

ফোকলোর ও জেডার প্রসঙ্গ

ম্যু-স্‌ভি প্লেজি

ফিগকি

cu_ex Rfo brix ckuu Rxeibi c0q mefijit c0vb GKiu c0h2 ntq `woqtq0| `enkK ev AvsR0ZK cwi mti i we`vqZubK Gj vKvq, Ges Zvi evBti I, tR0vi c0h2iUi PPPbvrvfite weKukZ ntq Pij t0| evsj vt`tkl msvMvbK-c0hZ0vbK chiq, Z_v brix`i wefboemsMvb, bvbri Kg brixev`x M0c Ges GbmRI -msMvibi KvRKtgP ga` w`tq, brix c0h2iU AtbK w`b aBi B PwPZ ntq Avmt0| m0c0Z G t`tki we`vqZubK RMtZI `ZS;welq wntmte wj 1/2xq Aa`qb ev tR0vi `vWR hyP ntqt0| G0rov, wekpe`vj q chiq mgwRK weAvb Ges mvinZ` I gvbek [inDg`mbuUR] AvbKvEi wefboelqi Aaxtb msik0-Abj 1/2-c0h2 wntmte tR0vi c0h2iU pgea0vb `i`tZi mvt_ hyP Kti covbvt n`0| Aapv, tdvKtj vti i we`vqZubK cwi mti i mti/2 tR0vi welqW `i`tZi mvt_ hyP Kti cu_exi wefboet`tk Gi cVb-cVb-PPP`i`i` ntqt0|

evsj vt`tk c0hZ0vbK D`Pukfivq tdvKtj vi Aa`qb LpB bZb| GLt0v chS-GLvbKvi tdvKtj vi PPP I Mtel Yv Aí wKQy e`vZmug Qrov mvinZ`tK`xK, msM0h-msKj bagP I eY0wbfP avivq GwMiq Pij t0| mgvR-ms`wZ Aa`qtb AvaybK ev gvk0xq ev DEi -AvaybK ev brixev`x ev GgbwK mvinZ`ZÉxq wefkiYi c0A`_tj v GLt0v Avgvt`i t`tki tdvKtj vi PPP mvt_ tZgb gvivq m0ú,3 ntZ cvti w| AšZ, Ges wefki Z, brixev`x RMriePvi -c0x0Zi tftit GB m0ú,3 Zvi pgea0vb Zwm` eZ0vb c0t0i mivai Y cvUvZb wbg0y Kti t0|

brixev`x AvbZtEi GtKvti tMvovi GKUv RivMv ntj v : 0th0bZv0 Avi 0tR0vi0 GK welq bq| c0_guU brix-cj`tli `wfwek-c0kuzK RxeZÉxq-tRt0wUK `enk0`i cwi PivqK, Avi w0ZxquU mgwRK-mv`wZK-HwZnwmK— thUv mgvR-ms`wZi Kvj -Kvj vsi` tfti` bvbvrvivq wbg0Z ntZ `vtK| Avmtj Avgvt`i c0Zw`bKvi Rxeibi GKUv w`K ntj v tR0vi | tR0vi Avevi mgwRK, A_0wZK Ges mis`wZK GKUv K`vUwmi I etU, hv gvberq th0bZvtK epEi web`vm ev w0q0gi Aaxb`-Kti Ges th0bZvi A_0K bZb Kti msAvwqZ Kti | GUvB ntj v t0t0w Av i cj`lwj ntq lVvi Avmj NUv (Geetha, 2002: 136)|

Zv-B hw` ntq `vtK, A_0, tR0vi hw` RxeZÉxq e`vci bv-ntq ms`wZi GKUv w`K ntq `vtK, Zvntj tR0vti i c0k NUvtbvi tftit Ges tR0vi tK Avti v cvKvtcr`3 Kti tZvj vi tftit tdvKtj vi `i`ZcY`f0gKv cvj b Kti wKbv tMv Avgi cix0v Kti t`Lv`i` Ki tZ cwi (Livesay, 1990: 15)|

evsj vt`tki DchP cwi t0f0Z wefepbvq ti tL cix0v-w0ix0vi GB AvKv`0vB eZ0vb chiq vPbv-c0t0i Aege-Aw0K Ges Dti k`-cwi miMZ `enk0`mgatK msAvwqZ Kti |

c0t0i Dti k`

mgvR-ms`wZtZ brix-cj`tli gta` th wj 1/2xq `elg` cwi j`v0Z ntq `vtK Zvi tMrovq w0qvkvxj `vtK wj 1/2xq fiev`kP ZvB tR0vi w0tq Avtj vPbv KitiZ ntj wj 1/2xq fiev`k0m0utK`cwi`0vi avi Yv `vKtZ nte| eZ0vb c0t0i brix-cj`tli wj 1/2wqZ wbg0y wj 1/2xq fiev`k0Kxfvte KivR Kti Zvi m0ú0 avi Yv t`qvi tP0v Kiv ntqt0| cvkvcwk, tdvKtj vti i Dcv`vb-DcKi Y_`tj vi ga` w`tq Kxfvte brix-cj`tli wj 1/2wqZ wbg0y NtU `vtK, tm_`tj vtK Ztj aiv ntqt0| A_0 tdvKtj vti i cwi mti (wefki Z K_`mvinZ` Z_v Qov, c0v`, ifcK_v Ges cwi ewi K-mgwRK Drme-Abp0v_`tj vtK tK`^a Kti) brix-cj`tli wj 1/2wqZ cwi Pq wbg0y Kxfvte Rwi `vtK tm_`tj v Dc`vcv Kiv ntqt0|

th0nZt brix-cj`tli wj 1/2wqZ wbg0y mgvR we`gvb 0lgZv-m0úK`GKiu Dti LthvM` f0gKv cvj b Kti Pij, ZvB fvlv I tKw`el tgi` ga` w`tq Kxfvte brix-cj`tli 0lgZv m0úK0U `wcz nq tmiU G i Pbvq t`Lv0v ntqt0| G0rov, tdvKtj vti i cVb-cVb-Mtel Yvq tR0vi c0h2_`tj v m0e` tKvb tKvb tftit ch0P ntZ cvti tmiU t`Lv0v ntqt0|

Ab`w`tK, tj LwUz bixi tdvKtj vti Aw0KMZ `vZS; Ztj aiv ntqt0| bixi tdvKtj vi ev brix welqK tdvKtj vi Mtel Yvq (brix A_`ev cj`l) Mtel tKi cj`l ZwS; fiev`k0Kxfvte Ašivq ntq `wovq Ges mgwMK fite GB cwi t0f0ZUv bZb Kti mrv0bvi Rb` bixi tdvKtj vti ev brix welqK tdvKtj vi Mtel Yvq tKvb tKvb w0tqi I ci tRvi w`tZ nq, Zv GB c0t0i nwr i Kiv ntqt0| bixi tdvKtj vi w0tq Avtj vPbvq Ab`vb` t`tki tdvKtj vi we`t`i wKQy wKQy KvRKtgP cvkvcwk evsj vt`tki t0f0vctU G aiti KvRKtgP `0GKUv bg0v Ztj aiv ntqt0, hvi ga` w`tq tdvKtj vi I tR0vi c0h2i Avs0thvMvthvM NuUq evsj vt`tk tdvKtj vti we`vqZubK cwi mti G ms0vS-cVb-cVb-Mtel Yvi wKQy w`K-w0t` Rbv cvl qv thtZ cvti |

GQov, cPwj Z wj ½wqZ a'vb-avi Yvi evBti wMtq weKí mvs`wZK a'vb-avi Yvi PPPtdvKtj vti i Avl Zvq Kxfvte Avbv thtZ cwti tmB mspvš-K_vevZf eZgub tj Lvi AšfP Kiv ntqtQ |

wj ½xq fiev`kQ wj ½xq cPcvZ

mgvR bviX-cj`ti i wj ½wqZ cwi Ptqi wbgP KZ_tjv mvgwRK-mvs`wZK-agxQ gj`tevtai wbi tL wbañi Z ntq _vtK | bviX-cj`ti i GB wj ½xq Aege wbgP Y bvbvb wfbZvl cwi jwPZ nq | GKUv mgvR-ms`wZi cZ`wkZ I Abtjgw Z gj`tevtai Avtj vtK wfbwfbwMvöxi bviX-cj`ti i wj ½xq Aege wbgP nq |

cw_exi weifbæ`vtb, AšZ wekI wKQyAw`evmx RwiZtMvöxi gta`, we`gvb Aí msL`K gvZZwšK mgvR Qov ev`ewk mKj mgvR bviX-cj`ti i wj ½wqZ cwi Pq wbgP Y mavi Yfvte th-fiev`kQ Kvr Kti, Zv bviXK cj`ti i Aaxb`Kti tZvtj | dtj bviX-cj`ti i wj ½xq m`úKw cji`l ZwišK fiev`tkP teovRvtj AvevZ` ntq cji`tk mgvRi AwacZ`kxj kvmtKi fvgKvq AeZv`Kti, Avi cvkvcwk, bviXK cj`ti i wbgšYvxb e`tZ cwi YZ Kti | GB aítbi wj ½xq fiev`tkP Kvi tY bviXv mgvRi meP wbcxotbi wKvi ntq _vtK |

wj ½xq fiev`kQ m`úKw Bw_lwcv i Avtj tgv wekP`vj tqi wK`we` tRbjvb útmtbi mvcwZK msAvqb GLvtb cPvabthvM` : wj ½xq fiev`kQ tjtjv, mvs`wZK wekPmi GKUv mK;Lj e`e`v, hvi gva`g GK-GKUv mgvR wj ½xq m`úKw AvPiYmgatK wbgP Kti Ges tm_tjtvtK cQvM KitiZ mP`g ntq ltv | bviX nI qv ev cji`l nI qv ej tZ Kx tevSvq tm-m`úwKZ wKse`wš- AvLvb Ges cjiY wbtq Mto ltv wj ½xq fiev`kP wj ½xq fiev`kQ`ej t`q GKUv mgvRi gta` bviX-cj`ti i AvPvi-AvPiY KxiKg nI qv DvPZ | GKUv mgvRi wj ½xq fiev`kQ`cW_Z _vtK cAvbZ agxQ Avi mvgwRK gj bwiZ_tjvi tFzi | Gme gj bwiZ Avevi e`eüZ nq cW`K wj tzi wfbwfbwAwKvi, `vq`wqZ; Avi cji`v`ti i b`v`Zv cW`cvti bwiE wntmte | cW`bKvi mvgwRK Abkxj tbi GKUv AwšK wntmte mgvR Zvi wj ½xq fiev`kP Kvi tcv³ Kti Zj tZ _vtK (Hussein, 2005) |

bviX-cj`ti i cji`l ZwišK wbgP`tk Ae`vnZ ivtL ivtöf hveZxq mvgwRK-mvs`wZK ms`v-msMVb-GtRwY | mgvRi AvtiV AtpK _i`ZcY`GtR-U-Gi cvkvcwk tdvKtjvi l bviX-cj`ti i GB wj ½xq `elg`tk wWktq ivtLz tek k³tcv³ fvgKv ivtL | gwKb hP`ivtöf mjeL`vZ Avimbvm KtjtRi BwZnm wefvM i Aa`vcK jiv eP`tdvKtjvti wj ½xq cW`tAi mvt_hP Kti Zwi ÖBdi vcvq l Pxbv tdvKtjvti wj ½xq cW`tö cW`tU ej tQb, GKw`tk tRÜvi mspvš-AšN`Zgj K tj Lvtj wLi evnb wntmte Ges Ab`w`tk tRÜvi mspvš-mvgwRK cZ`vkmgn Ávctbi cP`vq-cP`wv ev gva`g wntmteÑ Dfqw`K t`tkÑ wZvb tdvKtjvi PPPKti b | wZvb tj vKmwntZ`i GKUv _i`ZcY`Dcv`vb i`cK_v wbtq Mtel Yv KitiZ wMtq t`Ltz cvb, ÖmZö bviX Ges Zvt`i m`_Yvev Av i ÖAmZö bviX Ges Zvt`i g`_Yvev m`úKw`AtpK AvtMkvi mgvR Kx tftewQj tm m`úKw`Rvbv hvq GB i`cK_v_tjv t`tk (Blauch, 2006) | Gfvte, Kvj ci`úivq i`cK_v cji`l ZwišK fiev`tkP Avtj vtK bviX wj ½wqZ wbgP NUvtZ _vtK |

i`cK_vq ÖwBwö Ggb GKUv K`vtUMvi, thLvtb tKej bviX`i B AšfP Kiv ntqtQ ; cji`l`i bq | BDti vcv Av i Avgvt`i t`tki i`cK_vq GB ÖwBwö Pwi T wbgZ ntqtQ cPwj Z mgvRi cji`l ZwišK fiev`tkP Avtj vtK | WwBwö`i bvbvfvte P i g tbwZevPK Atp`Lvtv ntqtQ i`cK_v_tjvtZ | A_P HwZnmK mZ` GB th, BDti vcti mvgšhM ivRv l PvtP GKUv b``t`AwacZ` hLb bvbvfvte cW`kæ m`š`xb nwQj Ges G_tjtvtK`gb Kievi Rb`hLb bviXvq c_ Aej`ab Kiv ntqtQj , ZLbB mjo nq cW`Zev`x ev wbgq f`½Kvix bviXK WwBw AvL`v`tq nZ`v Kivi AhZ NUbv | mePvBtZ MhYthvM` msL`v`nt`Q 60 jvL | hK` Qov GwJB mePvBtZ e`vcK MYnZ`v (Mies, 1986 : 80-110, D×Z : Avbygnvš , 1997 : 15) |

Avevi fvi tzi wKQyAw`evmx RwiZtMvöxi gta` l e`vcKvnti WwBw Acevt` bviXnZ`vi NUbv NtUtQ (gvj K` tmb`B, 1994 : 94) | Zvntj t`Lv hv`Q, wCZwšK fiev`tkP LojMi wecixZ GK`v thme bviX we`tn Kti mgvRi AwacZ`tkñYi nvtZ bksmfvte nZ`vhtAi wKvi ntqtQjtj b, ZvivB cieZxRvtj i wCZwšK fiev`tk`wbgZ mwntZ` ÖwBwö wntmte wP`wqZ ntj b, Avi Gfvte Avovj ntjv wCZwšK eePZv |

tdvKtjvi we` Avjvb WtÜm Zwi ÖKK&KK&Kiv gjwM Avi C`v`ti i Li tMvKö cW`tÜ Avtjvi Kvi ms`wZi gta` tdvKtjvti i weifbæDcv`vb Z_v wki`ti i Qov, wekym-ms`vi, AtUvMöc-wj wC, tLj vajv, cW`BZ`w`i ga` w`tq GB cji`l-cP`cvZi weI qw thfvte wP`vqkxj _vtK, Zv Ztj`atitQb (Dundes, 1980 : 160) | WtÜm Zwi cW`tÜi`i`tZB wekó tdvKtjvi we`Gg. Wi mtbi GKw D`wZ`w`tqtQb, thLvtb Wi mbv ej tQb, ÖtgšwLk HwZn`KZ`j wj Z-cwv Z Rbvcñ Kms`vi mgn Avi QK-euav a'vb-avi Yv BwZnvfmi MwZavvtK P`wZMö`-Kti tQ | Ö

Avgvt`i cwi evi _tjtvtZ th mg`-Drme-Abp`vb-AvPvi-AvPiY cwv Z ntq _vtK, Zvi ga` w`tq cwi evti i tQjt tqtqv Lp tQvU eqm t`tkB wj ½xq a'vb-avi Yvi mvt`cwi wPZ ntq ltv | Mfxi fvte chP`Y KitiZ Gme cwi ewi K-agxQ-mvgwRK

ˆenkóˆ e0tj wetewPZ th, G c0vˆ Uv iˆbtZ mwZˆB KrwmZ jvM, thLvfb ejv nˆtˆQ— 0gv Kvbˆ teUj Zvfb/ teUj Kvbˆ
bvˆzi Zvfb0... | bviix tmd thSbeˆN G eˆˆ AvKlYqfvte mwrˆtq c0 kb KiˆZ nq— 0fbcv c0fb avix/ Dovtj civtj
bvi/ Svˆtj Stj Zi Kvix0... | iˆayZvB bq, wczZSj bviˆtK cjˆti l ci Ggb wbfPkj Kti tZvˆtj th, tKvˆbv bviix ˆ0gx
hw Mwi e nq, Zte Zvi Pv Lvl qvi ˆlgZv ˆvˆK bv [0fvZ tRvUv bv fivZvˆi/ Pv Lvl qvi dUw0]... (Chakraborty and
Newton, 2001)|

tdvKtj vi-Gi Dcti wj wZ Dcvˆ vb-DcKiY, tˆj vi wj ˆzqx wetkHagrˆchˆtj vPbvi gaˆ wˆtq Avgiv tcvKtj vi l tR0vˆti i
AvStmˆuˆwKZ Gj vKvi mvˆt_ thvMvthvM NUvˆZ cwi, hv wKbv cieZvˆvˆtj G wclqK bZb bZb MˆtelYvi c_ˆZwi tZ mrvqK
fvgKv ivLˆtZ cvˆti |

tR0vi -Avˆtj vPbvq fvlv, tkˆiY%elgˆ Ges ˆlgZv-mˆuˆtKˆP c0k0

GKB fvlv l msˆuˆZi gˆtaˆ emevmKvix tMv0xˆx gvbˆtli ciˆuˆi vMZ thvMvthvM tcvKtj vˆti i gvaˆtg emvZ nˆtq ˆvˆK |
tKvˆbv GKUv tˆj vKmgvˆRi tcvKtj vi MZ Z_v msˆuˆZM AvPvi -AvPiˆtYi Avˆvbc0 vb l cwi Phˆtmb mgvˆRi bvi-x-cjˆti i
wj ˆzmqZ cwi Pq wbgˆtY kwˆkvj x Aeˆvb ti tL Pˆtj |

fvlv tKej gvbˆtli mvˆt_ gvbˆtli thvMvthvMi evnb wntmteB KvR Kti bv | Avmˆtj, fvlv wˆtRB c0ZwˆbqZ mgvˆR-evˆeZvˆK
wbgˆtY Ges Dcˆvcb Kti Pˆtj | dtj wczZwˆsK mgvˆR fvlv nˆtq l tˆv wczZwˆsK | mgvˆR bvi-x-cjˆti i ˆlgZv-mˆuˆKˆ
fvlv gaˆ wˆtq Avgvˆt i c0Zwˆtbi gˆtLi Revˆtb nwrˆi nq | ZvB fvlv gˆtaˆ cjˆti l-cˆtj cvZ Z_v cjˆti tK ˆlgZvi tˆvZK
wntmte, Avi bviˆtK c0wˆj Z mvgwˆRK 0ˆtK eav gjˆteˆtˆai Z_v cjˆti i ˆlgZv-mˆuˆtKˆP Aaˆb tˆvZˆZ iˆc tˆLvi
ZrciZv wˆqvkvj ˆvˆK | dtj fvlv bvi-x-cjˆti i wj ˆzmqZ wbgˆtY tK AbeiZ Rwi ivˆtL | GB msˆuˆZK wbgˆtYi tcvˆt
bvi-x-cjˆti i ˆlgZv-mˆuˆKˆP metˆtq etov fvgKv ivˆtL, thLvfb cjˆti l ˆvˆK GB ˆlgZv-mˆuˆtKˆP tKˆtˆˆ; Avi bvi-x Aeˆvb Kti
c0tˆsˆt A_ˆt, bvi-x-cjˆti i wj ˆzmqZ cwi Pq wbgˆtY cjˆti l-KZˆtj Z_v cjˆti l Zˆtj c0ˆj fite wˆqvkvj ˆvˆK |

mvgwˆMK mvgwˆRK cwi tˆc0ˆtˆtZ bvi-x-cjˆti i ˆlgZv-mˆuˆtKˆP bvbv Dˆm l ifcwebˆvm GKUv mgvˆRi ivRˆwˆZK,
A_ˆwˆZK, msˆuˆZK, agˆtˆ Ges wKˆtˆv msˆuˆsˆ-bvbv Abˆvˆv-c0Zvˆv-AvPvi tK Avkˆt Kti mmeˆRAˆt_ˆuˆtK ˆvˆK l wj ˆzqx
c0tˆuˆtK mi vmi Avˆtj vPZ Z_v DˆtˆvˆvPZ n l qvi nvZ tˆtK Avovj KiˆZ ˆvˆK | 0ˆtmb (Hussein, 2005) wˆvˆfˆbˆwˆsˆtK
eivˆZ PgrKvi msvˆtˆZvi gˆtaˆ G eˆvˆvˆtˆi LˆtB ˆj-ZcYˆwK0yˆw K Zˆtj atˆt0b—

fvlv mˆuˆtKˆP mavi Yfvte c0wˆj Z aviYv GiKg th, fvlv ntjv tmd thvMvthvMi GKUv gvaˆg, wKˆsˆ GiKg AvZ mij
aviYvˆtK ˆpfvte Pˆvˆtj ˆA Ktib DˆEi-AvaybK wˆsˆtKiv (Giroux, 1997) | fvlv 0GKwˆtK Avgvˆt i AvˆtˆZj ivRˆwˆZK,
Av_ˆmvgwˆRK, eYˆtˆ Ges thSbZv msˆuˆsˆ-icˆtˆi Lvi tˆfZˆtˆi Avgvˆt i AeˆvˆtˆK Mˆto tZvˆtj, AbˆwˆtK fvlv Avevi l B
icˆtˆi Lvi gˆtaˆ Avgvˆt i Aeˆvˆtˆbi c0Zdj bl NUvq0 (Cohen, 1993 : 1) | wj ˆzmqZ GKUv mgvˆR bvbv ˆj -tMv0x Kˆvˆfite
Kˆv AvPvi -AvPiY Kiˆte, Ges evBˆti i ˆvˆbqvi mvˆt_ˆN Avi, wˆtRˆtˆ i gˆtaˆ ciˆuˆtˆi mvˆt_ˆN Kˆvˆfite Zviv mˆuˆKˆP cvZvte,
tmme eˆvˆvˆi mˆvˆvˆi Rvbˆtˆvˆi KvˆR fvlvˆtK eˆvˆvˆi Kiv nq | GKevi hLb Gme mvgwˆRK ˆj -tMv0x AwacˆZˆ Avi
AaxbˆZvi mˆuˆtKˆP wj ˆtq cˆto, ZLb Zviv 0Pˆvˆvˆtˆbi wˆvˆfˆbˆwˆsˆtK c0tˆvˆM Kti 0 (McLaren, 1997 : 528) wˆtRˆtˆ i
gˆtaˆ wˆtˆfˆ mˆvˆo KiˆZ ˆvˆK | fvlv ZLb Zvˆtˆ i wˆtRˆtˆ i mˆuˆtKˆP Ges Abˆtˆ i mˆuˆtKˆP, bvbv Mr ev 0wˆP evbˆtˆvˆi mˆtˆvˆM
Kti tˆq | G mˆtˆvˆM eˆvˆvˆi Kti AwacˆZˆ ˆj -tMv0x ˆtjv Zvˆtˆ i Aaxbˆˆˆj -tMv0x ˆtjv l ci wˆbˆvˆb Ges Zvˆtˆ i wˆiˆtˆx
AvM0mb Pjvˆtˆv l Kmsˆvˆi c0vˆi Kivi KvRˆtK mnRZi Kti tZvj vi jˆtˆtˆ fvlvˆtK KvˆR j vMvq (Goke-Pariola, 1993;
Nwagbara, 2000) |

Zvˆtˆtˆ tˆLv hvˆtˆQ, AwacˆZˆ tkˆiY Zvˆtˆ i ˆlgZv-mˆuˆtKˆP wˆtRˆtˆ i tkˆiYˆvˆtˆ_ˆenˆj ivLˆtZ fvlvˆtK wˆvˆfˆbˆwˆsˆtK-evPb-
wˆvˆtˆKvˆmˆAvKvˆtˆi thgb nwrˆi Kti Ges PˆPˆ gvaˆtg tˆmˆtj vˆtK mgvˆR c0ZwˆZ Kivi tP0v Kti, GKBfvte wj ˆzmqZ
mgvˆR AwacˆZˆ tkˆiY wntmte cjˆti i KZˆP-mˆEˆwˆl meˆP Zvˆtˆ i ˆlgZv-mˆuˆZ eRvq ivLˆtZ fvlv gaˆ wˆtq wˆvˆfˆbˆwˆsˆtK
Mˆto Zj tZ ˆvˆK, tˆmˆtj vˆtK mˆvˆ-nwrˆi Kti ivLˆtZ ˆvˆK Ges bvbv Abˆkvj b l PˆPˆ gaˆ wˆtq tˆmˆtj vˆtK mgvˆRi
mavi Y-ˆvˆfˆwˆK i wˆZ wntmte c0ZwˆZ Kivi tP0v Pjvq |

bviix l ci KZˆtj Kivi tˆtˆtˆ A_ˆwˆZK-wˆfvRb, Z_v tkˆiY%elgˆ, Lˆtˆ tenk Zvi Zgˆ NUvˆZ cvˆti bv | tKbvˆv cjˆti l-KZˆtj
mgvˆRi mKj tkˆiYi cjˆti tK bviix l ci ˆlgZv LvUvˆtˆvi msˆuˆZ Kvˆtqg Kivi c0q-wi ˆtK Abˆtˆvˆ b tˆq | ZvB tˆLv hvq,
GˆtˆKevˆt Mwi e-tkˆiYi cjˆti l ZwˆsˆK mgvˆR bviix c0Z th-ˆwˆfˆwˆz tcvlY Kti, wˆEˆevb tkˆiYi cjˆti l ZwˆsˆK mgvˆRi bviix c0Z
Kˆtˆenˆk Abˆjˆc ˆwˆfˆwˆz tcvlY Kti | M0tˆgi 0ˆbi ˆtˆi 0ˆvˆi AvˆcˆvˆZ0gˆLˆtˆ ˆi Kwˆ_Z 0ˆjˆ0 mˆvˆnˆZˆ-mˆuˆZi gˆtaˆ bviix th Aaˆ-
b l 0ˆtK-eav ifc wˆbˆvˆZ nq, ejˆtZ tMˆtj GKUv Nˆvˆtˆq-wˆvˆtˆtˆq tˆmb GKB c0ZgˆwˆZ wˆbˆvˆZ nˆtq Pˆtj knˆti i 0ˆkˆvˆtˆZ0 Avi
0AvaybK0tˆ i 0ˆvˆi gˆwˆRZ0 mˆvˆnˆZˆ-mˆuˆZi ejˆtq | ZvB hvˆtˆvˆvˆtˆvˆi tLgˆvˆvˆvˆtˆvˆi bviix, Ges wˆvˆfˆbˆwˆsˆtK Avi Pj vˆPˆtˆi
fˆvˆuˆ Pwi tˆtˆi bviix wˆtˆvˆtˆY eˆZ tKvˆbv dˆvˆvˆK NˆtU bv | M0tˆgi tˆgˆwˆLˆK mˆvˆnˆZˆ i avav, c0vˆ, 0ov, ifcK_v, Mˆt l Mˆtˆb

bvix`i c0qkB thfite mgvRi Mreav a`vb-aviYvi tfZI w`tq Dc`vcb Kiv ntq `vtK, tZgub kn`ii tKZve mwn`Z, msMxZ, weAvctb, buU`K, Pj w`P`T`I bvix`K Kgtenk GKBfvte vbgv` Kivi c0uqv Avgv`i fvlvi ga` w`tq weirf`be wlvmtKv`mP` bvtg Abkxwj Z ntq `vtK|

Gfite, fvlv Avgv`i c0Zw`bKvi Riebhvctbi mt`% msuk6-th ePb-evPb-eqv-e`vL`v-fvl` ewbtq tZvtj, tmLvtb gj Z` qIlgZvi-ivRbmxZB gyl` fvgKv cvj b Kti | G ivRbmxZi PPP`KtiB mgvRi AvacuZ tk`iY Avi AvacuZ ms`wZ mgvRi c0uSK tk`iY Ges c0uSK ms`wZi lci vbtRt`i kumb Rwi ivtL| Avevi cj`l-KZPZji GKtPwUqv ukKvi wntmte bvixi lci GB` qIlgZvi ivRbmxZwU mgvR-ms`wZi c0q c0ZwU `fi cYgv`vq envj `vtK|

fvlvi ga`Kvi wj` %xq c`qIcvZ, Z_v fvlv`elg, Ges fvlvi tfZti m`v we`gvb wj` %xq fiev`k`l weiea wj` %xq c0A` BZ`w` vbtq K_v ejvi mgq j` qI Kiv`iKvi th, mvgwMK` t`v`m`at`U`i w`K w`tq Gmtei mv`t` cj`l l` cj`l`Zt`sj` maviY GKUv m`uK`m`f` itqtQ| Gme c0h`%`-Abj`%` Avmtj` GKB m`z`vq Mu_v | tmB m`z`vi bvg mvgwRK` qIlgZv-m`uK`m` Avtiv m`b`w` 0` Kti ej` tj, mgvR we`gvb wj` %xq qIlgZv-m`uK`m`

bvixi tdvKtjvi : tdvKtjvi cVb-cvWtb wj` %xq c0h`%

tRvbdvi wj` f`m` Zvi 0tdvKtjvi ms`uS-t`qI`-m`g`v`v`w` wj` %xq c0h`%0 c0tU` bvixi tdvKtjvi ev bvix w`lqK tdvKtjvi MtelYvi w`KQy` i`ZcY`v`K` Ztj` atib (Livesay, 1990: 16)| w`Zwb` t`w`L`tq`Qb, maviYZ tdvKtjvi we` iv` cj`l`Zw`S`K` `vofw`%Z` tdvKtjvi MtelYv` KtiB` w`Ksev` bvix w`lqK tdvKtjvi v`t`Kl` Ztj` atib` tmB` GKB` `vofw`%` t`%K`| thgb` aiv` hvK, bvix`i` th-mg`-tdvKtjvi` tKej` cj`l`%i` mvgtb` cwi`tenkZ` ntq` `vtK, tm`%tj` v`KB` tdvKtjvi`-kv`%i` gj`v`qb` Kiv` ntq` `vtK| A_P, wj` f`m` m`w`KfvteB` gtb` ti`%L`%Qb` th, GKUv` Avj`v`v` kv`%i` wntmte` tdvKtjv`i` th` BwZnm, tmLvtb` bvix`-tdvKtjvi` we`t` ivl` KvR` Kti`%Qb, w`K`% tdvKtjv`i` cwi`m`ti` m`g`m`w`U` tKej` bvixi` Abj`w`%Z` bq`N` gj` m`g`m`w`U` eis` `vofw`%Z`| bvixi` Rie`%bi` tKub` w`K`%tj` v`K` Aa`q`%bi` DcR`e` etj` gtb` Kiv` ntq`%Q` Ges` Mtel`%Kiv` bvixi` Rieb` l` Avf`AZvi` tKub` w`K`%tj` v`K` t`L`Z` e`%ntq`%Qb, tmw`%K` bRi` w`tj` B` e`v`cv`i`Uv` Avtiv` cwi`%vi` nte|

wj` f`mi` h`y`%t`Z, Avgv`i` ms`w`Zi` th` AvacuZ` `vofw`%, tmUv` mveR`fvte` GKUv` cj`l`cwi`%c0`qI`Z` nwi`Ri` Kti`N` GUv`%KB` Mtel`%Kiv` 0cj`l`%K`%i`K` fiev`k`% ev` 0cj`l`Z`S`% etj`%Qb| GB` cj`l`Zw`S`K` cwi`%c0`qI`Z` t`%K` RMrt`K` t`LvUv` e`v`cKfvte` MnxZ` ntq`%Q, mgvR` M0Y`thv`M`Zv` t`c`%t`%Q` Ges` tenki`fvM` t`j`v`K` GUv`%K` AvZ`%` Kivi` tP0v` Kti`%Q, Zv` Zv`i` th` tk`iY`i`B` tnv`K` bv` tKb| GB` cwi`w`%ZUv`%K` mvgwMK`fvte` tXtj` m`v`Rv`%bvi` Rb`B` wj` %xq` w`lq`-Avktqi` cVb-cvVb` bvix`i` w`bR`^`c`K`v`k`f`w`%i` lci` `i`Z`j`%t`%q` tKbbv, AvacuZ` ms`w`ZK` a`vb-aviYvi` evB`%i` Avf`AZvi` bvix`i` tdvKtjv`i` ga` w`tq` c`K`v`k`f`w`%Z` ntZ` cv`ti`| bvixi` cwi`tenkZ` tdvKtjvi` i`ay` th` cj`l`-cwi`tenkZ` tdvKtjv`i` i`P`%q` Avj`v`v` nte` Zv`-B` bq, Avgv`i` Rb`w`c`% ms`w`ZtZ` Ges` D`P`v`%i` w`k`i`Kjv` l` m`w`n`%Z` th` ai`%bi` `kw`i`K` Aw`%K` itqtQ` Zvi` t`%Kl` GwU` Avj`v`v` nte (Livesay, 1990: 16)|

bvix`i` t`g`S`L`K` tdvKtjvi` vbtq` m`Rvb` K`iv` wnt`Ki` Kiv` GKUv` 0c`f`v`e`w`%v`i`x0` MtelYvi` eiv`Z` wj` f`m` t`w`L`tq`%Qb` th, tK`%`%q` GKUv` aviYv` Z_v` 0kum0` ev` gg`%`%K` (Kalcik, 1986` D`x`Z` : Livesay, 1990` : 17)| w`N`ti` bvbvb` Dcv`%vb` R`%ov` Kti` h`_ex`fvte` tdvKtjvi` cwi`tekb` Kivi` i`x`i`Z` cj`l`%i`` Zj` b`v`q` bvix`i`` g`%a`` tenk` t`Lv` hvq| cwi`tekb`-c0`k`%bi` G` i`x`i`Z`Z` `k`R` Avi` cwi`tekb`Kvixi` g`%a`` m`y`u0` tKv`%bv` cv`R`` `vtK` bv| th` Kw`n`wb` G`%Z` m`y0` Kiv` nq, Zv`%Z` Abj`v`%bi` mev`B` UKiv` UKiv` Ae`%v` ivL`%Z` cv`ti`| g`%b`v`%thv`Mx` t`k`%Zvi` Kv`%Q` GKRb` K`_K` thi`K`g`fvte` M`i` etj` `vtKb, tm` ai`%bi` w`P`i`v`q`Z` i`x`i`Z`i` mt`%` 0kum0`-Gi` aviYv` tg`%j` bv| bvix`i`` cwi`tenkZ` GB` ai`%bi` t`g`S`L`K` tdvKtjvi`-Gi` c`K`i`YMZ` i`x`i`Z`b`w`%Z` G`%Kev`%i` Avj`v`v` (Livesay, 1990: 17)|

c`P`w`j` Z` cj`l`Zw`S`K` ej`%qi` g`%a`` evm` Kti` l` bvixi`v` KL`%bv` KL`%bv` vbtRt`i`` `Z`S`%`%t` nwi`Ri` Kti`b| cwi`%get`%i` m`w`n`%Z`-K`-Mtel`K`-Aa`%v`K` bebxZv` t`e` tmb (Deb Sen, 1998) fvi`Zel`%l` evsj`v`%t`ki` weirf`be`M0tgi` bvix`i`` cwi`tenkZ` ivg`v`Y` Mv`%bi` ga` w`tq` Ztj` at`%t`%Qb` th, Mv`%tj`v` tKej` bvix`mgv`R`B` c`P`w`j` Z| GB` ivg`v`Y` Mv`%tj`v` AvacuZ` cj`l`Zw`S`K` avi`q` c`P`w`j` Z` a`c`%x` ivg`v`Y` t`%K` A`%b`Kv`%t`%K`B` Avj`v`v`| G` ai`%bi` ivg`v`Y`-Mv`%b` bvixi`v` mx`Zvi` eqv`%b` Zv`%i` vbtRt`i`` i``%L`-K`%t0i` Mv`%B` t`m`%q` `vtKb| mgvR` KZ`R` MnxZ` l` c`P`w`j` Z` th` a`c`%x` ivg`v`Y` ev` c`w`_exi` Zver` gnv`Kv`te`i` th` cj`l`%t`w`P`Z` exi`Mv`_v, Zvi` weci`%Z` `w`%tq` bvix`i`` cwi`tenkZ` GB` ai`%bi` t`j`v`K`Mv`_v` l` Mv`%bi` ga` w`tq` bvixi` `Z`S`%`m`E`v`B` c`%t`U` l`%v| GB` ai`%bi` Kv`R`%KB` ej`v` th`%Z` cv`ti, bvixi` tdvKtjvi` ev bvix w`lqK tdvKtjvi, thLvtb Avj`v`v` Kti` bvix`i`` w`bR`^`%t` ev` c`K`v`k`f`w`%i` lci` `i`Z`j`%t`%q` nq|

Avevi, gv`bem`gv`R` gj` avivi` ms`w`Z` l` thv`Mv`%thv`%Mi` GKUv` `i`ZcY`%gva`%g` wntmte` tdvKtjvi` thgb` mgvRi` AvacuZ` tk`iY`i` KZ`P`%i`v`q`Y` wj` %w`q`Z` a`vb-aviYv`%tj`vi` c`K`v`k` NUv`%Z` cv`ti, tZg`b` Avevi` mgvRi` gj` t`m`%t`%Zi` weci`%Z` q`%i`%` q`%i`%` t`Mv`%xi` ms`w`Z`K` thv`Mv`%thv`%Mi` gva`%g` wntmte` tdvKtjvi` KL`%bv` KL`%bv` ep`Ei` mgvRi` c`P`w`j` Z` fiev`%t`k`% evB`%i` ev` weci`%Z` w`%tq`

ˆepTˆcYˆmvsˆwZK aˆvb-aviYvi cKvkl NUvtZ cvti | GB iKg ˆqjˆaˆqjˆaˆtMvˆox KLtˆbv ntZ cvti bviX Avˆbˆvjˆtbi mvtˆ_ hˆpˆ ev vbi ˆkˆfˆvte bviXi AvPviˆtKˆ ˆK tKvˆtˆbv Mˆoc, thgb fviˆtZi vevfˆbˆocˆ ˆtˆk ev evsj vˆtˆtˆki vKˆtˆkvi MˆA Gj vKvq vBˆRˆ ˆ i vgvqY Mvb-Mvl qv MˆogxY bviXi ˆj (Deb Sen, 1998 ; mˆvˆsZv PˆpˆeZˆ, 2003), ev DˆEietˆˆ epˆoi Rbˆ ˆAbyˆoZ ivReskx K.I.K bviXˆi ˆuˆgv ˆtˆl-Gi Abˆpˆvb (lˆqmkj Avntˆgˆ, 1995 : 15-16) vKsev ntZ cvti mgvR-ixˆzi gj tmˆtˆZvavivˆ_tj vi evBˆti AvawˆoZ bviX-cjˆtˆli ˆqjˆaˆqjˆaˆhˆ_ex tKvˆtˆbv tMvˆox (thgb evDj -cˆvki ev ZwˆsK-mˆnˆRqv-ˆeˆoe mvaK mˆuˆˆtˆq), Avevi KLtˆbv ntZ cvti bviX-cjˆtˆli Afˆ-ˆOˆtˆki evBˆti emevmKvix vˆnˆRov, mgKvˆx cˆfˆwZ gvbˆl Rb (Brunvand, 1986) | AbˆwˆtˆK, cˆwi evZˆZ Av_ˆmˆvgvˆmRK tˆcˆvˆtˆv tU bviX-iˆvZˆ tgˆsˆmLK mˆvˆntˆZˆ bviXiv vˆbˆtˆRˆtˆ ˆhˆwˆcZ-Rˆietˆbi vˆbcˆxob thgb Zˆtˆj aˆtˆib, cˆvˆkˆvˆmˆk A_ˆvˆbˆwZKfˆvte ˆtˆej ˆxˆ bviXkˆtˆgKiv Zˆvˆtˆ ˆi tgˆsˆmLK mˆvˆntˆZˆˆ cˆoZevˆtˆ ˆi ˆZˆsˆ; thˆsˆ ˆtˆl dˆuˆtˆq tˆZˆtˆj b, thUv mgvˆtˆR bviXˆi mˆuˆtˆKˆcˆPˆwˆj Z vˆ-wi lUvBcˆw aˆvb-aviYvˆtˆK AˆtˆbKvˆtˆkˆB LeˆKˆti (G mˆsˆmˆvˆsˆ-Aˆvtˆj vPˆbvi Rbˆ ˆˆeˆ Avej nˆvˆmˆvˆ tPˆsˆajˆx 2006 : 35) |

bviXi mvtˆ_ mˆsˆkˆeˆ-tˆdvKˆtˆj vi MˆtelYv eZˆgˆvb mgˆtˆq bˆvˆbˆ gvˆvq Amˆthi ntˆq Pˆtˆj tˆq | cˆjˆvˆtˆbv aˆvb-aviYvi vevciˆxZˆ tRˆUvi mˆsˆkˆeˆ-AvˆapˆbK Mˆi-Kˆvˆnˆvˆbˆ_tj vˆbˆtˆq l KˆvR Kivi cˆoˆqvRˆb iˆtˆqˆtˆQ etˆj gˆmˆkˆb tˆdvKˆtˆj vi vˆeˆ Rˆvˆb nˆvˆiˆl eˆbˆfˆvˆU Zui ˆtˆRˆUvi -cˆvˆRˆRˆvˆbZ ˆj tˆMvˆoxˆ tˆj Lˆvq Dˆtˆj EˆKˆtˆiˆtˆQb (Brunvand, 1968: 43) | Avevi, mˆpˆvˆb Kˆvˆj vˆmˆk bviX-AˆbˆvjˆtˆbKvix GKUv tMvˆoxi bviXˆi tˆgˆsˆmLK AvLˆvˆbˆ_tj vˆbˆtˆq KˆvR KˆtˆiˆtˆQb, thLˆvˆtˆb bviXiv GKUv vˆelˆqˆtˆK (bviXi vˆbcˆxob) tKˆˆaˆKˆtˆi cˆiˆuˆi cˆiˆuˆtˆi i mvtˆ_ vˆgvˆj Z nq, vˆbˆtˆRˆtˆ ˆi AvfˆAˆZˆvˆ_tj vˆtˆj bˆtˆ b Kˆtˆi (Kalcik, 1975) | GB aˆtˆtˆbi MˆtelYvi gaˆˆwˆtˆq tKvˆtˆbv GKUv tMvˆoxi vˆbRˆˆAvLˆvˆbgˆj K Mˆi-Kˆvˆnˆvˆbi gˆvˆtˆg Zˆvˆtˆ ˆi vˆbRˆˆˆtˆ cˆpˆtˆubˆgˆZ nte |

cjˆl ZwˆsK vj ˆzˆxq fˆvˆeˆ ˆtˆkˆˆtˆhˆnˆZˆ bviXi vB cˆwˆ_eˆxˆeˆvˆcˆx bˆvˆbˆvi Kg vj ˆzˆxq ˆelgˆ ev vˆbcˆxˆoˆtˆbi vˆkˆKvi ntˆq Pˆtˆj tˆq, vˆelˆq vˆntˆmˆte ˆvˆbˆiˆxˆoˆ ZˆvˆB tRˆUvi vˆelˆqK Avˆtˆj vPˆbv-MˆtelYvˆq mˆvˆetˆkl ˆ_iˆZˆi cˆvq | KˆvˆtˆRB, tˆdvKˆtˆj vˆtˆi i tˆqˆtˆtˆ, bviXi tˆdvKˆtˆj vi ev bviX vˆelˆqK tˆdvKˆtˆj vi MˆtelYvˆq Avˆgvˆtˆ ˆi cˆvˆbˆZˆ ˆvˆtˆK ˆ_iˆZˆi Avˆtˆvˆc KˆiˆZˆ nq— cˆoˆgZ, Avˆgvˆtˆ ˆi GB cˆjˆl ZwˆsK mgvR tLˆˆ bviXˆtˆK Kˆvˆfˆvte vˆbˆgˆvˆy Kˆtˆi tˆmˆUv Lˆvˆtˆq vˆetˆkˆvˆy Kiv, vˆoZˆxˆqZ, bviXiv vˆbˆtˆRˆtˆ ˆi tˆdvKˆtˆj vi tˆK Kˆvˆfˆvte Zˆvˆtˆ ˆi cˆwi vˆwZ-cˆwi tˆcˆvˆtˆZˆ Abˆhˆvˆqˆx cˆwi tˆekˆb Kˆtˆi b tˆmˆ_tj vˆtˆK vˆetˆkˆvˆy Kiv, kˆvˆvˆˆ Kiv l gj ˆvˆqˆb Kiv | Gˆtˆqˆtˆtˆ GKRb MˆtelˆtˆKi Rbˆ mˆetˆPˆtˆq Riˆwi ntˆj v cˆPˆwˆj Z Mˆreˆvˆv aˆvb-aviYvˆtˆK (thUv cˆoˆqˆkˆB cˆjˆl ZwˆsK) AvˆZˆmˆg Kiv | iˆeˆxˆˆbˆvˆ VˆKi hLb evsj vi tˆjˆsˆmˆKK Qovˆ_tj vˆbˆtˆq cˆeˆU i Pˆbv Kˆiˆtˆj b, ZLb tˆmˆB Qovˆ_tj vˆtˆK vˆZˆvˆb AvLˆvˆwˆqZ Kˆiˆtˆj b ˆtˆOˆtˆj fˆj vˆtˆbv Qovˆoˆ vˆntˆmˆte, ˆtˆgˆtˆqˆfˆj vˆtˆbˆoˆ ev ˆvˆkˆiˆ fˆj vˆtˆbˆoˆ Qovˆ vˆntˆmˆte bˆq (iˆeˆxˆˆbˆvˆ VˆKi, 1395 evsj v : 749) | Avˆmˆtˆj GB tˆjˆsˆmˆKK Qovˆ_tj vˆvˆkˆiˆtˆ ˆi Ngˆ-cˆvˆoˆmˆb Qovˆ-B etˆU, thˆ_tj vˆ tˆOˆtˆj tˆgˆtˆq Dˆfˆtˆqi RbˆB cˆoˆhˆvˆRˆ | vˆcˆZˆZˆvˆsˆK mgvR-gˆj tˆeva Gˆfˆvte eˆj er ˆvˆtˆK tˆdvKˆtˆj vˆtˆi i Dˆcˆvˆb-DˆcˆKˆiˆtˆYi gˆtˆaˆ, Avevi hˆvˆiv Gˆ_tj vˆ vˆbˆtˆq tˆj tˆLb, MˆtelYv Kˆtˆi b, tLˆˆ Zˆvˆtˆ ˆi eˆvˆˆK vˆPˆsˆvˆtˆPˆZˆtˆbi Mˆvˆntˆbˆl , hv vˆkˆvˆ AˆsˆZ AˆvˆaˆKvˆtˆk, mgvˆtˆRˆvˆmˆvi Zl etˆU |

Dcˆmˆsˆnˆvi

G cˆeˆtˆU tˆdvKˆtˆj vi cVb-cWˆtˆbi mvtˆ_ tRˆUvi cˆhˆvˆwˆtˆK hˆpˆ Kˆtˆi Avˆtˆj vPˆbv Kivi cˆvˆtˆm cˆoˆtˆg vj ˆzˆxq fˆvˆeˆ kˆoˆl cˆjˆl -cˆvˆcˆwZˆzˆ; vˆelˆqˆvˆtˆK mˆvgvˆmRK ˆvˆoˆtˆKvY tˆ_tˆK, tˆdvKˆtˆj vˆtˆi i Dˆcˆvˆb-DˆcˆKˆiˆtˆYi Avˆtˆj vˆtˆK eˆvLˆv Kiv ntˆqˆtˆQ | tˆLˆv hˆvˆtˆO, mgvˆtˆRi vj ˆzˆxq fˆvˆeˆ kˆoˆl cˆjˆl -cˆvˆcˆwZˆzˆ vˆelˆqˆ_tj vi mˆtˆzˆ fˆvˆlˆv l ˆqˆgZv-mˆuˆtˆKˆP mˆvˆetˆkl fˆvˆgKv iˆtˆqˆtˆQ Ges vj ˆzˆxq mˆuˆtˆKˆP tˆqˆtˆtˆ gj Z vj ˆzˆxq ˆqˆgZv-mˆuˆtˆKB mgvR-mˆsˆwˆzi mˆeˆtˆi cˆjˆl ZwˆsK kˆˆvˆtˆe evnj iˆvLˆtˆZ KˆvR Kˆtˆi hˆvˆtˆO | ZˆvˆB tRˆUvi vˆelˆqK Avˆj vˆc-Aˆvtˆj vPˆbv-MˆtelYvˆq hZ tˆeˆvˆcˆPˆwˆj Z vj ˆzˆxq ˆqˆgZv-KˆvˆvˆtˆgˆvˆtˆK cˆoZˆvˆbˆqZ cˆkˆvˆx Kiv nte, ZˆZˆB cˆPˆwˆj Z vj ˆzˆxq ˆqˆgZv-mˆuˆtˆKˆP kˆˆ vˆfZˆvˆtˆK aˆxˆtˆi aˆxˆtˆi bˆvˆoˆtˆq tˆˆqv mˆeˆcˆi nte | AbˆwˆtˆK, tRˆUvi vˆbˆtˆq MˆtelYv Kivi tˆqˆtˆtˆ Kx Kx vˆelˆq tLˆqˆj iˆvLˆtˆZ nq, tˆmˆU tˆLˆtˆZ vˆMˆtˆq G aˆtˆtˆbi MˆtelYvˆq tˆdvKˆtˆj vi Kx fˆvˆgKv iˆvLˆtˆZ cˆvˆtˆi Ges tˆdvKˆtˆj vi cVb-cWˆtˆbi tKˆvˆb tKˆvˆb tˆqˆtˆtˆ tRˆUvi vˆelˆqK MˆtelYv Kiv tˆhˆZˆ cˆvˆtˆi, tˆmˆ_tj vi l cˆi tˆj LK Aˆr -vˆkˆOˆyaˆvb-aviYv tˆˆqvi tPˆov KˆtˆiˆtˆQb gvˆtˆ | fˆvˆelˆtˆZ G aˆtˆtˆbi AˆtˆbK cˆhˆtˆj vPˆbv l MˆtelYv tˆdvKˆtˆj vi l vj ˆzˆxq cˆiˆuˆi-mˆuˆtˆKˆZ Gj vKˆvˆtˆK eˆsˆtˆZ, G vˆelˆqK PˆPˆtˆ cˆ_Lˆtˆj vˆtˆZ Avˆtˆv AˆtˆbK tˆeˆvˆ mˆqˆg ntˆq DVˆte |

eZˆgˆvb mgˆtˆq tLˆˆ tˆdvKˆtˆj vi -Gi mˆsˆAˆvl bˆvˆbˆvˆtˆe cˆwi evZˆZˆ-iˆcˆvˆsˆwˆi Z ntˆq Pˆtˆj tˆq | GKˆv cˆoˆvˆMZ Aˆtˆ_AˆqˆiˆvˆkˆvˆqZ eˆj tˆqˆi evBˆti Mˆoˆtˆgi HˆvZˆnˆvˆkˆZ tMvˆoxi ˆmˆgˆvˆoˆMZ cˆvˆtˆmi Rˆxˆeˆtˆeva l ˆRe mˆsˆwi Ges RˆxˆeˆbPhˆP l gˆvˆbˆmˆPˆPˆtˆ mˆvgvˆmˆK KˆvˆZˆO (Zˆlˆvi PˆtˆAˆvˆcˆvˆvˆq, 1392 evsj v, cˆoˆv, 50) tˆdvKˆtˆj vi vˆntˆmˆte vˆetˆevˆPZ ntˆZv | GLb ˆtˆQvU tˆQvU ˆj tˆMvˆoxˆ_tj vi tˆfZi Kivi ˆkˆvˆr K AvˆwˆzˆKMZ tˆhˆvˆtˆhˆvˆMB tˆdvKˆtˆj vi ˆo (Schoemaker, 1990 : 3) | GB vˆntˆmˆte tˆdvKˆtˆj vi PˆPˆtˆ Avˆsˆ-RˆvˆZˆKˆfˆvte vˆeˆˆvˆqZˆvˆbK cˆwi mˆtˆi MˆpˆxZ ntˆq Pˆtˆj tˆq | tˆdvKˆtˆj vi PˆPˆtˆ BˆvˆZˆvˆtˆmi cˆoˆg hˆtˆMi ˆqjˆaˆRvZˆxˆqZˆvˆeˆˆx vˆPˆsˆvˆtˆPZˆvˆi mˆsKˆxYˆZˆvˆtˆK KˆvˆUˆtˆq DˆtˆV tˆdvKˆtˆj vi cVb-cWˆtˆbi l PˆPˆtˆ mgvR-mˆsˆwˆzi mˆsˆkˆeˆ-AˆtˆbK ˆ_iˆZˆcˆYˆEˆjˆq vˆelˆq-Aˆvˆkˆq mˆshˆpˆ ntˆq Pˆtˆj tˆq | tˆmˆvˆ K tˆ_tˆK, vj ˆzˆxq cˆhˆtˆzˆi cˆoZˆ mˆsteˆˆbˆkˆxˆj ntˆq Avˆgvˆtˆ ˆi tˆtˆk hˆvˆ tˆdvKˆtˆj vi cVb-cWˆtˆbi-MˆtelYv vˆeKˆvˆkˆZ ntˆq l tˆv, Zˆvˆntˆj Zˆv Avˆgvˆtˆ ˆi vˆbˆtˆRˆtˆ ˆi mgvR-mˆsˆwˆzˆtˆK Abˆˆfˆvte eˆsˆtˆZ mˆvˆvˆhˆ Ki tˆe |

Dtj LmT

Avbygnv=š (1997) | *bvi x, cij' l I mqvR/ XvKv* : mfb` k |

Avej nvmv tPšaj x (2006), (mvr=cšZK tj vKmwntZ" bvi xmEvi "vZšj0, Pš`teZx, (mvr`šZv PpueZPKZK m=úwí Z), 1g msL'v, tde'qwi , ivRkvnx : ivRkvnx wekte`'vj q |

I qmKj Avntg` (1995) | *evsj v tj vKmsMxZ : Fvl qvBqv | XvKv* : evsj vt` k wki Kj v GKvWgx |

Zl vi PšAvvva'vq (1392 evsj v) | *tj vKms`wZi ZÉjfc I`'tfc mÚvb | Kj KvZv* : G gL'vRxGÉ tKvS |

gvj kv tmb, B (1994) | *gvj ½ mbg'v | Kj KvZv* : Avb` cvevj kvm® |

iev`bv_ VvKi (1395 evsj v) | *iev`'iPbvej x | 125Zg iev`'RbRqšDcj t' | cKwKZ mj f ms`i Y | 3q LÉ | Kvj KvZv* : wekt'vi Zx |

mvr`šZv PpueZP (2003), (Pš`teZxi ivgvqY : bvi xi BvZnm, bvi xi `t0, *Fvl v-mmwZ` cT*, (Avej Lvqvi tgv AvkivdDwí b m=úwí Z), Ebwí sk ewl k msL'v, evsj v wefM, Rvnv'xi bMi wekte`'vj q |

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