftg g}lyof]. k9h]y\$ o] sxŷ klg
k/fg}dhwf/sf] sŵblo lj rf/sf] ; fkm]f}lyP . kŵ08, an/fd, Zofd, /fdh:tf
cfkGofl; s kfqxŷ lzlf 5g\|/ pglxŷsf]lj rf/ gf/L lj /f]L g}5 . sŵf; of]
eGbf kys\ŷkdf pleP/ gf/Lsf] :j tŵqtsf] klfd plePsf] 5 . sŵf; n]
d-h/Lnf0{wd{ ef, uf]7L nufotsf sfo]ŵddf ; xeful u/fP/ gf/Lxŷn]klg sŵl
ug{ ; S5g\efg]kli6 ul/lbPsf]5 . pkGof; df sŵf; sf]of]lj ŵfzLntf jf:tj df
tTsfnlg k?ifsŵbt k/Dk/fjbl ; dfhsf]kl|f/wdf sŵbt 5 . o; n] tTsfnlg
; Gbedf lzlf sŵl k?ifxŷdf nŵus z]f]of v]k/x\$ cwlg:y gf/Lxŷsf]klfd
pleP/ sŵblo k?if ; Qsf kŵTj sf lj?4df kl|f/w r]gf / cl:tj sf] r]t
lj :tf/ xŵ}u/\$f]s/fnf0{k|6 kf/\$f]5 .

३.४.२ मञ्जरी उपन्यासमा सीमान्त समुदायको सामाजिक चेतना

x/§ lj ṁpf; E; E} kl|t|j ṁpf h|Gdg] ; Defj gf klg plQs} xG5 . 3/df laxfgb|v aḥsf; Dd o; /L hf|tE klg To; sf]sg}dNo xg 5fḅk|5 d-h/L :j odf klg cfnf]gfdS b[i6sf]sf]lj sf; xE}hfG5 . p; n]3/df axf/Lx;sf Jo^aNonf0{ kl|tsf/ ug{ yfN5] . ofḅkl/t eP/ an/fdn] lbPsf >[ṁfl/s ; fdfg af/Ldf kmflnlbG5] . lxGb; :sf/sf] lj wj f wd{f0{ klj q xḅon] cfd; ft\ u/§L d-h/Ln] an/fdsf cfEfd kḥf; L kj [Qsf]/fd]af|v u/§L 5 . dWo/ftdf lgbf0/xḅf]; dodf k?if cxd\$; fy p; sf] ; लच्च gi6 ug{ cfPsf] an/fdnf0{ k|oflftM gb|v] klg lglZrt ; ḥsx;sf cwf/df an/fd g}xf]eg] lrg\$ 5 . o; kl5 p; df cftl/s ; kdf an/fdk|t kl|t/f|v r]ḡfsf]lj sf; xE}hfG5 . csf{t/ ; gftgl j ḡfGtsf/L lzllft o]s sḥf; sf] ; flGwo clg cGtMj ṁpaf6 p; df gjlg r]ḡf k|kt xE} hfG5 eg] cGtdgl:y|tdf sḥf; kl|tsf] cg/fu klg a9b} hfG5 . hg cj:yfdf sḥf; ; dḡ /xḅf]5 . d-h/Lsf]of]Joj xf/ t|sfnlg k?ifk|vfg ; :s[tsf lj?4sf] kl|t/f|v xf] . To; ḅ/L lj wj f af|Xd0flx;n]klg ; gftg wd{eqḅaf6 ; dfh kl/j tḡsf nflu vf; of|ubfg ug{ ; S5g\eg]sḥf; sf]dfḡotfn]; dḡ p; nf0{kḅfj kf/ḅf] 5 . sḥf; s}cg/f|vdf p; n]wd{ efd ; gftg wd{ḅf]j }flgstfsf af/df kj rg lbG5] . kfl/j fl/s pTkl8gāf/f ; ldfGt kfl/Psl d-h/Lsf]pSt ult|j lwn]kl/j/f/leq em8sḥf 5f]f tyf axf/Lx;df āf / Hj ng cjZo l; hḡf u/ḅf]5 / To; nf0{ lgoḡof ug{ kḅḡ; dḡ ePsf]5 t/ p; n]To; nf0{vf; kj f x u/§L 5ḡ . lj wj f To; df klg afxgsl 5f]ln]lkmNd xḡ{wd{ḅf]pNn^ag xf]eg]dfḡotf /fv]d-h/L dvgfsf] kl/j f/; E} uP/ sḥf; sf ; fydf a; } lkmNd xḅ] . To; ḅ/L d-h/L; E ofḅkl/t b]o]xf/df c; kmn ePkl5 gf7fx; E kqJoj xf/ ug{J Zo} eg] /flf; L :j ;ksf ; fy pqḅf]an/fdnf0{klxnf cfkmḡ]cf^asf]e]L x] -k{^@_ eg] klxnf] kN6 k|ofl; kdf kl|tj fb u/§L 5 . d-h/Lsf ol Joj xf/x;n]p; sf]gjlg kl|t/f|v ; fdf|hs r]ḡsf]ofqfnf0{cj Zo ; ^asḡ u/ḅf 5g\

k?ifk|vfg ; :s[tsf sf/of ; ldfGt / r8fGt cj:yfdf kḡof0Psl d-h/L ha wd{ efdkḡ ; fdf|hs aGb}hfG5] ta p; df Jo|St tyf ; fdf|hs lj s[tx;kl|t cfnf]gfdS b[i6sf]lj sf; xE}hfG5 . ; dfhdf dfG5}n] wd{ḅf gfddf kfk

cf\$ln/x\$]afw xg yfN5 . e8\$hf]5f]f an/fdsf]kfkL rl/qnf0{k|oIf;kd}afw
u/\$L p; n]>lk|fbh:tf]wdk/foof JolStd f klg cwd{cwf\$]afw ug{kul\$ 5 .
k?if; Qfsf] lj dz\$6 kfl/jfl/s / ; fdlhs 2kdf klxrfgxlg ag] afR/x\$
d-h/ldf j||ds 2kdf 1fgsf]lj sf; xE}hfG5 . Psflt/ To; 3/df /xg] ; fgf]
cfwf/ ld; lah\$]b}fgt eP/ kOfM PSnf]ePsl d-h/L s}f; ; E}sf] ; Da6wnf0{
lnP/ ufpE kml/s rrf{xgyfnk15 cfkmg] ; f/f abgfdlsf]h/f]oxl 3/ xf]-k#|^_
eG]lgisif(d kll5]. o; /L p; dflysf]pTkl8g / To]pTkl8g lbg]zlstnf0{kOfM
wfj f af]lg cl3 ; g{p; sf]kl|t/fw cfj fh xf] . ; fdlhs 2kdf ljwj fsf]sn^as
nfu\$ d-h/L OZj /sf]ehg u/ ; Gtffsf ; fy hlj g latfpg]gjlg cfzf af\$]
df0t hfG5]. lkt[QfTds ; #s[tn]kOfM ; ldfGtLst agfP/ df0t kYofPsf]eP
klg s}f; ; E kqJoj xf/ u/ s}f; sf]xflb\$ kDnf0{;jlsf/ u/\$] ; ^as]t u/\$L
5 . ljwj f gf/Ln] ; fdlhs 2kdf sg}k?if; E cfslif xg' kfk xf] eG]k?if
; ^asygnf0{/fd/L afw u/]klg To; sf lj k/Lt p; n]s}f; ; E kq Joj xf/ u/\$L
5 . of]j f: tj df k?if; Qfsf lj ?4sf]kl|t/fw xf]. bh' z^as/n]p; nf0{wd{dfG5\$]
kfk 5Ng] ; fwgdfq xf] eg] af/Daf/ ; DemfpE p; sf]cufl8 clj Zj f; u/]klg
cfGt/s 2kdf To; nf0{ p; n]lj Zj f; ub}hfG5]. s}f; sf kqsf j fsox2n]
p; nf0{ cr}gdf kEj kf/\$fn] ; vb ; #f/sf] sNkgfdf xlif xg yfN5] .
k?if; QfTds ; #s[tsf]wld\$ cfj /0fn]lylrPsl Pp6L ljwj f gf/Ldf b}fk/\$]of]
j||ds rfl/lqs kl/jtg jf:tjdf tIsfnlg k?if n]P\us ; #s[tsf lj ?4sf]
kl|t/fw]ds l:ylt xf] . s}f; n]ltd}lgldt sgn / hgnsf 5f]lx2 nft
df/lbPsf]5' eGf d-h/Ln]To; sf]kl|tpQ/ t lbPs}5g t/ klg lg/Gt/ s}f; s}
; Demg cf0/x\$]cgelt u5]. pQm ; flo o; /L pkGof; df k|tt ul/Psf]5 M

*cfh hf]ltgsf]hljgsf]s; lfdaf olt 7hf]eofgs o4 rln/x\$
; #f/df ltgnf0{To; sf]s]cfjZostf lyof]/ < ltgl lj rf/ ul5g\kml/
lj lwj wfg g}o: t}xf]. t/ h]xf] \ltgn]hlt hlt sf}dfpE}u0g\plt
plt pgnf0{ an/fd, ; /nf, lj dnf, ; }l cflbsf] rl/q dfg; k6df
nx/fpg yfNof]. clg t = = = ltgl kml/ cgej ul5g\ - -; fRr} s]
s}f; n] pgnf0{ Ps /vflsf] 2kdf gckgf0sg lj jflxt kTgl; /x*

ckgfpq ; Snfg\< olb o:tf] xg ; s}f= Itgsf] cgxf/df cgfof; }
vzlsf nx/ bf}g yfn]. sxf If0fe/ klxn]cfFh]cfl]; nf ePsf gg
vzln]rldsg yfn]. = Itgl cufl8sf] s'f lj rf/ ug{ rfx}g ly0g\
Itgnf0{lgZro x}uof] - Itgl wd{d{ :ju{gs{ kfk-k0osf] ; jfn
hfl6bgg\ kfk xf] \of wd{Itgl= s}f; nf0{dg k/fpF5g= Ps dfq
s}f; nf0{0-kf\$)^ .

k|tt ; flodf d-h/ldf ; d} s}f; k|t jf:tlj s k} /x\$] s'f k\$6
ePsf]5 . k?ifk\fg ; dfhsf]n}us ; :s[tn]pm lj wj f gf/L ePsf]k/k?if; E
k}f]ds ; DaGw /fVg]clwsf/ lb}yof]. d-h/Ln]klg To; nf0{/fd/L aem}L 5 .
t/ an/fd tyf df0t3/df a:g] lj wj f gf/Lx; ; }L, lj dnf cflbsf sL; t
of}k|t Jojxf/nf0{aem}L d-h/Ln]Tof}Gbf km/s kltkTglut ; DaGw s}f; af6
ck]ff u/\$]lj rf/ o; ; floaf6 k\$6 ePsf]5 . o; /L d-h/ldf cfPsf]dfgl; s
kl/j t}n]k/Dk/fut k?ifk\fg s}llo ; :s[tn]cfd; ft\w/L gf/Lx;dfly cwlg:y
agfpg pkof} u/\$f wd{d{ :ju{gs{tyf kfk-k0o cfnf}gf]ds }kdf x}f]5
5 . of]kl/wlo }kdf /x\$]lj wj f gf/Lx;n]dhwf/sf]k}Tjdfly u/\$] ; fdf]hs
k|t/f}v xf].

k|tt pkGof; df s}f; df j}ds }kdf d-h/Lk|t kljq k}sf]
lj sf; x}uPkI5 p; n]k/Dk/fut lj e}k0f{wld\$ lrgtgnf0{cfnf}gf]ds }kdf
x}y{yfN5 . k} hg; }hftn]hg; }hft; E ug{ ; Sg]lgisif}df ku\$]s}f;
d-h/L k}ktsf]nflu cdfn]lj jfxsf nflu s}l x}u/\$]k|tfjnf0{k/ ; fb}hf65
. pglx;sf alrsf]; DaGwnf0{lnP/ kfl/j fl/s / ; fdf]hs cfnf}gf a9}uP klg
To; nf0{dx}j lb}g . cem df0t uPsl d-h/L; E kqlojxf/ u/} k/Dk/fut
k?if; Qfnf0{p; n]lj }pffds / efjgf]ds }kdf r}f}L lbPsf]5 . d-h/L lj wj f
af}Xd0fl ePsf]k/Dk/fut k?if wd{dfhn]p; E}sf] ; DaGwnf0{/f\$5 eGg]yxf
kfp}f kfp}s}f; cGthf}lo lj jfxsf nflu tof/ ePsf]5 . pkGof; df s}f; sf
cufl8 k?if; Qf kvf} ag} plePsf]5 . To; sf]k|tIglwTj Hj f0Fk}08 / cdf
dvgfn]u/\$f 5g\ . h; n]sg} / hg}sf 5f}Lx; ; E lj jfxsf nflu af/Daf/
bafa lbPsf 5g\ . ; DkIQ / s[qd }knf0{dx}j glbg]s}f; n]Hj f0Fk}08; E

d-h/ln]:jlsf/ u/]cfkm" c?; E lj x]gug]lg0fodf ku\$]f]; gfp5f kl/j f/df bafa / tgfaf]l:ylt kbf xG5 . dvgf / k|08 s]hf; / d-h/ldfly cfj]ds ag\$]f 5g\ pRr dWod jul6 s]hf; kl/j f/leq cwlg:y aGg ku\$]f]5 . cdfn]; dfhsf] 8/ b]yP/ p; sf]sbdnf0{/f\$g vff]bf s]hf; n]; dfh s]xf]< / To; n]s; /L bffE l^Rofp5 < ; a yxf 5 0 -k\$!@_ eg] cdfsf]k?ifk]wfg dfgl; stfsf]kl|t/f]w u/\$]f]5 . s]hf; sf]of]kl|t/f]w cdfkl|t dfq}xf0g ; Qf / zlstsf cfw/df k|t] sfod ug{ vff]g] t]sfnlg s]b]lo wf/dflysf] kl|t/f]w]ds pkl:ylt xf] . o; n] gjlg j \$]nks ; #s[t lgdf0f]kf]ofqnf0{cj Zo ; a\$]t u/\$]f] 5 . pkGof; sf] ; xfos rl/q d-h/l]sf]dfdfsf]5f]f]z^a\$/sf]gfl:tstf / ; dfh kl/j tG; DaGwl lj rf/n] ; d]t s]hf; df d-h/lk|tsf] cfGtl/s rfxgfnf0{ d'tL\$/Of ug{ ; xof]u u/\$]f] b]vG5 . kfl/j fl/s bafa / ; fdfhs cfn]r]gn] tlj | 2k lnP klg d-h/l; E]sf] k]af6 /GylgPsf] s]hf; lkt]Gqsf] k/Dk/fut wd]nf0{ kj f] gu/L d-h/l; E hlj g dflg k]5 . pkGof; df pm eG5 M

olb ltdl d]f]x]posf]ult hfGbl xf}. t d Pp6f gjlg ; #f/ agfpg] s]nkgdf af]hxf emF ; kgdf, lj kgdf s]n ltdlnf0{lnP/ lxl8/x\$]f] 5'd-h/l 0 s]n ltdln]d]h' dfq ub]m o; ; dfhsf]aGwgn]dnf0{ af]G ; StG . of]Joy\$]f]lat8f]fbl wd]n]dnf0{k5fg}; StG . olb ltdlnf0{d]f]s/f :jlsf/ 5 eg] d]h]lbPsf]of]pkxf/ . -k\$\$_

pkGof; df k|St plNnlvt ; flon]s]hf; sf]d-h/lk|t kljq k]nf0{k]6 kf/\$]f] 5 . p; df k/Dk/fut ; fdfhs aGwgsf lj k/Lt uP/ gjlg ; #f/ lgdf0f ug{ ; lsG5 eGg]r]gfsf]lj sf; ePsf]5 . d-h/l ljwjf gf/L xf]. k/Dk/fut k?if ; Qfn]p; sf]kglj]fxsf]9f\$]f aGb u/\$]f]5 . pQm k/Dk/fnf0{s]hf; n] oxf c; xdlit hgfp5} d-h/lnf0{cfkm" E lj jfx ug{cg/f]w u/\$]f]5 . s]hf; n] d-h/ldfly ha/h:tl u/\$]f]5g . c]h]df c]L nuf0lbP/ d-h/lnf0{xflb\$]tfk] \$:jlsf/ ug{cg/f]w u/\$]f]5 . gf/lk?ifsf]k]d hfl]tut Joj:yf / jf; gfeGbf dfly xG5 eGg]lgisif0f ku\$]f]s]hf; pRrjul6 / lzllft eP klg t]sfnlg dhwf/sf]

; #s[tsf cufl8 cwlg:y ag\$] 5 . s}f; sf] dflysf] lj rf/ tt\; #s[tdflysf]
; zSt kl|t/fw xf]. Psflt/ dvgfsf] bafa clg csf{t/ kfl/j fl/s tyf ; fdlhs
cfnf]rgfsf sf/0f blgofsf] cufl8 6fpsf] 7f8f] kf// lx8g uxf] xg ; Sg]; Deflj t
hl6ntfsf af/0f atfp5} d-h/Ln] rfx] klg s}f; nf0{ lg0f6 lbg g; s\$]f
cj:yfdf kfl/j fl/s r/d r}k] fdf k// s}f; cdfn] eg\$] s6] hg] sl 5f]L; E
clgR5t :joda/ ug{ af] wo x65 . To; } lbgblv dfgl; s 2kdf /GylgPsf] pm
d-h/L; E] sf] lj of] j } bgn] Hj /u}t eP/ d[of] dV x6} d-h/Ln] hlj g ; dk0f ug]
j rg lbPk15 af] Rg] cfzf knfP/ lgsf] x65 Pj d\pglx2alr c6thf{lo ; Da6w
sfod xgk05 . s}fzn] t]sfnl g lj dzf{ds ; Argfn] c:jlsf/ u/\$]f
lj wj flj j fxnf0{:jlsf/ ub}d-h/L; E ; Da6w ufF] k?if; Qfsf cufl8 j } flGtsf] /tf
k6z6 u/\$]f] 5 . o; /L pk6of; sf/n]; fdlhs 2k6t/0fsf nflu s}fzn] b}fPsf]
; fdlhs kl|t/fwL r}gfsf dflodaf6 t]sfnl g lj dzf{ds ; Argdf
lj wj flj j fxsf] cfj Zostf cf] fofpg] ; lldt oj fx2sf] cfj fhnf0{ pk6of; df
snf] ds tl/sfn] k}t't u/\$]f] 5 .

३.४.३ मञ्जरी उपन्यासमा सीमान्त समुदायको सांस्कृतिक चेतना

d-h/L -lj = #))& ; fnc13sf] /f0ffsfnl g / klhftGqkl5sf] lkt[Qf] ds
; fdlhs ; #s[ts df6otf, lr6tg / Joj xf/nf0{ hlj6t 2kdf k}t't ul/Psf]
; fdlhs pk6of; xf]. pk6of; sf/ lj i6n] k}t't pk6of; nf0{ lkt[Qf] ds n}Nus
; #s[tsf lj k/Lt ; ldf6tsf] lj wj f gf/Lx2sf] kgj j} fxnf0{ ; fdlhs df6otf
lbgkg] klfd s]6b}t u/fPsf 5g\ . o; sf ; fy} afnlj j fx, cgd]h lj j fx /
axlj j fxsf] ; #s[tsf] c6to / c6thf{lo lj j fxnf0{ df6otf lbgkg] lj rf/; d}t
pk6of; df k\$6 ePsf] 5 . lkt[Qf] ds ; dfhdf x6} sf lj i6n] pRrhftlo af]Xdof
kl/j f/sf 5f]Lx2 afn pd}d} lj j flxtf eP/ of] gfj :yfdf g6\$b} lj wj f xgkg] /
kfl/j fl/s 2kdf k}t'f8t x6} hlj ge/ of] ugl / a}drfl/0flsf 2kdf gf/slo hlj g
latfpgkg] cj:yfnf0{ j:tut 2kdf lgofn\$] lyP . afnlj wj f d-h/L o;
pk6of; sl k6v gf/L rl/q xf]. pm t]sfnl g lkt[Qf] ds n}Nus ; #s[tsf sf/0f
lsgf/fdf k/\$]f lj wj fx2sf] kl|tlglw xf]. pk6of; df pRrhftsl af]Xdofl d-h/L
pk6of; sf] k?if rl/q t]Nnf] hftsf] lfql o} s s}f; ; E] sf] k6df k// c6thf{lo

; Da6w sfod ug{kul5l 5 . s}hf; n]klg of]; Da6w sfod ug\$ f nflu kfl/j fl/s
 2kdf lgs}7hf]; a3if{ugk/\$f] 5 . To; u/L pk6of; sf]; xfos rl/q z^a\$/
 /fhglits / ; fdlhs cleo6tf xf]. p; n]; dfhdf gf/L ; dtfsf nflu gf/Lsf]
 ; d}t ; lj }p}tfsf] cfj Zostf xg] e6b}d-h/Lnf0{To; df nflu cg/f}w u/\$f] 5 .
 lj wj fx2sf] jf: tlj s hlj gnf0{lrq5l ; xfos rl/q 0l6b/f pk6of; sf] cf/Deblv
 g}lj wj fx2sf] lj j fxsf] klfd plePsl 5 / bfh' s}hf; / d-h/Lalrsf]; Da6wnf0{
 ; a66bf klxnf : jLsfq{kul5l 5 . o; afx\$sf c6o gf/Lk?if rl/qx2dllo} sf}l
 k/Dk/fut k?ifs}6bt ; :s[ts} j fxs 5g\eg] sf}l pSt ; :s[tsf lj?4 sg}
 lj }p}fzIntf k\$6 gu/L cwlg:y 5g\ ctM pk6of; sf kdV kfq d-h/L / s}hf; n]
 cfTd; ft\u/\$f] lj wj fsf] kglj }fx / c6thf}lo lj j fxn] tTsfnlq k?if; Qsf lj?4
 Ps}fy kl}t/f}w u/\$f] 5 . o; /L k}tt pk6of; df d-h/L, s}hf; , z^a\$/ /
 0l6b/fsf dflodaf6 k\$6 ePsf] jul6, hftlo / n}Nus c; dfgtsf ; f:s[ts
 lj?4sf] kl}t/f}wnf0{oxfFj }ds 2kdf lj Zn}f0f ul/Psf] 5 .

d-h/Ln] tTsfnlq k?if; :s[t kvf}n ag} a; \$f] l:y}ltdf s}hf; sf]
 cfux}nf0{:jLsf/ t u/\$l 5g . an/fd, >lk} fbh:tf JolStx2af6 hf}lugsf nflu
 eP klq p; 6sf]; Da6wnf0{:jLsfq{kgl} cfj Zostf 7fg5l 5 . k?ifk}wfg n}Nus
 ; :s[t ; dfhdf gf/Lnf0{sdhf} agfP/ pglx2dfly jf; gfTds 2kdf ; d}t
 8l; /x65 . an/fd k}f}hf/L cbfntdf a; } GofocGofosf] km} nf ug}JolSt tyf
 >lk} fb wd{k}rs xf]. ol ba\$}sf] sfd ; dfhdf c; fdlhs bu6wx2nf0{kvf}ng'
 xf]. t/ pglx2n] Toxl k?if; :s[tsf cf8df d-h/Ldfly jf; gfTds Joj xf/
 pk6of; df b}v}Psf] b}lv65. d-h/Ln]Toxl slT; t v}haf6 hf}lug klq Ps /lfssf]
 cfj Zostf 7fg5l 5 . l}tdln]lj j fx u}of}eg]clxn]cfnf}rgfsl kfq eP klq kl5
 cfbz{gf/L a6g}5f}eg} bfhn]; DemfPsf]s'/nf0{cf6tl/s 2kdf lj Zjf; ub}uPsl
 5 . lj wj f xg' tflTj s ; To geP/ ; dfhlgl}d}t ; To xf] e6g]gjlg r}t}gf p; df
 lj sl; t x6}hf65 . of] s}bl}o ; Qsf lj?4 kl/wlosf] lj }p}fzIntf xf]. ; dfhdf
 pglx2alrsf]; Da6wnf0{lnP/ cfnf}rgf k}ofnf}rgf xg yfn}kl5 dvgfn]5f}faf6
 g6fl9P cbfntdf k}of0lbg}eg} w}sl lb6f d-h/L d}f]ckdfg ug{cfpg' ePsf]

eg] kltjfb u5]. To; u/L p; n] cfmhf0{ckdfigt ug{ tD; }f] an/fdnf0{o; f] eg] 5 M

Ps lg/k/fwl JolStnf0{c8&fdf ; Dkj f ug] hfn /Rg] ltdf]; ' === t/ lj rf/ u/, 7xl/Pg eg] === ð ha/h: tl g}u5f] eg] d To; }dlbg ===== k]xn] ltdf] v&df ===== clg dfq a&mp ls a&mp] <A -k\$#^_ .

k]tt ; flosf dfWodaf6 d-h/Ln] em8\$]hf] 5f]f] an/fdsf] cdfglifs kj [Qsf] ; zSt klt/f]v u/\$] 5 . cg\$ pTkl8g yf]k/] ; ldfGt agfpg] an/fdklt d-h/ldf gjlg 1fg ; ~rf/ ePsf] 5 . d-h/Ln] u/\$] ; zSt kltjfbklt pkGof; df an/fdn] kltj] of b]vfpG ; s\$] 5g . pN6}s; \$] sfgdf k\$of] ls eg] nllHnt xg kU5 . k?if ; Qsf] cf8df gf/Lx] nf0{v&dfsf] hQf; /x 7fGg] an/fd of] l:yltdf cfpG' dhwf/sf]; #s[t cfGtl/s] kdf sdhf] xB] uPsf] b]vfp5 eg] o; n] t]sfnlG lj dzf] ds ; Arfgdf lj wj f gf/Lx] df lj sf; xB] uPsf]; f:#s[t s klt/f]v] fds r] gfnf0{; d] ; a\$] u/\$] 5 .

d-h/l pkGof; df dhwf/sf] ; #s[tn] gf/Lx] dfly u/\$] pTkl8g / z]f]f0sf lj ?4 kl/wlo] kdf /x\$] gf/L ; dbfosf] j] fl/s klt/f]v] nf0{; d] ; zSt] kdf k]tt ul/Psf] 5 . pkGof; sl ; xfos rl/q 0]Gb/fn] cgd]h lj j fxsf sf/Of ; dfhdf gf/Lx] z]f]f / pTkl8g v]k] ; ldfGt xg' k/\$] s/fnf0{; zSt] kdf k\$6 u/\$] 5 . pRrjul6 kl/jf/sl ; b:o eP/ klg t]sfnlG lj dzf] ds ; Arfgdf p; n] n] Nus z]f]f v]lg lj j z gf/Lx] sf] cf] fhnf0{ klt]glw]j u/\$] 5 . pm pkGof; df kl08t rj] k]f]f0sf gf/Lj /f]v lj rf/sf]; zSt kltjfb u5]. pkGof; sf] cf/Dedf s] hfzn] lj wj flj j fxsf] lj /f]v u/\$] 5 . To; sf]; d] 0]Gb/fn] klt/f]v u/\$] 5 . c; L j if\$] a9fn]; ft j if\$] aflnsf em8ofpg]; dfhn] lj wj f gf/Lx] sf] kglj {fxnf0{ dfGof lbgkg] lj rf/ k\$6 u/] 0]Gb/fn] k?ifk]vfg ; #s[t sf]; zSt klt/f]v u5]. pm e65] M

o:t}kyf g}a] xf]eg] tf of]lgod s]n :ql-hfltdf dfq x]g k?if hfltdf klg nfu" xg]kg]. olb s}g}:qlnf0{; Ltf ag]k]off lb065 eg] ð k?ifnf0{klg /fd ag]k]off xg]kb]5 . olb :ql-hfltdf dfq of]s'f nfu" xg]xf]/ k?if-hfltdf nfu" gxg]xf]eg] o:tf lgodsf lgdf]f]stf]x]nf0{

d dglo el6bg ls xlxlg /flf; e65'. o:tf]ljwfg cflbnf0{/flf; l
ljwfg e6b5'. t/ o; df dnf0{zsf nflu5 . hg sfdsf]leq sg}k}off
cflbnf0 / s]n aflx/l bafasf]sf/0fn]ljz z e}ugk5{eg} To:tf]wdf
;fwg klg t Joy\$]xf]lg ũ s]xflx; n]; r]g efj n]sxl ug{hfg\$
5f} wdflj lw, ; dfh-lj lw cflb lj lwx; nf0{c6wfh]em}Eof; j z kfng
ub{cf0/x\$ 5f} -k!) ^ .

p; Gof; df kPst pInlvt ; Gbedf 0lGb/fn]k?ifs]Gbt ; fdfhs lgods] tfls\$
; kdf cfnf]gf u/\$L 5 . jf:tjdf tIsfnlg lkt[Qf]ds ; Argf 0lGb/fn]egem
s7f] lyof] . d-h/lh:tf ljwjfx; sf ; d:t rfxgxf; nf0{lj eP}k0f{ ; fdfhs
lgodn]k0f{; kdf algwt agfp}of]/ 0Hhtsf gfddf hlXNo}cf]f]p7f0/xGyof]t/
an/fdh:tf bl6 ck/fwlx; ; fdfhs / sfggl ; kdf cglts / ck/fwl eP/ klg
lg/k/fw e0/xGy] . /fHo; Qfn]klg loglx; nf0{; Af0f lb0/xGyof] . o:t}k\$ /sf]
k?if s]Gbt wdflj lw / ; dfhlj lwdfly 0lGb/fn] ; zSt ; kdf cfjfh p7fP/
dhwf/sf] s]blo k?if s]Gbt ; Qfsf] lj?4 j}fl/s kl|t/fw u/\$L 5 . o; /L
pkGof; df 0lGb/fsf] pkl:yltn]@))& ; fnsf] kl/j tG; E} lkt[Qf]ds ; fdfhs
; a\$ygsf lj?4 gf/L ; dbfodf kl|t/fw r]gf ; zSt ; kdf hfuf] xE} u/\$f]
tYonf0{k|6 kf/\$f]5 .

khftGqcl3sf] /fhg]ts cleoGtf z^a\$/ @))& kl5 ; fdfhs /
; f:s[ts ; kfgt/0fsf nflu ; lj p ; kdf nfu\$]lg:jfy{ ; fdfhs cleoGtf xf].
o; j}ddf p; nf0{ tIsfnlg /fHo; Qfn]h]h sf] s7f] ; hfo klg lbPsf] 5 .
k?ifk}wfg ; dfhsf] s7f] wd{ sfggsf sf/0f n}Nus pTKl8g / zfl]of v}kl
klxrfgxlg hljg afF/x\$ gf/Lx; sf] hljgnf0{ j:tut ; kdf glhsaf6
lgofn\$]z^a\$/n]afn pd}d}ljwjf aGg ku} kfl/j fl/s ; kdf pTKl8t xg ku\$
alxgl d-h/lsf] hljgkl|t lrlGtt 5 . wd{ck/fwlx; nf0{kfk 9fSg] ; fwg dfq
ePsf]alxglnf0{; dfhdf zfl]ift, pTKl8t / bldt ; ldfGtlo gf/Lx; sf]pTyfgdf
nflg cg/f\$ ub5 . cem p; n] alxglnf0{kglj}fx u/} ; dfhdf j}flGtsfl/tf
b}fpg cg/fw u/\$f]5 . j t}dfgdf cfnf]gfl kfq eP klg sfngt/df To; n]
cflbz}j ; k k}t ub5 eg] ; DemPsf] 5 . ; gftg s}fzfnf0{z^a\$/sf] n}Nus

; dtf; DaGwL lj rf/n] kēfj kf/šf] 5 . p; sf] j }fl/stfn] tTsfnlG ; fdfllhs
; f:s[ts kl/k]odf d-h/L / s}hfzsf alr cGthff{lo ; DaGw sfod ugšf nflu
; ōwf/sf] sfo{u/šf] 5 . ; dfhdf juló, hftlo / n}Nus zfi]f0sf] h/f] egš}
lkt[Qffds ; fdGtl ; dfh g} xf] eGg] lgisif{ afššf] z^as/ gf/L :j tGqtsf]
; zSt j sfnt ubš . pm eG5 M

*d t ; dfhj fbl ; wf/sf] rSs/df dfq 5g, d}f] zIStn] eš} :qlsf] lgldt
ToIQs}cfhfblsf] Pq kf; ug}lyPF. hIQsf]cfhfbl k?ifnf0{5A -k#^(_ .*

k|tt ; Gbeñ] k/Dk/fut k?if; Qf s|Gb}t sfggl Joj:yfkl|t z^as/df /xšf]
kl|t/fyL r}gfnf0{k|6 kf/šf] 5 . o; /L pkGof; df z^as/sf] pkl:ylt]n] tTsfnlG
lj dzff{ds ; Argfdf kl/wlo ċkdf /xšf zfi]ift, pTKl8t / bldt gf/Lxċsf]
:j tGqtsf nflu s|b|lo ; Qsf lj?4 gjlg 1fg / ; To lgdfQf ug{s}L k?if
; dbfodf b}yf/šf]; f:s[ts kl|t/fyL r}gfnf0{cfld; ft\u/šf] 5 .

३.५ **बिग्रीएको बाटो उपन्यासमा सीमान्त समुदायको आवाज र प्रतिरोधी चेतना**

*laluPsf]af6f]-@)##_ pkGof; sf/ bfi}tlj j}d lj i6sf]; fdfllhs pkGof; xf]
. k|tt pkGof; df k~rfotsfnlg g}kfnl ; dfhsf] juló / In^aulo ; d:ofnf0{
kēfj sf/L ċkdf pbšf6g ul/Psf] 5 . o; sf ; fy}o; pkGof; df pSt sfnv08df
Jofkt ljs[t, lj ; ^ault, cGofo, cTofrf/, sld; gdVl kj [Q, rfs8l kj [Q tyf
kx/L kžf; gsf u}Goflos s[oxċsf] hljGt lraqof u/L tTk] [Qdfly tliOf ċkdf
cfnf]rg ul/Psf] 5 . /fHosf x/š lfgdf bfnl ; fdGtl kj [Qsf] kēTj /xšfn]
; dfhdf k|ltsf ; DkOf{ af6fxċ lalug kušf / dflg; xċ grfx} klg Itg}
af6fxċdf lx8g lj jz alg/xšf]; Gbeñf0{o; pkGof; n] dxēj sf ; fy pk:yfkg
u/šf] 5 . n}Nus ċkdf k|tt pkGof; n] u}xOf u/šf]; fdfllhs ; f:s[ts :j ċk
; fdGtj fbl lkt[Qffds /xšf] 5 . lkt[Qffds ; dfhdf xg] gf/Ldflysf] zfi]fOf,
bdg Pj d\ pTKl8gsf] lraqof u/L pkGof; sf/n] gf/Lsf] k/Dk/feGbf leGg
kl|tlglw]j sf] vf]hl ug}kōTg u/šf 5g\ oBlk pkGof; n] To; nf0{kOf{f lbg eg]
; sšf] 5g . pkGof; df 1fg' p; sl cdf, kj {sl ephh:tf gf/L rl/qxċn]*

cwlg:y j f ; ldfGtsf gf/L ; dbfosf] k|t|glwTj u/\$f 5g\ . To; u/L 1fgsf]
>ldfg, 3g6fps]cgxf/, lxlkl cgxf/h:tf k?if r|/qx_uf]gf/Lnf0{xg]b]i6sf0f
/ Joj xf/ ; dfhdf gf/Lx_uf]k|t|glwTj nf0{sdhf} / ; ldfGt agfpg kj Q ePsf]
5 . pkGof; df kPst pRrj ul0 dlgfxh/, >ldltxh/, _kfh:tf gf/L r|/qx_uf]
lrGtg, dgf] [Q tyf Joj xf/n] gf/Lsf] k|t|glwTj nf0{lj sf agfPsf] b]V65 .
pkGof; df n]Nus _kdf ; ldfGtlo kfq 1fgh] lkt[Qf / jul0 lje]k|t k\$6
u/\$f]c; Gtli6 / cfnf]gf lgs}dx_uf]k0f{/x\$]5 eg]pkGof; sf]kPv k?if r|/q
kj {sf]lrGtg / lj]pofzlnfn]p; df gjlg 1fgTds ; ~r]gf lgd0f ug{; xof]u
u/\$f] b]V65 . k|t't pkzlif\$df log}kfqs dfModaf6 pkGof; df cleJost
; ldfGtlo k|t/f]ysf]lj Zn]f0f ul/Psf]5 .

1fg' k|t't pkGof; sl kPv r|/q xf] . p; n] lkt[QfTds ; dfhsf] k?if
s]Gbt ; f:s[ts :j _k tyf ; fdGtj fbl cfly\$; :s[taf6 ; ldfGt agf0Psf
gf/Lx_uf]k|glwTj u/\$L 5 . ; fdlhs :j _k k?ifs]Gbt xBf lzllft gf/Lx_uf] klg
s; /L ; dfhdf cwlg:y agf0G5g\ eGg] klfsf] pb\$6g pkGof; df 1fgsf
dfModaf6 ul/Psf] 5 . pm lax] ePsf] Ps÷b0{dlxgfd} df0/ ; f0sn lsgg] k} f
lnP/ dfq 3/ km]sg' eg] nf]g]f/f df0t}wkf0Psl gf/L xf] . k?ifk]wfg ; dfhsf]
bf0hf] ; :s[t gf/Lx_uf]cfly z]f]f0f / bdgsf]kPv pks/0f xf] . pm oxl ; :s[taf6
cwlg:y ag\$L 5 eg] df0t]sf] sdhf} cfly\$ x] ; otsf sf/0f df0tdf ; d]t
p; sf]hljg sl7g ag\$]5 . pm t]sfnlj lj dz]Tds ; Argfdf lkt[QfTdstf /
; fdGtl ; dfhsf]cfly\$; :s[tsf]bf]x/f]df/df k/] p; sf]klxrfg ; j]hgZln ag]
klg p; n]cfkm]dfly bdg / z]f]f0f ug]z]stkl|t efjg]Tds, j]f]l/s / lj]pofTds
_kdf k|t/f]u u/\$L 5 . p; n]n]Nus / jul0 _kdf cfkm] tyf gf/L hf]tdfly
p]kl8g ug]p]kl8gsf/L z]stnf0{/fd/L klxrfg u/\$L 5 . pSt z]stkl|t p; df
cfGtl/s _kdf cfj]f]z / 30ffsf]efj l; h0f ePsf]5 eg]sltko cj:ydf p; n]
To; nf0{k]0lf _kdf ; d]t k\$6 u/\$L 5 . dhwf/sf]1fg / z]stnf0{klxrfg ug]
; Sg]p; sf]lfdtfsf]lj sf; df p; n]cfhg ub]uPsf]z]lfs r]gf tyf Jofj xfl/s
cge]n] dx_uf]k0f{/; xof]u u/\$f] b]V65 . lkt[QfTds ; dfh 5f]lnf0{k/f0sf]wg
dfG5 . 1fg'sl cdf klg oxl ; dflhs ; a\$ygdf lj Zj f; u5] . pSt ; dfhnf0{

gf/ln]cfhg ub{uPsf]z}lfs kpltn]vf; cy{/Vb} . pkGof; df 1fg'sf cufl8
oxl kl/l:ylt l; hgf ePsf]5 . nfl]g\$] bf0hf] dfgl; stfaf6 kl18t eP/ df0t
kmls} afllo ePsl 1fgh]; a\$ifk} \$:gfts tx; Ddsf]z}lfs kpl't xfl; n ug
l:yldf ku] klg ; xkf7L kj {; E\$sf] ; DaGwnf0{ lnP/ ; dfhdf g}ts kZg
p7fp5 .

*lalupsf] af6} k-rfotsfnlg gkfnl ; dfhsf] oyfy{fsf] lraq0fdf slgbt
pkGof; xf]. o; sfnv08df cf0k0bf /fHo; Qfn]gf/Lx}sf]xs / clwsf/; DaGwl
lglZrt sfggL / ; :yfut Joj :yf u/\$]lyof]t/ /fHo; Qfsf]dhwf/lo ; Argdf
pRrj ul6 k?ifx}sf]; fdGtl lrgtgsf]k]ntf /x\$fn]gf/Lsf lj ifodf ul/Psf ol
Joj:yfx} s]n sfuhdf ; lldt lyP . gf/Ldflysf]z}f]f0f / bdgsf]k/Dk/fut
:j}kdf vf; }kl/j t} cfPsf]lyPg . s}l gf/Lx} lzlft eP/ klg k?if; Qfaf6
pTKl18t / z}l]ft lyP . lj j }o pkGof; df o; nf0{ dx}k0f{ :yfg lb0Psf]5 .
pkGof; sl k}v kfq 1fgdf gf/Lx}sf]of]; fdfhs b}fj :yfk|t ; Dos\1fg /x\$]f
5 . To; }] pkGof; df sfgg] gf/Lx}nf0{ a/fa/Lsf]xs / clwsf/ lb}f klg
k/Dk/fut k?ifzlstaf6 ; dfhdf lg/Gt/ gf/Ldfly lgoGq0f e0/x\$}k|t pm
cfnf]g}f]ds l6kk0fl u5]. pm eG5]M*

*dh'sl P}n] rf}f kml/; s\$]f]5 . P} / ; }wfgsf bkrfx}n] 5f}f /
5f}lnf0{em08}em08}Pp6}xf/fxf/Ldf pEof0lb; s\$]f]5, kml/ klg xfdl gf/Lhfltsf]
lz/dfly 3ld/x\$ pxl k/Dk/fut cb}o rln :jfwlgtfnf0{vf] } -k\$ M\$@_ .*

o; /L sfggL }kdf gf/L :j t}qtfn] dx}k0f{ :yfg kfP klg ; fdfhs
:j}k lkt[Qf]ds ePsf]gf/Lx} ; dfhdf k/fwlg eP/ afRg'k/\$]gjlg 1fgsf]
lj sf; p; df ePsf]5 .

1fg' lj j fx ePsf] s}l dlxgdf g}nfl]g\$] 3/af6 nv}6P/ kfF j if{ Dd
nfl]g} jf:tf gubf{ lga} t ePsl ly0{g} ; dfhn] ; d} pm / kj {alrsf]
; DaGwnf0{ cg}ts egkl5 df0tdf a:g] kl/l:ylt ; d} kl'tsh ePsf] cgelt
u5]. o:tf] cj:yfdf k}ofpg] cfkmg} nfl]gdfly p; df dfgl; s }kdf 30ff /
cfj }zsf]efj hf}5 . kqsfl/tfh:tf]k] f cEfn} lga}x}dfly z}f]f0f / lgoGq0f
u/L cGof0 cTofrf/ ug]kltsf]Joj xf/sf]dfgl; s }kdf kl't/f} u5]. Toitdfq

xf0g dlghxh/sf] 3/df gf\$ /L ul//x\$] avt cfkndf cufl8 b\fk/\$] >ldfgkl|t
Jo^ao s; \$l 5]. b\j 6l ħkdf p; Ē dfkml dflg cu| / >ldfg\Ē pm o; /L
pkl:yt x65]M

*lsg s]la/fd ug{ef 5 / tkf0f]dh] lfd ug]. tkf0fĒ ToxfFeĒ
gePsf] eP s]fsf] Eofs'tfsf] Eofs'tf g}e\XGy]Fd . tkf0f] s[kfn]
cfh ; j\p/l ePsl . ; ft ; o dxlgfsf] kfp5' . a/as; kfp5' .
To; dfly dxlgfsf] b0{tlg xhf/ ckemĒ cflbfgl . tkf0f] t wgoj fb
lbg}k5{ -k#!) ! .*

k|tt ; flodf bf0hf\$gf gfddf cfknhf0{ cwlgy / ; ldfĒt|s|t agfpg]
pTkl8gsf/L >ldfg\$] lj utsf] Joj xf/sf] k|o|fħkdf kl|tj fb u/\$l 5 . gf/Lnf0{
3/leq}yg] s] fsf] Eofu'tf]; /x agfP/ clwsf/af6 al-rt u/fpg] dhwf/ s|Ēbt
n}Nus ; :s[tsf] 1fgsf] lj sNkdf gj lg 1fgsf] lj sf; p; df ePsf] 5 . k?ifk\wfg
; dfhsf] bf0hf]; :s[tn]sdhf] cfly\$ x|; ot ePsf kl/j f/sf gf/Lxħ pTkl8t
/ zfl|ft e0/x\$ 5g\eg] lj rf/ k\$6 u/] k?ifk\wfg ; :s[tdfly cfj |fz / 30ff
k\$6 u/\$l 5 . p; sf cg; f/ dfgf] lgDgj ulĒ kl|t|glw|j e; gf; /x ePsf] 5 .
; fdĒtl ; dfhsf pRrj ulĒ dflg; xħ lghl] jf k'tnlnf0{ 5f]Lsf] bhf{ lbP/
lj jfxsf] 9f} /R5g\t/ pglxħ bf0hf]; :s[tsf gfddf ul/a kl/j f/sf 5f]Lxħn]
cfl dx\tof: tf] knfogtfsf] af6f] /f]g lj z xgkg] lj dzk|t clns|t ; j\p gf k\$6
ubĒg\egb}pm cfj |fz k\$6 u5].

kfl/j fl/s / ; fdf|hs ħkdf pTkl8t ag] gf\$/Lsf] v|hl ub{ hfĒf
dlghxh/sf] 3/df sfd ug]cj; / kfPsl 1fg' To; 3/sf dflg; xħn] pRrj ulĒ
pĒdfbāf/f kĒzĒg u/\$]j f; gfs|bl Joj xf/nf0{Vofssf]; 7f lb65]. lxxkl cgxf/n]
p; dfly ofĒt[0ff dĒfpg] kĒTg ubf{To; sf] rnfvlk} \$ kl|tj fb u5]. 3g6fps\$]f]
j f; gfs|bl rl/qk|t p; df cfĒtl/s ħkdf cfj |fz / 30ff kĒf ePsf] 5 .
3g6fps\$]f] kl/j f/sf] efl|ts ; DkĒgtf 9f6} 9f6sf] cf8af6 lgdfĒf ePsf]n] To;
3/df a;] 0dfgbf/k} \$ cl3 a9g uxf]dx; ; ePk15 kj t / pm To; 3/nf0{
5f8] hf65g\ . ul/aln] |k|N; Psl p; sf] of] lj |pfzLntf knfogtfsf nflu geP/
; fdĒtl ; dfhsf cufl8 gjlg klxrfg lgdfĒfsf nflu k\$6 ePsf] kl|t/f\w xf].

dlgfxh/sf] 3/nf0{5f8k|5 1fgdf k/Dk/fut lkt[Qfids ; dfhsf gf/L lj /fvl
nl/qklt tlj 2kdf klt/fvfd s r]gfsf]lj sf; xG5 . ltdl / d ; E}lx8df 6fh]
cfvfx2n]km]L klxn]h:t}cf/fk nufP eg]ltdlnf0{kGm ; d:of cfpG ; S5 eGg]
lj rf/ kj {n]k|t't ubf{pm To; sf]kltj fb u5]. kj {; E pm eG5]M

ca d To:tf]aft; E 8/fpGgFa%af}< krsL krsL lx8df lx8df yf]s; s}f]
5'. t/ yfSg]OR5f 5g . :jfwlg lsl; dn]lx8g rfxG5'. km] / :jfwlg lsl; dn]
lx8g hfg]dfq v6df b/f xG5g,\lj rf/ bx]f]xG5, :j/ bx]f]xG5, s; f]<A -k!@(-
!#)_ .

dflysf]; flodf dhwf/ s]Gbt k?if; #s[tsf lj sNkdf 1fgdf gjlg 1fgsf]
lj sf; ePsf]b]vG5 . hljgdf ; d:ofx2; E hMb}o; cj:yfdf cf0ku\$]L p; n]
k/fwlg agfpg]; fdlhs zlstnf0{/fd/L lrg}f]b]vG5 . To; h]pm :jfwlg eP/
lx8g rfxG5]. :jfwlg eP/ cf^gf lj rf/x2nf0{k\$6 ug{rfxG5]. o; /L p; nf0{
pTkl8g / zf]f0f u/L ; ldfGt agfpg]zlstklt p; df lj sf; ePsf]klt/fvfd s
r]sf]cleJolSt dflysf]; flon]k|6 2kdf k\$6 u/\$f]5 . o; kl5 n]Nus /
jul6 2kdf pTkl8g yf]k/L ; fdlhs af6fx2 laufg]JolStx2sf]3/sf leQfx2df
sf]] lj pofds klt/fv ub}lx8}f]kj {nf0{p; n]; fy lbPsl 5 . o; n]1fgsf]
gjlg zlstt/sf] pGdvtfnf0{kl/; a\$] u/\$f]5 . dhwf/sf]; #s[tsf lj?4
; a\$if\$ nflu pm tof/ e0; s}f]cj:yfdf cfkGof; s cGto ePsf]n]p; sf]gjlg
zlstost klxrfg eg]lgdf ePsf]b]vG5 .

३.५.१ बिग्रिएको बाटो उपन्यासमा सीमान्त समुदायको अस्तित्वपरक चेतना

/fHosf x/\$ If]df bnfnl ; fdGtl kj [Qsf]k}Tj /x\$fn]; dfhdf k}ltsf
; Dk0f{af6fx2 lalug ku\$ / dflg; x2 grfx}}klg Itg}af6fx2df lx8g lj z
alg/x\$]; Gbe}nf0{ lalupsf]af6f]pkGof; n] dx}sf ; fy pk:yfkg u/\$f]5 .
n]Nus 2kdf k|t't pkGof; n]u}of u/\$f]; fdlhs ; f#s[ts :j2k ; fdGtj fbl
lkt[Qfids /x\$]5 . lkt[Qfids ; dfhdf xg]gf/Ldflysf]zf]f0f, bdg Pj d\
pTkl8gsf]lraqof u/L pkGof; sf/n]gf/Lsf]k/Dk/feGbf leGg kltlgwTj sf]vf]hl
ug] k}Tg u/\$f 5g\ . oBlk pkGof; n] To; nf0{ k0f}f lbg eg]; s}f]5g .

pkGof; df 1fg; p; sl cdf, kj {sl efphh:tf gf/L rl/qx;n] cwlgy j f ; ldfGtsf gf/L ; dbfosf]kltlgwTj u/\$f 5g\ To; u/L 1fgsf]>ldfg, 3g6fps] cgxf/, lxxkl cgxf/h:tf k?if rl/qx;sf]gf/Lnf0{xg]b[i6sf]f / Joj xf/ ; dfhdf gf/Lx;sf] kltlgwTj nf0{sdhf} / ; ldfGt agfpg kj Q ePsf] 5 . pkGof; df k0St pRrj ul0 dlghxh/, >ldtxh/, ;kfh:tf gf/L rl/qx;sf]lrGtg, dgf] [Q tyf Joj xf/n] gf/Lsf] kltlgwTj nf0{lj sf agfPsf] b]V65 . pkGof; df n}Nus ;kdf ; ldfGtlo kfq 1fgh] lkt[Qf / jul0 lje0klt k\$6 u/\$f] c; Gtli6 / cfnf]gf lgs}dx; k0f{/x\$]5 eg]pkGof; sf]k0v k?if rl/q kj {sf]lrGtg / lj0pfzIntfn]p; df gj lg 1fgfids ; -r]gf lgdf0f ug{ ; xofu u/\$f] b]V65 . k}tt pkzlif\$df log}kfqsdf dWodaf6 pkGof; df cleJoSt ; ldfGtlo klt/f]vsf] cl:tJk/s r]gfsf]lj Zn]f0f ul/Psf]5 .

३.५.२ बिग्रिएको बाटो उपन्यासमा सीमान्त समुदायको सामाजिक चेतना

lalupsf] af6] k-rfotsfnlg gkfnl ; dfhsf] oyfy{fsf] lrq0fdf s]GbT pkGof; xf]. o; sfnv08df cf0k0bf /fHo; Qfn]gf/Lx;sf]xs / clwsf/; DaGwl lglZrt sfggl / ; ;yfut Joj :yf u/\$f]lyof]t/ /fHo; Qfsf]dhwf/lo ; Argfdf pRrj ul0 k?ifx;sf] ; fdGtl lrGtgsf]kj ntf /x\$fn]gf/Lsf lj ifodf ul/Psf ol Joj :yfx; s]n sfuhdf ; lldt lyP . gf/Ldflysf] z]f]f0f / bdgsf] k/Dk/fut :j ;kdf vf; }kl/j t0 cfPsf]lyPg . s]l gf/Lx; lzllft eP/ klg k?if; Qfaf6 pTKlI8t / z]f]ft lyP . lj j 0o pkGof; df o; nf0{dx; k0f{:yfg lb0Psf] 5 . pkGof; sl k0v kfq 1fgdf gf/Lx;sf]of]; fdf]hs b'fj :yfklt ; Dos\1fg /x\$] 5 . To; 0] pkGof; df sfggn] gf/Lx;nf0{ a/fa/Lsf] xs / clwsf/ lb0f klg k/Dk/fut k?ifzIstaf6 ; dfhdf lg/Gt/ gf/Ldfly lgoGq0f e0/x\$fk]lt pm cfnf]gf]g]ds l6kk0fl u5]. pm e65]M

dh'sl P0n] rf]hf km]/; s\$] 5 . P0 / ; 0wfgsf bkrfx;n] 5f]f / 5f]lnf0{em08}em08}Pp6}xf/xf/ldf pEof0lb; s\$] 5, km]/ klg xfdl gf/Lhfltsf] lz/dfly 3ld/x\$ pxl k/Dk/fut cb]o rln :j fwlgtfnf0{vf] } -k#S@ .

o; /L sfggl ُkdf gf/L :j tGqtn] dxčj k0f{ :yfg kFP klG ; fdlhs
:j ُk lkt[Qfids ePsf]gf/Lx ُ ; dfhdf k/fwlg eP/ afRg' k/šf]gj lg 1fgsf]
lj sf; p; df ePsf]5 .

1fg' lj jfx ePsf] sxl dlxgdf g} nřlgšf] 3/af6 nv]6P/ kF j if{ Dd
nřlg] jf:tf gubf{ lgañ t ePsl ly0{ g} ; dfhn] ; d] pm / kj (alrsf]
; DaGwnf0{ cg]ts egkl5 df0tdf a:g] kl/l:ylt ; d] kl'tsh ePsf] cge't
u5]. o:tf] cj:yfdf křofpg] cfkm} nřlgdfly p; df dfgl; s ُkdf 3ff /
cfj řzsf]efj hf05 . kqsf]/tfh:tf]k] f cEfn] lgañx ُdfly zf]řf / lgoGq0f
u/L cGof0 cřofr/ ug]kltsf]JoJ xf/sf]dfgl; s ُkdf kl't/fw u5]. Toitdfq
xf0g dlgfxh/sf]3/df gš/L ul//xšf]avt cfkm} cfuř8 b]řk/šf] >ldfgkl't
Jo^ao s; šl 5]. b]řj6l ُkdf p; E dfkml dfly cu| / >ldfg\ E pm o; /L
pkl:yt x65]M

*lsg s]la/fd ug{ef 5 / tkf0f]d] ldf ug]. tkf0fE ToxfEš
gePsf] eP s]řsf]Eofs'tfsf]Eofs'tf g}e]x6y]Fd . tkf0šf] s]řn]
cfh ; j]ř/L ePsl . ; ft ; o dxlgsf] kfp5' . a/as; kfp5' .
To; dfly dxlgsf]b0{tlg xhf/ ckem6 cf0bfgl . tkf0řf0{t wGoj fb
lbG}k5{-k!)}!_ .*

k]tt ; flodf bf0hfšf gfddf cfkmřf0{ cwlG:y / ; ldfGtlst agfpg]
přkl8gsf/L >ldfgšf]lj utsf]JoJ xf/sf]křof ُkdf kl'tj fb u/šl 5 . gf/Lnf0{
3/leq}yG] s]řsf]Eofu'tf]; /x agfP/ clwsf/af6 al-rt u/fpg]dhwf/ s]Gbt
nř]us ; :s[tsf]1fgsf]lj sNkdf gj lg 1fgsf]lj sf; p; df ePsf]5 . k?ifkřfg
; dfhsf]bf0hf]; :s[tn]sdhf] cflyš x]; ot ePsf kl/j f/sf gf/Lx ُ přkl8t
/ zf]řft e0/xšf 5g\eg]lj rf/ kš6 u/] k?ifkřfg ; :s[tdfly cfj řz / 3ff
kš6 u/šl 5 . p; sf cg; f/ dfgf]lgDgj ul6 kl'tlgwřj e; ğf; /x ePsf]5 .
; fdGtl ; dfhsf pRrj ul6 dfly; x ُ lghl] jf k'tnlnf0{ 5ř]lsf] bhf{ lbP/
lj jfxsf]9ř /R5g\řt/ pglx ُ bf0hf]; :s[tsf gfddf ul/a kl/j f/sf 5ř]Lx ُn]
cfřdxřofh:tf]knfogtsf]af6f]/řlg lj j z xgkg]lj dzkl't clnsit ; j]řgf kš6
ubG\egb}pm cf gf]; fdlhstfk]t cfj řz kš6 u5].

३.५.३ बिग्रिएको बाटो उपन्यासमा सीमान्त समुदायको सांस्कृतिक चेतना

1fg' k|t't pkGof; sl kðv r|/q xf]. p; n] lkt[Qfids ; dfhsf] k?if s]Gb|t ; f:s[ts :j 2k tyf ; fdGtjfb| cfly\$; :s[taf6 ; ldfGt agf0Psf gf/Lx2sf]klglwTj u/\$l 5 . ; fdlhs :j 2k k?ifs]Gb|t xBf lzllft gf/Lx2 klg s; /L ; dfhdf cwlg:y agf0G5g\ eGg] klfsf] pb3f6g pkGof; df 1fgsf dfWodaf6 ul/Psf] 5 . pm lax] ePsf] Ps÷b0{ dlxgfd} df/ ; f0sn lsgg] k} f lnP/ dfq 3/ kmlsg' eg] nfg]gaf/f df0t}wkf0Psl gf/L xf]. k?ifk\vf; dfhsf] bf0hf] ; :s[t gf/Lx2dfly z]f]f0f / bdgsf]kðv pks/0f xf]. pm oxl ; :s[taf6 cwlg:y ag\$ 5 eg] df0t]sf] sdhf] cfly\$ x] ; otsf sf/0f df0tdf ; d] p; sf]hljg sl7g ag\$]5 . pm t]sfnlj lj dzf]ds ; Argfdf lkt[Qfidsf / ; fdGtl ; dfhsf]cfly\$; :s[tsf]bfxf/f]df/df k/] p; sf]klxrf; ; j]bgzln ag] klg p; n]cfkml'dfly bdg / z]f]f0f ug]zlstkl't efjg]f]ds, j]f]f/s / lj]pof]ds 2kdf kl't/f]v u/\$l 5 . p; n]n]us / jul6 2kdf cfkm' tyf gf/L hf]tdfly p]kl8g ug]p]kl8gsf/L zlstnf0{/fd/L klxrf; u/\$l 5 . pSt zlstkl't p; df cfGtl/s 2kdf cfj]fz / 30ffsf]efj l; hGf ePsf]5 eg]sltko cj:ydf p; n] To; nf0{k]olf 2kdf ; d] k\$6 u/\$l 5 . dhwf/sf]1fg / zlstnf0{klxrf; ug] ; Sg]p; sf]lfdtfsf]lj sf; df p; n]cfhg ub]uPsf]z]f]fs r]gf tyf Jofj xfl/s cgejn] dxej k0f{; xof]u u/\$f]b]vG5 . lkt[Qfids ; dfh 5f]lnf0{k/f0sf]wg dfG5 . 1fg'sl cdf klg oxl ; dflhs ; a\$ygdf ljZj; u5]. pSt ; dfhnf0{ gf/ln]cfhg ub]uPsf]z]f]fs k]ltn]vf; cy{/fvbG . pkGof; df 1fg'sf cufl8 oxl kl/l:y]t l; hGf ePsf]5 . nfg]g]sf]bf0hf]dfgl; stfaf6 kl]8t eP/ df0t kmlsg' a]llo ePsl 1fgh]; a\$ifk] \$:gfts tx; Ddsf]z]f]fs k]l't xfl; n ug] l:y]tdf ku] klg ; xkf7L kj f; E]sf] ; DaGwnf0{ lnP/ ; dfhdf g]ts kZg p7fp5 . o; kZgn]k?if ePsf sf/0f kj f]nf0{t vf; g]ts 2kdf c; / ub] t/ gf/L ePsf]n] 1fghf0{7hf]c; / ub] . p; sl cdf / cGwf]ef0 klg o; af6 lrlGtt 5g\ . ; dfhn]nufPsf]of]cf/fk]unt 5 eGg]af]v 1fgdf 5 . s]b]lo ; Qfn]lgdf0f u/\$f o:tf g]tstf; DaGwL k]Tjx2nf0{cfly\$ / n]us 2kdf sdhf]x2n]alem]bg]xf]eg]; dflhs kl/j tG xG]lj rf/ p; sf]/x\$]5 . pm /

kj {alrsf]g]ts ; DaGwnf0{lnP/ s[0fdfg / p; sl cfdfn]u/\$f]; jfbklt p; df
lj dlt 5 . pSt lj dltsf]efj pkGof; df o; /L k\$6 ePsf]5 M

*dnfQcf]g]s-r 6 krf6hf krf6hf h:tf]cgèj xg yfN5 . cflv/ of]
g]tstfsf]sk8f xfd}ju\$df o:tf]alw lsg 6fF; Psf]xf]hf . oGqsf
uGwn]lg; fl:0/x\$]o; oludf g]tstf t cg]tsxçsf]hj]fsf]bfp
e}x\$]f]5 . s 7}Uof]3fQ]; TonfQd]L cfdfn]a%a xg\ d]f]ef0n]
a%af]xf]/; a}; a}x\$df au\$fn]l]g]df(5)/:j f:gldf(5h]a%af xg\ t
r'; fxxçsf]r':g]; f]t g}aGb xg]lyof]. -k\$)_*

plNnlvt ; flodf 1fgh] pTkl8gsf/L zIStnf0{/fd/L klxrfg u/\$f] b]V65 .
; fdf]hs ; f:s[ts tyf cfly\$ çkdf pTkl8t ju\$df gf/Lk?ifxçn] dhwf/sf]
; :s[tnf0{ af\$] lx8\$]f sf/0f ; dfhdf gf/Lxçsf] klxrfg lj b]k ag\$]f /
tTk\$[ts f]; :sf/nfQ sdhf] juh] a%a] xf] eg] pTkl8gsf/L zIStn]; dfhdf
r':g]cj; / gkfp]p; sf]; r]t lj rf/ k]t't ; flodf k\$6 ePsf]5 . of]p; nf0{
pTkl8g lbg]; fdf]hs zIStkl]t p; df lj sf; xB}uPsf]kl]t/f]Vf]ds r]t xf].
dlgfh/sf] 3/nf0{5f8k]5 1fgdf k/Dk/fut lkt[Qf]ds ; dfhsf gf/L lj /f]L
rl/qk]t tlj çkdf kl]t/f]Vf]ds r]t]gfsf]lj sf; xG5 . ltdl / d ; E}lx8hf 6f]h]
cfVfxçn]km]L klxn]h:t}cf/f]k nufP eg]ltdlnf0{kçM ; d:of cfp]g ; S5 eGg]
lj rf/ kj {n]k]t't ubf{pm To; sf]; f:s[ts kl]tj fb u5]. kj {; E pm eG5]M

*ca d To:tf]aft; E 8/fp@Fa%af}< krsL krsL lx8hf lx8hf yf]s; s\$]f]
5'. t/ yfSg]OR5f 5ç . :jfwlg lsl; dn]lx8ç rfxG5'. km]V :jfwlg lsl; dn]
lx8ç hfg]dfq v6hf b/f xG5g\lj rf/ bx]f]xG5, :j/ bx]f]xG5, s; f]< -k\$!@(-
!#)_ .*

dflysf]; flodf dhwf/ s]Gb]t k?if; :s[tsf lj sNkdf 1fgdf gjlg 1fgsf]
lj sf; ePsf]b]V65 . hljgdf ; d:ofxç; E hMb}o; cj:yfdf cf0ku\$]L p; n]
k/fwlg agfp]g]; fdf]hs zIStnf0{/fd/L lrg\$]f]b]V65 . To; h]pm :jfwlg eP/
lx8ç rfxG5]. :jfwlg eP/ cf^gf lj rf/xçnf0{k\$6 ug{rfxG5]. o; /L p; nf0{
pTkl8g / zf]f]of u/L ; ldfçt agfp]g]zIStkl]t p; df lj sf; ePsf]kl]t/f]Vf]ds

r]sf] cleJolSt dflysf] ; flon] k]6 2 kdf k\$6 u/\$f] 5 . o; kl5 n] Nus / j ul6 2 kdf pTkl8g yf]k/L ; fdf]hs af6fx 2 laufg] JolStx 2 sf] 3/sf leQfx 2 df sf] 7] lj pof]ds kl]t/f]v ub] {lx8\$]f] kj {nf0{p; n]; fy lbPsl 5 . o; n] 1fgsf] gjlg zlStIt/sf] pGdvtfnf0{ kl/; a\$] u/\$f] 5 . dhwf/sf] ; s[tsf lj?4 ; a\$if\$ nflu pm tof/ e0; s\$]f]cj :ydf cf]kGof]; s cGto ePsf]p; sf]gjlg zlStoSt klxrfg eg]lgdf ePsf]b]vEg .

३.६ भोक र भित्ताहरू उपन्यासमा सीमान्त समुदायको आवाज र प्रतिरोधी चेतना

ef\$ / leQfx 2 g]k]nsf]k-rfotsfnlg zf; g Joj :yfsf]k[7elddf /rgf ul/Psf]cfnf]g]f]ds oyfy]fbl pkGof; xf]. pkGo; sf/ lj i6n]k]t't s[tdfkm dVo 2 kdf ; fdGtl ; Argfn]l; hGf u/\$f]j ul6 pTkl8gnf0{; hlj tfsf ; fy k]t't u/\$f 5g\ . pkGof; sf]kdv rl/q xs[; flx]fn]j ul6 2 kdf kl/wlo ; s[tsf] kl]tlgw]j u/\$f] 5 eg]vn rl/q hut]k]e]j zfnl ju\$]kl]tlgw]j u/\$f] 5 . xs[; flx]f kl/>dl / lgb]f 5 t/ hut\$]k]k]b]fdf k/] pm !^ j if{ Dd h] ; hfo efl]gkg] kl/l:yltdf kl5 . /fHosf] sfggl ; eGq klg ; fdGtl ePsf]p; sf] lgb]f]tf]n] sg} :yfg k]t ub] . o; kl5 p; sf] kl/jf/ ; fdGtl rl/q hut\$] n] Nus k]k]l8gdf k/] k0f{ 2 kdf lj 36gsf]cj :ydf kl5 . xs[; flx]fsl >ldtl emg]n] Nus 2 kdf hut\$]zf]f]ofdf k5]eg]p; sl gf}a; [slnnl 5f]L hgdfly klg hut] of]ghGo lx;+sf] k]p]g ub] . hut\$] n] Nus bdg, pTkl8g / zf]f]ofaf6 pkGof; sf ol b0{gf/L rl/qsf]klxrfg lj b]k afg ku\$]f] 5 . t]sfnlj lj dzf]ds ; Gbedf s]l /fhgl]ts / ; fdf]hs dlxf cleoGtf]x 2 n]k?if; Qsf lj?4 cfjfh p7f0/x\$]f] eP klg ; dfh ; fdGtl Joj :yf s]b]t ePsf]w}] dlxfx 2 emg] / hg\$]f] h:t}lj dz{ef]lg lj j z lyP . pSt dlxfx 2 sf] ; r] cleofgeGbf 6f9f eP klg pkGof; sf emg] / hgdf hut\$] cdfglifs lj pofsnfkk]t c; Gtli6 / kl]t/f]vsf]efjgf r]lx]F5 . oBlk Tof]; a\$]l7t 2 kdf cfPsf] 5g . pkGof; sf/n] ; d]t pglx 2 sf dfl]odaf6 n] Nus zf]f]ofkl]t cfnf]g]f]ds b]l]6 k]t't u/\$f 5g\

emg]k|t't pkGof; sl dxej k0f{gf/L r|/q xf]. ; dfhsf]lkt[QfIdstf /
; fdGtl ; Argfdf cfwfl/t cfly\$; :s[tsf sf/Of pm pTklI8t / zfljift eP/
; ldfGt cj :yfdf k?of0Psl 5 . emg]dhwf/sf]1fg / zIStaf6 al-rt eP klg
pm lgs} ; r]t gf/lSf 2kdf pkGof; sf] cf/DeblV g} b]vPsl 5 . ufpaf6
elj iosf]dl7f]; kgf af\$] sf7df8f]FlelqP; E}hut\$]j f; gflDs cfFf p; dfly
kgYfN5 . To; af6 dSt kfpgsf nflu hut\$}3/df a;] hlj g ; ~rfng ul//x\$]f
; dodf p; s} ; Nnfxdf xs[; flxHfsf] kl/j f/ z^vdhsf] kf6ldf a; f0 ; /kI5
9Ss ePsl pm nfl]g] hut\$] km6bdf k/] h]h uPkI5 eg] lg/Lx af6 kU5]. pm
hut\$] gSsnl cfZj f; gdf k/] km:5]. hut]h] p; sf] gf/LIj sf] xTof ub5 .
p; df hutk|t cfj m]zsf] efj gf t l; hof xG5 t/ lg/Lx aG5]. cfTdxTof
ug] Ddsf] lgOf6df kU5] t/ p; nf0{ dft]j sf] efj gfn] arfp5 . hut]af6 dfq
p; n] ofg lx+f efu\$]L 5g . hut\$] :jfy\$ f nflu kofu ePsf ; /sf/L
xflsdx2af6 ; d]t p; n] ofg pTkl8g vlg' k/\$]f]5 . o; sf]kdv sf/Of oxfFxs[
; flxHfsf]lgDg jul6 kfl/j fl/s cj :yfnf0{bVg ; lsG5 . o; af6 emg\$]cfTl/s
pmhf{ klff3ft xG5 . p; leq hutk|tsf] cfj m]z / c; Gtli6sf] Hj fnf 5 t/
; dfhJoj :yf g]lkt[QfIdS ; fdGtl ePsf]n]pm lg/Lx 5]. 5f]Lsf]elj iosf nflu
p; n] To; ; j]bgzln kl/l:yltnf0{ cfTd; ft\ u/\$]L 5 . xs5] u/\$]L 5f]Ldfly
hut\$] Jofkf/L cfFfn] 8:g ; Sg] ; Deflj t kl/l:yltk|t pm ; r]t 5]. hut\$]f
cfFf / dgnf0{glhsaf6 aem\$]L emg] 5f]Lnf0{hf]ufpg] s'/fdf arfp ug] zISt
klff3ft eP klg ; j]zbgzln xG5]. k/Dk/fut k?ifk\wfg ; dfhJoj :yf j f: tj df
gf/L lj /f]wL ePsf]n]hut\$]k?if ofg dgf] [Q emg]dfly v]h] dfq ; GtI6 xEg .
pm gf}a; [hg]hf0{; d]t gj of}gf bVg yfN5 .

hg] ef\$ / leQfx2 pkGof; sl kdv gf/L r|/q xf]. lkt[QfIdS ; fdGtl
; dfhdf afn pd]d}dlxnf2 s; /L pTklI8t / zfljift eP/ afF\$]f xG5g\efG]
; Gbe\$]f]klTlgwlj pkGof; df hg\$]f dfWodaf6 ePsf] 5 . pm gf}j if\$]f slnnf]
pd]d}hut\$]n]us zfl]f0fdf k/L ; afN6g{ag\$]L 5 . ; fdGtl ; dfhsf pRr
jul6 k?ifx2 gf/Lnf0{s] n ef]of / j f; gfk|t\$]f]j :t' ; Dem65g\ . p; sl cfd

emg] t hut\$] ofg] x;faf6 ktfl8t / zflift ePsl g}ly0{t/ p; n]hg\$]afn
z/L/nf0{; dt gj of}gf bV5 . p; sf]anfTsfl xft hgdfly cfj d0fdf cu| /
xG5 . emg\$]dft]j zlstn]hut\$]klt/fv ubf{hg]afRg ; kmn ePsl 5 . cf^g}
cuf18 cdfsf] xTofaf6 tl; P/ efu\$] hg] cleefj sljxlG aG5] . hut\$]f]
ofg]zfl]f0faf6 ar\$]L p; sf]klxrfg o; kl5 ; a\$6sf]cj :yfdf kl5 . pm ; 8ssf
kL / kf6lx;df a:b}xlS}hfG5]. lgs}7hf]; s; sf alr afRg cEo:t ag\$]L hg]
hljgkl|t cfzjf fbl 5]. pd] a9] E}cfknhf0{; ldfGtlst agfpg] zlstnf0{pm
klxrfg ug] cj :yfdf kl5] . ; 8ssf] hljg latf0/x\$]L hgdfly ; dt s}kl
k?ifx;n]p; nf0{; f}xl cfzosf ; fy x}f] 5g\ . p; dfly oflgs cfzosf ; fy
pkl:yt xg]k?ifx;dfly p; n]efl]ts ; kdf ; dt kl|t/fv u/\$]L 5 . zlstxlG
eP/ ; 8sd}hljg latfpg' k/]klg gf/Ldfly xg]ofg] cfj d0f unt xf]eGg]; 4fg
p; df ; zSt ; kdf /x\$]f] 5 . To; h] kf6ldf ; lt/x\$]f] ; dodf p; dfly oflgs
; kdf cfj d0f ug{vfl]g]o} sssf]; zSt kl|tsf/ u5]. p; E ePsf]rkl kl|tsf/sf]
; fwg ePsf]5 . pkGof; sf/ nV5gV

*jf: tj df To] rklnf0{To}lbgblvg\wf/ nufpg z; ulbPsl ly0{hg
lbg eb\$fnlsf] kf6ldf ; Of of}f bl6 cfs[tn] p; sf]kof6sf] 6fE
vfl]g]hdsf]u/\$]f]lyof]. la:tf/}rkl lems] To]cfs[tsf]5ftllt/
; P}afObPk15 p; n]xftdf hOf lnP/ Toxfaf6 sh]hd 7f\$ \$]f]lyof].
To:tf]lsl; dsf]wGbfnf0{kf]; fxg lbof] eg] p; sf]gf/Llj sf] xTof t
xG5 xG5 ; fy} 6f^a\ km6dfP/ lxBgkg] /fv nll5 eGg] s'f pmh:t}
kf6lkf}fdf /ft sf6L lxBg] :jf:gl dfG5}af6 ; g\$]L ly0{p; n].
-k!@\$*

k|tt ; flon] ; 8sd}hf]vd0f{hljg latfpg' kg]hl6n cj:yf eP klg hg]
gf/Llj sf]dx; k|t ; r] 5]eGg]s'fnf0{k|6 kf/\$]f]5 . lkt[QfIdstf / ; fdGtl
cfly\$; :s[tsf sf/Of ; x/sf ; 8s / kf6ldf hljg latfpg ljz gf/Lx;
ofghGo b]o]xf/sf]cwlG:ytfnf0{afWofTds ; kdf cfd; ft\u/L ofg] /fvL eP/
afF\$]f]b]y\$]L hg]To; k|t ; r] 5]. Toxl eP/ p; n]ckndfly ofghGo b/fzo
b]fpg] k?ifnf0{efl]ts ; kdf rklN]nv}5]. gf/L ; r] / ; zSt xg; s]
k?ifx;sf]anfTsfl/hGo bis[ofaf6 aRg ; lsg]s'f hg]h]b]fPsf]lj pofTdstfn]

k|6 kf/}f] 5 . p; sf] of] lj }of]ds kl|t/f|v ; ldf}t ju}nf0{ z|Stxlg agfpg
k}Tgzln k?if; Qfkl|t nllft /x}f]5 .

; fg}df hut}f] of}gh}o b/fzoaf6 hf|jug efu}L hg] ; 8s / kf6lx}df
hlj g latfpg af|lo eP klg p; df cdfsf]xTof/f hut]g}xf]e}g]k|6 1fg /x}f]
5 . cdfsf] cf1fnf0{ kfngf gu/}f] eP cdf; E} cfk}mf] klg xTof x}Yof] e}g]
s/fdf pm lglZr}t 5]. o; /L cdf / cfk}mf0{; ldf}t agfpg]pTkl8gsf/L z|St
hut]g}xf]e}g]aem}L hg|h]zf/ll/s }kdf kl|t/f|v b|vPsl 5} . t/ dfgl; s /
j}fl/s }kdf eg]p; df hut}kl|t 3}ff / kl|t/f|v sf] r}tgf kj n }kdf /x}f]5 .
xs|/ hg]z^avdhsf]kf6ldf a:g yfn}k|5 dfgl; s }kdf 56kl6Psf]hut]To;
kl/jf/nf0{kgM lj 3|6t ug}f nflu To; kf6lnf0{e}sfP/ sdf/L dl}b/ agfpg]
cbfntl cfb}z lnP/ cfp5 . tI; dodf hut}hf0{ p; n] /fd/L lr}5]. p; sf]
pkl:yltdf sg}kl|t/f|v b|vfp g; s]klg p; kl|t 3}ff / cfj}f}zsf]efj eg]hg}df
; zSt }kdf lj Bdfg /x}f]b|v}5 . pm xs| E cf^gl cdfsf]xTof/f hut]g}xf]
e}g]s/f atfp5]. pm e}5]M æ To}s]To}tkf0}sf]ufp}f]egfp}f]lg l aflx/ s:tf]
; f}ltnf] b|v}5 leq eg] s:tf] /fl; . alhofs] 6fpsf}df oxl 06 ahfP/
/utkR5]kfl/lbp}f}n:t}nfu}f]lyof]Æ -k}*) * _ . oxfFhg|h] hut}f]pTkl8gsf/L
rl/qnf0{/fd/L af|v u/}f]b|v}5 . pm cdf / cfk}mf0{z|Stxlg / ; ldf}t agfpg]
To; z|Stkl|tsf]kl|tsf/ efj nf0{xs| E ; zSt }kdf k}6 u5|. o; n]p; sf]
gjlg z|StoSt klxrfgtk}sf]ofqsf]p}dvtfsf]; ^as}t ub5 . p; n]oxfFk|t't
u/}f]lj rf/af6 xs|; flx}fn]hg|h] cf^g}5f}L hg]ePsf]/ hut}h]>ldltsf]xTof
u/}f]s'/fnf0{lg; ^as}f} lj Zjf; ug}k|5 tyf >ldtl / 5f}lkl|t r/d n}Nus
pTkl8g ug| hut}kl|tsf] abnfsf] efj gfn] pTkl|t eP/ p; sf] 3/ hf}5 .
dW/ftdf xs|hf}Qb|v} cf|QPs f]hut]efl}jj }ddf %ofnaf6 n8} d5{.

hut}f]zf|f}fdf k/} ; 8sdf kl}k|5 hg|h}f0{k} eg|; d:ofn]; d}t pl}Qs}
; tfp5 . pm ; fd}tl cfly} ; :s[taf6 pTkl8t a}5]. af}Rg] cfwf/x} ; dfkt
ePk|5 pm af|lotfn]; 8sdf kfs} df}g{yfn}5]. oxl hljgk4|tdf cEo:t a}b}
x}s}L hg]af}Rgsf nflu cfk}mh] rfn}f]sbdnf0{/x/sf]lj ifo geP/ af|lotf xf]
e}g]lgisif}f0{cfTdlst ub5]. o; af6 p; n]j ul6 lj e} / To; n]l; hg}f u/}f]

pTKL8gnf0{klxrfg ug{ ; s\$}f] b]vG5 . To; k|t lj pffds lj /f]w t 5g t/
j}fl/s 2kdf eg] rfg]kg] cf^gf] aflotfnf0{kli6 ug] kptg u5]. o; nf0{
pkGof; df ufpaf6 jul6 zfi]f0sf]df/df k/] sf7df8f]cfPsf]; jul6 rGb] E pm
o; /L k|tt u5]M

*km] / ltdl hg s'/fnf0{ kfk ; Dem] lk/f]n0/x\$}f 5f}Tof] s'/fdf d t
lk/f]nGf. gs}f; xG5 eg]klg e}fvf] \ ; fRr}eG5f}eg]dnf0{t nfu5 xfdlaf6
s}l kfk ePs}5g . df]hdHhf / ; f]v ; onsf nflu kfs}df/L u/] lxB\$}f t x]g]f
lg A -k}*\$. .*

k|tt ; flodf k\$6 ePsf] hg\$}f]lj rf/ ; fdGtl ; dfhdf lj Bdfdg cfly\$
lj e}dflysf] c; Gtli6sf 2kdf cfPsf] 5 . p; df kl/>dl r]tgf 5 t/ To;
r]tgfnf0{sfof]ds :j 2k lbg]kl/l:ylt gaGbf klg cfz]f]fbl r]fxFaGg 5f}nbg .
xs]; flxRf; E rGb]/ hg\$}f]; e}un]e} ePkI5 pglx2sf]hljgdf s}l kl/j tG
cfp5 . xs]e}fL lsg]kI5 hg]lgs}pT; fxl xG5]t/ cfzfsf]s}b\$}f 2kdf /x\$}f]
e}fL hut\$}f] zfi]f]slo sb]i6 k/]kI5 df]/G5 . To; af6 kf/ k]pg xs] E}ldn]
u/\$}f] bw Joj; fo klg ; kmn xg ; Sb}g . ; fdGtl ; dfhJoj:yfdf u/lasf
cfzfx2nf0{x'sg gkfp5}zfi]f]slo dgf] [Q lgdf]g kI5 . pkGof; df Toxl ePsf]
5 . sfd v]f]g lxBnf pm sfd kfp]bg . o:tf]cj:yfdf klg hg\$}f]gf/L x]odf
knfогj fbl ; f] l; hg}f x}g . p; df cfz]f]fbl hlj gb]i6 sfod}5 . pglx2nf0{
pTKL8g lbP/ ; ldfGt agfpg]; dfhnf0{p; n]/fd/L lrg\$}l 5 .

xs]; f]xnf / rGb]klg o; pkGof; df b]vPsf lgDg cfly\$ cj:yf ePsf
jul6 rk}fdf k/\$}f k?if r]/qx2 xg\ pglx2 cfkrh/ cf^gf]kl/] f/nfQ; dfhdf
:yflkt ug{x/t/xsf kof; u5g\ pRrjul6 ; fdGtl ; dfhdf pglx2sf]x]; ot
hldgsf] whf] /x b]vG5 . oBlk cf^gf] cfly\$:t/nfQ dfly psf:g bfgj 2kl
dfgj hut]h:tf] lgb6l JolQm; E ; xsfo{ug{x}xs]; flxRf ljjz b]vG5 . rGb]
cf^gf]laxfg a]h'slsf]5fssf lglDt cx]f]fq ; a}if]t eP/ klg zf; slo ; dfhsf
JolQmaf6 k/fwlg aGg kI5 . jul6 2kdf zIStxlg / cwlg:y kfqsf 2kdf

pkl:yt eP klg jul6 pTkl8gsf lj?4 pglx2n] b]yPsf] dfgl; s / zf/ll/s
lj |pfzIntf lgs}dxचj k0f{/x\$}5 .

३.६.१ भोक र भित्ताहरू उपन्यासमा सीमान्त समुदायको अस्तित्वपरक चेतना

hg] ef\$ / leQfx2 pkGof; sl kplv gf/L r1/q xf]. lkt[Qf]ds ; fdGtl
; dfhdf afn pd]d}dlxnfxc s; /L pTkl8t / zflift eP/ afF\$}f xG5g\eGg]
; Gbe\$}f] klt|glwTj pkGof; df hg\$}f dfModaf6 ePsf] 5 . pm gf]j if\$}f slnnf]
pd]d}hut\$}f] n]Nus zfl]f0df k/L ; afN6g{ag\$}L 5 . ; fdGtl ; dfhsf pRr
jul6 k?ifxc gf/Lnf0{s] n efl]of / jf; gfklt\$}f]j :t' ; DemG5g\ . p; sl cdf
emg]t hut\$}f] ofglx;+faf6 ktf]8t / zflift ePsl g}ly0{t/ p; n]hg\$}f]afn
z/L/nf0{; dt gj of}gf bV5 . p; sf] anf]sf/L xft hg]dfly cfj |d0df cu| /
xG5 . emg\$}f]dft[j zlstn]hut\$}f]klt/fw ubf{hg]afRg ; kmn ePsl 5 . cf^g]
cuf]8 cdfsf] xTofaf6 tl; P/ efu\$}L hg] cleefj sljxlG aG5] . hut\$}f]
ofgzfl]f0faf6 ar\$}L p; sf]klxrfg o; kl5 ; a\$}6sf]cj :ydf kl5 . pm ; 8ssf
kpl / kf6Lxcdf a:b}xlS}hfG5]. lgs}7hf]; s; sf alr afRg cEo:t ag\$}L hg]
hljgklt cfzj fbl 5]. pd] a9] E}cfknhf0{; ldfGtlst[agfpg] zlstnf0{ pm
klxrfg ug[cj :ydf kl5] . ; 8ssf] hljg latf0/x\$}L hg]dfly ; dt sxl
k?ifxcn]p; nf0{; fxl cfzosf ; fy x]\$}f 5g\ . p; dfly of]gs cfzosf ; fy
pkl:yt xg]k?ifxcdfly p; n] efl]ts 2kdf ; dt klt/fw u/\$}L 5 . zlstxlG
eP/ ; 8sd}hljg latfpg'k/]klg gf/Ldfly xg]ofgz cfj |d0f unt xf]eGg]; 4fg
p; df ; zSt 2kdf /x\$}f] 5 . To; h] kf6Ldf ; lt/x\$}f] ; dodf p; dfly of]gs
2kdf cfj |d0f ug{vfl]g]oj ssf]; zSt kl]tsf/ u5{/ cf^gf]cl: t Tj sf]vfl]Lu5]
. p; E ePsf]rkl kl]tsf/sf]; fwg ePsf]5 . pkGof; sf/ nV5g\

*jf: tjdf Tof]rklnf0{To}lbgblvg\wf/ nufpg z' ulbPsl ly0{hg
lbg eb\$}fnlsf]kf6Ldf ; Qf of\$}f bl6 cfs[tn]p; sf]kofG6sf]6fE
vfl]g]hdsf]u/\$}f]lyof]. la:tf/}rkl lems]Tof]cfs[tsf]5ftllt/
; P]afObPk15 p; n]xftdf hQf lnP/ Toxfaf6 sh]hd 7f\$}f]lyof].
To:tf]lsl; dsf]wGbfnf0{kf]; fxg lbof]eg]p; sf]gf/llj sf]xTof t
xG5 xG5 ; fy}6fa\ km6dfP/ lx8gkg] /fw nll5 eGg] s'f pmh:t}*

kf6l kf} fdf /ft sf6l lx Bg] :jf:gl df65} af6 ; g\$ l ly0{ p; n].
-k!@\$

k|tt ; flon] ; 8sd} hf]vd0f{ hlj g latfpg' kg[hl6n cj:yf eP klg hg] gf/Lj sf] dxčj k|t ; r] 5] eGg] s/fnf0{k|6 kf/\$f] 5 . lkt[Qf]dstf / ; fdGtl cfly\$; :s[tsf sf/0f ; x/sf ; 8s / kf6ldf hlj g latfpg lj jz gf/lxč ofghGo b]o[xf/sf] cwlG:ytfnf0{afWofTds č kdf cfd; ft\ u/L ofg /f]l eP/ afF\$] b]y\$ l hg] To; k|t ; r] 5]. Toxl eP/ p; n] ckmdfly ofghGo b/fzo b]yfpG] k?ifnf0{ ef]ts č kdf rklN] nv65]. gf/L ; r] / ; zSt xg; s] k?ifxč sf] anftsf/hGo bis[oa6 aRg ; lsg] s/f hg] b]yfpSf] lj pofTdstfn] k|6 kf/\$f] 5 . p; sf] of] lj pofTds ; fdlhs k|t/fw ; ldfGt juhf0{ zlstxlG agfpg kōTgzln k?if; Qfklt nllft /x\$] 5 .

३.६.२ भोक र भित्ताहरू उपन्यासमा सीमान्त समुदायको सामाजिक चेतना

ef\$ / le0fxč gkfnsf] k-rfotsfnlg zf; g Joj:yfsf] k[7elddf /rgf ul/Psf] cfnf] g]f]ds oyfy] fbl pkGof; xf]. pkGo; sf/ lj i6n] k|tt s[tdfkmf dVoč kdf ; fdGtl ; Argn]l; hgf u/\$f] j ul6 pTkl8gnf0{; hlj tfsf ; fy k|tt u/\$f 5g\ . pkGof; sf] kōv rl/q xs[; flxĀfn] j ul6 č kdf kl/wlo ; :s[tsf] k|t]glw]j u/\$f] 5 eg] vn rl/q hut] kē]j zfnl ju\$] k|t]glw]j u/\$f] 5 . xs[; flxĀf kl/>dl / lgbf] 5 t/ hut\$] kmGbfdf k/ pm !^ j if{ Dd h] ; hfo ef]gkg[kl/l:yltdf kU5 . /fHosf] sfggl ; 0Gq klg ; fdGtl ePsf] p; sf] lgbf] tfn] sg} :yfg k|t ubg . o; kl5 p; sf] kl/jf/ ; fdGtl rl/q hut\$] n] Nus kkl8gdf k/ k0f{ č kdf lj 36gsf] cj:yfdf kU5 . xs[; flxĀfsl >ldtl emg] n] Nus č kdf hut\$] z]f]f0fdf k5[eg] p; sl gf}a; [slnnl 5f]l hg] fly klg hut] ofghGo lx+fsf] kōTg ub5 . hut\$] n] Nus bdg, pTkl8g / z]f]f0faf6 pkGof; sf ol b0{gf/L rl/qsf] klxrfg lj bk aGg ku\$] 5 . t]sfnlG lj dzf] ds ; Gbedf s]l /fhgl]ts / ; fdlhs dlxf cleoGtfxč n] k?if; Qsf lj?4 cfjfh p7f0/x\$] eP klg ; dfh ; fdGtl Joj:yf s]Gb} ePsf] w}] dlxfxč emg] / hg\$] h:t} lj dz{ef]g lj jz lyP . pSt dlxfxč sf] ; r]

cleofge6bf 6f9f eP klg pkGof; sf emg] / hgdf hut\$] cdfglifs
lj pofsnfkklt c; Gtli6 / klt/f]ysf] efj gf rflxF5 . oBlk To] ; a\l7t 2kdf
cfPsf] 5g . pkGof; sf/n] ; d] pglx2sf dflwodaf6 n] Nus zf]foklt
cfnf]g]g]ds bl6 k]tt u/\$f 5g\

emg]k]tt pkGof; sl dxej k0f{gf/L r/q xf] . ; dfhsf]lkt[Qf]dstf /
; fdGtl ; Argfdf cfwfl/t cfly\$; s[tsf sf/of pm ptkl8t / zflift eP/
; ldfGt cj:yfdf k%of0Psl 5 . emg]dhwf/sf]1fg / zlstaf6 al-rt eP klg
pm lgs} ; r] gf/lst 2kdf pkGof; sf] cf/Deblv g} blvPsl 5 . ufpaf6
elj iosf]dl7f] ; kgf af\$] sf7df8f]f]elqP; E}hut\$]j f; g]ds cfFf p; dfly
kgyfl5 . To; af6 dSt kfpgsf nflu hut\$}3/df a;] hlj g ; ~rfng ul//x\$]
; dodf p; s} ; Nnfxdf xs] ; flxHfsf] kl/j f/ z^vdhsf] kf6ldf a; f0 ; /kl5
9Ss ePsl pm nfl]g] hut\$] kmGofdf k/] hj uPk15 eg]lg/Lx a6g kU5]. pm
hut\$]gSsnl cfZj f; gdf k/] km:5]. hut] p; sf] gf/Lij sf] xTof ub5 .
p; df hutk]lt cfj]zsf] efj gf t l; hg x65 t/ lg/Lx a65]. cf]dxTof
ug]Ddsf]lg0f6df kU5] t/ p; nf0{dft]j sf] efj gfn] arfp5 . hut]af6 dfq
p; n] ofg lx+f ef]l 5g . hut\$] :jfy\$ nflu kof] ePsf ; /sf/L
xflsdx2af6 ; d] p; n] ofg ptkl8g vlg' k/\$f]5 . o; sf]kdv sf/of oxFFxs]
; flxHfsf]lgDg jul6 kfl/j fl/s cj:yfnf0{bVg ; ls65 . o; af6 emg]sf]cGtl/s
pmhf{klff3ft x65 . p; leq hutk]ltsf] cfj]z / c; Gtli6sf] Hj fnf 5 t/
; dfhJoj :yf g}lkt[Qf]ds ; fdGtl ePsf]n]pm lg/Lx 5]. 5f]lsf]elj iosf nflu
p; n] To; ; j]bgzln kl/l:yltnf0{ cf]d; ft\u/\$l 5 . xs6} u/\$l 5f]ldfly
hut\$]Jofkf/L cfFfn]8:g ; Sg] ; Deflj t kl/l:yltklt pm ; r] 5]. hut\$]
cfFf / dgnf0{glhsaf6 aem]sl emg]5f]lnf0{hf]ufpg]s/fdf arfp ug]zlst
klff3ft eP klg ; j]zbgzln x65]. k/Dk/fut k?ifk]vfg ; dfhJoj :yf j f:tj df
gf/L lj /f]l ePsf]n]hut\$]k?if ofg dgf] [Q emg]dfly v]h] dfq ; Gt16 x6g .
pm gf] a;] hg]hf0{ ; d] gj of}gf bVg yfl5 . /S; lsf]gzfdf hgdfly ; d]

; f0m]FanTsf/sf nflu plqBf emg}sf] dftTj zIStn]To; sf] kl|t/fW ug{ kl|5 .
pQm ; flo pkGof; df o; /L k|t't ul/Psf]5 M

*xfFtfxFFt}p; sf]anTsf/L xft hg]hlnf0{sS}ofpg ku\$}f]lyof]. hg]h
of}l aRr]lcufl8 p; nf0{h}d lbg]cdfd . hut\$}f]b'; fx; n]p; leqsf]
dftTj nf0{dfgf}Fladenn0lbG5 . km] / t PsfPs /0fr08lem}Fag} hut\$}f]
xftnf0{Roflk ; dft} df; 'sf] rf\$6}lg:sg]u/L 6f]slbG5]pm . kl8fn]
cfj}fGt hut] kl5 x6} cfkm}f] xft em8\$}fg{yfl5 . df\$}f cfp5
kv6g . PsfPs hg]hlnf0{h?Ss kf/L xTof syfsl gflosf bug{yfl5]
b}h}f]h0{tfs} . t/ b}f}o, /L; n]To; }tdtdfPsf]hut]gflosfsf]
km]/ofsf]; }sf]; dft} tfG5 / tfG6}hfG5 . lgd}fd}Psbd gf^uL xG5]
pm . km] / klg p; leqsf]dftTj xf/ vf6g . b}h}f]vfksf]cf8 ln0{
hg]hlnf0{eflg] r}fjgl lb5} hut\$}f] af6f}df dfgf}Fkj } alglbG5].
-k} @!!-@!@ .*

k|t't ; flodf emg]h] p; nf0{pTkl8t agfpg] zIStdfly zf/LI/s }kdf
; d} kl|t/fW u/\$L 5 . ; f:s[ts c]llo}f km]sf]h] hxfZlStsf] cEof; xG5 Toxf
To; kl|tsf]kl|t/fWsf]; Defj gf klg TolQs}/xG5 eGg]cledt k|t't u/\$f 5g\
pkGof; df klg emg]hut\$}f]of}z]f0faf6 zIStxlg / b}osf]cj:yfdf ku\$}L 5
t/ Toxl k?ifzIst cf^g}cufl8 5f]ldfly ; d} put}sf ; fy of}gh6o lx;fdf
pqBf pm To; sf]ef}ts }kdf kl|t/fW u5]. pkGof; sf]cf/Deblv g}p; dflysf]
pTkl8gsf/L zIst cyf}h}hut}kl|t dfgl; s }kdf pm ljklfdf ly0{g}t/ 5f]ldfly
; d} of} pTkl8gdf pqBf pm ef}ts }kdf n}Nus kl|t/fW u5]. p; sf]o;
kl|t/fWaf6 hg]eflg ; kmn xG5]. ; fS[ts c]llo}fx;n]kl|t/fW kl/wlo ; dbfosf]
gjlg klxrfg k}k}tsf] cfwf/ eP klg k}Tjzfnl zIst kl/wlo ; dbfosf]
kl|t/fWnf0{bafpg x/; Dej k}Tg ub5 eGg]lj rf/nf0{; d} plQs}dx}sf ; fy
k|t't u/\$f 5g\
pkGof; df oxl klj}pof nfu' ePsf] b}lvG5 . emg]h] n}Nus
pTkl8gsf lj?4 kl|t/fWsf nflu ; ^}if{ubf{pm hu}f}f df]/G5]. o; /L pkGof; df
p; sf]kl|t/fWn]k}f}f k}k}t u/L zIstoSt klxrfg k}k}t u/\$f]b}lv6g . o; af6
lkt[Qfsf]lj ho ePsf]b}lvG5 . of}tIstfnlg lj dzf}ds ; Argfsf]j f:tlj s oyf}y
xf] . ctM pkGof; sf/ lj}ion] emg}sf df}wodaf6 tIstfnlg ; fdGtl ; dfhdf

lkt[Qfsf lj?4 ; a\$if{ ubf{ Hofg ; d] udfpgkg] lgDgj ul6 gf/Lx_2sf] c] : yfnf0{hlj Gt 2 kdf lraq0f ug{vfh\$}b]v65 .

३.६.३ भोक र भित्ताहरू उपन्यासमा सीमान्त समुदायको सांस्कृतिक चेतना

; fgdf hut\$} ofgh6o b/fzoaf6 hf]ug efu\$]L hg] ; 8s / kf6lx_2df hlj g latfpg afllo eP klg p; df cdfsf]xTof/f hut]g}xf]e6g]k|6 1fg /x\$}f] 5 . cdfsf] cf1fnf0{ kfngf gu/\$}f] eP cdf; E} cfkm}f] klg xTof xGyof] e6g] s/fdf pm lglZr6t 5]. o; /L cdf / cfkmhf0{; ldf6t agfpg]pTkl8gsf/L zlst hut]g}xf]e6g]aem\$]L hg]h]zf/ll/s 2 kdf kl|t/f]w b]vfpSl 5g . t/ dfgl; s / j}f]l/s 2 kdf eg]p; df hutk|t 30ff / kl|t/f]w]sf]r]t}gf kj n 2 kdf /x\$}f]5 . xs]/ hg]z^vdhsf]kf6ldf a:g yfnk|5 dfgl; s 2 kdf 56kl6Psf]hut]To; kl/jf/nf0{kgM lj 3l6t ug\$}f nflu To; kf6lnf0{eTsfP/ sdf/L dl6b/ agfpg] cbfntl cfbz lnP/ cfp5 . t]; dodf hut]hf0{ p; n] /fd/L lr65] . p; sf] pkl:yltdf sg}kl|t/f]w b]vfp g; s]klg p; kl|t 30ff / cfj]f]z}sf]efj eg]hgdf ; zSt 2 kdf lj Bdfg /x\$}f]b]v65 . pm xs] E cf^gl cdfsf]xTof/f hut]g}xf] e6g]s/f atfp5]. pm e65]M

To}s]To}tkf0E}f]ufpF]egfpE}f]lg i] aflx/ s:tf]; f]ltnf]b]v65 leq eg]s:tf]/flf; . alhofsf]6f]psf]df oxl 06 ahfP/ /utkR5]kfl/lbp]h: t}nfu\$}f] lyof] -k#@) * _ .

oxfFhg]h]hut\$}f]pTkl8gsf/L rl/qnf0{/fd/L af]w u/\$}f]b]v65 . pm cdf / cfkmhf0{zlstxlG / ; ldf6t agfpg]To; zlstkl|tsf]kl|tsf/ efj nf0{xs] E ; zSt 2 kdf k\$6 u5]. o; n] p; sf] gjlg zlstost klxrfgtkm}f] ofqsf] p6dvtfsf]; a\$] ub5 . p; n] oxfk|t't u/\$}f]lj rf/af6 xs]; flx]fn] hg]hl cf^g}5f]L hg]ePsf]/ hut]h] >ldtsf]xTof u/\$}f]s/fnf0{lg; a\$]r lj Zj f; ugkU5 tyf >ldtl / 5f]lkl|t r/d n}nus pTkl8g ug] hutk|tsf] abnfsf] efjgn]pTkl|/t eP/ p; sf] 3/ hf65 . d]wo/ftdf xs]hf0{b]v} cflQPsf]hut] eflg]j h}df %ofnaf6 n8] d5{.

hut\$]z]f]f0fdf k/] ; 8sdf klukl5 hg]hf0{k} eg[; d:ofn]; d] plQs}
; tfp5 . pm ; fdGtl cfly\$; #s[taf6 pTkl8t aG5]. afRg] cfwf/x; ; dfkt
ePk15 pm afWotfn]; 8sdf kfs} dfg{yfN5}. oxl hljgk4ltdf cEo:t aGb}
x\$}L hg]afRgsf nflu cfkmh] rfn\$] sbdnf0{/x/sf] l] ifo geP/ afWotf xf]
eG]lgisifhf0{cftDls[ub5]. o; af6 p; n]jul6 lj e} / To; n]l; hg]f u/\$f]
pTkl8gnf0{klxrfg ug{; s\$]f b]vG5 . To; kl]t lj p]f]ds lj/f]w t 5g t/
j]f]l/s ; kdf eg] rf]g]g] cf^gf] afWotfnf0{kli6 ug] k}Tg u5]. o; nf0{
pkGof; df ufp]af6 jul6 z]f]f0sf]df/df k/] sf7df8f]cfPsf]; jul6 rGb] E pm
o; /l k}tt u5]M

*km/] ltdl hg s'/fnf0{kfk ; Dem] lk/f]n0/x\$}f 5f}Tof] s'/fdf d t
lk/f]nGf. gs[f; xG5 eg]klg e]f]vf] \ ; fRr}eG5f}eg]dnf0{t nflu xfdlaf6
s}l kfk ePs}5g . df]hdHhf / ; f]v ; onsf nflu kfs}df/l u/] lxB\$}f t x]g]f]
lg E -k}*\$. .*

k}tt ; flodf k\$6 ePsf]hg\$]l]j rf/ ; fdGtl ; dfhdf lj Bdfdg cfly\$
lj e}dflysf]c; Gtli6sf ; kdf cfPsf] 5 . p; df kl/>dl r]gf 5 t/ To;
r]gfnf0{sfof(ds :j ; k lbg]kl/l:y]t gaGbf klG cfz]f]fbl r]f]x]FaGg 5f]Nbg .
xs[; flx]f; E rGb]/ hg\$]; e]un]e} ePk15 pglx;sf]hljgdf s}l kl/j t}g
cfp5 . xs]e]f]lsgkl5 hg]lgs}p]; fxl xG5]t/ cfz]sf]s}b\$} ; kdf /x\$]
e]f]l hut\$]z]f]f]slo sb]i6 k/kl5 dfl/G5 . To; af6 kf/ k]pg xs[E}ldn]
u/\$f] bW Joj ; fo klG ; kmn xg ; Sb} . ; fdGtl ; dfhJoj :y]df u/lasf
cfz]x;nf0{x\$g gkfp5}z]f]f]slo dgf] [Q lGdf]g klU5 . pkGof; df Toxl ePsf]
5 . sfd v]f]g lxB]f pm sfd kfp]G . o:tf]cj:y]df klG hg\$]gf/l x]odf
knfogg]fbl ; f] l; hg]f x5g . p; df cfz]f]fbl hljgb]i6 sfod}5 . pglx;nf0{
pTkl8g lbP/ ; ldfGt agfpg]; dfhnf0{p; n]/fd/]l lrg\$]l 5 .

xs[; f]xnf / rGb]klG o; pkGof; df b]vPsf lGdg cfly\$ cj:y]f ePsf
jul6 rk}dfdf k/\$f k?if r]l/qx; xg\ pglx; cfkmh/ cf^gf]kl]f/nfQ; dfhdf
:y]f]kt ug{x/t/xsf k}f; u5g\ . pRr]jul6 ; fdGtl ; dfhdf pglx;sf]x]; ot

hldgsf] vhf] /x b]vG5 . oBlk cf'gf] cfly\$:t/hfQ dfly psf:g bfgj 2 kL
 dfgj hut]h:tf] lgb6L JolQm; E ; xsfo{ug{xs[; flxhf ljj z b]vG5 . rGb]
 cf'gf] laxfg ah'slsf] 5fssf lglD cxf/fq ; a3if/t eP/ klg zf; slo ; dfhsf
 JolQmaf6 k/fwlg agg kll5 . jul6 2 kdf zlstxlg / cwlgy kfqsf 2 kdf
 pkl:yt eP klg jul6 pTkl8gsf lj?4 pglx2n] b]vPsf] ; f:s[ts lj pofzIntf
 lgs}dx2j k0f{/x\$]5 .

३.७ निष्कर्ष

pkGof; sf/ b]h]tljj d lji6n] cf^gf cfkGof; s /rgfx2df lkt[QfTds
 ; fdGtl ; dfhdf zflift, pTkl8t / ; ldfGt]s[; dbfosf] kltlgw]j /
 klxrfgnf0{ hljGt 2 kdf lraqf u/\$f 5g\ . lkt[QfTdstf / ; fdGtl cfly\$
 ; s[tn] lylrPsf ; ldfGt]s[; dbfosf] ; j]bgzln / sf?l0fs cj:yfsf] lraqf
 dfq}pgsf pkGof; x2sf] lj z]ftf xf0g . dhwf/sf] 1fg / zlstsf] cEof; af6
 kl/wlo ag\$gf gf/L ; dbfodf lj sf; ePsf] dhwf/sf] n]Nus z]f]f0f / bdgk]tsf]
 cfj]fz, c; Gtli6 tyf ; a3ifn] pglx2nf0{gjlg klxrfg k]kttkm{cu} / u/Psf]
 b]vG5 . ; ldfGt]tsf] af]w u/\$f gf/Lx2n] cfkGof; s /rgfx2df pTkl8gsf/L
 k/Dk/fut zlstnf0{ /fd/L lrg\$gf / pSt zlstk]t efjgfTds, j]f]l/s /
 lj pofTds k]t/f]w u/\$f 5g\ . pSt k]t/f]w k/Dk/fut k?if s]Gb]t dhwf/sf]
 ; fdf]hs ; s[tt Pj d\; fdGtl cfly\$; s[tk]t nllft /x\$]5 . To; 2/L pgsf
 pkGof; x2df ; fdf]hs / cfly\$ lj e]nf0{; 'd 2 kdf af]w u/\$f s]l af]Ms k?if
 r]l/qx2n]k/Dk/fsf gfddf gf/Lx2dfly lj e] e0/x\$]l]j rf/ k]t't u/\$f 5g\eg]
 pSt lj e]sf/L k?if ; s[tsf]lj /f]w ub]n]Nus 2 kdf ; ldfGt ag\$gf gf/Lx2nf0{
 ; fy lbPsf 5g\

k]t't z]f]wsfo]df gdgf 5gf]sf cfwf/df k]tlgw pkGof; sf 2 kdf
 lj Zn]f]f0fsf nflu rogdf k/\$f] d-h/l pkGof; df dh2kdf k/Dk/fut ; fdf]hs
 ; f:s[ts lrgtgsf sf/0f pTkl8t ag\$gf gf/L ; dbfosf]lj bk klxrfgsf]; zSt
 lraqf ul/Psf]5 . cgd]h lj jfx / axlj jfxsf]; s[tn]l; h]gf u/\$f]gf/Lx2sf]

; jhgzln / sf?l0fs hlj gsf]lrq0f ub}pkGof; sf/n]tI; :s[tsf]lj klfd f ljwj f
gf/lx;sf] kglj }fxsf] cfj Zostfnf0{o; pkGof; df k|tt u/\$f 5g\ . To; u/L
o; pkGof; df gf/L k?ifalr xflb\$ k| xg; s] cGthf{lo lj jfxn] ; fdlhs
dfGotf kfpG' kgI klfd f pkGof; sf/sf]lj rf/ k|tt ePsf] 5 . pkGof; sl k|v
gf/L rl/q ljwjf d-h/L afn pd}d}j k?if; E lj jflxt eP/ ljwjf ag/
kfl/j fl/s / ; fdlhs ; f:s[ts ; kdf n}nus zflf0fdf k/\$L ; ldfGtIsf gf/L
xf]. p; n]; ldfGt tfsf]alraf6}cfkndf0{zIStxlg agfpg]JolStx;nf0{/fd/L IrGb}
uPsl 5 / pglx;kl|t tlj | 30ff, cfj }fz / c; Gtli6 k\$6 u/\$L 5 . s}f; sf]
; flGwlo / bfh' z^a\$/sf] pTk}0ffn] p; df gjlg 1fgsf] lj sf; xE} uPsf] 5 .
cGtodf lfql0 k?if s}f; ; E lj jfx u/L p; n] Psk6s lkt[rGtgdf cfwfl/t
pRrhftlo wld\$ sfggn] lgifw u/\$f] ljwj flj jfx / cGthf{lo lj jfxnf0{
cfd; ft\u/\$L 5 . of] p; n] tIsfnlg lj dzf[ds ; Argfdf k/Dk/fut ; fdlhs
; f:s[ts zIStkl|t u/\$f]n}nus kl|t/fw xf]. hg pkGof; df lgs}k}fj sf/L ; kdf
k|tt ePsf] 5 . pkGof; sf]k|v k?if rl/q s}f; n]ljwjf gf/L d-h/L; E lj jfx
u/} k/Dk/fut ; :s[tsf]lj }pfd s ; kdf kl|t/fw u/\$f] 5 . pkGof; sl ; xfos
rl/q 0lGb/fn]k?ifnf0{axlj jfx / cgd}h lj jfxsf nflu 56 lbg]; dfhn]ljwjf
gf/Lsf] kglj }fxnf0{ dfGotf lbgkgI lj rf/ k|tt u/L k?if s}Gb} dhwf/sf]
; :s[tsf]kl|t/fw u/\$L 5 . pkGof; sf]; xfos rl/q z^a\$/n]wd{; dfhdf kfk
9fSg]; fwg xf] eg} o; af6 ; dfhdf gf/lx; zflift / ptkl8t clg cwlg:y
ePsf 5g\eg]lj rf/ k|tt ub}k/Dk/fut dhwf/sf]; :s[tsf]lj /fw u/\$f] 5 .
pkGof; sf c6o ; ldfGtIsf gf/L rl/qx;df eg] dhwf/sf]; :s[tsf lj sNkdf
gjlg 1fg lj sf; ePsf]b}vEg .

lalupsf] af6} pkGof; df lkt[QfIdstf / ; fdGtl cfly\$; :s[taf6
ptkl8t 1fgh] cfkndfly zflf0f / bdg ugI ptkl8gsf/L zIStkl|t efj gffd s,
j }fl/s / lj }pfd s kl|t/fw u/\$L 5 . p; n]bf0hf]; :s[tsf gfddf ptkl8g lbg]
p; sf] >ldfgkl|t pkGof; df dfg]; s ; kdf cfj }fz k\$6 ug\$ f ; fy}lj }pfd s

č kdf klg kl|t/f|v u/\$l 5 . p; n]gf/Lnf0{ j f; gfTds č kdf xg|k?if ; :s[tk|t /f|f k\$6 u/\$l 5 . cf|kGofl; s cG|odf :jfwlg eP/ lx8g]pb3f|f u/\$l 1fg'sf] z|StoSt gjlg klxrfg t lgdf0f ePsf]5g t/ To; tkm(pGdv ePsf]b|vG5 .

ef\$ / le0fx; pkGof; pkGof; sf/sf] jul6 / n}Nus z|f|f0fkl|t cfnf|rgf|ds b|i6sf0f k\$6 ePsf] pkGof; x|] . ; fdGtl ; dfhdf z|f|ift / pTkl|8t gf/L ; dbfosf] oyfy\$] lraq0fdf s|Gb|t k|t't pkGof; df kl/wlo cj:yfdf /x\$]f gf/Lx;sf]pGdlSt t ePsf]5g t/ pTkl8gsf/L z|f|fsl0 z|Stk|t pglx;sf]tlj |cfj |fz, 30ff / c; Gtli6 k\$6 ePsf]5 . hut\$]af/Daf/sf]of|gs lx;faf6 cfxt ag\$]l emg|df p; kl|t dfgl; s cfj |fz /x\$]f]5 eg]ef|]ts č kdf p; sf lj?4 pq|f p; n] x|ofhlgt d[ohf0{ cfd; ft\ug{ k/\$]f]5 . hut\$]f n}Nus z|f|f0fdf k/| ; afN6g{ag\$]l hg|h]gf/Lsf]lj lzi6 u0fnf0{ a'em\$}sf/0fn] p; sf]gf/L|j sf] x|ofsf nflu cu| / ePsf o]sx;kl|t ; 8sd}eP klg ; zSt kl|t/f|v u/\$l 5 . cfly\$ / n}Nus č kdf z|f|ift / pTkl|8t hg|df lj sf; ePsf] lj e|sf/L z|Stk|tsf]tlj |c; Gtli6n]p; sf]gjlg klxrfg k|k|t'km\$]f]ofqfnf0{ pkGof; n]kl/; a\$]t u/\$]f]5 . o; /L pkGof; sf/ lj i6sf pkGof; df tTsfnlj lj dzf{ds ; Argfsf]k?if s|Gb|t ; fdGtl ; :s[tk|t n}Nus č kdf ; ldfGtlst ag\$]f gf/L ; dbfosf]tlj |cfj |fz, c; Gtli6 / ; a\$]if0{k|t't ul/Psf]5 . of] pTkl8gsf/L ; :s[tk|t k|t't ePsf]kl/wlosf]dfgl; s / lj |pofTds kl|t/f|v x|] hg pkGof; df snf|ds č kdf k|t't ePsf]5 .

cfkGofl; s s[txçdf ; ldfGtlotffsf] ; fflGts cj wf/0ff kltlgwTj / klxrfgsf
lj Zn]f0f ugšf nflu ; j kyd kltlgwTj / klxrfg ; DaGwl dfGotfnf0{ k|tt
ul/Psf] 5 . oxfF; f:s[ts cWooGcGtuč ; f:s[ts cWot]fxçn] k|tt u/šf]
kltlgwTj ; DaGwl dfGotf tyf ; ldfGtlo cWooGsf]dfGotfsf cfwf/df kltlgwTj
klxrfg ; DaGwl dfGotfnf0{ k|tt ul/Psf] 5 eg] ; dfhdf JolStsf] pkl:yIt /
p; n] k|tt u/šf] eldsfnf0{ kltlgwTj / klxrfgsf çkdf lrgf0Psf] 5 .
tTkZrft\ kltlgwTj / klxrfg ; DaGwl dfGotfsf cfwf/df 5gfçdf k/šf]
pkGof; xçsf] ; ldfGtlo kfqxçsf] kltlgwTj sf] lj Zn]f0f ul/Psf] 5 .
pkGof; xçsf] lj Zn]f0f ubf{ n]Nus çkdf ; ldfGtLst] gf/L kfqs] cWooGnf0{
s]bçdf /flvPsf] 5 eg] dhwf/ s]Gbç k?if kfqxçsf] sš:tf] n]Nus b]i6sf]fn]
gf/L ; dbfo s; /L cwlg:y aGg kušf] 5 eGg] klfsf] ; d] cWooG ul/Psf] 5 .
To; ç/L k/Dk/fs} k|t/lfs agšf gf/Lxçaf6 gf/L g} s; /L ; dfhdf bldt /
cwlg:y aGg kušf 5g\ eGg] cfwf/df klG pkGof; sf] lj Zn]f0f ul/Psf]
5 . oxfF] i6sf pkGof; df ; ldfGt ; dbfosf] j ulç, hftlo / n]Nus kltlgwTj sf]
cj :yfsf] lj j]rgf ul/Psf] 5 . pgsf k]fšt tlGj çf cfkGofl; s /rgfsf] :fldfGt
; dbfosf] j ulç, hftlo / n]Nus kltlgwTj sf] lj Zn]f0f ugšf nflu cfj Zos kgI
; ldfGtlo k|t/f]v; DaGwl dfGotfnf0{ k|tt ul/Psf] 5 . ; ldfGtlo k|t/f]v]sf]
; fflGts klfsf] lj Zn]f0f ug] j]ddf ; f:s[ts cWooGsf] Ps kçv kçfvfsf]
çkdf kl/lrt j ulç, hftlo / n]Nus cWooGsf] s]bçlj ifo kltlgwTj xf] eGg]
s/f k|tt ub] lj Zn]f0f ul/Psf] 5 . ; ldfGtLst] j ulç hftlo tyf n]Nus klfn]
g]lg klxrfg k|ktsf nflu dhwf/sf] ; f:s[ts :jçksf lj?4 s; /L k|t/f]v
u/šf] 5 eg] cWooG k|t/f]v]sf ; Gbeçdf cWooG lj Zn]f0f ul/g] s/f k|tt ul/Psf]
5 .

k|tt z]v]sfošf] t] f] kl/R5]sf] dh zlifš b]ntlj j]d lj i6sf pkGof; df
; ldfGt ; dbfosf] cfj fh / k|t/f]v] r]rgf /xšf] 5 . oxfF] i6sf pkGof; df
cleJoSt ; ldfGt ; dbfosf] k|t/f]v]sf] lj j]rgf ul/Psf] 5 . pgsf k]fšt tlGj çf

cfkGofl; s /rgfsf] :ldfgt ; dbfosf] kl|t/fv]sf] lj Zn]f0f ug\$f nflu cfj Zos kg] ; ldfgtlo kl|t/fv] ; DaGwl dfGotfnf0{ k|tt ul/Psf] 5 . . ; ldfgtlsf] jul6 hftlo tyf n]Nus klf]n] gjlg klxrfg kfk]tsf nflu dhwf/sf] ; f:s[ts :j ksf lj?4 s; /L kl|t/fv] u/\$f] 5 eg] cWooG kl|t/fv]sf] ; Gbedf cWooG lj Zn]f0f ul/g] s/f k|tt ul/Psf] 5 . tTkZrft kl|t/fv] ; DaGwl oxl dfGotfsf cfwf/df gdgf rogdg k/\$f pkGof; sf] ; ldfgtlo kfqx]sf] kl|t/fv]sf] cWooG ul/Psf] 5 . o; j]ddf lkt[Qf]dstf / ; fdGtl cfly\$; s[t]af/f pTkl8t / z]l]ft gf/L ; dbfon]tI; s[t]k|t k\$6 u/\$f] kl|t/fv] r]gfsf] lj j]rgf ul/Psf] 5 eg] dhwf/sf] n]Nus ; s[tsf lj?4 s] k?ifx] af6 cleJost ePsf] kl|t/fv]nf0{ klG plQs} dx]sf ; fy lj Zn]f0f u/L lgisif{ k|tt ug] sfo{ o; kl/R5]df ul/Psf] 5 .

४.२ निष्कर्ष

b]htlj j]d lj i6 ; dsfnlg ; dfhsf ; fdf]hs, ; f:s[ts, /fhg]ts tyf cfly\$; Gbe]nf0{ s]bdf /fv] pkGof; x] l; hg]f ug] cfkGofl; s ; l6f xg\ . pgsf pkGof; df lkt[Qf]ds ; fdGtl cfly\$; s[t s]bdf /x]f jul6, hftlo / n]Nus]kdf gf/L ; dbfo pTkl8g, z]f]f / bdgdf k/\$f] lj ifoj :thf0{ kf]yldstfsf ; fy lrq0f ul/Psf] 5 . pgn] pkGof; df t]sfnlg lj dzf]ds ; Argdf n]Nus]kdf pRrhftlo jf pRr]jul6 k?ifx] s]b]fudf /x]f / pglx]n]g} 1fgsf] pTkfbg ug] tyf z]Stsf] cEof; klG pglx]af6} xg] ePsf]n] gf/lx] 1fg / z]Stsf] cefj df ; ldfgtlsf] agg ku\$] ; Gbe]nf0{ hljGt]kdf k|tt u/\$f 5g\ eg] n]Nus]kdf ; ldfgtlsf] ; dbfosf] gjlg klxrfg kfk]tsf] ; a]iffnf0{ klG lrq0f u/\$f 5g\

; ldfgtlo ; d:ofnf0{ hg]kdf pk:yfkg ul/Psf] eP klG pgsf pkGof; df ; fdf]hs ; Argf / z]Stsf ; f]x]df pk]lft, lsgf/Lsf] / cwlg:y gf/lx]sf] kl|tlglw]nf0{ dx] k0f{ :yfg lb0Psf] 5 . lkt[Qf]dstf / ; fdGtl ; s]/nf0{ cf]d; ft\ug] k?ifx]sf] kl|tlglw] gf/Ldflysf] kkl8g / z]f]f0df s]b]t ePsf] 5 eg] k/Dk/fut dhwf/sf] n]Nus ; s[t]nf0{ af\$] lx8g' gf/lx]sf] st{o xf] eG] lrgtgnf0{ pglx]n] cf]d; ft\ug] 5g\ . pkGof; x]df sltko

gf/L kfqx; tTsfnlg lj dzf{ds ; Argfdf dhwf/sf] lj rf/wf/nf0{ ; jxg u/L
jul6, hftlo / n}Nus zff0f / bdgdf s]Gb} xBf kl}tlglwTj pk}lft agg ku\$}f]
; ldfGtlo ; Gbehf0{ ; zSt ; kdf lraqOf ul/Psf] 5 . pkGof; x;n} ux0f u/\$}f]
P]t}xf] ; s sfnv08sf] s]b}lo ; Of ; fdGtl 9fFfsf] k?if s]Gb} ePsfn] sfgg
; Argf; d}t gf/L lj /f}wL /x\$}f] / o; af6 gf/Lx;sf]kl}tlglwTj sdhf} / lsgf/Ls}t
agg ku\$}f] l:ylt pkGof; x;df k\$6 ePsf] 5 . tTsfnlg ; fdflhs ; Gbedf
dhwf/sf] k?ifk}wfg ; fdGtl ; dfhsf cgd}h lj jfx, afnlj jfx, bf0hf] tyf
lkt[Qf]ds ; dfhdf gf/Lnf0{ pkef}lofsf] ; kdf x}g} ; :s[tsf sf/Of gf/Lsf]
kl}tlglwTj zlstxlg / k?if cwlg:y /x\$}f] ; ldfGtlo oyfy}nf0{pgsf pkGof; df
hljGt ; kdf k}t}t ul/Psf] 5 . o; /L pkGof; sf/ lj i6n] cfk}mgf pkGof; x;df
lkt[Qf]dstf / ; fdGtl cfly\$; :s[tsf sf/Of dhwf/ jf s]b}af6 ws}nPsf
lsgf/Ls}t gf/L ; dbfosf]kl}tlglwTj u/fP/ cfj fh lbg]sfo{u/\$}f 5g\

bf}tlj j}d lj i6sf pkGof; df ; ldfGtlo ; dbfosf]kl}tlglwTj / klxrfgsf]
lraqOf s\$; /L ul/Psf] 5 eG] bf] f] ; d:ofdf s]Gb} e0{ ul/Psf] c}woogaf6
tTsfnlg ; dfhsf]:j ; k lkt[Qf]ds / ; fdGtl cfly\$; :s[tdf cfwf]/t ePsfn]
clwsfz gf/Lx; kl/wlo agg kul pglx;sf]klxrfg ; j}hgzln / sf?l0fs agg
ku\$}f] 5 eG] dh lgisif{k}k}t ePsf] 5 . ; ldfGtlo ; d:ofnf0{s]b}efudf /fv}
l; h}gf ul/Psf pkGof; df lkt[Qf]ds ; fdGtl ; f}sf sf/Of gf/Lx; pk}lft,
lsgf/Ls}t, bldt / cwlg:y ag\$}f 5g\ . lkt[Qfn] gf/Lsf] klxrfg k/Dk/fut
jul6 tyf n}Nus ; :s[tnf0{ hu}gf{ ug{ xf] eG] lj dz\$}f] lgdf0f u/} gf/Lsf]
klxrfg zlstxlg / cwlg:y agfPsf]n}Nus ; Gbehf0{pgsf pkGof; df k}t}t
ul/Psf] 5 . pkGof; df pSt ; f:s[ts dfGotfnf0{cfGtl/sls/Of u/\$}f gf/Lx;
c}o gf/Lx;dflly zff0f, p}tkl8g / bdgdf pq\$}f sf/Of gf/Lsf]n}Nus klxrfg
cem lj b}k / ; j}hgzln agg ku\$}f] 5 . ln^ulo, jul6 / s}xl dffqdf hftlo
; d:ofnf0{ ; dfg; kdf lraqOf ul/Psf pkGof; df n}Nus c; dfgtf tyf jul6
lj e}n] l; h}gf u/\$}f] gf/Lx;sf] hl6n klxrfgnf0{ p7fg ul/Psf] 5 . jul6
; d:ofs] s]b}lotfdf ln^ulo ; Gbehf0{k}t}t ul/Psf pkGof; df pkl:yt gf/L
kfqx; lkt[Qf]dstf / ; fdGtl cfly\$; :s[tsf]bf}xf}f]df/df k/\$}f 5g\ sltko
pkGof; df k/Dk/fut ; fdflhs ; f:s[ts lj s}t klfx;dflly k}zg p7fP/ s}xl

k?ifx₂n]k/Dk/feGbf leGg n⁹Nus klxrfgsf]vflhl u/\$f 5g\ ; fdGtl ; dfhsf
pRrj ul⁶ k?ifx₂n]; Qf / zlststf]cf8df gf/lx₂sf]n⁹Nus klxrfg s; /L lj b^k
agfp5g\veGg]lj ifonf0{pkGof; sf/n}; r¹tfsf ; fy k|t't u/\$f 5g\ ; dsfnlg
; dfhsf jxljjfx, cgd^h lj jfx, bf0hf] tyf gf/lstf]z/L/nf0{pkelfo 7fGg^h:tf
lkt[Qfids ; fdGtl ; #s[taf⁶ gf/lstf]lj lzi⁶ klxrfg ; ^a\$6df k/\$f]; ldfGtlo
oyfy{pkGof; x₂df k|t't ePsf]5 . o; /L pkGof; sf/ lj i⁶n]cfk^mdf pkGof; df
lkt[Qfdstf / ; fdGtl ; dfhsf] cfly\$; #s[taf⁶ gf/lstf]lj lzi⁶ klxrfg
; j^hgzln / dflid\$ agg ku\$fs]/fnf0{lgs}dx^ej sf ; fy lraqof u/\$f 5g\

bf^htljj^hid lj i⁶sf pkGof; df ; ldfGt ; dbfosf]cfj fh / kl^t/f^wl r¹gf
eGg]t] f]; d:ofdf s^lgb^t e0{ul/Psf]cl^loogaf⁶ jul⁶, hftlo / n⁹Nus ₂kdf
kl/wlo cj:yfdf /x²f gf/L ; dbfon] gjlg klxrfg k^ltsf nflu dhwf/sf]
; f:#s[ts :j₂k c^gtu^tsf]p^tkl8gsf/L zlststf lj?4df j^hfl/s, efj g^tds /
lj ^hof^tds ₂kdf kl^t/f^w u/\$f]5 eGg]lgisif{k^lt ePsf]5 . pgsf pkGof; df
n⁹Nus ; ldfGttfsf] af^w u/\$f gf/L r^l/qx₂n] dhwf/sf] k?ifk^wfg / ; fdGtl
cfly\$; #s[tk^lt tlj|c; Gtli⁶, 3^off / cfj^hzsf]efj k\$⁶ u/\$f 5g\ pglx₂n]
; ldfGttfsf]alraf⁶}cfk^mhf0{zlstxlG agfpG]p^tkl8gsf/L zlstnf0{klxrfg ub^h
cfk^mdf gjlg 1fgsf]lj sf; ub^hnu\$⁶ 5g\ . of]kl^t/f^w st}dfgl; s / j^hfl/s
₂kdf k\$⁶ ePsf]5 eg]st}lj ^hof^tds ₂kdf k|t't ePsf]5 . pSt kl^t/f^w
afnljjfx, cgd^h lj jfx / bf0hf]; #s[tc^lg ; fdGtl cfly\$; #s[tsf lj?4df
s^lgb^t 5 . gf/Lnf0{ef^lof 7fGg]; dflhs ; f:#s[ts d^gotfdfly pkGof; x₂df
; r¹ ₂kdf k^x/ ug^lsfo{ePsf]5 . k/Dk/fut k?if s^lgb^t ; fdGtl ; #s[tk^ltsf]
kl^t/f^w ; ^aul7t ₂kdf k|t't geP/ JolStut ₂kdf k\$⁶ x⁶ To; n]eg^h:tf]
k^of^tf k^lt gu/]klg ; ldfGt^ls^t ; dbfosf]n⁹Nus kl^t/f^w lj i⁶sf pkGof; df lgs}
; zSt / k^efj sf/L /x²f]5 . o; /L pkGof; sf/ lj i⁶n] cf^ggf pkGof; x₂df
t^tsfnlG lj dzf^tds ; Argdf n⁹Nus ₂kdf lsgf/lst^t gf/L; dbfonf0{kl^tlg^wtj
u/fp/ pglx₂sf] lkt[Qfdstf tyf jul⁶ cfly\$; #s[tsf lj?4 :jfe^lj s
₂kdf k\$⁶ ePsf]kl^t/f^w r¹gfⁿf0{:yfg lbg]sfo{u/\$f 5g\

o; /L lkt[QfTds ; dfhsf]; ldfGtlo oyfyhf0{kfyldstf; fy ; r] 2kdf
lraq0f ul/Psf lj i6sf pkGof; x2 ; ldfGtlo klTlglwTj / klxrfg, cfj fh /
klT/f]wL r]gfsf]cWooogsf b[i6n]dx2j k0f{/x\$} 5g\ pgsf pkGof; df tTsfnlG
gkfnl ; dfh lkt[QfTds / ; fdGtL cfly\$; :s[tdf cfwf/t /x\$fn] jul0,
hftlo gf/L ; dbfosf]klTlglwTj zIStxlg, bldt / cwlg:y /x\$} tyf pglx2sf]
klxrfg lkt[Qfaf6 hl6n / sf?l0fs aGg ku\$}oyfy\$}k2fj sf/L 2kdf lraq0f
ul/Psf] 5 eg] lkt[Qfsf] bdg / zf]f0fnf0{ af]w u/\$} ; ldfGtLs[gf/Lx2df
dhwf/sf]n]us ; :s[tsf lj?4 gjlg 1fgsf]lj sf; xB}uPsf] / ToxL 1fgdf
6\$} pglx2n] cleJoSt u/\$} ; zSt klT/f]wnf0{ snfids 2kdf pk:yfkg
ul/Psf] 5 . pSt klT/f]w ; fdLxs / ; a\7t 2kdf k\$6 gePsfn]; ldfGtlo
pTKL8gsf lj?4 lj b]xsf] pkl:yIt hit zIStzfnl xgkYof[Tof] xg; s\$} 5g .
oBlk pkGof; sf/n] tTsfnlG k?ifj r]j sf lj?4 gf/L ; dbfodf lj sf; xB}u/\$}
dfgl; s / lj pTds klT/f]wnf0{ pkGof; df dx2j k0f{ :yfg lbPsf 5g\ . pgn]
pkGof; x2df jul0, hftlo / n]us klTlglwTj , klxrfg / klT/f]wsf]; Gbehf0{
kfyldstf lbP/ n]us 2kdf ; ldfGtLs[gf/L ; dbfosf] cfj fhnf0{ :j feflj s
2kdf k]tt u/L zIStzfnl agfpg vf]h\$} b]v65 . o; /L lkt[Qf / ; dfhsf]
pRrj u] gf/Ldfly u/\$} ln^alo zf]f0fsf] lraq0f ub}n]us jul0 ; Gthg /
; dtfsf]ck]ffnf0{k2fj sf/L / snfids 2kdf k]tt u/\$}jul0 tyf n]us
; ldfGtlo r]gfsf b[i6n] lj i6sf] pkGof; l; h2f zIStzfnl aGg ku\$} 5 eg]
lgisif{k]tt cWooaf6 k]tt ePsf]5 .

सन्दर्भ सामग्रीसूची

clwsf/L, nldl= -@)^@_ = rkf0Psf cgxf/ pk6of; sf]s[tk/s cll0og= ck\$flzt
:gftsfQ/ zfvkq, gkfnl sbblo lj efu, lq=lj = .

pk7L, ; ~hlj = -@)^*_ = /; 4f6tsf s'f= -bf; ± sf7df8fM cIf/ lj 0; G; .

P^v; , knB/v= -; g\(*^_ = kl/jf/, lghl :jfldTj / /fHosf]pTkl= cg' /fhbb|
df:s] sf7df8fM k\lt k\$zfg .

P6d, gq= -@)&\$_ = ; ^Nfkt ; flxTo zAbsfz= sf7df8fM gkfn k1fk|ti7fg .

vltj 8f, eflh/fh= -@)^@_ = ef\$ / leQfx; pk6of; sf]s[tk/s cll0og= ck\$flzt
:gftsfQ/ zfvkq, gkfnl sbblo lj efu, lq=lj = .

uxf, /Ofiht÷ Guha, Ranajit (ed : 1982 : *Writing on South Asian History and Society*
Subaltern Studies 1. Delhi Oxford University Press.

uffDrL, cftflgof/ Gramsci, Antonio. (1998). *Selections from the prison Notebooks*, Chennai
Orient Longman.

uffDrL, cftflgof= -! (&!_ = ; h\$; g krd lb lk/hg gfbaS; = -; Dkf= Soxfcf/] / lh
gfah l:dy n68g Mn/Q; / lj ; f6{ .

rkkuf0f lgg= -@)&#_ = k] j fb / ; Obhl lj rf/= nlnTk/ M ; ferf k\$zfg .

8fEl, bj f= -@)&)_ = lalupsf] af6f] pk6of; sf] s[tk/s cll0og= -ck\$flzt
:gftsfQ/ zfvkq_ gkfnl sbblo lj efu, lq=lj = .

3tl{ bufaxfb/= -@)*)_ = cg' Gwfg k4lt M l; 4f6t / kpfu= cg' Gwfg lj dz{
gkfn .

8dl/a\ ; f0dg= -; Dkf= ; g\! ((#_ = b sMr/n :6l8h l/8/= n68g P68 G6bf\$M
/f0nh 6h/ kffG; ; uk .

9sfn, /hgl= -@)^(_ = gkfnl pk6of; df n^ustf= hxl, koffeS ^) k\$ \$*-%* .

lqkf7L, j f; bj = -@)^^_ = ; flxTo l; 4f6t zfv tyf ; hglj lw= sf7df8f M
kf70; fduj k; n .

Yffkf, ; Gb/l= -@)%^_ = pk6of; sf/ bfnhtljj#d lji6sf] Ps knjff cg\$ff ofd
pk6of; df a6a= -ck\$flzt :gftsfQ/ zfvkq_= gkfnl sQblo lj efu,
lq=lj = .

gpkfg] kzkl= -@)%)_ = pk6of; sf/ bfnhtljj#d lji6 / pgsf] Hoflt Hoflt
dxHoflt pk6of; sf] cll oog= -ck\$flzt :gftsfQ/ zfvkq_= gkfnl
sQblo lj efu, lq=lj = .

kf7s, lul//fh= -@)&%_ = u'k/ fb d9fnlsf syfdf kltlgw] klxrfg / klt/fv=-
ck\$flzt zfvkq_= gkfnl sQblo lj efu, lq=lj = .

kf7s, /df= -@)^&_ = lxdfn / df6] pk6of; sf] kl/j# cll oog= -ck\$flzt
:gftsfQ/ zfvkq_= gkfnl sQblo lj efu, lq=lj = .

kf88, tf/fsft= -@)&#_ = dfs; ffb, ; f:s[ts cll oog / ; flxTosf]; dfhzf:q=
nlntk' M ; fem k\$zfg .

kfvjh, blks= -@)^*_ = kdtl pk6of; sf] n#us cll oog= -ck\$flzt bzgrfo{
zfvkq_= gkfnl sQblo lj efu, lq=lj = .

kf8jh, kbdf= -@)&%_ = bfnhtljj#d lji6sf] ef\$ / leOfx' pk6of; df kfqlj wfg=
-ck\$flzt :gftsfQ/ zfvkq_= gkfnl sQblo lj efu, lq=lj = .

k} f0{ g/Qb/fh= -@)^_ = bfnhtljj#d lji6sf] kl/j#df= nlntk' M ; fem k\$zfg .

a6w, r8fdl0f= -@)^%_ = cg' gwfg tyf kltjbg n'vg= -bf; ;s= sf7df8fFM
/Tgk':ts e08f/ .

a/fn, Clif/fh= -@)&#_ = dfs; ffb / ; aN6g{cwoog= nlntk' M ; fem k\$zfg .

a/fn, s[0fxl/ / gq P6d= -@)%^_ = pk6of; l; 4ft / gkfnl pk6of; = nlntk' M
; fem k\$zfg .

e\$/f0{ /dzk} fb= -@)^*_ = n#us ; dnfj]gf /Tg axt\ ; dnfj]gf= -; flGts
v08_ /fhQb| ; j QL / nldof ufjd -; Dkf= sf7df8fFM /Tg k':ts
e08f/ .

e\$/f0{ /džk| fb= -@)^(_= ; f:s[ts cllboogsf dhet l; 4f6txç= ešbl, k0ff\$
!^= \$*-&^ .

e\$/f0{ /džk| fb= -@)&#=_= cfwlgs gkfnl pk6of; sf] ; f:s[ts cllboog=
ck\$flzt lj Bfj fl/lw zfvkqGw, lq=lj= .

e08f/L, ; flj qf= -@)&@=_= Hofjt Hofjt dxHofjt pk6of; df ldyslo k6fj=
-ck\$flzt :gftsfQ/ zfvkq=_= gkfnl sQbll0 lj efu, lq=lj= .

ebfj, r6bf= -; Dkf=@)^&=_= n7lus cllboog= sf7df8fFM cS; kmf\$ { 066/g] gn
klAns] g kf=ln= .

e08f/L, lr/~hljl= -@)&&=_= ; ä ; gsf pk6of; df ; ldf6tlotf= -ck\$flzt
bzgfrfo{zfvkqGw=_= gkfn vhf lj Zj lj Bfno, dfgej g, nlnk/ .

d/fl; gl, 908L/fh= -@)^*_=_= Hofjt Hofjt dxHofjt pk6of; df kfqlj wfg=
-ck\$flzt :gftsfQ/ zfvkq=_= gkfnl sQbll0 lj efu, lq=lj= .

ld>, r76o= -cglNnlvt=_= ablnbfjgkfnl ; dfh= sf7df8fFM kmf0G1kQ6 .

n06h, vuQb= -@)^(_= gkfnl pk6of; sf]0ltxf; = sf7df8fFM gkfn k1fklti7fg

lj lnoD; , /d08= -; g\! (^#=_= sMr/ P08 ; fj f06l xdf8\j yfM kQ0u0g .

lj i6, bfhtlj j d= -@)!^=_= d-h/l= sf7df8fFM gkfn-ef/t-dQl; 3 .

lj i6, bfhtlj j d= -@)##=_= lalupsf]af6f7j f/0ff; L M gj lg k\$fzg .

lj i6, bfhtlj j d= -@)\$%=_= yfs\$]cfsfz= sf7df8fFM ; emfk\$fzg .

lj i6, bfhtlj j d= -@)\$%=_= lxdfn / df65= sf7df8fFM gkfn /fhslo k1f
klti7fg .

lj i6, bfhtlj j d= -@)%#=_= kmfFlsf]km6bdf= sf7df8fFM lj Zj /fd eSt dfydf .

lj i6, bfhtlj j d= -@)^&=_= Ps knj cg\$ffofd= nlnk/ M ; feifk\$fzg .

lj i6, bfhtlj j d= -@)#*_=_= ef\$ / leQfxç= nlnk/ M ; feif k\$fzg .

lj i6, bñhtlj j ðd= -@)^*_ = Hof/t Hof/t dx/Hof/t=nlntk'/ M ; ferf k\$fgz .

lj i6, bñhtlj j ðd= -@)&)_ = rkf0Psf cgxf/ nlntk'/ M ; ferf k\$fgz .

zdf{ uf\kls[0f= -@)\$@_ = Ps knj/f cg\$ff ofd= pk6of; df áâ cw} flif\$,
k£ &*-* .

zdf{ ; ltf= -@)#*_ = ; flxTosf/ bñhtlj j ðd lj i6sf]hlj gl / JolStत्वsf]clloog=
-ck\$flzt :gftsfQ/ zfvkq_ = gkfnl sQb|o lj efu, lq=lj = .

>]7, tf/fnfn= -@)^*_ = zISt, ; /6f ; afl6g£sf7df8fFM l8:sf] {kIAns} g .

; fksf6f, ejfglk| fb= -@)&)_ = d-h/l pk6of; sf]lj wftfत्वक अध्ययन. (अप्रकाशित
स्नातकोत्तर शोधपत्र). नेपाली केन्द्रीय विभाग, त्रि.वि. ।

; j ðL, cle= -@)%(_ = bñhtlj j ðd lj i6sf]; doofqf= sfIGtk/, kfj@), k£ s .

; j ðL, cle= -@)^*_ = ; f:s[ts ; dnfjrgfsf]lj sf; = /Tg axt\gkfnl ; dnfjrgf
-; fIGts v08_ /fhQb| ; j ðL / nldofk| fb uf;d -; Dkf= k£ !@%-
!#(_ .

; j ðL, /fhQb= -@)%#_ = gkfnl pk6of; k/Dk/f / kj/Q=nlntk'/ M ; ferf k\$fgz .

; j ðL, /fhQb= -@)&#_ = ; f:s[ts clloog / gkfnl ; flxTo= sf7df8fFM kf7ð; fdu|
306f3/ .

xn, :6j f6£ -!((&_ = /k/h/6]g slr/n P68 /k/h/6; g P68 l; llgkmf08
k//S6; h= n68g yfphQ8 cf\$; Go"lbNnL M ; h kIAns} G; .

xf\uf6{ /rf8£ -!((*_ = lb ohjh ckM ln6/]l=Go"h; L{M 66hQ; g kIAn; ; {.