ꯃꯨꯟꯅ ꯈꯟꯖꯤꯜꯂꯨꯔꯕꯗꯤ ꯃꯤꯑꯣꯏꯕ ꯍꯥꯏꯕ ꯃꯈꯜꯒꯤ ꯑꯍꯤꯡꯕꯁꯤꯡ
ꯑꯁꯤ ꯅꯨꯡꯁꯤꯈ꯭ꯔꯕꯖꯥꯠꯅꯤ꯫ ꯅꯨꯡꯉꯥꯏꯕ ꯅꯨꯃꯤꯠ, ꯑꯋꯥꯕ ꯅꯨꯃꯤꯠꯀ
ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯁꯤꯁꯨ ꯁꯥ-ꯁꯟ ꯃꯔꯛꯇꯁꯨ ꯂꯩꯔꯝꯒꯗ꯭ꯔ ꯈꯪꯗꯦ, ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯏꯅꯗꯤ ꯈꯪꯗꯕ
ꯃꯈꯣꯏ ꯃꯁꯦꯜ ꯃꯔꯛꯇ ꯅꯨꯡꯉꯥꯏꯕ ꯑꯋꯥꯕꯀ ꯐꯣꯡꯗꯣꯛꯅꯔꯝꯕꯗꯤ \

ꯥꯏ; ꯑꯗꯨꯕꯨ ꯑꯗꯨꯒꯨꯝꯕ ꯊꯧꯔꯝ ꯃꯈꯣꯏꯒꯤ ꯃꯔꯛꯇ ꯄꯥꯡꯊꯣꯛꯅꯕꯀꯥꯗꯤ
ꯏꯃꯤꯠꯁꯤꯅ ꯎꯖꯗ꯭ꯔꯤ꯫ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯏ ꯃꯤꯑꯣꯏꯕꯗꯤ ꯃꯤ ꯑꯃꯈꯛꯇꯒꯤ/

ꯃꯇꯣꯝꯇꯒꯤꯕꯨ ꯑꯣꯏꯔꯣ ꯅꯠꯇ꯭ꯔꯒ ꯃꯤꯌꯥꯝꯒꯤꯕꯨ ꯑꯣꯏꯔꯣ, ꯊꯃꯣꯏ \

ꯧꯅ ꯁꯣꯛꯈꯤꯕ ꯊꯧꯗꯣꯛ ꯑꯃꯒꯤ ꯃꯤꯠꯀꯨꯞ ꯅꯠꯇ꯭ꯔꯒ ꯅꯨꯃꯤꯠ ꯑꯃꯕꯨ
ꯂꯩꯈ꯭ꯔꯕꯗꯤ, ꯅꯨꯡꯉꯥꯏꯕꯒꯤ ꯑꯣꯏꯕ ꯌꯥꯏ ꯅꯠꯇ꯭ꯔꯒ ꯑꯋꯥꯕꯒꯤꯕꯨ ꯑꯣꯏꯕ
ꯌꯥꯏ, ꯃꯌꯥꯝ ꯄꯨꯟꯗꯨꯅ ꯅꯣꯛꯃꯤꯟꯅꯕ ꯅꯠꯇ꯭ꯔꯒ ꯀꯞꯃꯤꯟꯅꯕ ꯑꯁꯤ
ꯍꯦꯛꯇꯃꯛ ꯇꯧꯒꯜꯂꯤ, ꯄꯥꯡꯊꯣꯛꯀꯜꯂꯤ꯫

ꯈ꯭ꯔꯤꯁꯇ꯭ꯌꯥꯟ ꯏꯔꯥꯒꯤ 1992 ꯒꯤ ꯑꯣꯒꯁꯠ ꯊꯥꯒꯤ 20 ꯑꯁꯤ
ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔ ꯃꯤꯌꯥꯝꯒꯤ, ꯑꯗꯨꯒ ꯑꯇꯩ ꯂꯝꯗꯝꯁꯤꯡ ꯑꯁꯥꯝ, ꯇ꯭ꯔꯤꯄꯨꯔꯥ
ꯑꯃꯗꯤ ꯑꯋꯥꯡ ꯅꯣꯡꯄꯣꯛꯇ ꯅꯠꯇꯅ ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥꯒꯤ ꯑꯇꯩ ꯁ꯭ꯇꯦꯠꯁꯤꯡ,
ꯐꯣꯔꯦꯟ ꯀꯟꯇ꯭ꯔꯤꯖ ꯕꯥꯡꯂꯥꯗꯦꯁ, ꯃ꯭ꯌꯥꯟꯃꯥꯔ, ꯑꯗꯨꯒ ꯃꯥꯂꯦꯝꯒꯤ ꯑꯇꯩ
ꯑꯇꯩ ꯂꯩꯕꯥꯛꯁꯤꯡꯗ ꯇꯥꯔꯤꯕ ꯅꯠꯇ꯭ꯔꯒ ꯂꯩꯈꯤꯕ ꯃꯩꯇꯩ ꯃꯆꯥꯁꯤꯡꯒꯤ ꯌꯥꯝꯅ
ꯅꯨꯡꯉꯥꯏꯖꯕ, ꯌꯥꯏꯐꯔꯕ ꯅꯨꯃꯤꯠ ꯑꯃ ꯑꯣꯏꯈꯤ; ꯃꯗꯨꯗꯒꯤ ꯍꯧꯗꯨꯅ ꯆꯍꯤ
ꯈꯨꯗꯤꯡꯒꯤ ꯅꯨꯃꯤꯠ ꯑꯁꯤꯗ ꯍꯔꯥꯎ ꯇꯌꯥꯝꯕꯒꯤ ꯅꯨꯃꯤꯠ ꯑꯣꯏꯅ ꯊꯧꯔꯝ
ꯄꯥꯡꯊꯣꯛꯇꯨꯅ ꯂꯥꯛꯂꯤ꯫ ꯉꯁꯤ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯏꯅ ꯄꯥꯡꯊꯣꯛꯂꯤꯕ ꯊꯧꯔꯝ ꯑꯁꯤꯁꯨ
ꯑꯗꯨꯒꯨꯝꯕ ꯅꯨꯡꯉꯥꯏꯕ, ꯍꯔꯥꯎ ꯇꯌꯥꯝꯕ, ꯌꯥꯏꯐ ꯊꯧꯅꯤ ꯅꯤꯖꯕ ꯅꯨꯃꯤꯠꯇꯨꯒꯤ
ꯊꯧꯔꯝꯗꯨꯅꯤ꯫

ꯀꯨꯝꯖꯥ 1992 ꯒꯤ ꯑꯣꯒꯁꯠ 20 ꯅꯨꯃꯤꯠꯁꯤꯗ ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥꯒꯤ ꯄꯥꯔꯂꯤꯌ
ꯥꯃꯦꯟꯠꯇ ꯂꯣꯛ ꯁꯚꯥ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯔꯥꯖ꯭ꯌ ꯁꯚꯥ ꯑꯅꯤꯃꯛꯅ 71 ꯁꯨꯕ
ꯑꯦꯃꯦꯟꯗꯃꯦꯟꯠ ꯑꯣꯐ ꯀꯟꯁꯇꯤꯇ꯭ꯌꯨꯁꯟ ꯑꯦꯛ, 1992 ꯄꯨꯊꯣꯛꯇꯨꯅ
ꯀꯣꯡꯀꯥꯅꯤ, ꯃꯤꯇꯩꯂꯣꯟ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯅꯦꯄꯥꯂꯤ ꯂꯣꯜ ꯑꯍꯨꯝ ꯅꯤꯄꯥꯟꯁꯨꯕ
ꯁꯦꯗꯨꯜꯗ ꯍꯥꯞꯆꯤꯟꯕ ꯍꯥꯏꯕ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯄꯣꯖꯦꯜꯁꯤ ꯄꯥꯁ ꯇꯧꯈꯤ, ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥꯒꯤ
ꯄ꯭ꯔꯁꯤꯗꯦꯟꯠꯅ ꯑꯣꯒꯁꯠ 31 ꯗ ꯑꯦꯁꯦꯟꯠ ꯄꯤꯗꯨꯅ ꯆꯠꯅꯕ ꯍꯧꯈꯤ꯫

The Constitution (Seventy-fi rst Amendment)

Act, 1992

Parliament of India

An Act further to amend the Constitution of

India

Citation 71st Amendment

Territorial extend India

Enacted by Lok Sabha

Date passed 20 August 1992

Enacted by Rajya Sabha

Date passed 20 August 1992

Date assented to 31 August 1992

Date commenced 31 August 1992

It was introduced by Shankarrao Chavan, the

then Minister of Home Affairs, and sought to include

Konkani, Meitei and Nepali languages in the Eighth

Schedule of the Indian Constitution.

The Bill was debated by the Lok Sabha on 20

August 1992 and, as amended, passed on the

same day. ...The Bill, as passed by the Lok Sabha,

was considered and passed by the Rajya Sabha

on 20 August 1992. The Bill received assent from

the President Shanker Dayal Sharma on 31 August

1992, and came into force on the same date. It was

notifi ed in the Gazette of India 1 September 1992.

ꯀꯟꯁꯇꯤꯇ꯭ꯌꯨꯁꯟ ꯑꯍꯥꯟꯕ ꯁꯦꯝꯕꯗ ꯅꯤꯄꯥꯟꯁꯨꯕ ꯁꯦꯗꯨꯜꯗ ꯌꯥꯎꯈꯤꯕ
ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥꯒꯤ ꯂꯣꯜ ꯑꯁꯤ 14 ꯅꯤ꯫ ꯀꯨꯝꯖꯥ 1967 ꯇ ꯑꯦꯃꯦꯟꯗꯃꯦꯟꯠ ꯇꯧꯗꯨꯅ
ꯁꯤꯟꯙꯤ ꯂꯣꯜ ꯍꯥꯞꯆꯤꯟꯈꯤ꯫ ꯑꯗꯨꯒꯤ ꯃꯇꯨꯡꯗ 1992 ꯗ ꯀꯣꯡꯀꯥꯅꯤ,
ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯤ, ꯅꯦꯄꯥꯂꯤ ꯂꯣꯜ ꯑꯍꯨꯝ ꯍꯥꯞꯆꯤꯟꯈꯤ, 2004 ꯗ ꯕꯣꯗꯣ, ꯗꯣꯒ꯭ꯔꯤ,
ꯃꯩꯊꯤꯂꯤ, ꯁꯟꯇꯥꯂꯤ ꯂꯣꯜ 4 ꯍꯥꯞꯆꯤꯟꯈ꯭ꯔꯦ; ꯅꯤꯄꯥꯟꯁꯨꯕ ꯁꯦꯗꯨꯜꯗ ꯆꯜꯂꯤꯕ
ꯂꯣꯜꯁꯤ ꯄꯨꯜꯂꯞꯅ 22 ꯁꯨꯔꯦ꯫ ꯍꯧꯖꯤꯛ ꯂꯣꯜ 38 ꯑꯃꯒꯁꯨ ꯆꯅꯁꯤꯟꯕꯤꯌꯨ
ꯍꯥꯏꯅ ꯀꯟꯅ ꯇꯥꯟꯅꯔꯤ, ꯇꯛꯅꯔꯤ꯫

ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯏꯒꯤ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯁꯤ ꯑꯅꯤ ꯊꯣꯛꯄꯤ ꯌꯥꯝꯅ ꯇꯧꯒꯜꯂꯤ; ꯑꯗꯨꯅ
ꯑꯩ ꯃꯀꯥꯗꯤ ꯇꯥꯖꯅꯤꯡꯗ꯭ꯔꯕꯅꯤ꯫ ꯑꯗꯨꯕꯨ ꯃꯔꯝ ꯆꯥꯕ ꯆꯌꯦꯠꯅꯅꯤꯡꯉꯥꯏ
ꯑꯣꯏꯕ ꯃꯆꯥꯛ ꯈꯔꯗꯤ ꯂꯩꯇꯕ ꯅꯠꯇꯦ꯫ ꯑꯣꯒꯁꯠ 20 ꯑꯁꯤꯗꯤ ꯂꯣꯛ ꯁꯚꯥ
ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯔꯥꯖ꯭ꯌ ꯁꯚꯥꯗ ꯄꯥꯁ ꯇꯧꯈꯤꯕ ꯅꯨꯃꯤꯠꯅꯤ; ꯄ꯭ꯔꯁꯤꯗꯦꯟꯠꯀꯤ ꯑꯌꯥꯕ
ꯑꯦꯁꯦꯟꯠ ꯅꯠꯇ꯭ꯔꯒ ꯔꯦꯇꯤꯐꯤꯀꯦꯁꯟ ꯋꯥꯠꯂꯤꯕꯅꯤ꯫ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯁꯤꯗꯦꯟꯠꯀꯤ
ꯑꯌꯥꯕꯒꯤ ꯈꯨꯤꯌꯦꯛꯇꯤ ꯑꯣꯒꯁꯠ 31 ꯗ ꯄꯤꯈꯤꯕꯅꯤ, ꯅꯨꯃꯤꯠꯁꯤꯗꯒꯤ
ꯆꯠꯅꯔꯦ ꯍꯥꯏꯅ ꯂꯥꯎꯊꯣꯛꯈꯤꯕꯅꯤ꯫ ꯑꯗꯨꯅ ꯂꯣꯟꯒꯤ ꯅꯨꯃꯤꯠꯁꯤ ꯑꯣꯒꯁꯠ
31 ꯑꯣꯏꯐꯝ ꯊꯣꯛꯏ꯫ ꯑꯩꯒꯤꯁꯤ ꯀꯟꯇ꯭ꯔꯣꯚꯔꯁꯤ ꯍꯧꯗꯣꯛꯄ ꯅꯠꯇꯦ;

ꯑꯁꯤꯒꯨꯝꯕ ꯋꯥꯐꯝ ꯂꯩ ꯈꯪꯂꯕꯁꯨ ꯍꯧꯗꯣꯛꯄꯤꯔꯛꯀꯅꯨ; ꯍꯥꯟꯅ ꯌꯥꯅꯈ꯭ꯔꯕ
ꯑꯣꯒꯁꯠ 20 ꯁꯤꯗ ꯑꯗꯨꯝ ꯌꯥꯅꯈꯤ ꯍꯥꯏꯗꯨꯅ ꯄꯨꯝꯅꯃꯛꯇ ꯀꯣꯛ ꯅꯣꯟꯅ
ꯍꯥꯏꯖꯒꯦ ꯈꯟꯗꯨꯅ ꯍꯧꯗꯣꯛꯆꯕꯅꯤ꯫

ꯉꯁꯤ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯏꯅ ꯄꯥꯡꯊꯣꯛꯂꯤꯕ ꯊꯧꯔꯝ ꯑꯁꯤꯒ, ꯃꯃꯤꯡ ꯊꯣꯟꯕꯒꯤ
ꯃꯇꯥꯡꯗꯗꯤ, ꯍꯥꯏꯔꯞ ꯃꯥꯟꯅꯔꯒ ꯅꯨꯡꯒꯤ ꯋꯥꯍꯟꯊꯣꯛꯇꯗꯤ ꯈꯦꯟꯅꯕ,
ꯃꯥꯂꯦꯝ ꯄꯨꯝꯕꯒꯤ ꯑꯣꯏꯕ ꯅꯨꯃꯤꯠ ꯑꯃꯁꯨ ꯂꯩ, ‘ꯏꯟꯇꯔꯅꯦꯁꯅꯦꯜ ꯃꯥꯗꯔ
ꯂꯦꯡꯒꯣꯏꯖ ꯗꯦ’ ꯍꯥꯏꯅ ꯀꯧꯏ, ꯐꯦꯕ꯭ꯔꯨꯋꯥꯔꯤ 21 ꯗ ꯄꯥꯡꯊꯣꯛꯅꯩ꯫ 1999
ꯗ ꯌꯨꯅꯦꯁꯀꯣꯅ ꯂꯥꯎꯊꯣꯛꯈꯤꯕꯅꯤ꯫ ꯃꯁꯤ ꯕꯥꯡꯂꯥꯗꯦꯁꯀꯤ ꯃꯃꯥꯂꯣꯟ
ꯅꯨꯡꯁꯤꯕ ꯑꯃꯗꯤ ꯍꯥꯛꯀꯟꯕꯒꯤ ꯏꯍꯧꯗꯨ ꯃꯥꯂꯦꯝ ꯄꯨꯝꯕꯅ ꯁꯤꯡꯊꯥꯅꯕꯒꯤ
ꯅꯤꯡꯁꯤꯡ ꯅꯨꯃꯤꯠꯅꯤ꯫ ꯅꯣꯡꯆꯨꯞ ꯄꯥꯀꯤꯁꯇꯥꯟꯒꯤ ꯃꯨꯍꯃꯗ ꯑꯥꯂꯤ ꯖꯤꯟꯅꯥꯅ
ꯃꯇꯝꯗꯨꯒꯤ TKG ꯄꯥꯀꯤꯁꯇꯥꯟ, ꯍꯧꯖꯤꯛꯀꯤꯅ ꯕꯥꯡꯂꯥꯗꯦꯁꯇꯁꯨ ‘ꯎꯔꯗꯨ’

ꯁꯤ ꯅꯝꯗꯨꯅ ꯅꯦꯁꯅꯦꯜ ꯂꯦꯡꯒꯣꯏꯖ ꯑꯣꯏꯍꯟꯅꯕ ꯍꯣꯠꯅꯔꯛꯄꯗ ꯃꯗꯨꯒꯤ
ꯃꯥꯌꯣꯛꯇ ꯕꯦꯡꯒꯂꯤꯁꯤꯡꯅ, ꯃꯈꯣꯏꯁꯨ ꯃꯨꯁꯂꯤꯝ ꯑꯣꯏꯖꯔꯕꯁꯨ ꯑꯉꯟꯕ
ꯃꯇꯝ 1948 ꯗꯒꯤ ꯂꯦꯡꯒꯣꯏꯖ ꯃꯨꯚꯃꯦꯟꯠ ꯑꯃ ꯍꯧꯈꯤꯕꯅꯤ꯫ ꯃꯨꯚꯃꯦꯟꯠ
ꯑꯁꯤ 1952 ꯗ ꯑꯌꯧꯕ ꯊꯥꯛꯇ ꯃꯨꯛꯅꯔꯛꯈꯤ, ꯆꯍꯤ ꯑꯗꯨꯒꯤ ꯐꯦꯕ꯭ꯔꯨꯋꯥꯔꯤ
21 ꯗ ꯏꯍꯧꯒꯤ ꯈꯣꯜꯂꯥꯎ ꯂꯥꯎꯔꯤꯕ ꯃꯍꯩꯔꯣꯏ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯃꯤꯆꯝꯁꯤꯡꯗ
ꯄꯨꯂꯤꯁꯅ ꯅꯣꯡꯃꯩ ꯀꯥꯞꯁꯤꯜꯂꯛꯈꯤ; ꯁꯤꯈꯤꯕ ꯃꯁꯤꯡ ꯐꯅ ꯌꯥꯝꯈꯤ꯫ ꯀꯌ
ꯥꯗ ꯀꯟꯈ꯭ꯔꯕꯅꯣ, ꯃꯃꯥꯂꯣꯜ ꯅꯨꯡꯁꯤꯕꯒꯤ ꯏꯍꯧ-ꯂꯤꯡꯖꯦꯜ= ꯃꯗꯨꯅ ꯃꯃꯩꯗꯗꯤ
1971 ꯗ ‘ꯗ ꯐ꯭ꯔꯤꯗꯝ ꯋꯥꯔ ꯑꯣꯐ ꯕꯥꯡꯂꯥꯗꯦꯁ’ ꯄꯨꯔꯛꯈꯤ; ꯄꯥꯀꯤꯁꯇꯥꯟꯒꯤ
ꯃꯈꯨꯠꯇꯒꯤ ꯅꯤꯡ ꯇꯝꯕ ꯐꯪꯈꯤ; ꯕꯥꯡꯂꯥꯗꯦꯁ ꯀꯧꯕ ꯂꯩꯕꯥꯛ ꯑꯃ ꯄꯣꯛꯈꯤ꯫

ꯉꯁꯤ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯏꯒꯤ ꯏꯃꯥꯂꯣꯜ, ꯃꯤꯇꯩꯂꯣꯜ/ ꯃꯩꯇꯩꯂꯣꯟ (ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯤ
ꯂꯦꯡꯒꯣꯏꯖ), ꯑꯁꯤꯅ ꯂꯦꯝꯖꯅꯐꯝ ꯑꯣꯏꯕ ꯐꯤꯗꯥ ꯑꯃ ꯐꯪꯂꯛꯂꯤꯕ
ꯑꯁꯤꯁꯨ ꯏꯔꯥꯏ ꯂꯥꯏꯅ ꯍꯦꯛ ꯐꯪꯂꯛꯈꯤꯕ ꯅꯠꯇꯦ꯫ ꯈꯨꯠꯂꯥꯏ ꯄꯥꯏꯗꯨꯅ ꯂꯥꯜ
ꯁꯣꯛꯅꯕꯃꯛꯇꯤ ꯅꯠꯈꯤꯗ꯭ꯔꯒꯁꯨ ꯆꯍꯤ ꯀꯌꯥ ꯂꯤꯁꯥꯡ ꯁꯤꯠꯅ ꯈꯣꯡꯖꯪ
ꯂꯥꯟꯖꯪ ꯀꯌꯥ ꯍꯟꯕ ꯂꯩꯇꯅ ꯍꯟꯖꯤꯟ ꯍꯟꯖꯤꯟ ꯆꯪꯁꯤꯜꯂꯕ ꯃꯇꯨꯡꯗ ꯃꯔꯤ
ꯂꯩꯅꯕ ꯂꯩꯉꯥꯛꯀꯤ ꯑꯃꯗꯤ ꯂꯟꯅꯥꯏ ꯃꯤꯁꯛ ꯀꯌꯥꯅ ꯑꯦ: ꯃꯈꯣꯏꯒꯤ ꯈꯣꯡꯖꯪ
ꯑꯁꯤ ꯆꯨꯝꯃꯤꯅ ꯍꯥꯏꯕ ꯈꯪꯂꯛ-ꯎꯔꯛꯄꯗꯒꯤ ꯉꯁꯤꯒꯤ ꯐꯤꯗꯥ ꯑꯁꯤ
ꯐꯪꯂꯛꯈꯤꯕꯅꯤ꯫ ꯉꯁꯤ ꯐꯥꯎꯕꯒꯤ ꯂꯝꯁꯥꯡ ꯑꯁꯤꯗ ꯂꯝꯕꯤ ꯅꯨꯡꯂꯦꯞ
ꯄꯥꯟꯗꯝ 7 ꯅꯤ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯏꯅ ꯎꯔꯣꯡ ꯈꯤꯟꯈ꯭ꯔꯕ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯈꯤꯟꯅꯤꯡꯂꯤꯕ,
ꯑꯅꯤꯃꯛ ꯄꯨꯟꯁꯤꯜꯂꯒ:

ꯎꯔꯣꯡ ꯈꯤꯟꯕ ꯉꯝꯈ꯭ꯔꯕ ꯃꯐꯝ ꯃꯔꯤ (ꯍꯧꯈ꯭ꯔꯕ ꯁꯛꯇꯝ)
1) ꯃꯤꯇꯩꯂꯣꯟꯕꯨ, ꯚꯥꯔꯅꯀꯨꯂꯔ ꯑꯃ ꯑꯣꯏꯅ, ꯁ꯭ꯀꯨꯜ-ꯀꯣꯂꯦꯖꯁꯤꯡꯗ
ꯇꯥꯛꯄꯤ ꯇꯝꯕꯤꯕꯒꯤ ꯊꯣꯡ (ꯃꯤꯗꯤꯌꯝ) ꯑꯃ ꯑꯣꯏꯍꯟꯕ
2) ꯃꯤꯇꯩꯂꯣꯟ ꯀꯜꯀꯇꯥ ꯌꯨꯅꯤꯚꯔꯁꯤꯇꯤꯗ ꯕꯤ ꯑꯦ ꯐꯥꯎꯕ ꯇꯝꯕ \

ꯥꯍꯟꯕ
3) ꯃꯤꯇꯩꯂꯣꯟ ꯁꯥꯍꯤꯇ꯭ꯌ ꯑꯦꯀꯥꯗꯦꯃꯤꯅ ꯃꯅꯥ ꯄꯤꯕ ꯂꯣꯟꯁꯤꯡꯒꯤ
ꯃꯅꯨꯡꯗ ꯑꯃ ꯑꯣꯏꯍꯟꯕ
4) ꯃꯤꯇꯩꯂꯣꯟ ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥꯟ ꯀꯟꯁꯇꯤꯇ꯭ꯌꯨꯁꯟꯒꯤ ꯅꯤꯄꯥꯟꯁꯨꯕ
ꯁꯦꯗꯨꯜꯗ ꯆꯜꯍꯟꯕ
ꯎꯔꯣꯡ ꯈꯤꯟꯒꯗꯕ ꯃꯐꯝ ꯑꯍꯨꯝ (ꯍꯧꯖꯤꯛꯀꯤ ꯁꯛꯇꯝ)
1) ꯃꯤꯇꯩꯂꯣꯟ ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥꯒꯤ ꯀ꯭ꯂꯥꯁꯤꯀꯦꯜ ꯂꯦꯡꯒꯣꯏꯖꯁꯤꯡꯒꯤ
ꯃꯅꯨꯡꯗ ꯑꯃꯅꯤ ꯂꯥꯎꯊꯣꯛꯍꯟꯕ
2) ꯃꯤꯇꯩꯂꯣꯟ ꯑꯋꯥꯡꯕ ꯊꯥꯛꯀꯤ ꯂꯣꯜ ꯑꯃ ꯑꯣꯏꯍꯟꯕ
3) ꯃꯤꯇꯩꯂꯣꯟ ꯍꯥꯛꯀꯟꯕ, ꯁꯤꯊꯈꯤꯗꯅꯕ ꯑꯐꯕ ꯄꯣꯔꯝ ꯌꯥꯠꯇꯨꯅ
ꯊꯝꯕ (ꯄꯣꯂꯤꯁꯤ ꯁꯦꯝꯕ)
ꯍꯥꯏꯔꯤꯕ ꯇꯥꯡꯀꯛꯁꯤꯡ ꯑꯁꯤ ꯐꯪꯅꯕ ꯍꯣꯠꯅꯕꯗ ꯈ꯭ꯋꯥꯏꯗꯒꯤ
ꯋꯥꯈꯤꯕ, ꯈ꯭ꯋꯥꯏꯗꯒꯤ ꯃꯇꯝ ꯆꯪꯈꯤꯕ ꯑꯁꯤ ‘ꯃꯤꯇꯩꯂꯣꯟ ꯀꯜꯀꯇꯥ \

ꯅꯨꯤꯚꯔꯁꯤꯇꯤꯗ ꯕꯤ ꯑꯦ ꯐꯥꯎꯕ ꯇꯝꯕ ꯌꯥꯍꯟꯕ’ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ‘ꯃꯤꯇꯩꯂꯣꯟ
ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥꯟ ꯀꯟꯁꯇꯤꯇ꯭ꯌꯨꯁꯟꯒꯤ ꯅꯤꯄꯥꯟꯁꯨꯕ ꯁꯦꯗꯨꯜꯗ ꯆꯜꯍꯟꯕ’

ꯍꯥꯏꯕ ꯑꯅꯤ ꯑꯁꯤꯅ ꯑꯣꯏꯈꯤ꯫

ꯍꯧꯈ꯭ꯔꯕ ꯃꯇꯝꯒꯤ ꯃꯤꯇꯩꯂꯣꯟꯒꯤ ꯁꯛꯇꯝ
ꯊꯥꯏꯅꯒꯤ ꯏꯄꯥ ꯏꯄꯨ ꯄꯨꯔꯦꯟ ꯅꯥꯛꯀꯞꯁꯤꯡꯒꯤ ꯃꯇꯝꯗ ꯏꯃꯥꯂꯣꯟꯁꯤ
ꯀꯔꯝ ꯇꯧꯔꯝꯃꯤ ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯒꯤ ꯃꯇꯥꯡꯗ ꯋꯥꯔꯝ ꯁꯨꯅ ꯊꯝꯖꯔꯔꯣꯏ, ꯑꯩꯅ ꯌꯥꯝꯅ
ꯃꯨꯟꯅ ꯈꯪꯂꯨꯕꯁꯨ ꯂꯩꯖꯗꯦ꯫ ꯈꯔ ꯊꯦꯡꯊꯔꯛꯂꯕ ꯃꯇꯝꯗꯒꯤ ꯍꯧꯔꯒ ꯋꯥꯍꯩ
ꯑꯃ ꯑꯅꯤꯗꯪ ꯄꯟꯖꯔꯝꯒꯦ꯫

ꯍꯧꯈ꯭ꯔꯕ ꯃꯇꯝꯒꯤ ꯃꯤꯇꯩꯂꯣꯟꯒꯤ ꯈꯣꯡꯆꯠꯁꯤ ꯇꯥꯡꯀꯛ ꯃꯉꯥꯒꯤ
ꯁꯛꯇꯝ ꯑꯣꯏꯅ ꯊꯝꯕ ꯌꯥꯏ:

ꯀ) ꯕꯩꯁ꯭ꯅꯕ ꯂꯥꯏꯅꯤꯡꯅ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯗ ꯆꯪꯂꯛꯇ꯭ꯔꯤꯉꯩꯒꯤ ꯇꯥꯡꯀꯛ
(1467 ꯀꯤ ꯃꯃꯥꯡ)
ꯁ) ꯕꯩꯁꯅ꯭ꯕ ꯂꯥꯏꯅꯤꯡ ꯆꯪꯂꯛꯂꯕ ꯃꯇꯨꯡ ꯈꯔ ꯉꯜꯂꯤꯉꯩ ꯃꯇꯝꯒꯤ

fkisd (1467-1709 TI)
ꯂ) ꯕꯩꯁꯅ꯭ꯕ ꯂꯥꯏꯅꯤꯡ ꯃꯃꯨꯟ ꯐꯥꯔꯛꯂꯕ ꯃꯇꯝꯒꯤ ꯇꯥꯡꯀꯛ (1709-

1891)
ꯃ) ꯕ꯭ꯔꯤꯇꯤꯁꯅ ꯂꯩꯔꯝꯕ ꯃꯇꯝꯒꯤ ꯇꯥꯡꯀꯛ (1891-1947)
ꯄ) ꯕ꯭ꯔꯤꯇꯤꯁ ꯆꯠꯈ꯭ꯔꯕ ꯃꯇꯨꯡꯗꯒꯤ ꯃꯤꯇꯩꯂꯣꯟꯅ ꯅꯤꯄꯥꯟꯁꯨꯕ
ꯁꯦꯗꯨꯜꯗ ꯆꯟꯕꯐꯥꯎꯕ (1947-1992)
ꯂꯩꯕꯥꯛ ꯑꯃꯗ ꯈꯨꯟꯗꯥꯔꯤꯕ ꯃꯤꯌꯥꯝꯒꯤ ꯂꯣꯜ ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯁꯤꯅ ꯂꯝꯗꯝ ꯑꯗꯨꯗ
ꯂꯩꯔꯤꯕꯁꯤꯡꯒꯤ ꯀꯜꯆꯔ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯁꯤꯚꯤꯂꯥꯏꯖꯦꯁꯟ ꯁꯥꯒꯤꯄꯗ ꯑꯆꯧꯕ
ꯁꯔꯨꯛ ꯑꯃꯒꯤ ꯁꯛꯇꯝ ꯂꯥꯡꯂꯤꯕꯅꯤ꯫ ꯂꯣꯜꯒ ꯂꯝꯗꯝꯗꯨꯒꯤ ꯁꯣꯁꯤꯑꯣ
ꯄꯣꯂꯤꯇꯤꯀꯦꯜ ꯑꯣꯏꯕ ꯁꯛꯇꯝꯒꯁꯨ ꯑꯆꯧꯕ ꯃꯔꯤ ꯂꯩꯅꯩ꯫

ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥꯗ ꯂꯣꯜꯒꯤ ꯃꯨꯚꯃꯦꯟꯠ ꯄꯣꯛꯀꯥꯏꯅꯔꯛꯄ ꯃꯇꯝꯗ,
ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯗꯁꯨ ꯂꯣꯜꯒꯤ ꯃꯨꯚꯃꯦꯟꯠ ꯑꯣꯏꯕ ꯑꯆꯧ ꯑꯆꯧꯕ ꯈꯣꯡꯖꯪ ꯀꯌꯥ
ꯂꯩꯈꯤ꯫ ꯂꯣꯜꯒꯤ ꯁꯣꯁꯤꯑꯣ ꯄꯣꯂꯤꯇꯤꯀꯦꯜ ꯑꯣꯏꯕ ꯑꯦꯁꯄꯦꯛ ꯋꯥ
ꯁꯥꯡꯗꯣꯛꯆꯔꯔꯣꯏ, ꯌꯥꯝꯅ ꯇꯦꯟꯁꯤꯟꯅ ꯍꯥꯏꯔꯕꯗ ꯂꯣꯜꯒꯤ ꯃꯨꯚꯃꯦꯟꯠ
ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯁꯤꯃꯛꯇꯕꯨ ꯑꯆꯧꯕ ꯐꯨꯔꯨꯞ ꯑꯃꯅ ꯐꯨꯔꯨꯞ ꯃꯆꯥ ꯑꯃꯒꯤ ꯃꯊꯛꯇ
ꯄꯣꯂꯤꯇꯤꯀꯦꯜ, KOKM, ꯀꯜꯆꯔ ꯑꯥꯏꯗꯦꯟꯇꯤꯇꯤ ꯁꯣꯛꯄꯃꯈꯩ
ꯏꯟꯚꯦꯁꯟ ꯀꯌꯥ ꯇꯧꯁꯤꯜꯂꯛꯂꯕ ꯃꯇꯝꯗ ꯐꯨꯔꯨꯞ ꯃꯆꯥꯗꯨꯅ ꯃꯁꯥꯕꯨ ꯀꯟꯖꯅꯕ
ꯑꯦꯟꯇꯤꯀꯣꯂꯣꯅꯤꯑꯦꯜ, ꯑꯦꯟꯇꯤꯀ꯭ꯂꯥꯁꯤꯀꯦꯜ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯁ꯭ꯇꯦꯠꯇꯨꯒꯤ
ꯄꯣꯜꯁꯤꯁꯦꯟꯇ꯭ꯔꯤꯛ ꯑꯣꯏꯕ ꯃꯑꯣꯡꯗ ꯔꯦꯖꯤꯁꯇ꯭ꯔꯦꯟꯁ ꯃꯨꯚꯃꯦꯟꯠ
ꯑꯣꯏꯅ ꯂꯧꯈꯠꯂꯛꯄ ꯈꯣꯡꯖꯪꯁꯤꯡꯒꯤ ꯁꯔꯨꯛ ꯑꯣꯏꯕꯅ ꯑꯌꯥꯝꯕꯅꯤ꯫

ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯗ ꯑꯀꯟꯕ ꯂꯣꯟꯒꯤ ꯃꯨꯚꯃꯦꯟꯠ ꯆꯠꯊꯔꯛꯈꯤꯕ ꯃꯇꯝꯁꯤ
ꯕ꯭ꯔꯤꯇꯤꯁꯀꯤ ꯂꯩꯉꯥꯛ ꯂꯩꯔꯛꯒꯩꯗꯒꯤꯅ ꯑꯥꯏꯠ ꯁꯦꯗꯨꯜꯗ ꯆꯟꯕ ꯃꯇꯝ

’ꯁ꯭ꯋꯥꯏꯁꯤꯐꯥꯎꯕꯅꯤ (1920-1992 ꯁꯤꯅꯤ) ꯍꯥꯏꯅ ꯑꯌꯥꯝꯅ ꯂꯧꯅꯩ, ꯃꯁꯤꯒꯤ
ꯃꯇꯨꯡꯗꯒꯤꯗꯤ ꯑꯀꯟꯕ ꯈꯣꯡꯖꯪꯁꯤꯡꯁꯨ ꯈꯔ ꯍꯟꯊꯅꯈꯤꯕꯒꯨꯝ BT,
ꯃꯤꯂꯥꯜ ꯑꯃꯗꯤ ꯃꯤꯂꯥꯜꯒ ꯈꯣꯡꯕꯨ ꯑꯣꯏꯕꯁꯤꯡꯅ ꯂꯧꯈꯠꯂꯛꯈꯤꯕꯁꯤꯡ
ꯅꯠꯇꯅ꯫ ꯃꯤꯂꯥꯜꯒꯤ ꯍꯣꯠꯅꯃꯜ ꯃꯍꯩ ꯌꯥꯟꯕ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯏ ꯄꯨꯝꯅꯃꯛꯅ ꯏꯃꯥꯡ
ꯏꯃꯥꯡꯃꯛꯇꯗ ꯇꯁꯦꯡ ꯇꯁꯦꯡꯅ ꯎꯅꯔꯕ ꯉꯥꯛꯇꯤ꯫ ꯊꯥꯡꯒꯩꯁꯦꯡꯕꯗꯤ
ꯆꯪꯁꯤꯟꯗꯕ ꯌꯥꯗꯕ ꯈꯣꯡꯖꯪ ꯀꯌꯥ ꯃꯁꯨ ꯂꯩꯔꯤ; ꯇꯧꯒꯗꯕ ꯌꯥꯝꯅ ꯂꯩꯔꯤ꯫

ꯃꯤꯇꯩꯂꯣꯜ ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥꯟ ꯀ꯭ꯂꯥꯁꯤꯀꯦꯜ ꯂꯦꯡꯒꯣꯏꯖꯁꯤꯡꯒꯤ ꯃꯅꯨꯡꯗ
ꯆꯟꯁꯤꯜꯍꯟꯅꯕ ꯑꯀꯟꯕ ꯈꯣꯡꯖꯡꯒꯤ ꯁꯦꯝ ꯁꯥꯕ ꯃꯇꯝ ꯑꯣꯏꯔꯦ꯫

ꯕꯦꯡꯒꯂꯤ ꯑꯃꯗꯤ ꯕ꯭ꯔꯤꯇꯤꯁꯅ ꯀ꯭ꯂꯥꯁꯤꯛ ꯑꯣꯏꯕ ꯍꯥꯏꯔꯒꯗꯤ ꯃꯈꯣꯏꯒꯤ
ꯃꯔꯣꯜꯁꯤꯡꯈꯛꯁꯤ ꯃꯉꯥꯏꯔꯦ ꯈꯟꯗꯨꯅ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯒꯤ ꯌꯦꯜꯍꯧꯃꯤ
ꯑꯩꯀꯣꯏꯕꯨ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯏꯒꯤ ꯂꯣꯟꯕꯨ ꯃꯨꯠꯊꯠꯂꯒ ꯃꯈꯣꯏꯒꯤ ꯂꯣꯟ
ꯅꯝꯗꯨꯅ ꯉꯥꯡꯍꯟꯅꯕꯒꯤ ꯊꯧꯔꯥꯡ ꯀꯌꯥ ꯄꯥꯏꯈꯠꯈꯤꯕꯅꯤ; ꯑꯗꯨꯅ ꯑꯍꯥꯟꯕ
ꯈꯣꯡꯖꯪꯒꯤ ꯁꯩꯍꯧꯗ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯤꯁꯤꯡ ꯑꯦꯟꯇꯤ ꯀ꯭ꯂꯥꯁꯤꯀꯦꯜꯒꯤ ꯃꯥꯏꯊꯣꯡ
ꯄꯥꯜꯂꯝꯕꯅꯤ꯫ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯏ ꯍꯧꯖꯤꯛꯇꯤ ꯈꯪꯂꯤ, ꯃꯥꯂꯦꯝꯗ ꯏꯪꯂꯤꯁꯅ ꯀ꯭ꯂꯥꯁꯤꯀꯦꯜ
ꯂꯣꯟ ꯑꯣꯏꯕꯒꯤ ꯐꯤꯗ ꯁꯨꯛꯐꯪ ꯐꯪꯂꯣꯏ, ꯃꯗꯨꯝ ꯍꯥꯏꯅ ꯕꯥꯡꯂꯥꯅ ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥꯗ꯫

ꯃꯤꯇꯩꯂꯣꯟꯒꯤꯗꯤ ꯍꯧꯖꯤꯛ ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥꯒꯤ ꯀ꯭ꯂꯥꯁꯤꯀꯦꯜ ꯂꯣꯜꯁꯤꯡꯒꯤ ꯃꯅꯨꯡ
ꯆꯟꯕꯒꯤ ꯊꯥꯎꯃꯩ ꯑꯃ ꯃꯥꯡꯗ ꯈꯔ ꯊꯥꯞꯅ ꯎꯕ ꯐꯪꯅꯔꯛꯂꯦ꯫ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯏꯅ
ꯀꯟꯅ ꯍꯣꯠꯅꯔꯕꯗꯤ ꯐꯤꯗꯥ ꯑꯁꯤ ꯀꯔꯤꯒꯤ ꯐꯪꯂꯣꯏ? ꯍꯧꯖꯤꯛ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯏ
ꯏꯁꯥ ꯏꯁꯥꯃꯛ ꯃꯩꯍꯧꯔꯣꯜꯗꯒꯤ ꯍꯧꯅ ꯀ꯭ꯂꯥꯁꯤꯛ ꯑꯣꯏꯔꯛꯂꯕ ꯃꯤꯑꯣꯏꯕ
ꯉꯥꯛꯇꯅꯤ ꯍꯥꯏꯅ ꯈꯟꯕ ꯃꯇꯝ ꯌꯧꯔꯕꯅꯤ꯫

ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯗ ꯂꯣꯜꯒꯤ ꯃꯨꯚꯃꯦꯟꯠ ꯍꯧꯈꯤꯕꯁꯤ ꯕ꯭ꯔꯤꯇꯤꯁꯀꯤ ꯂꯩꯉꯥꯛ
ꯂꯩꯔꯛꯉꯩ ꯂꯥꯏꯔꯤꯛ ꯂꯥꯏꯁꯨ ꯇꯝꯕ ꯀꯟꯅ ꯆꯠꯅꯔꯛꯄ ꯑꯗꯨꯗ ꯃꯗꯨꯒꯤ
ꯀꯥꯟꯅꯕ ꯈꯪꯅꯔꯛꯄꯗꯒꯤꯅꯤ꯫ ꯂꯥꯏꯔꯤꯛ ꯇꯝꯕꯗ, ꯕꯥꯡꯂꯥ ꯂꯣꯟꯗ ꯑꯣꯏꯅ
ꯇꯝꯕ, ꯃꯤꯇꯩꯂꯣꯟꯗꯤ ꯌꯥꯎꯍꯟꯗꯕ, ꯑꯗꯨꯅꯁꯨ ꯃꯍꯩꯔꯣꯏꯁꯤꯡꯒꯤ ꯃꯊ꯭ꯋꯥꯏ
ꯏꯅꯨꯡ ꯅꯨꯡꯉꯥꯏꯇꯕ ꯀꯌꯥ ꯌꯥꯎꯅꯈꯤꯗꯕ ꯅꯠꯇꯦ꯫ ꯅꯤꯡꯊꯧ ꯒꯔꯤꯕꯅꯤꯋꯥꯖꯅ
ꯍꯤꯟꯗꯨ ꯂꯥꯏꯅꯤꯡ ꯄꯨꯁꯤꯜꯂꯛꯇꯨꯅ ꯁꯥꯟꯇꯤꯗꯥꯁ ꯒꯣꯁꯥꯏꯅꯁꯨ ꯏꯟꯁꯤꯟꯗꯨꯅ ꯃꯤꯇꯩ
ꯄꯨꯌꯥꯁꯤꯡ ꯃꯩꯇꯩ ꯊꯥꯗꯣꯛꯈꯤꯕ, ꯑꯗꯨꯒ ꯕꯥꯡꯂꯥ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯁꯪꯁꯀ꯭ꯔꯤꯇꯀꯤ ꯑꯆꯧꯕ
ꯁꯥꯐꯨꯅ ꯃꯤꯇꯩꯂꯣꯜ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯃꯤꯇꯩ ꯃꯌꯦꯛ ꯁꯤꯊꯈꯤꯕꯒꯤ ꯑꯆꯧꯕ ꯃꯔꯝ ꯑꯃꯁꯨ
ꯑꯣꯏꯈꯤ꯫ ꯑꯗꯨꯒꯤ ꯃꯊꯛꯇ ꯃꯤꯇꯩ ꯃꯌꯦꯛꯀꯤ ꯁꯄꯥ ꯀꯅꯥꯃꯠꯇꯅ ꯁꯥꯕꯤꯗꯕ,
ꯀꯅꯥꯃꯠꯇꯅꯁꯨ ꯍꯣꯠꯅꯈꯤꯗꯕ ꯑꯁꯤꯒꯨꯝꯕ ꯃꯔꯝ ꯀꯌꯥ ꯑꯃꯁꯨ ꯂꯩꯔꯤ꯫

ꯏꯍꯧ ꯍꯧꯅꯔꯛꯄ ꯑꯁꯤ ꯃꯇꯝ ꯑꯃꯠꯇꯗ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯗꯒꯤ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ
ꯑꯁꯥꯝꯗꯒꯤ ꯑꯣꯏꯅ ꯍꯧꯔꯛꯈꯤꯕꯅꯤ꯫ ꯃꯤ ꯃꯌꯥꯝ ꯑꯃ ꯁꯔꯨꯛ ꯌꯥꯈꯤ,
ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯒꯤꯅ ꯍꯤꯖꯝ ꯏꯔꯥꯕꯠꯇꯅ ꯑꯗꯨꯒ ꯑꯁꯥꯝꯒꯤꯅ ꯅꯥꯎꯔꯤꯌꯥ ꯐꯨꯜꯂꯣꯅ
ꯂꯝꯌꯥꯟꯕ ꯂꯨꯆꯤꯡꯕ ꯑꯣꯏꯈ꯫ ꯑꯍꯥꯟꯕ ꯇꯥꯡꯀꯛꯀꯤ ꯏꯍꯧꯗꯤ ꯁ꯭ꯀꯨꯜꯁꯤꯡ,
ꯀꯣꯂꯦꯖꯁꯤꯡꯗ ꯃꯤꯇꯩꯂꯣꯜꯕꯨ ꯚꯔꯅꯀꯨꯂꯔ ꯑꯣꯏꯅ ꯇꯝꯅꯕꯒꯤ ꯈꯨꯗꯣꯡꯆꯥꯕ
ꯂꯩꯍꯟꯕ, ꯑꯗꯨꯒ ꯇꯝꯕꯤ ꯍꯩꯕꯁꯤꯡꯅ ꯃꯤꯇꯩꯂꯣꯜ ꯉꯥꯡꯗꯨꯅ ꯇꯝꯕꯤꯕ
ꯑꯁꯤꯅꯤ꯫ ꯕꯦꯡꯒꯂꯤꯁꯤꯡꯅ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯁꯤ ꯕꯥꯡꯂꯥ ꯂꯣꯜ ꯉꯥꯡꯕ ꯂꯝ
ꯑꯣꯏꯍꯟꯅꯤꯡꯏ; ꯑꯗꯨꯕ ꯃꯤꯇꯩꯂꯣꯜꯕꯨ ꯌꯥꯔꯤꯕꯃꯈꯩ ꯐꯥꯖꯤꯟꯗꯨꯅ ꯅꯝꯁꯤꯟꯗꯨꯅ
ꯊꯝꯅꯤꯡꯈꯤ꯫ ꯕ꯭ꯔꯤꯇꯤꯁꯁꯤꯡꯒ ꯑꯍꯥꯟꯕ ꯁꯛꯈꯪꯅꯕ ꯐꯨꯔꯨꯞꯁꯨ ꯃꯈꯣꯏꯅ
ꯑꯣꯏꯕꯒ ꯕ꯭ꯔꯤꯇꯤꯁꯁꯤꯡꯒꯤ ꯇꯦꯡꯕꯥꯡꯃꯤꯁꯨ ꯃꯈꯣꯏꯇꯅ ꯑꯣꯏꯗꯨꯅ
ꯂꯥꯛꯄꯅꯤꯅ ꯕ꯭ꯔꯤꯇꯤꯁꯁꯤꯡꯅ ꯕꯦꯡꯒꯂꯤꯁꯤꯡꯒꯤ ꯃꯋꯥ ꯌꯥꯝꯅ ꯂꯧꯔꯝꯃꯤ꯫

ꯑꯅꯤꯁꯨꯕ ꯄꯨꯌꯥ ꯃꯩ ꯊꯥꯕ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ TI 1891 ꯒꯤ ꯖꯨꯂꯥꯏ 20, ꯅꯤꯡꯊꯧꯀꯥꯕ
ꯅꯨꯃꯤꯠꯇ ꯕ꯭ꯔꯤꯇꯤꯁꯁꯤꯡꯅ ꯄꯥꯡꯊꯣꯛꯈꯤ ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯒꯤ ꯔꯦꯀꯣꯔꯗ ꯂꯩ
(ꯑꯍꯥꯟꯕ ꯄꯨꯌꯥ ꯃꯩ ꯊꯥꯕ ꯑꯣꯛꯇꯣꯕꯔ 21, 1729, ꯃꯦꯔꯥ 17 ꯅꯤ ꯄꯥꯟꯕ
ꯅꯣꯡꯃꯥꯏꯖꯤꯡ)꯫ ꯑꯁꯤ ꯄꯨꯝꯅꯃꯛ ꯑꯣꯏꯗꯨꯅꯁꯨ ꯁ꯭ꯔꯤꯌꯨꯛꯇ ꯆꯨꯔꯆꯥꯟꯗ
ꯃꯍꯥꯔꯥꯖ ꯑꯃꯗꯤ ꯂꯥꯏꯔꯤꯛ ꯂꯥꯏꯁꯨꯗ ꯊꯋꯥꯏ ꯌꯥꯎꯖꯕ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯒꯤ ꯑꯍꯜ-

ꯅꯍꯥ ꯃꯌꯥꯝꯅ ꯀꯟꯅ ꯍꯣꯠꯅꯃꯤꯟꯅꯗꯨꯅ 1924 ꯗ ꯃꯤꯇꯩꯂꯣꯜ (ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯤ
ꯂꯦꯡꯒꯣꯏꯖ) ꯁꯤ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯒꯤ ꯁ꯭ꯀꯨꯜꯁꯤꯡꯗ ꯚꯔꯅꯀꯨꯂꯔ ꯑꯣꯏꯅ
ꯁꯛꯈꯪꯂꯦ ꯍꯥꯏꯅ ꯂꯥꯎꯊꯣꯛꯈꯤ꯫ ꯃꯁꯤꯒꯤ ꯃꯇꯨꯡ ꯆꯍꯤ 24 ꯆꯨꯞꯅ, TI 1948
ꯐꯥꯎꯕꯁꯤ ꯀꯜꯀꯇꯥ ꯌꯨꯅꯤꯚꯔꯁꯤꯇꯤꯗ ꯃꯤꯇꯩꯂꯣꯜ ꯕꯤ ꯑꯦ ꯐꯥꯎꯕ ꯇꯝꯕ \

ꯥꯅꯅꯕ ꯑꯀꯟꯕ ꯈꯣꯡꯖꯪ ꯀꯌꯥ ꯆꯪꯁꯤꯟꯈꯤ꯫ ꯍꯤꯖꯝ ꯏꯔꯥꯕꯠ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ
ꯃꯍꯥꯛꯀꯤ ꯅꯤꯈꯤꯜ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯤ ꯃꯍꯥꯁꯚꯥꯅ (1934), ꯍꯧꯗꯣꯛꯂꯛꯄꯗꯗꯤ
ꯅꯤꯈꯤꯜ ꯍꯤꯟꯗꯨ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯤ ꯃꯍꯥꯁꯚꯥ ꯀꯧꯔꯝꯕꯤ, ꯂꯨꯞ ꯑꯁꯤꯅ ꯏꯍꯧ ꯑꯁꯤ
ꯑꯍꯥꯟꯕ ꯑꯣꯏꯅ ꯄꯥꯏꯈꯠꯈꯤꯕꯅꯤ꯫ ꯃꯇꯨꯡ ꯏꯜꯂꯛꯄꯗ ꯃꯅꯄꯨꯔꯤ
ꯁꯥꯍꯤꯇ꯭ꯌ ꯄꯔꯤꯁꯗꯅ (ꯖꯨꯟ 23, 1935), (ꯑꯍꯥꯟꯕꯗ ꯃꯦ 26, 1935 ꯗ
ꯍꯧꯗꯣꯛꯈꯤꯕꯗꯗꯤ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯤ ꯁꯥꯍꯤꯇ꯭ꯌ ꯁꯅꯃꯦꯜꯅꯤ ꯀꯧꯔꯝꯃꯤ) ꯑꯀꯟꯕ
ꯊꯧꯗꯥꯡ ꯂꯧꯈꯠꯈꯤ꯫ ꯏꯔꯥꯕꯠꯇꯤ ꯂꯨꯞ ꯑꯅꯤꯛꯇ ꯂꯨꯆꯤꯡꯕꯒꯤ ꯊꯕꯛ ꯀꯌꯥ
ꯑꯃ ꯂꯦꯞꯄ ꯂꯩꯇꯅ ꯑꯗꯨꯝ ꯄꯥꯡꯊꯣꯛꯇꯨꯅ ꯂꯥꯛꯈꯤꯕ ꯃꯤꯁꯛ ꯑꯃꯅꯤ꯫

ꯃꯇꯝꯗꯨꯗ ꯄꯔꯤꯁꯗꯇ ꯑꯦꯜ ꯏꯕꯨꯉꯣꯍꯜ ꯁꯤꯡꯍꯅ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯁꯤꯗꯦꯟꯠ,
ꯑꯩꯆ ꯗ꯭ꯋꯤꯖꯃꯅꯤ ꯗꯦꯕ ꯁꯔꯃꯅ ꯁꯦꯀ꯭ꯔꯦꯇꯔꯤꯅꯤ, ꯍꯤꯖꯝ ꯏꯔꯥꯕꯠ,
ꯈ꯭ꯋꯥꯏꯔꯥꯛꯄꯝ ꯆꯥꯎꯕ, ꯑꯦꯁ ꯂꯂꯤꯠ, ꯍꯤꯖꯝ ꯑꯉꯥꯡꯍꯜ, ꯍꯋꯥꯏꯕꯝ
ꯅꯕꯗ꯭ꯋꯤꯞꯆꯟꯗ꯭ꯔ, ꯅꯣꯡꯃꯩꯀꯥꯞꯄꯝ ꯒꯣꯄꯥꯜ, ꯍꯤꯖꯝ ꯑꯉꯧꯕ, ꯑꯔꯥꯝꯕꯝ
ꯗꯣꯔꯦꯟꯗ꯭ꯔꯣ, ꯋꯥꯏꯈꯣꯝ ꯆꯥꯎꯕ, ꯑꯔꯥꯝꯕꯝ ꯏꯕꯨꯉꯣꯍꯜ ꯃꯈꯣꯏꯁꯤꯅ
ꯀꯥꯔꯌꯀꯥꯔꯤ ꯁꯃꯤꯇꯤꯒꯤ ꯃꯦꯝꯕꯔꯁꯤꯡ ꯑꯣꯏꯈꯤ꯫ ꯄꯔꯤꯁꯗ ꯑꯁꯤꯒꯤ
ꯄ꯭ꯔꯁꯤꯗꯦꯟꯠꯀ ꯀꯜꯀꯇꯥ ꯌꯨꯅꯤꯚꯔꯁꯤꯇꯤꯒꯤ ꯔꯦꯖꯤꯁꯇꯥꯔ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ
ꯚꯥꯏꯁ ꯆꯥꯟꯁꯦꯂꯔꯒ ꯏꯅꯕ ꯆꯤꯊꯤ ꯑꯁꯤ 50 ꯗꯒꯤ ꯍꯦꯟꯅ ꯏꯅꯔꯝꯒꯅꯤ꯫

ꯃꯤꯇꯩꯂꯣꯜꯒꯤ ꯂꯥꯏꯕꯛ ꯐꯕꯗꯒꯤ ꯁꯨꯅꯤꯇꯤꯀꯨꯃꯥꯔ ꯆꯦꯇꯔꯖꯤ ꯀꯧꯕ ꯀꯜꯀꯇꯥ
ꯌꯨꯅꯤꯚꯔꯁꯤꯇꯤꯒꯤ ꯏꯪꯂꯤꯁ ꯗꯤꯄꯥꯔꯠꯃꯦꯟꯠꯀꯤ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯣꯐꯦꯁꯥꯔ ꯑꯃ \

ꯨꯅꯤꯚꯔꯁꯤꯇꯤꯒꯤ ꯃꯤꯍꯨꯠ ꯑꯣꯏꯅ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯗ ꯐꯤꯚꯝ ꯌꯦꯡꯁꯤꯟꯕ
ꯂꯥꯛꯂꯝꯃꯤ꯫ ꯃꯥꯗꯤ ꯍꯤꯖꯝ ꯑꯉꯥꯡꯍꯜꯒꯤ ‘ꯈꯝꯕ ꯊꯣꯏꯕꯤ ꯁꯩꯔꯦꯡ’ ꯒꯤ
ꯑꯊꯥꯕ ꯃꯦꯅ꯭ꯌꯨꯁꯀ꯭ꯔꯤꯞ ꯎꯔꯨꯕꯗ ꯄꯨꯉꯝꯥꯎ ꯉꯥꯎꯈꯤ꯫ ꯇꯟꯅ ꯀꯜꯀꯇꯥꯗ
ꯍꯟꯈꯤꯗꯨꯅ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯤ ꯂꯦꯡꯒꯣꯏꯖ ꯕꯤ ꯑꯦꯒꯤꯗꯃꯛꯇ ꯔꯦꯀꯃꯦꯟ ꯇꯧꯈꯤ
ꯍꯥꯏꯅꯩ꯫ TI 1948 ꯗ ꯀꯜꯀꯇꯥ ꯌꯨꯅꯤꯚꯔꯁꯤꯇꯤꯅ ꯕꯤ ꯑꯦ ꯐꯥꯎꯕ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯤ
ꯂꯦꯡꯒꯣꯏꯖ ꯇꯝꯕ ꯌꯥꯍꯟꯈꯤ꯫ ꯁꯨꯅꯤꯇꯤꯀꯨꯃꯥꯔ ꯆꯦꯇꯔꯖꯤꯅ ꯃꯤꯇꯩꯂꯣꯜ
ꯀꯌꯥꯃꯨꯛ ꯅꯨꯡꯁꯤꯕꯒꯦ ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯕꯨ ꯃꯍꯥꯛꯅ ꯁꯥꯍꯤꯇ꯭ꯌ ꯑꯦꯀꯥꯗꯦꯃꯤꯒꯤ
ꯄ꯭ꯔꯁꯤꯗꯦꯟꯠ ꯍꯦꯛ ꯑꯣꯏꯕꯒ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯤ ꯂꯣꯜꯅ ꯑꯥꯏꯠ ꯁꯦꯗꯨꯜꯗ
ꯆꯟꯗ꯭ꯔꯤꯉꯩꯒꯤ ꯃꯃꯥꯡ ꯀꯨꯝꯖꯥ 1972 ꯗꯒꯤ ꯍꯧꯅ ꯁꯥꯍꯤꯇ꯭ꯌ ꯑꯦꯀꯥꯗꯦꯃꯤꯒꯤ
ꯃꯅꯥ ꯄꯤꯕ ꯍꯧꯈꯤ꯫

ꯃꯁꯤꯒꯤ ꯃꯇꯨꯡ ꯇꯥꯕꯗ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯤ ꯂꯦꯡꯒꯣꯏꯖ ꯃꯨꯚꯃꯦꯟꯠꯅ
ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯤ ꯂꯣꯜꯕꯨ ꯑꯥꯏꯠ ꯁꯦꯗꯨꯜꯗ ꯆꯟꯅꯕ ꯆꯪꯈꯤꯕ ꯈꯣꯡꯖꯪꯁꯤꯡꯗꯨꯗꯤ
ꯊꯥꯡ ꯇꯦꯟ, ꯅꯣꯡꯃꯩ ꯄꯥꯏꯗꯦ ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯈꯛꯇꯨꯗ ꯈꯥꯛꯈꯤꯕꯅꯤ꯫ ꯀꯅꯥꯒꯤ
ꯁꯤꯠ- ꯏꯟ-ꯄ꯭ꯔꯣꯇꯦꯁꯠ, ꯗꯤꯜꯂꯤ ꯇꯥꯟꯅ ꯆꯠꯂꯒ ꯃꯦꯃꯣꯔꯦꯟꯗꯝ
ꯄꯤꯕ, ꯆꯔꯥ ꯍꯦꯟꯕꯒꯤ ꯈꯣꯡꯖꯪꯅꯆꯤꯡꯕ ꯄꯥꯏꯈꯠꯅꯈꯤ꯫ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯗ ꯂꯩꯕ
ꯈꯣꯔꯤꯔꯣꯜꯒꯤ ꯂꯨꯞ ꯃꯈꯩꯒꯤ ꯑꯄꯨꯟꯕ ꯈꯣꯡꯖꯪꯅꯤ, ꯃꯥꯡ ꯊꯥꯈꯤꯕꯁꯤꯡꯗꯤ
ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯤ ꯁꯥꯍꯤꯇ꯭ꯌ ꯄꯔꯤꯁꯗ, ꯑꯦꯝꯁꯨ, ꯅꯍꯥꯔꯣꯜ ꯁꯥꯍꯤꯇ꯭ꯌ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯦꯃꯤ
ꯁꯃꯤꯇꯤꯅꯆꯤꯡꯕꯅꯤ꯫ ꯑꯁꯥꯝꯂꯣꯝꯗꯒꯤꯁꯨ ꯂꯨꯞ ꯀꯌꯥ ꯌꯥꯎꯁꯤꯜꯂꯛꯈꯤ,
ꯀꯁꯥꯔꯒꯤ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯤ ꯁꯥꯍꯤꯇ꯭ꯌ ꯄꯔꯤꯁꯗ, ꯅꯍꯥ ꯃꯔꯨꯜ, ꯑꯣꯜ ꯑꯁꯥꯝ
ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯤ ꯁꯣꯁꯥꯏꯇꯤ, ꯑꯁꯥꯝ ꯕꯦꯡꯒꯜ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯤ ꯑꯦꯁꯣꯁꯤꯑꯦꯁꯟ,
ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯤ ꯁꯪꯒ꯭ꯔꯥꯈꯤꯅꯤ ꯁꯃꯤꯇꯤ, ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯤ ꯀꯣꯂꯦꯖ ꯁ꯭ꯇꯨꯗꯦꯟꯠꯁ
ꯌꯨꯅꯤꯌꯟ, ꯑꯗꯨꯒ ꯖꯥꯐꯤꯔꯕꯣꯟꯒꯤ ꯑꯁꯥꯝ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯤ ꯁꯥꯍꯤꯇ꯭ꯌ
ꯄꯔꯁꯤꯗ, ꯊꯧꯒꯜ ꯃꯔꯨꯞ ꯑꯁꯤꯅꯆꯤꯡꯕ ꯀꯌꯥꯅꯤ꯫ ꯃꯃꯩꯊꯪꯗ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯤ
ꯂꯦꯡꯒꯣꯏꯖ ꯗꯤꯃꯥꯟ ꯀꯣ-ꯑꯣꯔꯗꯤꯅꯦꯁꯟ ꯀꯃꯤꯇꯤ ꯅꯣꯔꯠ TKG ꯀꯧꯕ
ꯑꯆꯧꯕ ꯑꯝꯕ꯭ꯔꯦꯂꯥ ꯑꯃꯒꯤ ꯃꯈꯥꯗ ꯃꯥꯏꯀꯩ ꯈꯨꯗꯤꯡꯃꯛꯇꯒꯤ ꯈꯣꯡꯖꯪ
ꯆꯪꯁꯤꯟꯃꯤꯟꯅꯈꯤ꯫ ꯃꯃꯩꯊꯪꯗꯗꯤ 71 ꯁꯨꯕ ꯑꯦꯃꯦꯟꯗꯃꯦꯟꯠ ꯑꯣꯐ ꯗꯤ
ꯀꯟꯁꯇꯤꯇ꯭ꯌꯨꯁꯟ ꯑꯣꯐ ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥꯅ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯤ ꯂꯣꯜꯕꯨ 8 ꯁꯨꯕ ꯁꯦꯗꯨꯜꯗ
ꯆꯜꯍꯟꯈꯤꯕꯅꯤ꯫

ꯍꯧꯖꯤꯛ ꯃꯇꯝꯒꯤ ꯃꯤꯇꯩꯂꯣꯜꯒꯤ ꯁꯛꯇꯝ
ꯍꯧꯖꯤꯛ ꯃꯇꯝꯒꯤ ꯃꯤꯇꯩꯂꯣꯜꯒꯤ ꯁꯛꯇꯝꯒꯤ ꯃꯔꯝꯗ ꯋꯥꯔꯣꯜ ꯈꯔ
ꯊꯝꯕ ꯇꯥꯔꯕꯗꯤ ꯑꯐꯕꯁꯨ ꯂꯩ, ꯐꯠꯇꯕꯁꯨ ꯂꯩ꯫ ꯐꯠꯇꯕꯅ ꯍꯥꯟꯅ ꯍꯧꯕꯁꯤ ꯀꯌꯥ
ꯅꯨꯡꯉꯥꯏꯇꯦ꯫ ꯑꯐꯕꯔꯣꯝꯗꯒꯤ ꯈꯖꯤꯛꯇꯪ ꯍꯥꯟꯅ ꯍꯥꯏꯖꯒꯦ꯫

ꯃꯇꯝ ꯑꯃꯗ ꯏꯔꯝꯗꯝꯁꯤꯗ ꯂꯥꯏꯔꯤꯛ ꯇꯝꯐꯝꯁꯪ ꯁ꯭ꯀꯨꯜꯅꯆꯤꯡꯕ
ꯂꯤꯡꯈꯠꯅꯔꯛꯂꯕ ꯐꯥꯎꯕꯗ ꯏꯁꯥꯒꯤ ꯏꯃꯥꯂꯣꯜ ꯇꯝꯖꯒꯦ ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯗ ꯇꯝꯕꯒꯤ
ꯑꯌꯥꯕ ꯐꯪꯈꯤꯗꯕ ꯃꯤꯇꯩꯂꯣꯜ ꯍꯧꯖꯤꯛ ꯑꯦꯝ ꯑꯦꯗꯒꯤ ꯍꯦꯟꯗꯣꯛꯇꯨꯅ ꯑꯦꯝ
ꯐꯤꯜ, ꯔꯤꯁꯥꯔꯁ ꯇꯧꯗꯨꯅ ꯄꯤ ꯑꯩꯆ ꯗꯤ ꯗꯤꯒ꯭ꯔꯤꯅꯆꯤꯡꯕ ꯌꯥꯝꯅ ꯐꯪꯅꯔꯦ꯫

ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯃꯛꯇꯗ ꯌꯨꯅꯤꯚꯔꯁꯤꯇꯤ ꯑꯅꯤ ꯂꯩꯔꯦ, ꯑꯁꯥꯝꯗ ꯒꯧꯍꯥꯇꯤ \

ꯨꯅꯤꯚꯔꯁꯤꯇꯤ, ꯑꯁꯥꯝ ꯌꯨꯅꯤꯚꯔꯁꯤꯇꯤ ꯑꯃꯗꯤ ꯑꯇꯩꯁꯤꯡ ꯂꯩꯔꯦ, ꯑꯗꯨꯒ
ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥꯒꯤ ꯃꯐꯝ ꯀꯌꯥꯗꯁꯨ ꯇꯝꯕꯨ ꯇꯝꯒꯦ ꯍꯥꯏꯔꯕꯗꯤ ꯐꯦꯁꯤꯂꯤꯇꯤ
ꯄꯤ ꯍꯥꯏꯅꯔꯦ꯫ ꯀꯦꯂꯤꯐꯣꯔꯅꯤꯌꯥꯔꯗ ꯑꯁꯥꯝꯒꯤ ꯆꯥꯂꯤꯍꯥ ꯀꯧꯕꯤ ꯑꯃꯅ
ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯤ ꯂꯣꯜꯒꯤ ꯃꯔꯝꯗ ꯔꯤꯁꯥꯔꯁ ꯇꯧꯅꯤꯡꯕꯁꯤꯡꯒꯤ ꯒꯥꯏꯗ
ꯑꯣꯏꯔꯤ ꯍꯥꯏꯅ ꯇꯥꯖꯩ꯫ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯤꯁꯤꯡ ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥꯒꯤ ꯃꯐꯝ ꯈꯨꯗꯤꯡꯃꯛꯇ
ꯈꯨꯟꯗꯥꯗꯨꯅ ꯂꯩꯅꯔꯦ꯫ ꯀꯨꯝꯖꯥ 2001 ꯒꯤ ꯁꯦꯟꯁꯁ ꯔꯤꯄꯣꯔꯠꯀꯤ ꯃꯇꯨꯡꯏꯟꯅ
ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥ ꯄꯨꯝꯕꯗ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯤ ꯉꯥꯡꯕ ꯃꯤ ꯃꯁꯤꯡ 14,66,705 ꯅꯤ,
ꯑꯗꯨꯒꯤ ꯃꯅꯨꯡꯗ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯗ 12,66,098 ꯅꯤ ꯍꯥꯏꯔꯤ꯫ ꯑꯁꯥꯝꯗ
ꯃꯤꯇꯩꯂꯣꯜ ꯉꯥꯡꯕ ꯃꯤ ꯃꯁꯤꯡ 1,54,059 ꯂꯩ꯫ ꯁꯇꯤꯁꯒꯔ ꯁ꯭ꯇꯦꯠ
ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯌꯨꯅꯤꯌꯟ ꯇꯦꯔꯤꯇꯣꯔꯤ ꯑꯣꯐ ꯄꯣꯟꯗꯤꯆꯦꯔꯤ ꯍꯥꯏꯔꯤꯕ ꯃꯐꯝ
ꯑꯅꯤꯁꯤꯗ ꯉꯥꯏꯔꯦ ꯍꯥꯏ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯤ ꯏꯇꯥ ꯇꯥꯗꯕ꯫ ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥꯗ ꯅꯠꯇꯅ
ꯃꯥꯂꯦꯝꯒꯤ ꯃꯐꯝ ꯀꯌꯥꯗ ꯃꯔꯨꯑꯣꯏꯅ ꯌꯨ ꯑꯦꯁ, ꯀꯅꯥꯗꯥ, ꯌꯨ ꯀꯦ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ
ꯌꯨꯔꯣꯞ, ꯑꯣꯁꯇ꯭ꯔꯦꯂꯤꯌꯥꯅꯆꯤꯡꯕꯗ ꯃꯈꯣꯏ ꯃꯈꯣꯏꯒꯤ ꯃꯃꯤꯡ ꯇꯣꯉꯥꯟ
ꯇꯣꯉꯥꯟꯕ ꯊꯣꯟꯅꯗꯨꯅ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯤ ꯗꯥꯏꯁꯄꯣꯔꯥ ꯀꯌꯥ ꯁꯦꯝꯗꯨꯅ ꯂꯩꯕꯒꯤ ꯄꯥꯎ
ꯂꯩ꯫ ꯃꯈꯣꯏ ꯅꯤꯡꯉꯣꯜ ꯆꯥꯛꯀꯧꯕ, ꯆꯩꯔꯥꯎꯕꯒꯨꯝꯕꯗ ꯍꯦꯛ ꯍꯦꯛ ꯄꯨꯜꯂꯤ꯫

ꯃꯃꯥꯂꯣꯜ ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯁꯤꯗꯤ ꯅꯨꯡꯁꯤꯕꯅꯤꯅ ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥꯒꯤ ꯃꯥꯂꯦꯝꯒꯤ ꯃꯐꯝꯁꯤꯡꯗ
ꯃꯤꯇꯩꯂꯣꯜ ꯇꯝꯐꯝ ꯃꯍꯩꯂꯣꯏꯁꯪꯁꯤꯡ ꯂꯩꯅꯔꯛꯄ ꯌꯥꯏ꯫ ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯗꯤ
ꯃꯤꯇꯩꯂꯣꯜ ꯍꯦꯟꯅ ꯍꯦꯟꯅ ꯁꯟꯗꯣꯛꯈꯤꯗꯨꯅ ꯏꯟꯇꯔꯅꯦꯁꯅꯦꯜ ꯂꯦꯡꯒꯣꯏꯖ
ꯃꯆꯥ ꯑꯃ ꯑꯣꯏꯔꯛꯄꯒꯤ ꯃꯃꯤꯁꯨ ꯇꯥꯗꯕ ꯅꯠꯇꯦ꯫ ꯌꯥꯝꯅ ꯃꯔꯨꯑꯣꯏꯕ
ꯑꯃꯅ ꯍꯧꯖꯤꯛ ꯃꯤꯇꯩꯂꯣꯜ ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥꯒꯤ ꯀ꯭ꯂꯥꯁꯤꯀꯦꯜ ꯂꯦꯡꯒꯣꯏꯖꯁꯤꯡꯒꯤ
ꯃꯅꯨꯡꯗ ꯑꯃ ꯑꯣꯏꯕ ꯌꯥꯕꯒꯤ ꯑꯣꯏꯊꯣꯛꯄ ꯂꯩꯔꯦ꯫ ꯃꯌꯥꯏꯒꯤ ꯑꯣꯏꯕ
ꯃꯐꯝꯗꯒꯤꯗꯤ ꯏꯪꯒꯤꯠ ꯄꯤꯔꯛꯄ ꯂꯩꯈ꯭ꯔꯕꯅ꯫ ꯂꯩꯉꯥꯛꯅ, ꯀꯦꯕꯤꯅꯦꯠꯅ
ꯈꯔ ꯈꯤꯠ ꯍꯦꯟꯅ ꯊꯋꯥꯏ ꯌꯥꯎꯁꯤꯜꯂꯕꯗꯤ ꯍꯦꯟꯅ ꯌꯥꯡꯁꯤꯟꯐꯝ ꯊꯣꯛꯏ꯫

ꯂꯦꯡꯒꯣꯏꯖ ꯁꯦꯜ ꯑꯃꯗꯤ ꯍꯥꯡꯗꯣꯛꯂꯕꯅꯤ; ꯑꯁꯤꯃꯗꯤ ꯇꯧꯔꯦ ꯍꯥꯏꯕ TB

ꯎꯗ꯭ꯔꯤ꯫ ꯃꯈꯥ ꯀꯌꯥ ꯇꯥꯖꯅꯤꯡꯗ꯭ꯔꯦ꯫

ꯐꯠꯇꯕꯔꯣꯝꯒꯤꯁꯨ ꯍꯥꯏꯅꯤꯡꯉꯥꯏ ꯌꯥꯝꯅ ꯂꯩ꯫ ꯔꯤꯄꯣꯔꯠ ꯑꯃꯒꯤ
ꯃꯇꯨꯡꯏꯟꯅ ꯀꯨꯝꯖꯥ 2018 ꯒꯤ ꯑꯣꯏꯅ ꯄꯥꯕꯗ ꯃꯥꯂꯦꯝꯗ ꯂꯣꯜ ꯃꯁꯤꯡ 7,102
ꯂꯩ; ꯃꯁꯤꯒꯤ ꯃꯅꯨꯡꯗ 3000 ꯗꯤ ꯃꯊꯪꯒꯤ ꯆꯍꯤ 100 ꯗ ꯃꯨꯠꯈ꯭ꯔꯒꯤ ꯍꯥꯏ꯫

ꯀꯨꯝꯖꯥ 2007 ꯀꯤ ꯔꯤꯄꯣꯔꯠ ꯑꯃꯗꯅ ꯃꯥꯂꯦꯝꯗ ꯂꯣꯜ ꯃꯁꯤꯡ 7,912
ꯂꯩ, ꯃꯁꯤꯒꯤ ꯃꯅꯨꯡꯗ 516 ꯇꯤ ꯃꯨꯠꯈ꯭ꯔꯕꯒꯨꯝꯕꯅꯤ ꯍꯥꯏ꯫ ꯃꯥꯂꯦꯝꯒꯤ
ꯂꯣꯜꯁꯤꯡ ꯑꯁꯨꯝ ꯑꯁꯨꯝ ꯁꯤꯖꯤꯜꯂꯛꯂꯤ꯫ ꯆꯍꯤ 4-5 ꯃꯨꯛꯀꯤ ꯃꯃꯥꯡꯗ
ꯌꯨꯅꯦꯁꯀꯣꯅ ꯃꯤꯇꯩꯂꯣꯜ (ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯤ) ꯚꯂꯅꯔꯦꯕꯜ ꯂꯦꯡꯒꯣꯏꯖꯁꯤꯡꯒꯤ
ꯀꯥꯡꯂꯨꯞꯇ ꯌꯥꯎꯍꯜꯂꯛꯈꯤ; ꯏꯟꯗꯦꯟꯖꯔ ꯑꯣꯏꯔꯦ ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯃꯛꯇꯤ
ꯅꯠꯇꯦ꯫ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯒꯤ ꯈꯣꯔꯤꯔꯣꯜ ꯁꯨꯕ ꯅꯍꯥꯔꯣꯜꯁꯤꯡꯒꯤ ꯃꯔꯛꯇ \

ꯥꯝꯅ ꯄꯥꯈꯠꯅꯈꯤ, ꯑꯍꯜꯂꯣꯟꯒꯤ ꯃꯔꯛꯇꯗꯤ ꯃꯤꯇꯩꯂꯣꯜ ꯁꯨꯡꯃꯨꯠ ꯃꯨꯠꯂꯣꯏ
ꯍꯥꯏꯅꯈꯤ꯫ ꯏꯟꯗꯦꯟꯖꯔ ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯁꯤꯅ ꯈꯨꯗꯣꯡ ꯊꯤꯕꯒꯤ ꯐꯤꯚꯝꯗ ꯂꯩꯔꯦ
ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯅꯤ; ꯚꯜꯅꯔꯦꯕꯜ ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯁꯤꯅ ꯈꯨꯗꯣꯡ ꯊꯤꯕ ꯌꯥꯕꯒꯤ ꯐꯤꯚꯝꯗ ꯂꯩꯔꯦ
ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯅꯤ꯫ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯒꯤ ꯂꯣꯜ ꯑꯍꯨꯝ ꯃꯔꯤꯗꯤ ꯁꯤꯔꯕꯒꯨꯝꯕꯅꯤ ꯍꯥꯏꯈꯤ,
ꯃꯗꯨꯒꯤ ꯃꯅꯨꯡꯗ ꯇꯔꯥꯎ ꯂꯣꯜꯁꯨ ꯌꯥꯎꯈꯤ꯫

ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯤ ꯂꯣꯜ ꯍꯥꯏꯐꯦꯠ ꯁꯤꯊꯔꯔꯨꯔꯦ ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯁꯤ ꯑꯩꯉꯣꯟꯗꯁꯨ
ꯐꯥꯎꯈꯤ, ꯍꯧꯖꯤꯛ ꯐꯤꯚꯝ ꯐꯒꯠꯂꯕ꯭ꯔ ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯗꯨꯗꯤ ꯑꯩ ꯍꯥꯏꯕ ꯉꯝꯖꯗꯦ꯫

ꯁꯤꯊꯔꯨꯕꯒꯤ ꯃꯔꯝꯗꯤ ꯌꯥꯝꯈ꯭ꯔꯦ꯫ ꯈꯔꯗꯪ ꯄꯜꯂꯕꯗ:

1) ꯃꯤꯇꯩꯂꯣꯜ ꯅꯤꯡꯊꯤ ꯅꯨꯡꯉꯥꯏꯅ ꯇꯝꯕꯤꯗꯕ, ꯏꯪꯂꯤꯁꯇꯃꯛ ꯊꯋꯥꯏ \

ꯥꯎꯕ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯥꯏꯚꯦꯠ ꯏꯪꯂꯤꯁ ꯁ꯭ꯀꯨꯜꯁꯤꯡ ꯌꯥꯝꯈꯠꯂꯛꯄ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯃꯤꯌꯥꯝꯅꯁꯨ ꯃꯆꯥ
ꯃꯁꯨꯁꯤꯡꯕꯨ ꯑꯗꯨꯒꯨꯝꯕ ꯁ꯭ꯀꯨꯜꯁꯤꯡꯗꯅ ꯍꯦꯟꯅ ꯊꯥꯅꯔꯛꯄ꯫ ꯁ꯭ꯀꯨꯜ ꯃꯅꯨꯡ
ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯑꯀꯣꯏꯕꯗ ꯏꯪꯂꯤꯁ ꯅꯠꯇꯅ ꯑꯇꯩ ꯂꯣꯜꯗ ꯋꯥꯔꯤ ꯁꯥꯅꯕ ꯌꯥꯗꯕ꯫

2) ꯌꯨꯝ-ꯌꯨꯝꯁꯤꯡꯗ, ꯂꯩꯔꯛ ꯈꯨꯜꯂꯛꯇ ꯑꯁꯦꯡꯕ ꯃꯤꯇꯩꯂꯣꯜ
ꯉꯥꯡꯅꯔꯛꯇꯕ; ꯂꯣꯟꯊꯩ-ꯂꯣꯟꯌꯥꯟꯅ ꯍꯦꯟꯅ ꯍꯦꯟꯅ ꯀꯨꯡꯁꯤꯜꯂꯛꯄ,
ꯂꯣꯜꯒꯤ ꯆꯠꯅ ꯄꯊꯥꯞ ꯁꯣꯏꯅ ꯂꯥꯟꯅ ꯉꯥꯡꯅꯁꯤꯜꯂꯛꯄ ꯈꯨꯗꯝ:

- ꯃꯟꯗꯦ ꯑꯣꯛꯇꯣꯕꯔ ꯗꯦꯠ ꯋꯥꯟꯗ ꯁ꯭ꯀꯨꯜ ꯑꯣꯄꯟ ꯇꯧꯅꯤ ꯍꯥꯏ꯫

- ꯁꯥꯔ, ꯑꯩ ꯑꯃꯨꯛꯇ ꯂꯦꯡꯁꯤꯟꯖꯔꯛꯀꯦ꯫

- ꯑꯩ ꯆꯥꯛ ꯆꯥꯕ ꯌꯥꯎꯔꯔꯣꯏꯒꯦ꯫ ‘ꯒꯦ’ ꯅ ꯂꯣꯏꯁꯤꯟꯕ ꯚꯥꯕꯁꯤꯡ
ꯑꯁꯤꯗꯤ ꯌꯥꯊꯪ ꯅꯠꯇ꯭ꯔꯒ ꯑꯌꯥꯕ ꯂꯧꯕ ꯅꯠꯇ꯭ꯔꯒ ꯄꯥꯎ ꯄꯤꯕꯒꯨꯝꯕꯗ,
ꯄꯣꯖꯤꯇꯤꯕ ꯁꯦꯟꯁ ꯄꯨꯕ ꯋꯥꯍꯩ ꯄꯔꯦꯡꯗ ꯁꯤꯖꯤꯟꯅꯒꯗꯕꯅꯤ, ꯑꯩ
ꯆꯥꯛ ꯍꯥꯟꯅ ꯆꯥꯊꯣꯛꯈꯤꯒꯦ꯫ ꯅꯦꯒꯦꯇꯤꯕ ꯁꯦꯟꯁ ꯄꯨꯕ ꯋꯥꯍꯩ ꯄꯔꯦꯡꯗ
ꯁꯤꯖꯤꯟꯅꯔꯕꯗꯤ ꯂꯣꯟꯊꯩ ꯇꯥꯔꯦ; ꯇꯥꯕꯗ ꯃꯔꯤꯡ ꯃꯔꯥꯡꯉꯤ꯫

IMPHAL, TUESDAY, AUGUST 28, 2018 ꯂꯩꯕꯥꯛꯄꯣꯛꯄ, ꯊꯋꯥꯟꯒꯤ 17 ꯅꯤ ꯄꯥꯟꯕ, ꯃꯥꯂꯤꯌꯥ ꯀꯨꯝꯁꯤꯡ 3416 ꯍꯨꯏꯌꯦꯟ ꯂꯥꯟꯄꯥꯎ
2 SOjgmOM HUEIYEN LANPAO

ꯍꯨꯏꯌꯦꯟ ꯂꯥꯟꯄꯥꯎ

...ꯑꯦꯗꯤꯇꯔꯗ ꯊꯥꯔꯛꯄ ꯆꯤꯊꯤ...

ꯏꯀꯥꯏꯈꯨꯝꯅꯖꯔꯤꯕ ꯑꯦꯗꯤꯇꯔ,
ꯉꯁꯤꯗꯤ ꯂꯥꯏꯔꯝꯂꯦꯟꯗ ꯇꯤꯟꯈ꯭ꯔꯕ, ꯃꯇꯝ ꯑꯃꯗ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯏꯕꯨ ꯂꯝꯖꯤꯡ-ꯂꯝꯇꯥꯛꯄꯤꯔꯝꯕ, ꯁꯤꯡꯖꯩꯃ
ꯆꯤꯡꯉꯥ ꯃꯈꯥꯗꯒꯤ ꯑꯩꯒꯤ ꯑꯣꯖꯥ ꯅꯣꯡꯊꯣꯝꯕꯝ ꯑꯉꯧ ꯃꯩꯇꯩꯅ ꯑꯁꯨꯝꯅ ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯤꯔꯝꯃꯤ, ꯉꯁꯤ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯏꯅ ꯂꯩꯔꯤꯕ
ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔ ꯀꯧꯕ ꯏꯔꯝꯗꯝ ꯑꯁꯤꯅ ꯀꯨꯏꯔꯕ ꯃꯇꯝꯒꯤ ꯃꯃꯥꯡꯗ ꯏꯁꯤꯡꯒꯤ ꯏꯄꯥꯛ ꯑꯣꯏꯗꯨꯅ ꯂꯩꯔꯝꯃꯤ
ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯃꯇꯝ ꯑꯗꯨꯗ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯏ ꯆꯤꯡꯗꯣꯜꯗ ꯂꯩꯔꯝꯃꯤ꯫ ꯆꯤꯡꯗ ꯈꯥꯂꯤ-ꯂꯧ ꯌꯥꯟꯗꯨꯅ, ꯃꯅꯥ-ꯃꯁꯤꯡ ꯊꯥꯗꯨꯅ
ꯍꯤꯡꯅꯕ ꯄꯥꯝꯕꯩ ꯊꯤꯗꯨꯅ ꯑꯁꯨꯝ ꯂꯩꯔꯛꯄꯅ ꯆꯤꯡꯉꯨ ꯂꯥꯏꯒꯤ ꯊꯧꯖꯥꯜ ꯑꯃ ꯂꯥꯛꯈꯤ꯫ ꯆꯤꯡꯉꯨ ꯅꯣꯡꯄꯣꯛ
ꯅꯤꯡꯊꯧ ꯀꯧꯕ ꯂꯥꯏ ꯑꯁꯤꯅ ꯅꯣꯡꯃ ꯅꯣꯡꯄꯣꯛ ꯍꯩꯍꯧꯆꯤꯡꯗꯒꯤ ꯀꯣꯏꯅ ꯌꯦꯡꯊꯣꯛꯂꯛꯄꯗ ꯆꯤꯡꯅ ꯏꯀꯍꯏ
ꯀꯣꯏꯁꯤꯟꯕ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔ ꯀꯧꯕ ꯃꯐꯝ ꯑꯁꯤ ꯎꯔꯝꯃꯤ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯃꯍꯥꯛꯀꯤ ꯋꯥꯈꯜꯗ ꯃꯇꯝ ꯑꯁꯤꯒꯤ
ꯏꯁꯤꯡ ꯑꯁꯤ ꯆꯤꯡꯊꯣꯛꯂꯒ ꯃꯍꯥꯛꯀꯤ ꯁꯥꯟꯅꯐꯝ ꯑꯣꯏꯒꯦ ꯍꯥꯏꯅ ꯈꯜꯂꯗꯨꯅ ꯃꯈꯥꯄꯥꯡꯕ ꯂꯝꯗꯝꯗ
ꯆꯠꯇꯨꯅ ꯅꯨꯡꯊꯣꯡ ꯍꯥꯏꯕ ꯃꯐꯝ ꯑꯃꯗ ꯃꯍꯥꯛꯅ ꯄꯥꯏꯕ ꯃꯆꯤꯟ ꯑꯍꯨꯝ ꯂꯣꯡꯕ ꯇꯥꯖꯤꯟꯅ ꯍꯨꯠꯈꯤ꯫ ꯃꯇꯧ
ꯑꯁꯨꯝꯅ ꯏꯁꯤꯡ ꯏꯄꯥꯛ ꯑꯗꯨ ꯀꯪꯈꯤ꯫ ꯃꯗꯨꯗꯒꯤ ꯆꯤꯡꯗ ꯂꯩꯕ ꯃꯤꯁꯤꯡꯅ ꯇꯝꯄꯥꯛꯇ ꯀꯨꯝꯗꯨꯅ ꯈꯥꯂꯤ-ꯂꯧ ꯇꯥꯕ
ꯍꯧꯤ꯫ ꯑꯋꯥꯡꯕ ꯆꯤꯡꯗꯣꯜꯒꯤ ꯀꯨꯝꯂꯛꯇꯨꯅ ꯈꯥꯂꯤ-ꯂꯧ ꯌꯥꯟꯕ, ꯂꯥꯡꯐꯧ ꯃꯔꯨ-ꯃꯔꯥꯡ ꯊꯥꯕꯁꯤꯗ ꯅꯣꯡꯃꯗꯤ ꯃꯆꯤꯟ
ꯃꯅꯥꯎ ꯑꯅꯤꯅ ꯊꯕꯛꯇꯒꯤ ꯄꯣꯠꯊꯥ ꯆꯌꯣꯝ ꯊꯣꯛꯇꯨꯅ ꯆꯥꯕ ꯂꯣꯏꯔꯕ ꯃꯅꯥꯎ ꯑꯗꯨꯅ ꯃꯌꯥꯝꯕꯗ ꯍꯥꯏ, ꯌꯥꯝꯕꯨꯡ
ꯑꯩꯗꯤ ꯌꯨꯝꯗ ꯀꯥꯔꯔꯣꯏ, ꯑꯩꯒꯤ ꯆꯌꯣꯝ ꯊꯦꯡꯅꯕ ꯆꯐꯨ, ꯎꯌꯥꯟ, ꯆꯦꯡ-ꯆꯥꯛ ꯏꯌꯥꯝꯕꯅ ꯄꯨꯊꯕꯤꯔꯛꯎ, ꯑꯩꯗꯤ
ꯂꯧꯁꯪꯁꯤꯗ ꯂꯩꯍꯧꯔꯒꯦ꯫ ꯃꯌꯥꯝꯕꯅ ꯃꯅꯥꯎꯗ ꯆꯤꯡꯗ ꯀꯥꯔꯁꯤ ꯍꯥꯏꯕ ꯃꯇꯃꯗ ꯃꯅꯥꯎꯅ ꯃꯥꯗꯤ ꯆꯤꯡꯗ ꯑꯃꯨꯛ
ꯀꯥꯔꯔꯣꯏꯒꯦ ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯗꯒꯤ ꯃꯌꯥꯝꯕꯅ ꯑꯗꯨꯗꯤ ꯈꯨꯟꯗ ꯃꯤ ꯁꯤꯕꯗ, ꯁꯤꯔꯦ ꯍꯥꯏꯕ ꯈꯪꯂꯔꯣꯏ꯫ ꯅꯪꯅ ꯇꯝꯗ ꯁꯤꯕ
ꯃꯇꯝꯗ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯏꯅ ꯈꯪꯂꯔꯣꯏ ꯍꯥꯏꯔꯝꯃꯤ꯫ ꯃꯗꯨꯗ ꯃꯅꯥꯎ ꯑꯗꯨꯅ ꯈꯨꯝꯃꯤ, ꯀꯔꯤꯒꯨꯝꯕ ꯈꯨꯟꯗꯥ ꯃꯤ ꯁꯤꯔꯕꯗꯤ
ꯑꯍꯧꯕ ꯃꯈꯣꯜ ꯑꯃꯅ ꯌꯩꯔꯛꯎ꯫ ꯑꯩꯒꯤ ꯇꯝꯗ ꯃꯤ ꯁꯤꯕ ꯃꯇꯝꯗ ꯃꯩ ꯊꯥꯗꯨꯅ ꯃꯩꯈꯨ ꯈꯨꯔꯛꯀꯦ꯫ ꯑꯁꯨꯝꯅ ꯃꯤ
ꯂꯩꯇ꯭ꯔꯦ ꯍꯥꯏꯕ ꯈꯪꯅꯁꯤ; ꯑꯩꯒꯤ ꯌꯨꯝꯅꯥꯛ ꯃꯁꯤꯡ ꯑꯁꯨꯛ ꯁꯨꯔꯦ ꯍꯥꯏꯕ ꯈꯪꯅꯕ ꯃꯦꯔꯥ ꯊꯥꯗ ꯌꯨꯝꯊꯣꯡ ꯈꯨꯗꯤꯡꯒꯤ
ꯃꯩꯔꯥ ꯑꯃꯃꯝ ꯊꯥꯜꯂꯛꯀꯦ꯫ ꯃꯁꯤꯒꯤ ꯃꯇꯨꯡ ꯇꯥꯔꯛꯄꯗ ꯃꯦꯔꯥ ꯊꯥ ꯑꯁꯤꯗ ꯆꯤꯡꯒꯤ ꯃꯄꯥ-ꯃꯆꯥ, ꯃꯆꯤꯟ-

ꯃꯅꯥꯎ ꯇꯝꯗ ꯀꯨꯝꯂꯛꯇꯨꯅ ꯍꯔꯥꯎ ꯇꯌꯥꯝꯅ ꯆꯥꯛ ꯆꯥꯃꯤꯟꯅꯗꯨꯅ ꯊꯥꯡ-ꯇꯥ ꯄꯥꯏꯗꯨꯅ ꯍꯧ ꯆꯣꯡꯈꯤ꯫ ꯑꯁꯨꯝꯅ
ꯑꯣꯜꯂꯛꯄ ꯆꯍꯤꯗ ꯑꯃꯨꯛ ꯆꯤꯡꯒꯤ ꯃꯆꯤꯟ ꯃꯅꯥꯎꯁꯤꯡ ꯂꯥꯛꯄꯗ ꯇꯝꯒꯤ ꯃꯆꯥ-ꯃꯁꯨꯁꯤꯡꯅ ꯃꯃꯥ-

ꯃꯄꯥꯗ ꯄꯥ, ‘ꯍꯧ’ ꯂꯥꯛꯂꯦ ꯍꯥꯏꯗꯨꯅ ꯄꯥꯎ ꯇꯝꯈꯤ; ꯃꯦꯔꯥ ꯊꯥ ꯂꯥꯛꯄ ꯈꯨꯗꯤꯡ ꯍꯧ ꯆꯣꯡꯕꯒꯤ ꯊꯧꯔꯝ ꯄꯥꯡꯊꯣꯛꯇꯨ
ꯅ ꯂꯥꯛꯂꯤ꯫ ꯍꯧ-ꯍꯧ ꯆꯣꯡꯕꯒꯤ ꯍꯔꯥꯎ ꯅꯨꯡꯉꯥꯏꯕ ꯄꯥꯡꯊꯣꯛꯄ ‘ꯍꯧ’ ꯍꯥꯏꯕ ꯋꯥꯍꯩ ꯑꯁꯤ ꯍꯥꯏꯗꯨꯅ ꯄꯨꯟꯅ
ꯆꯣꯡꯃꯤꯟꯅꯩ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯖꯒꯣꯏ ꯁꯥꯃꯤꯟꯅꯩ꯫ ꯑꯁꯨꯝꯅ ꯑꯣꯖꯥ ꯑꯗꯨ ꯅ ꯍꯧ-ꯆꯣꯡꯕꯒꯤ ꯍꯧꯔꯛꯐꯝ ꯂꯤꯕꯤꯈꯤ꯫

ꯍꯧ ꯆꯣꯡꯕꯒꯤ ꯇꯣꯉꯥꯟ ꯇꯣꯉꯥꯟꯕ ꯋꯥꯔꯤ ꯀꯌꯥ ꯑꯃ ꯂꯩꯔꯕꯁꯨ ꯑꯩꯅ ꯉꯁꯤꯗꯒꯤ ꯆꯍꯤ 50 ꯍꯦꯟꯕꯒꯤ ꯃꯃꯥꯡꯗ
ꯇꯥꯈꯤꯕ ꯋꯥꯔꯤ ꯑꯁꯤꯁꯨ ꯅꯤꯡꯁꯤꯡꯖꯕꯅꯤ, ꯃꯦꯔꯥ ꯊꯥꯅ ꯌꯧꯔꯛꯄꯁꯤꯗ꯫

ꯑꯗꯣꯝꯒꯤ- ꯅꯥꯎꯔꯦꯝꯕ꯭ꯔꯖꯃꯅꯤ ꯃꯩꯇꯩ, ꯀꯛꯆꯤꯡ ꯁꯨꯃꯥꯛ ꯂꯩꯀꯥꯏ
ꯍꯧ ꯆꯣꯡꯕꯒꯤ ꯄꯥꯎꯗꯝ ꯑꯃꯇꯪ
ꯃꯤꯇꯩꯂꯣꯟ: ꯍꯧꯈ꯭ꯔꯕꯒꯤ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯍꯧꯖꯤꯛꯀꯤ ꯁꯛꯇꯝ
(Manipuri Language: Past and Present)
ꯄ꯭ꯔꯣꯐꯦꯁꯥꯔ ꯓꯣꯙꯆꯟꯗ꯭ꯔ ꯁꯅꯁꯝ
ꯄ꯭ꯔꯥꯏꯚꯦꯠ ꯁ꯭ꯀꯨꯜꯁꯤꯡꯒꯤ ꯐꯤ
ꯂꯩꯉꯥꯛꯀꯤ ꯃꯇꯤꯛ ꯆꯥꯕ ꯊꯧꯁꯤꯜ ꯂꯩꯍꯟꯅꯤꯡꯏ
ꯄ꯭ꯔꯥꯏꯚꯦꯠ ꯁ꯭ꯀꯨꯜꯁꯤꯡꯅ ꯑꯄꯥꯝꯕ ꯃꯑꯣꯡꯗ ꯂꯧꯅꯤꯡꯕ ꯐꯤ ꯂꯧꯕꯒꯤ ꯊꯧꯑꯣꯡ ꯑꯃ ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥꯒꯤ ꯃꯐꯝ ꯄꯨꯝꯅꯃꯛꯇ ꯎꯕ ꯈꯪꯂꯤ꯫ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯗꯁꯨ ꯑꯗꯨꯃꯉꯥꯏꯔꯦ, ꯄ꯭ꯔꯥꯏꯚꯦꯠ ꯁ꯭ꯀꯨꯜꯁꯤꯡꯅ
ꯑꯄꯥꯝꯕ ꯃꯑꯣꯡꯗ ꯀꯥ ꯍꯦꯟꯅ ꯐꯤ ꯂꯧꯕꯗ ꯌꯦꯡꯁꯤꯟꯕꯤꯅꯕ ꯂꯩꯇꯦ ꯍꯥꯏꯕ ꯌꯥꯏ꯫ ꯃꯍꯩꯔꯣꯏꯁꯤꯡꯒꯤ ꯂꯨꯞ
ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯁꯤꯚꯤꯜ ꯁꯣꯁꯥꯏꯇꯤ ꯑꯣꯔꯒꯅꯥꯏꯖꯦꯁꯟ ꯈꯔꯅ ꯃꯇꯥꯡ ꯃꯇꯝꯒꯤ ꯃꯇꯨꯡ ꯏꯟꯅ ꯌꯥꯅꯤꯡꯗꯕ
ꯐꯣꯡꯗꯣꯔꯛꯄ ꯅꯠꯇꯅ ꯍꯤꯔꯝꯁꯤꯗ ꯂꯩꯉꯥꯛꯀꯤ ꯑꯈꯟꯅꯕ ꯊꯧꯁꯤꯜ ꯑꯃꯠꯇ ꯂꯩꯇ꯭ꯔꯤ꯫ ꯁ꯭ꯀꯨꯜꯒꯤ ꯐꯤꯚ
ꯊꯤꯕ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯚꯦꯟ ꯅꯠꯇ꯭ꯔꯒ ꯕꯁꯀꯤ ꯑꯇꯣꯡꯃꯟ ꯄꯤꯅꯕ ꯍꯣꯠꯅꯕꯗ ꯃꯃꯥ-ꯃꯄꯥ ꯑꯣꯏꯕꯁꯤꯡꯗꯤ
ꯃꯀꯣꯛꯇ ꯈꯨꯠ ꯍꯥꯞꯇꯨꯅ ꯈꯥꯡꯕꯒꯤ ꯐꯤꯚꯝꯗ ꯂꯩꯔꯤ꯫ ꯃꯁꯤꯒꯤ ꯃꯊꯛꯇ ꯑꯦꯛꯁꯇ꯭ꯔꯥ-ꯀꯔꯤꯀꯨꯂꯔ
ꯑꯦꯛꯇꯤꯚꯤꯇꯤ, ꯁ꯭ꯄꯣꯔꯠꯁ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯀꯝꯄ꯭ꯌꯨꯇꯔꯒꯤꯅꯤ ꯍꯥꯏꯗꯨꯅ ꯑꯍꯦꯟꯕ ꯁꯦꯟꯐꯝ ꯑꯃ
ꯁ꯭ꯀꯨꯜꯁꯤꯡꯗ ꯊꯤꯔꯤꯕꯅꯤ꯫ ꯇꯧꯕꯒꯤꯕꯨꯗꯤ ꯃꯒꯨꯟ ꯂꯩꯕ ꯃꯍꯩ ꯇꯝꯐꯝ ꯂꯣꯏꯁꯪ ꯑꯣꯏꯍꯟꯕꯒ ꯂꯣꯏꯅꯅ
ꯑꯐꯕ ꯑꯣꯖꯥ ꯊꯝꯗꯨꯅ ꯋꯥꯔꯜꯗ ꯀ꯭ꯂꯥꯁꯀꯤ ꯏꯟꯐ꯭ꯔꯥꯁ꯭ꯇ꯭ꯔꯛꯆꯔ ꯂꯩꯍꯟꯅꯕ ꯍꯣꯠꯅꯕꯗ ꯌꯥꯝꯂꯕ ꯁꯦꯟꯐꯝ
ꯆꯪꯂꯤ꯫ ꯂꯟꯅꯥꯏ ꯐꯨꯔꯤꯠꯈꯥꯎꯗꯒꯤ ꯄꯨꯊꯣꯛꯂꯒ ꯁꯦꯜ ꯃꯥꯡꯅ ꯁ꯭ꯀꯨꯜ ꯆꯜꯂꯥꯏꯕꯗꯤ ꯌꯥꯗꯕꯅꯤꯅ ꯃꯤꯡꯖꯜ
ꯁꯦꯜ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯊꯥ ꯊꯥꯒ ꯐꯤ ꯍꯦꯟꯒꯠꯂꯛꯄ ꯃꯁꯥꯅ ꯇꯥꯕꯅꯤ꯫ ꯑꯗꯨꯝ ꯑꯣꯏꯅꯃꯛ ꯂꯧꯔꯤꯕ ꯁꯦꯟꯐꯝꯒ
ꯈꯨꯟꯅꯥꯏꯗ ꯄꯤꯔꯤꯕ ꯁꯔꯚꯤꯁ, ꯃꯔꯨ ꯑꯣꯏꯅ ꯃꯍꯩꯔꯣꯏꯁꯤꯡ ꯇꯥꯛꯄꯤ-ꯇꯝꯕꯤꯕꯒꯤ ꯃꯑꯣꯡꯒ
ꯆꯥꯟꯅꯔꯤꯕꯔ ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯗꯨꯁꯨ SM ꯑꯣꯟꯗꯨꯅ ꯌꯦꯡꯐꯝ ꯊꯣꯛꯏ꯫ ꯑꯐꯕ ꯃꯍꯩꯔꯣꯏ ꯄꯨꯊꯣꯛꯄꯒꯤ ꯃꯇꯥꯡꯗ
ꯂꯩꯉꯥꯛꯀꯤ ꯁ꯭ꯀꯨꯜꯁꯤꯡꯗꯒꯤ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯥꯏꯚꯦꯠ ꯁ꯭ꯀꯨꯜꯁꯤꯡꯅ ꯌꯥꯝꯅ ꯍꯦꯟꯅ ꯃꯥꯡꯖꯤꯜ ꯊꯥꯔꯤ ꯍꯥꯏꯕ ꯇꯥꯔꯒꯁꯨ
ꯁ꯭ꯀꯨꯜꯒꯤ ꯑꯣꯖꯥꯅ ꯇꯥꯛꯄꯤꯕꯗꯒꯤꯅ ꯅꯠꯇ꯭ꯔꯒ ꯃꯃꯥ-ꯃꯄꯥꯅ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯥꯏꯒꯦꯠ ꯇ꯭ꯌꯨꯁꯟ ꯇꯝꯍꯟꯕꯗꯒꯤꯔꯥ
ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯗꯨ ꯃꯌꯦꯛ ꯁꯦꯡꯅ ꯈꯪꯕ ꯉꯝꯗꯕꯒꯤ ꯐꯤꯚꯝꯗ ꯂꯩꯔꯤ꯫ ꯃꯃꯥ-ꯃꯄꯥ ꯑꯣꯏꯕꯁꯤꯡꯗꯗꯤ ꯃꯆꯥꯕꯨ
ꯃꯁꯛ ꯅꯥꯏꯕ ꯃꯤ ꯑꯣꯏꯍꯟꯅꯕ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯥꯏꯚꯦꯠ ꯇ꯭ꯌꯨꯁꯟ ꯇꯝꯍꯟꯕꯗ ꯑꯍꯦꯟꯕ ꯁꯦꯟꯐꯝ ꯆꯥꯔꯗꯤꯡ
ꯇꯧꯍꯜꯂꯤꯕꯅꯤ꯫ ꯐꯔꯦ ꯍꯥꯏꯔꯤꯕ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯥꯏꯚꯦꯠ ꯁ꯭ꯀꯨꯜꯗ ꯇꯝꯍꯜꯂꯕꯁꯨ ꯇ꯭ꯌꯨꯁꯟ ꯇꯝꯍꯟꯗ ꯌꯥꯗꯕꯒꯤ
ꯐꯤꯚꯝ ꯂꯩꯕꯅ ꯃꯃꯥ-ꯃꯄꯥꯗ ꯑꯅꯤ ꯊꯣꯛꯅ ꯁꯦꯜ ꯆꯥꯔꯗꯤꯡ ꯇꯧꯍꯜꯂꯤ꯫ ꯂꯩꯕꯥꯛꯀꯤ ꯇꯣꯉꯥꯟ-ꯇꯣꯉꯥꯟꯕ
ꯃꯐꯝꯗ ꯂꯩꯔꯤꯕ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯥꯏꯚꯦꯠ ꯁ꯭ꯀꯨꯜꯁꯤꯡꯅ ꯂꯧꯅꯤꯡ-ꯂꯧꯅꯤꯡꯕ ꯃꯤꯡꯖꯜ ꯁꯦꯜ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯊꯥꯒꯤ ꯐꯤ
ꯂꯧꯔꯛꯄꯒꯤ ꯃꯥꯌꯣꯛꯇ ꯋꯥꯈꯠ ꯀꯌꯥ ꯂꯥꯛꯄꯗꯒꯤ ꯀꯣꯔꯠꯇ ꯀꯦꯁ ꯊꯦꯡꯅꯕꯐꯥꯎꯕ ꯌꯥꯎꯈ꯭ꯔꯦ꯫ ꯃꯗꯨꯅ
ꯃꯔꯝ ꯑꯣꯏꯔꯒ ꯇꯥꯃꯤꯜ ꯅꯥꯗꯨ, ꯀꯔꯅꯥꯇꯀꯥ, ꯃꯍꯥꯔꯥꯁꯇ꯭ꯔ, ꯑꯟꯗ꯭ꯔ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯗꯦꯁ ꯑꯃꯗꯤ ꯒꯨꯖꯔꯥꯠꯅꯆꯤꯡꯕ
ꯁ꯭ꯇꯦꯠꯁꯤꯡꯗ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯥꯏꯚꯦꯠ ꯁ꯭ꯀꯨꯜꯅ ꯐꯤ ꯂꯧꯕꯒꯤ ꯃꯇꯥꯡꯗ ꯀꯥꯡꯂꯣꯟ ꯁꯦꯝꯅꯈ꯭ꯔꯦ꯫ ꯑꯗꯨꯝ ꯑꯣꯏꯅꯃꯛ
ꯄ꯭ꯔꯥꯏꯚꯦꯠ ꯁ꯭ꯀꯨꯜ ꯑꯦꯁꯣꯁꯤꯑꯦꯁꯟꯁꯤꯡꯅ ꯂꯣꯒꯤ ꯃꯇꯦꯡ ꯂꯧꯔꯒ ꯁꯤꯡꯅꯔꯛꯄꯗꯒꯤ ꯀꯥꯡꯂꯣꯟꯁꯤꯡ
ꯃꯄꯨꯡ ꯐꯥꯅ ꯆꯠꯅꯍꯟꯕ ꯉꯝꯗꯕꯒꯤ ꯐꯤꯚꯝꯗ ꯂꯩꯔꯤ꯫ ꯀꯟꯇ꯭ꯔꯣꯂꯔ ꯑꯦꯟꯗ ꯑꯣꯗꯤꯇꯔ ꯖꯦꯅꯔꯦꯜ
(ꯁꯤ ꯑꯦ ꯖꯤ) ꯒꯤ ꯔꯤꯄꯣꯔꯠ ꯃꯇꯨꯡ ꯏꯟꯅ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯥꯏꯚꯦꯠ ꯁ꯭ꯀꯨꯜ ꯑꯌꯥꯝꯕꯅ ꯃꯔꯝ ꯑꯃ ꯅꯠꯇ꯭ꯔꯒ ꯑꯃ
ꯄꯤꯁꯤꯟꯗꯨꯅ ꯑꯔꯥꯟꯕ ꯃꯑꯣꯡꯗ ꯃꯍꯩꯔꯣꯏꯁꯤꯡꯗꯒꯤ ꯑꯍꯦꯟꯕ ꯁꯦꯜ ꯂꯧꯏ, ꯑꯣꯖꯥꯒꯤ ꯇꯣꯂꯣꯞ ꯃꯇꯤꯛ
ꯆꯥꯅ ꯄꯤꯕꯤꯗꯦ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯑꯦꯀꯥꯎꯟꯠ ꯅꯤꯡꯊꯤꯅ ꯁꯥꯗꯦ ꯍꯥꯏꯔꯤ꯫ ꯍꯤꯔꯝ ꯑꯁꯤꯒꯤ ꯃꯇꯥꯡꯗ ꯋꯥꯀꯠ
ꯀꯌꯥ ꯂꯥꯛꯈ꯭ꯔꯕ ꯃꯇꯨꯡꯗ ꯂꯩꯕꯥꯛꯤ ꯀꯣꯅꯨꯡ ꯅ꯭ꯌꯨ ꯗꯤꯜꯂꯤꯗ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯥꯏꯚꯦꯠ ꯁ꯭ꯀꯨꯜ 128 ꯅ ꯍꯦꯟꯒꯠꯂꯨꯔꯕ
ꯊꯥꯒꯤ ꯐꯤ ꯍꯟꯊꯍꯟꯕ ꯂꯩꯈ꯭ꯔꯦ꯫ ꯆꯤꯐ ꯃꯤꯅꯤꯁꯇꯔ ꯑꯔꯕꯤꯟ ꯀꯦꯖ꯭ꯔꯤꯋꯥꯟꯒꯤ ꯌꯥꯊꯪ ꯃꯇꯨꯡ ꯏꯟꯅ
ꯗꯤꯔꯦꯛꯇꯣꯔꯦꯠ ꯑꯣꯐ ꯑꯦꯗꯨꯀꯦꯁꯟꯅ ꯑꯦꯄ꯭ꯔꯤꯜ ꯊꯥꯗ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯥꯏꯚꯦꯠ ꯁ꯭ꯀꯨꯜ 195 ꯒꯤ ꯐꯤ ꯍꯟꯊꯍꯟꯅꯕ
ꯈꯪꯍꯟꯈꯤꯕꯅꯤ꯫ ꯐꯤ ꯍꯟꯊꯍꯟꯅꯕ ꯂꯩꯉꯥꯛꯀꯤ ꯌꯥꯊꯪ ꯊꯕꯛꯇ ꯑꯣꯟꯊꯣꯛꯂꯦ ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯗꯨꯒꯤ ꯔꯤꯄꯣꯔꯠ
ꯄꯤꯔꯛꯅꯕꯁꯨ ꯀꯦꯖ꯭ꯔꯤꯋꯥꯜꯅ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯥꯏꯚꯦꯠ ꯁ꯭ꯀꯨꯜꯁꯤꯡꯗ ꯈꯪꯍꯟꯈꯤ꯫ ꯄꯨꯟꯅ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯥꯏꯚꯦꯠ ꯁ꯭ꯀꯨꯜ
195 ꯂꯩꯕꯒꯤ ꯃꯅꯨꯡꯗ ꯁ꯭ꯀꯨꯜ 128 ꯅ ꯂꯩꯉꯥꯛꯀꯤ ꯌꯥꯊꯪ ꯊꯕꯛꯇ ꯑꯣꯟꯊꯣꯛꯂꯦ ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯒꯤ ꯔꯤꯄꯣꯔꯠ
ꯄꯤꯔꯛꯈꯤ꯫ ꯂꯦꯝꯍꯧꯔꯤꯕ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯥꯏꯚꯦꯠ ꯁ꯭ꯀꯨꯜ 69 ꯑꯗꯨ ꯂꯩꯉꯥꯛꯀꯤ ꯌꯥꯊꯪ ꯊꯧꯁꯥꯗꯕꯒꯤꯗꯃꯛ ꯁꯣ-ꯀꯣꯖ
ꯅꯣꯇꯤꯁ ꯊꯥꯈꯤ꯫ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯒꯤ ꯑꯣꯏꯅꯁꯨ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯥꯏꯚꯦꯠ ꯁ꯭ꯀꯨꯜꯁꯤꯡꯅ ꯂꯧꯅꯤꯡꯕ ꯃꯤꯡꯖꯜ ꯁꯦꯜ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ
ꯊꯥ-ꯊꯥꯒꯤ ꯐꯤ ꯂꯧꯕꯒꯤ ꯋꯥꯐꯝ ꯑꯁꯤ ꯃꯃꯥ-ꯃꯄꯥ ꯑꯣꯏꯕꯁꯤꯡꯗ ꯑꯔꯨꯝꯕ ꯄꯣꯠꯂꯨꯝ ꯑꯃ ꯊꯣꯟꯒꯠꯄꯒꯤ
ꯐꯣꯡ-ꯐꯣꯡ ꯁꯥꯔꯤꯕ ꯋꯥꯐꯝꯅꯤ꯫ ꯍꯤꯔꯝ ꯑꯁꯤꯗ ꯂꯩꯉꯥꯛꯅ ꯑꯈꯟꯅꯕ ꯊꯧꯔꯥꯡ ꯂꯧꯈꯠꯄꯒ ꯂꯣꯏꯅꯅ
ꯑꯦꯗꯨꯀꯦꯁꯟꯕꯨ ꯁꯦꯟꯗꯥꯟ ꯂꯝꯕꯤ ꯑꯣꯟꯊꯣꯛꯍꯟꯗꯅꯕ ꯍꯣꯠꯅꯐꯝ ꯊꯣꯛꯏ꯫ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯥꯏꯚꯦꯠ ꯁ꯭ꯀꯨꯜ
ꯈꯨꯗꯤꯡꯃꯛꯀꯤ ꯍꯧꯖꯤꯛ ꯑꯣꯏꯔꯤꯕ ꯐꯤꯚꯝ, WG ꯂꯧꯕꯒꯤ ꯃꯑꯣꯡ ꯃꯇꯧ, ꯁ꯭ꯇꯥꯐꯀꯤ ꯀ꯭ꯋꯥꯂꯤꯐꯤꯀꯦꯁꯟ
ꯑꯃꯗꯤ ꯏꯟꯐ꯭ꯔꯥꯁ꯭ꯇ꯭ꯔꯛꯆꯔꯅꯆꯤꯡꯕ ꯄꯨꯝꯅꯃꯛ ꯃꯤꯌꯥꯝꯗ ꯃꯌꯦꯛ ꯁꯦꯡꯅ ꯈꯪꯍꯟꯐꯝ ꯊꯣꯛꯏ꯫

ꯑꯦꯗꯨꯀꯦꯁꯟ ꯄꯥꯔꯠꯃꯦꯟꯇꯟꯁꯨ ꯂꯩꯉꯥꯛꯀꯤꯕꯨ ꯑꯣꯏꯔꯕꯁꯨ ꯂꯥꯟꯅꯥꯏꯕꯨ ꯑꯣꯏꯔꯕꯁꯨ ꯁ꯭ꯀꯨꯜ ꯈꯨꯗꯤꯡꯃꯛꯇ
ꯑꯈꯟꯅꯕ ꯃꯤꯠꯌꯦꯡ ꯆꯪꯕꯒ ꯂꯣꯏꯅꯅ ꯑꯦꯗꯨꯀꯦꯁꯟꯕꯨ ꯁꯦꯟꯗꯥꯟ ꯂꯝꯕꯤ ꯑꯣꯟꯊꯣꯛꯄ ꯉꯝꯍꯟꯗꯅꯕ
ꯍꯣꯠꯅꯐꯝ ꯊꯣꯛꯏ꯫ ꯌꯥꯝꯅ ꯁꯦꯡꯅ ꯍꯥꯏꯔꯕꯗ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯥꯏꯚꯦꯠ ꯁ꯭ꯀꯨꯜꯁꯤꯡꯅ ꯑꯦꯗꯨꯀꯦꯁꯟꯒꯤ ꯐꯤꯚꯝ
ꯐꯒꯠꯍꯟꯕꯒ ꯃꯔꯤ ꯂꯩꯅꯕ ꯊꯧꯔꯥꯡꯒꯤ ꯐꯤ ꯍꯦꯟꯒꯠꯄ ꯌꯥꯍꯜꯂꯒꯁꯨ ꯁꯦꯟꯗꯣꯡ ꯍꯦꯟꯅ ꯐꯪꯅꯕꯒꯤ
ꯄꯥꯟꯗꯝꯗ ꯐꯤ ꯍꯦꯟꯒꯠꯄꯗꯤ ꯌꯥꯍꯜꯂꯣꯏꯗꯕꯅꯤ꯫ ꯀꯔꯤꯒꯨꯝꯕꯗ ꯁ꯭ꯀꯨꯜ ꯑꯃꯅ ꯐꯤ ꯍꯦꯟꯒꯠꯅꯕ
ꯊꯧꯔꯥꯡ ꯂꯧꯈꯠꯂꯛꯄꯗ ꯂꯩꯉꯥꯛꯅ ꯀꯨꯞꯅ ꯌꯦꯡꯁꯤꯜꯂꯒ ꯃꯔꯝ ꯆꯥꯔꯕꯗꯤ ꯍꯦꯟꯒꯠꯍꯟꯒꯗꯕꯅꯤ,
ꯅꯠꯇ꯭ꯔꯒꯗꯤ ꯑꯌꯥꯕ ꯄꯤꯐꯝ ꯊꯣꯛꯇꯦ꯫ ꯑꯦꯗꯨꯀꯦꯁꯟꯕꯨ ꯁꯦꯟꯗꯥꯟ ꯂꯝꯕꯤ ꯑꯣꯟꯊꯣꯛꯄꯒꯤ ꯂꯥꯏꯕꯛ
ꯊꯤꯕ ꯊꯧꯗꯣꯛ ꯑꯃꯗ ꯐꯤ ꯍꯦꯟꯒꯠꯄ ꯌꯥꯔꯣꯏ ꯍꯥꯏꯔꯨꯕꯒꯤꯗꯃꯛ ꯃꯨꯝꯕꯥꯏꯗ ꯍꯟꯗꯛ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯥꯏꯚꯦꯠ
ꯁ꯭ꯀꯨꯜ ꯑꯃꯅ ꯃꯍꯩꯔꯣꯏ 20 ꯇꯥꯟꯊꯣꯛꯄꯒꯤ ꯊꯧꯗꯣꯛ ꯂꯩꯈ꯭ꯔꯦ꯫ ꯂꯩꯉꯥꯛꯅ ꯃꯤꯄꯨꯝ ꯈꯨꯗꯤꯡꯃꯛ ꯃꯍꯩ-

ꯃꯁꯤꯟ ꯍꯩꯍꯟꯗꯨꯅ ꯃꯇꯤꯡ ꯂꯩꯕ ꯈꯨꯟꯅꯥꯏ ꯑꯃ ꯑꯣꯏꯍꯟꯅꯕꯒꯤ ꯄꯥꯟꯗꯝꯗ ꯔꯥꯏꯠ ꯇꯨ ꯑꯦꯗꯨꯀꯦꯁꯟ
(ꯑꯥꯔ ꯇꯤ ꯏ) ꯆꯠꯅꯍꯜꯂꯕꯁꯨ ꯅꯥꯀꯜ ꯑꯃꯔꯣꯝꯗ ꯈꯨꯠꯆꯥꯎ ꯊꯥꯗꯨꯅ ꯑꯦꯗꯨꯀꯦꯁꯟꯕꯨ ꯁꯦꯟꯗꯣꯟ ꯂꯝꯕꯤ
ꯑꯣꯟꯊꯣꯔꯛꯄ ꯇꯥꯔꯕꯗꯤ ꯑꯥꯔ ꯇꯤ ꯏꯒꯤ ꯋꯥꯍꯟꯊꯣꯛ ꯂꯩꯍꯟꯗꯕꯒ ꯂꯣꯏꯅꯅ ꯃꯇꯤꯡ ꯂꯩꯕ ꯈꯨꯟꯅꯥꯏ
ꯁꯦꯝꯕꯗ ꯈꯨꯔꯧ ꯊꯥꯡꯕ ꯑꯣꯏꯅ ꯊꯣꯛꯀꯅꯤ ꯍꯥꯏꯖꯅꯤꯡꯏ꯫

ꯍꯨꯏꯌꯦꯟ ꯂꯥꯟꯄꯥꯎ ꯂꯤꯇꯔꯦꯔꯤ ꯀꯨꯏꯖ-78
1꯫ ꯃꯩꯇꯩꯒꯤ ꯃꯨꯛꯅꯥ ꯂꯥꯏ ꯍꯥꯛꯇꯛꯇꯒꯤ ꯁꯥꯟꯅꯔꯛꯂꯕ ꯃꯍꯩꯅꯤ꯫ ꯂꯩꯁꯪ ꯖꯥꯇ꯭ꯔꯥꯒꯤ ꯃꯃꯤꯡ ꯇꯥꯗꯕ
ꯂꯩꯇ꯭ꯔꯕꯅꯤ꯫

ꯀ) ꯂꯩꯁꯪ ꯖꯥꯇ꯭ꯔꯥꯕꯨ ꯋꯥꯏꯈꯧ ꯁꯣꯏꯗ ꯃꯨꯛꯅꯥ ꯊꯥꯈꯤꯕ ꯃꯤꯁꯛꯇꯨ ꯀꯅꯥꯅꯣ?

ꯁ) ꯆꯟꯗ꯭ꯔꯀꯤꯔꯇꯤ ꯃꯍꯥꯔꯥꯖꯅ ꯆꯤꯡ-ꯇꯝ ꯑꯅꯤꯒꯤ ꯑꯄꯨꯅꯕ ꯖꯥꯇ꯭ꯔꯥꯅꯤ ꯍꯥꯏꯅ
ꯂꯥꯎꯊꯣꯛꯂꯝꯕ ꯀꯛꯆꯤꯡ ꯈꯨꯟꯖꯥꯎꯒꯤ ꯖꯥꯇ꯭ꯔꯥꯗꯨꯒꯤ ꯃꯃꯤꯡ ꯍꯥꯏꯌꯨ꯫

2꯫ "ꯀꯕꯤꯇꯥ ꯀꯕꯤꯠꯒꯤ ꯃꯄꯣꯠ ꯅꯠꯇꯦ ꯀꯕꯤꯠꯅ ꯏꯖꯔꯕꯁꯨ/ꯑꯄꯥꯕ ꯃꯤꯒꯤꯁꯨꯅꯤ, ꯑꯇꯥꯕ
ꯃꯤꯒꯤꯁꯨꯅꯤ...꯫" ꯋꯥꯐꯝꯁꯤ ꯀꯕꯤ ꯑꯃꯅ ꯍꯥꯏꯔꯝꯕꯅꯤ꯫ ꯀꯕꯤꯗꯨꯒꯤ ꯃꯃꯤꯡ ꯍꯥꯏꯌꯨ꯫

3꯫ "ꯈꯜꯂꯤ ꯃꯥꯅ ꯁ꯭ꯔꯤꯀ꯭ꯔꯤꯁꯅꯕꯨ ꯂꯝꯆꯠ ꯀꯥꯝꯕ ꯅꯨꯄꯥꯅꯤ/ ꯑꯗꯨꯅ ꯂꯧꯁꯤꯟꯕ ꯉꯝꯗꯦ ꯅꯨꯡꯒꯤ
ꯑꯊꯨꯞꯄ ꯋꯥ/ ꯎꯝꯃꯒꯇ ꯃꯇꯣꯛꯏ ꯎꯝꯃꯕ ꯇꯨꯡꯗ ꯑꯣꯊꯣꯛꯏ꯫" ꯄꯔꯦꯡꯁꯤꯡ ꯑꯁꯤ
ꯃꯁꯥꯒꯤ ꯃꯤꯡꯕꯨ ꯁꯤꯖꯤꯟꯅꯗꯨꯅ ꯏꯒꯟꯕ ꯀꯕꯤ ꯑꯃꯒꯤ ꯁꯩꯔꯦꯡꯗꯒꯤꯅꯤ꯫ ꯃꯍꯥꯛꯇꯨ ꯀꯅꯥꯅꯣ?

4꯫ 'ꯄꯣꯟꯒꯤ ꯆꯦꯛꯂꯥꯅꯤ ꯑꯩ' ꯀꯧꯕ ꯁꯩꯔꯦꯡ ꯂꯥꯏꯔꯤꯛ ꯑꯗꯨꯒꯤ ꯑꯏꯕꯤꯗꯨ ꯀꯅꯥꯅꯣ?

5꯫ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯤ ꯋꯥꯔꯤꯃꯆꯥ ꯈꯔꯕꯨ ꯑꯁꯥꯃꯤꯖꯗ 'ꯁꯔꯤꯌꯍ ꯐꯨꯂꯔ ꯊꯥꯏꯈꯟꯠ' ꯍꯥꯏꯅ ꯍꯟꯗꯣꯛꯈꯤꯕꯤ
ꯑꯅꯨꯕꯥꯗꯤꯀꯥ ꯑꯗꯨ ꯀꯅꯥꯅꯣ? ꯃꯃꯤꯡ ꯍꯥꯏꯌꯨ꯫

ꯃꯊꯛꯇ ꯄꯤꯔꯤꯕ ꯋꯥꯍꯁꯤꯡ ꯑꯁꯤꯒꯤ ꯄꯥꯎꯈꯨꯝ ꯑꯣꯒꯁꯠ 30, ꯁꯒꯣꯜꯁꯦꯜ ꯅꯨꯃꯤꯠꯀꯤ ꯑꯌꯨꯛ ꯄꯨꯡ 11 ꯐꯥꯎꯕꯒꯤ ꯃꯅꯨꯡꯗ ꯄꯥꯎꯆꯦ ꯑꯁꯤꯒꯤ ꯑꯣꯐꯤꯁꯇ
ꯅꯠꯇ꯭ꯔꯒ ꯏ-ꯃꯦꯜ hueiyenliteraryquiz@gmail.com ꯁꯤꯗ ꯃꯦꯜ ꯑꯣꯏꯅ ꯊꯥꯕꯤꯔꯛꯄ ꯌꯥꯒꯅꯤ꯫ ꯄꯥꯎꯈꯨꯝ ꯄꯤꯕꯤꯔꯛꯄ/ꯊꯥꯕꯤꯔꯛꯄ ꯃꯇꯝꯗ ꯃꯤꯡ, ꯂꯩꯐꯝ, ꯃꯍꯩꯒꯤ ꯊꯥꯛ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯀꯟꯇꯦꯛ ꯅꯝꯕꯔ ꯃꯌꯦꯛ ꯁꯦꯡꯅ ꯏꯕꯤꯔꯛꯎ꯫ ꯋꯥꯍꯪ ꯈꯨꯗꯤꯡꯃꯛꯀꯤ ꯄꯥꯎꯈꯨꯝ ꯆꯨꯝꯅ ꯅꯠꯇ꯭ꯔꯒ ꯃꯁꯤꯡ ꯌꯥꯝꯅ ꯆꯨꯝꯅ ꯄꯤꯕꯤꯔꯛꯄ ꯃꯤꯑꯣꯏꯁꯤꯡ ꯑꯗꯨꯗꯒꯤ ꯗ꯭ꯔꯣ ꯑꯣꯠꯆꯔꯒ ꯂꯥꯏꯕꯛ ꯐꯕ ꯃꯤꯁꯛ ꯑꯃ ꯈꯟꯖꯒꯅꯤ꯫ ꯂꯣꯏꯅꯅ ꯈꯜꯂꯕ ꯃꯤꯁꯛ ꯑꯗꯨꯗ ꯃꯅꯥ ꯄꯤꯖꯒꯅꯤ꯫