2 SOjgmOM HUEIYEN LANPAO

ꯍꯨꯏꯌꯦꯟ ꯂꯥꯟꯄꯥꯎ 2
ꯍꯨꯏꯌꯦꯟ ꯂꯥꯟꯄꯥꯎ
ꯊꯥꯡꯖ, ꯀꯥꯂꯦꯟꯒꯤ 4 ꯅꯤ ꯄꯥꯟꯕ, ꯃꯥꯂꯤꯌꯥ ꯀꯨꯝꯁꯤꯡ 3412

Imphal, Saturday, 03 May, 2014
ꯄꯥꯎ-ꯆꯦ ꯑꯁꯤꯗ ꯐꯣꯡꯖꯔꯤꯕ ꯋꯥꯔꯦꯡꯁꯤꯡ ꯑꯁꯤꯒꯤ ꯋꯥꯈꯜ, ꯃꯤꯠꯌꯦꯡ ꯑꯏꯕ ꯃꯁꯥ
ꯃꯁꯥꯒꯤꯅꯤ ꯫ ꯄꯥꯎꯆꯦ ꯑꯁꯤꯒꯤ ꯋꯥꯈꯜꯂꯣꯟ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯃꯤꯠꯌꯦꯡꯒ ꯊꯣꯏꯗꯣꯛꯅ ꯃꯔꯤ ꯂꯩꯅꯗꯦ꯫

ꯍꯨꯏꯌꯦꯟ ꯂꯥꯟꯄꯥꯎ ꯄꯥꯎ-ꯆꯦ (ꯃꯤꯇꯩ ꯃꯌꯦꯛ ꯏꯗꯤꯁꯟ) ꯕꯨ ꯆꯥꯡ ꯅꯥꯏꯅ ꯄꯥꯕꯤꯔꯤꯕꯁꯤꯡꯅ ꯆꯥꯡ ꯅꯥꯏꯅ ꯑꯥꯔꯇꯤꯀꯜ, ꯋꯥꯔꯤ ꯃꯆꯥ, ꯁꯩꯔꯦꯡꯁꯤꯡ ꯊꯥꯕꯤꯔꯛꯅꯕ ꯍꯥꯏꯖꯔꯤ ꯫ ꯊꯥꯕꯤꯔꯛꯄ ꯃꯇꯝꯗ ꯏꯁꯥ-ꯏꯁꯥꯒꯤ ꯃꯤꯡ ꯂꯩꯐꯝ ꯃꯌꯦꯛ ꯇꯁꯦꯡ ꯇꯁꯦꯡꯅ ꯏꯕꯤꯔꯛꯅꯕ
ꯍꯥꯏꯖꯔꯤ ꯫ ꯂꯧꯁꯤꯟꯈ꯭ꯔꯕ ꯑꯥꯔꯇꯤꯀꯜ ꯑꯃꯨꯛ ꯍꯟꯗꯣꯛꯆꯔꯣꯏ
ꯀ
ꯌꯨ ꯑꯦꯟꯗ ꯑꯐꯁꯄꯥ ꯂꯧꯊꯣꯛꯅꯕ ꯇꯛꯁꯤꯟꯈꯤꯕ
ꯁ꯭ꯇꯦꯠ ꯑꯃꯗꯤ ꯁꯦꯟꯇꯔ ꯂꯩꯉꯥꯛꯅ ꯇꯨꯃꯤꯟꯅ ꯂꯩꯊꯣꯛꯐꯝ ꯊꯣꯛꯇꯦ
ꯟꯐ꯭ꯂꯤꯛ ꯂꯩꯔꯤꯕ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯗ ꯆꯍꯤ ꯀꯌꯥꯗꯒꯤ ꯗꯤꯁꯇ꯭ꯔꯕ
ꯑꯦꯔꯤꯌꯥ ꯂꯥꯎꯊꯣꯛꯇꯨꯅ ꯑꯐꯁꯄꯥ (ꯑꯥꯝ ꯐꯣꯔꯁꯦꯁ ꯁ꯭ꯄꯤꯁꯦꯜ
ꯄꯋꯥꯔ) ꯑꯦꯛ 1950 ꯊꯝꯖꯤꯜꯂꯤꯕ ꯑꯁꯤ ꯂꯧꯊꯣꯛꯈꯤꯅꯕ ꯃꯇꯝ ꯀꯌꯥꯒꯤ
ꯃꯃꯥꯡꯗꯒꯤ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔ ꯃꯤꯌꯥꯝꯟ ꯑꯀꯟꯕ ꯃꯑꯣꯡꯗ ꯗꯤꯃꯥꯟꯗ ꯇꯧꯗꯨꯅ ꯂꯥꯛꯂꯤ꯫

ꯗꯤꯃꯥꯟꯗ ꯑꯁꯤꯒꯤ ꯃꯇꯥꯡꯗ ꯏꯔꯣꯝ ꯆꯅꯨ ꯁꯔꯃꯤꯂꯥꯅ ꯆꯍꯤ ꯀꯌꯥꯗꯒꯤ ꯆꯔꯥ
ꯍꯦꯟꯗꯨꯅ ꯈꯣꯡꯖꯪ ꯆꯪꯁꯤꯜꯂꯛꯄ ꯂꯩꯔꯤ꯫ ꯃꯤꯌꯥꯝꯅ ꯑꯀꯟꯕ ꯈꯣꯜꯂꯥꯎ ꯂꯥꯎꯔꯛꯄ
ꯑꯃꯗꯤ ꯁꯔꯃꯤꯂꯥꯒꯤ ꯈꯣꯡꯖꯪ ꯑꯁꯤꯒꯤ ꯃꯇꯨꯡ ꯏꯟꯅ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔ ꯂꯩꯉꯥꯛꯅ
ꯇꯝꯄꯥꯛꯀꯤ ꯃꯐꯝ ꯈꯔꯗꯗꯤ ꯗꯤꯁꯇꯕ ꯑꯦꯔꯤꯌꯥ ꯂꯧꯊꯣꯛꯈ꯭ꯔꯦ꯫ ꯑꯗꯨꯕꯨ ꯃꯄꯨꯡ
ꯑꯣꯏꯅ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯗꯒꯤ ꯑꯦꯛ ꯑꯁꯤ ꯂꯧꯊꯣꯛꯈꯤꯅꯕ ꯃꯈꯥ ꯇꯥꯕ ꯊꯕꯛ
ꯄꯥꯏꯈꯠꯄꯗꯤ ꯎꯗ꯭ꯔꯤ꯫ ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥ ꯒꯚꯔꯟꯃꯦꯟꯠꯅꯁꯨ ꯑꯦꯛ ꯑꯁꯤ ꯔꯤꯚ꯭ꯌꯨ
ꯇꯧꯅꯕꯒꯤꯗꯃꯛ ꯁꯦꯝꯈꯤꯕ ꯖꯤꯕꯟ ꯔꯦꯗꯤ ꯀꯃꯤꯁꯟꯗ ꯊꯕꯛ ꯁꯤꯟꯗꯅꯨ
ꯀꯃꯤꯁꯟ ꯑꯁꯤꯅ ꯃꯁꯤꯒꯤ ꯔꯤꯄꯣꯔꯠ ꯍꯣꯝ ꯃꯤꯅꯤꯁꯇ꯭ꯔꯤꯗ ꯊꯥꯒꯠꯈ꯭ꯔꯕꯁꯨ
ꯉꯁꯤ ꯐꯥꯎꯕ ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥ ꯂꯩꯉꯥꯛꯅ ꯃꯈꯥ ꯇꯥꯕ ꯊꯕꯛ ꯑꯃꯠꯇ ꯂꯧꯈꯠꯂꯛꯄ
ꯂꯩꯇ꯭ꯔꯤ꯫ ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥꯒꯤ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯥꯏꯝ ꯃꯤꯅꯤꯁꯇꯔ ꯗꯣ ꯃꯅꯃꯣꯍꯟ ꯁꯤꯡꯍ
ꯃꯁꯥꯃꯛꯅ ꯐꯥꯎꯕ ꯑꯐꯁꯄꯥ ꯑꯁꯤꯒꯤ ꯃꯍꯨꯠꯇ ꯈꯔ ꯍꯦꯟꯅ ꯍ꯭ꯌꯨꯃꯦꯟ ꯑꯣꯏꯕ
ꯑꯦꯛ ꯑꯃꯒꯤ ꯋꯥꯐꯝ ꯊꯝꯈꯤꯕꯅꯤ꯫ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯥꯏꯝ ꯃꯤꯅꯤꯁꯇꯔꯒꯤ ꯋꯥꯔꯣꯜ
ꯑꯁꯤꯃꯛꯅꯁꯨ ꯑꯐꯁꯄꯥ ꯑꯁꯤ ꯏꯟꯍ꯭ꯌꯨꯃꯦꯟ ꯑꯣꯏ ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯒꯤ ꯏꯪꯒꯤꯠ ꯑꯃꯗꯤ
ꯄꯤꯔꯕ꯭ꯔ ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯒꯤ ꯋꯥꯐꯝ ꯊꯝꯅꯤꯡꯏ꯫ ꯂꯩꯄꯥꯛ ꯑꯁꯤꯒꯤ ꯂꯨꯆꯤꯡꯕ ꯀꯌꯥꯅꯁꯨ
ꯑꯐꯁꯄꯥ ꯑꯁꯤ ꯗ꯭ꯔꯥꯀꯣꯅꯤꯌꯥꯟ ꯂꯣꯅꯤ ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯒꯤ ꯋꯥꯐꯝ ꯌꯥꯝꯅ ꯇꯣꯏꯅ
ꯐꯣꯡꯗꯣꯛꯅꯗꯨꯅ ꯂꯥꯛꯈ꯭ꯔꯕꯅꯤ꯫ ꯄꯨꯝꯅꯃꯛ ꯑꯁꯤꯒꯤ ꯃꯊꯛꯇ
ꯏꯟꯇꯔꯅꯦꯁꯅꯦꯜ ꯔꯥꯏꯠꯁ ꯒ꯭ꯔꯨꯞ ꯑꯃꯗꯤ ꯑꯇꯩ ꯀꯌꯥꯅ ꯑꯐꯁꯄꯥ ꯑꯁꯤ
ꯔꯤꯄꯤꯜ ꯇꯧꯅꯕꯒꯤꯗꯃꯛ ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥ ꯂꯩꯉꯥꯛꯀꯤ ꯃꯐꯝꯗ ꯍꯟꯅ ꯍꯟꯅ ꯑꯥꯄꯤꯜ
ꯇꯧꯗꯨꯅ ꯇꯛꯁꯤꯟꯗꯨꯅ ꯂꯥꯛꯈ꯭ꯔꯕꯅꯤ꯫ ꯑꯗꯨꯕꯨ ꯍꯤꯔꯝꯁꯤꯒꯤ ꯃꯇꯥꯡꯗ ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥ
ꯂꯩꯉꯥꯛꯅ ꯆꯞ ꯆꯥꯕ ꯊꯕꯛ ꯑꯃꯠꯇ ꯂꯧꯈꯠꯇꯕꯒ ꯂꯣꯏꯅꯅ ꯁ꯭ꯇꯦꯠ
ꯒꯚꯔꯟꯃꯦꯟꯠꯅꯁꯨ ꯃꯌꯣꯜ ꯂꯝꯒꯤ ꯂꯩꯉꯥꯛꯀꯤ ꯌꯀꯥ ꯌꯦꯡꯗꯨꯅ ꯂꯩꯕꯒꯤ ꯐꯤꯚꯝ
ꯑꯣꯏꯅ ꯂꯩꯔꯤ꯫ ꯃꯔꯛꯁꯤꯗ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯗ ꯊꯝꯂꯤꯕ ꯑꯐꯁꯄꯥ ꯑꯁꯤ
ꯂꯧꯊꯣꯛꯀꯗꯕꯅꯤ ꯍꯥꯏꯅ ꯌꯨꯅꯥꯏꯇꯦꯗ ꯅꯦꯁꯟꯁꯀꯤ ꯍꯟꯗꯛꯇ ꯄꯥꯡꯊꯣꯛꯈꯤꯕ
ꯖꯦꯅꯔꯦꯜ ꯑꯦꯁꯦꯝꯕ꯭ꯂꯤ ꯃꯤꯐꯝꯗ ꯌꯨ ꯑꯦꯟꯒꯤ ꯁ꯭ꯄꯦꯁꯦꯜ ꯔꯥꯄꯣꯔꯇꯔ ꯔꯁꯤꯗ
ꯃꯟꯖꯨꯅ ꯔꯤꯀꯃꯦꯟꯗ ꯇꯧꯈ꯭ꯔꯦ ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯁꯤ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔ ꯃꯤꯌꯥꯝꯒꯤꯗꯃꯛ ꯑꯃꯗꯤ
ꯃꯤꯑꯣꯏꯕ ꯈꯨꯟꯅꯥꯏꯒꯤ ꯑꯣꯏꯅ ꯑꯐꯕ ꯈꯣꯡꯊꯥꯡꯅꯤ ꯍꯥꯏꯅ ꯂꯧꯕ ꯌꯥꯏ꯫
ꯂꯝꯗꯝꯁꯤꯗ ꯃꯤꯑꯣꯏꯕꯒꯤ ꯍꯛ ꯈꯣꯡꯒꯥꯎꯅꯕꯒꯤ ꯊꯧꯑꯣꯡ ꯀꯌꯥ ꯂꯦꯞꯇꯅ
ꯆꯠꯊꯔꯛꯄꯒꯤ ꯑꯋꯥꯕ ꯃꯥꯌꯣꯛꯅꯔꯛꯄ ꯀꯌꯥ ꯑꯃꯗꯤ ꯅꯨꯄꯤꯁꯤꯡꯗ ꯃꯈꯜ
ꯀꯌꯥꯒꯤ ꯀ꯭ꯔꯥꯏꯝ ꯆꯠꯊꯔꯛꯄꯗꯒꯤ ꯃꯇꯥꯡꯗ ꯍꯟꯗꯛꯇ ꯏꯀꯨꯏ
ꯀꯨꯏꯈꯤꯗ꯭ꯔꯤꯉꯩ ꯃꯃꯥꯡꯗ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯗ ꯂꯥꯛꯂꯝꯕ ꯔꯁꯤꯗꯥꯅ ꯌꯨ ꯑꯦꯟꯒꯤ ꯃꯤꯐꯝꯗ
ꯔꯤꯀꯃꯦꯟꯗ ꯇꯧꯈꯤꯕ ꯑꯁꯤ ꯏꯇꯤꯍꯥꯁꯤꯛ ꯑꯣꯏꯕ ꯈꯣꯡꯊꯥꯡ ꯑꯃꯅꯤ꯫ ꯍꯧꯖꯤꯛ
ꯂꯝꯗꯝꯁꯤꯗꯒꯤ ꯗ꯭ꯔꯥꯀꯣꯅꯤꯌꯥꯟ ꯂꯣꯅꯤ ꯍꯥꯏꯔꯤꯕ ꯑꯐꯁꯄꯥ ꯂꯧꯊꯣꯛꯄ
ꯂꯧꯊꯣꯛꯇꯕ ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯁꯤ ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥ ꯂꯩꯉꯥꯛꯀꯤ ꯃꯈꯨꯠꯇ ꯂꯩꯔꯦ ꯍꯥꯏꯕ ꯇꯥꯏ꯫
ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥꯁꯨ ꯌꯨ ꯑꯦꯟꯒꯤ ꯃꯦꯝꯕꯔ ꯑꯃ ꯑꯣꯏꯕꯅ ꯑꯐꯁꯄꯥꯒꯤ ꯃꯇꯥꯡꯗ
ꯊꯝꯈꯤꯕ ꯋꯥꯐꯝ ꯑꯁꯤ ꯌꯨ ꯑꯦꯟꯒꯤ ꯖꯦꯅꯔꯦꯜ ꯑꯦꯁꯦꯝꯕ꯭ꯂꯤꯒꯤ ꯃꯤꯐꯝꯗ
ꯄꯨꯊꯣꯛꯈꯤꯕ ꯑꯣꯏꯅꯕ ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥ ꯂꯩꯉꯥꯛꯅꯁꯨ ꯍꯤꯔꯝꯁꯤꯒꯤ ꯃꯇꯥꯗꯡ ꯈꯣꯡꯊꯥꯡ
ꯑꯃꯗꯤ ꯁꯣꯏꯗꯅ ꯂꯧꯈꯠꯐꯝ ꯊꯣꯛꯏ꯫ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯗ ꯊꯣꯛꯂꯤꯕ ꯃꯨꯛꯅꯕ
(ꯀꯟꯐ꯭ꯂꯤꯛ) ꯑꯁꯤꯒꯤ ꯃꯅꯨꯡꯗ ꯁꯦꯀꯨꯔꯇꯤ ꯐꯣꯔꯁꯇ ꯍꯦꯟꯅ ꯃꯊꯧ ꯍꯥꯞꯂꯤꯕ
ꯑꯦꯛ ꯑꯁꯤꯒꯤ ꯃꯈꯥꯗ ꯃꯤꯑꯣꯏ ꯀꯌꯥꯒꯤ ꯄꯨꯟꯁꯤ ꯄꯤꯈꯝꯅꯈ꯭ꯔꯦ꯫ ꯀꯌꯥ ꯑꯃꯅ
ꯊꯤꯐꯝ ꯈꯪꯗꯅ ꯂꯩꯕꯒ ꯂꯣꯏꯅꯅ ꯑꯇꯣꯞꯄ ꯀꯌꯥꯅ ꯃꯤꯃꯥꯟꯅꯗꯅ ꯁꯣꯏꯅꯥꯏꯗꯨꯅ ꯂꯩꯕ
ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔ ꯃꯤꯌꯥꯝꯅ ꯈꯪꯅꯔꯤ꯫ ꯂꯝꯗꯝꯁꯤꯗ ꯉꯥꯏꯍꯥꯛ ꯀꯥꯡꯗꯅ ꯐꯦꯛ
ꯑꯦꯟꯀꯥꯎꯟꯇꯔ ꯆꯠꯊꯔꯦ ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯒꯤ ꯃꯇꯥꯡꯗ ꯂꯣꯒꯤ ꯃꯇꯨꯡꯏꯟꯅ ꯋꯥꯐꯪꯅꯕꯁꯨ
ꯂꯩꯔꯤ꯫ ꯃꯨꯛꯅꯕ (ꯀꯟꯐ꯭ꯂꯤꯛ) ꯑꯁꯤ ꯌꯥꯝꯅ ꯏꯪꯅ ꯆꯤꯛꯅ ꯁꯥꯟꯇꯤ ꯑꯣꯏꯅ
ꯂꯣꯏꯁꯤꯟꯅꯕꯒꯤꯗꯃꯛ ꯁ꯭ꯇꯦꯠ ꯒꯚꯔꯟꯃꯦꯟꯠ ꯑꯃꯗꯤ ꯁꯦꯟꯇꯔ
ꯒꯚꯔꯟꯃꯦꯟꯠꯅ ꯃꯇꯝ ꯆꯨꯞꯄꯒꯤ ꯑꯣꯏꯅ ꯂꯣꯏꯁꯤꯟꯅꯕ ꯍꯣꯠꯅꯕꯁꯨ
ꯂꯩꯇ꯭ꯔꯤ꯫ ꯁ꯭ꯇꯦꯠ ꯐꯣꯔꯁꯀꯤ ꯁꯥꯄꯣꯠ ꯂꯥꯟꯄꯣꯠ ꯁꯦꯝꯒꯠꯇꯨꯅ ꯃꯈꯥ ꯇꯥꯅ ꯏꯃꯨ
ꯅꯥꯏꯕꯨ ꯇꯥꯟꯅꯍꯟꯅꯕ ꯍꯣꯠꯅꯕꯔꯣꯝꯗꯅ ꯍꯦꯟꯅ ꯃꯤꯠꯌꯦꯡ ꯆꯪꯕꯒꯨꯝ ꯎꯔꯤ꯫
ꯇꯁꯦꯡꯅꯃꯛ ꯍꯥꯏꯔꯕꯗ ꯃꯨꯛꯅꯔꯛꯄꯗꯒꯤ ꯏꯔꯥꯡ ꯂꯩꯔꯛꯂꯤꯕ ꯑꯁꯤ
ꯃꯤꯂꯤꯇꯔꯤꯒꯤ ꯁꯛꯇꯤꯅ ꯀꯩꯗꯧꯉꯩꯗꯁꯨ ꯋꯥꯔꯣꯏꯁꯤꯟ ꯄꯨꯔꯛꯄ ꯉꯝꯂꯣꯏ
ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯁꯤ ꯂꯩꯄꯥꯛ ꯑꯁꯤꯒꯤ ꯄꯣꯂꯤꯇꯤꯛꯁꯇ ꯄꯟꯗꯤꯠꯅꯤ ꯍꯥꯏꯕ ꯌꯥꯔꯕ
ꯂꯨꯆꯤꯡꯕꯁꯤꯡ ꯑꯃꯗꯤ ꯂꯥꯟꯃꯤꯒꯤ ꯃꯀꯣꯛ ꯊꯣꯡꯕ ꯀꯌꯥꯅ ꯇꯣꯏꯅ ꯍꯥꯏꯗꯨꯅꯇ
ꯂꯥꯛꯂꯕꯅꯤ꯫ ꯃꯔꯝ ꯑꯁꯤꯅ ꯃꯇꯝ ꯆꯨꯞꯄꯒꯤ ꯑꯣꯏꯅ ꯁꯥꯟꯇꯤ ꯄꯨꯔꯛꯅꯕꯒꯤ
ꯑꯍꯛꯄ ꯃꯤꯠꯌꯦꯡꯒꯤ ꯃꯈꯥꯗ ꯆꯞ ꯆꯥꯕ ꯊꯕꯛ ꯊꯤꯟꯊꯗꯅ ꯂꯧꯈꯠꯐꯝ ꯊꯣꯛꯏ꯫

ꯃꯁꯤꯒ ꯂꯣꯏꯅꯅ ꯂꯝꯗꯝꯁꯤꯒꯤ ꯆꯅꯨꯔꯥ ꯏꯔꯣꯝ ꯆꯅꯨ ꯁꯔꯃꯤꯂꯥꯅ ꯆꯍꯤ ꯀꯌꯥ
ꯆꯔꯥ ꯍꯦꯟꯗꯨꯅ ꯃꯤꯌꯥꯝꯒꯤꯗꯃꯛ ꯑꯐꯁꯄꯥ ꯂꯧꯊꯣꯛꯈꯤꯅꯕ ꯆꯪꯁꯤꯜꯂꯤꯕ ꯈꯣꯡꯖꯪ
ꯑꯁꯤ ꯍꯟꯗꯣꯛꯇꯨꯅ ꯃꯍꯧꯁꯥꯒꯤ ꯑꯣꯏꯕ ꯄꯨꯟꯁꯤꯗ ꯂꯩꯇꯥꯅ ꯍꯤꯡꯍꯟꯅꯕ ꯞꯆ
ꯆꯥꯕ ꯊꯕꯛꯁꯨ ꯁ꯭ꯇꯦꯠ ꯑꯁꯃꯗꯤ ꯁꯦꯟꯇꯔ ꯂꯩꯉꯥꯛꯅ ꯍꯣꯠꯅꯕ ꯌꯥꯔꯦ
ꯍꯥꯏꯅꯤꯡꯏ꯫ ꯃꯁꯤꯗ ꯗꯤꯂꯦꯏꯪ ꯇꯦꯛꯇꯤꯁ ꯁꯥꯟꯅꯕꯗꯤ ꯆꯨꯝꯂꯣꯏ꯫

... &·ꯦ°ꯡ°πÉ‡ Å‡πꯝ°ö‡ ·ꯐ°·ꯥ°¸ ......ꯑꯦꯗꯤꯇꯔꯗ ꯊꯥꯔꯛꯄ ꯆꯤꯊꯤ...

ꯏꯀꯥꯏ ꯈꯨꯝꯖꯔꯤꯕ ꯑꯦꯗꯤꯇꯔ,
ꯊꯋꯥꯏ ꯑꯣꯏꯔꯤꯕ
ꯏꯁꯤꯡꯒꯤꯗꯃꯛꯇ ꯈꯟꯊꯔꯨꯕꯗ
ꯈꯪꯍꯧꯗꯅ ꯌꯦꯡꯅꯤꯡꯂꯛꯈꯤ ꯁꯤꯡꯗꯥ ꯗꯥꯝ꯫

ꯅꯨꯃꯤꯠ ꯀꯨꯟꯅꯤꯃꯨꯛꯀꯤ ꯃꯃꯥꯡꯗ
ꯑꯣꯏꯍꯧꯕ ꯏꯁꯤꯡꯒꯤ ꯐꯤꯚꯝ, ꯑꯗꯨꯒ
ꯑꯦꯄ꯭ꯔꯤꯜ 29ꯗ ꯂꯩꯍꯧꯕ ꯏꯁꯤꯡꯒꯤ
ꯏꯃꯥꯏ, TK= ꯍꯥꯏꯗꯕ ꯌꯥꯔꯔꯣꯏ ꯑꯎꯕ
ꯈꯨꯗꯤꯡꯃꯛꯅ, ꯑꯥ: ꯃꯈꯥꯗꯅꯤ ꯂꯩꯍꯧꯔꯤꯕ
ꯏꯃꯥꯏ ꯑꯗꯣ꯫ ꯃꯔꯨ ꯀꯣꯛꯂꯕ
ꯆꯤꯡꯃꯥꯏꯁꯤꯡꯁꯤꯅ ꯇꯨꯝꯄꯛ ꯇꯨꯝꯄꯛ
ꯗꯥꯝꯕꯨ ꯁꯛꯍꯧꯔꯤ꯫ ꯏꯊꯟꯇ ꯆꯩꯖꯈꯤ,
ꯐꯠꯇꯦꯗꯀꯣ ꯍꯦ ꯃꯤꯑꯣꯏꯕ= ꯃꯍꯧꯁꯥꯒꯤ
ꯈꯜꯕꯨ ꯑꯁꯨꯛ ꯊꯤꯅ ꯀꯥꯏꯍꯟꯕꯗꯤ,
ꯁꯤꯡꯗꯥ ꯗꯥꯝ ꯏꯁꯤꯡꯒꯤꯗꯃꯛꯇ
ꯈꯟꯊꯃꯤꯟꯅꯔꯁꯤ
ꯑꯩꯗꯅꯤ ꯋꯥꯖꯒꯗꯕ ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯁꯤꯃꯛ꯫

ꯗꯥꯝꯒꯤ ꯏꯃꯥꯏꯗ ꯄꯨꯛꯆꯥꯛ ꯊꯤꯕꯤꯔꯤꯕ
ꯄꯨꯛꯆꯦꯜ ꯆꯥꯎꯔꯕ ꯆꯥꯎꯔꯕꯤꯁꯤꯡ
ꯄꯥꯛꯇꯛꯅꯅ SOT ꯆꯣꯞꯄ, ꯍꯤ ꯃꯆꯥ
ꯃꯌꯥꯝ ꯍꯣꯜꯂꯒ ꯉꯥ ꯐꯥꯕꯤꯔꯤꯕ
ꯈꯨꯗꯤꯡꯃꯛꯄꯨ ꯏꯖꯔꯤꯕ ꯅꯅꯥꯏꯅ
ꯅꯣꯜꯂꯨꯛꯆꯔꯤ- ꯃꯇꯝ ꯈꯔꯗꯪꯗꯤ
ꯁꯤꯟꯐꯝ ꯑꯗꯨ ꯏꯁꯤꯒꯡꯤ ꯐꯤꯚꯝ
ꯐꯒꯠꯗ꯭ꯔꯤꯕꯃꯝꯩ ꯂꯦꯞꯍꯟꯖꯅꯤꯡꯏ꯫

ꯀꯔꯤ ꯑꯃꯨꯛ ꯍꯥꯏꯔꯨꯒꯅꯤ ꯀꯣꯝꯄꯥꯡ
ꯁꯥꯔꯦ ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯗꯨꯃꯛꯅꯤ꯫

ꯑꯗꯣꯝꯒꯤ,
ꯑꯉꯣꯝ ꯃꯅꯤ ꯁꯤꯡꯍ
ꯂꯝꯐꯦꯜ, ꯍꯣꯜ ꯃꯃꯥꯡ꯫

ꯄ꯭ꯔꯦꯁꯀꯤ ꯅꯤꯡꯇꯝꯕ ꯅꯨꯃꯤꯠ
ꯐꯥꯒꯤ ꯌꯦꯅꯤꯡ ꯌꯥꯝꯅ ꯆꯣꯡꯍꯟꯁꯦ
ꯅꯨꯄꯥ ꯑꯃꯒ ꯅꯨꯄꯤ ꯑꯃꯒ ꯂꯩꯃꯤꯟꯅꯩ꯫ ꯅꯨꯄꯥ ꯑꯗꯨꯒ ꯅꯨꯄꯤ ꯑꯗꯨꯒ
ꯅꯣꯡꯚꯤ ꯈꯠꯅꯍꯧꯗꯕ ꯅꯨꯃꯤꯠ ꯌꯥꯎꯗꯦ꯫ ꯅꯣꯡꯃꯒꯤ ꯍꯦꯛ
ꯈꯠꯅꯍꯧꯗꯕꯗ ꯆꯥꯛ ꯆꯥꯕ ꯆꯪꯗꯕꯒꯤ ꯃꯑꯣꯡꯅꯤ꯫ ꯅꯨꯄꯤꯗꯨꯒ ꯅꯨꯄꯥꯗꯨꯒ ꯀꯔꯝ ꯍꯥꯏꯅ ꯍꯦꯛꯇ ꯈꯠꯅꯒꯦ ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯗꯨ ꯑꯃꯨꯛꯇ ꯇꯝꯖꯒꯦ... ꯑꯍꯝ...

ꯑꯍꯝ... ꯉꯔꯥꯡꯒꯨꯝꯕ ꯑꯗꯨ ꯅꯨꯄꯥꯗꯨꯒ ꯅꯨꯄꯤꯗꯨꯒ ꯃꯇꯩ ꯃꯅꯥꯎ ꯑꯅꯤ ꯑꯗꯨ
ꯁꯣꯔꯥꯠ ꯑꯃ ꯌꯥꯝꯅ ꯂꯥꯞꯅ ꯆꯠꯃꯤꯟꯅꯕ ꯖꯥꯠꯅꯤ꯫ ꯅꯣꯡꯉꯥꯜꯂꯒ ꯅꯨꯄꯤ
ꯑꯗꯨꯅ ꯃꯥꯒꯤ ꯅꯨꯄꯥꯗꯨꯗ ꯍꯥꯏꯕ ꯖꯥꯠꯅꯤ ꯇꯥꯃꯣ, ꯇꯥꯃꯣꯒ ꯉꯔꯥꯡ ꯆꯠꯃꯤꯟꯅꯕꯤ
ꯅꯨꯄꯤ ꯑꯗꯨ ꯀꯅꯥꯅꯣ? ꯅꯨꯄꯥ ꯑꯗꯨꯅ ꯈꯨꯝꯃꯤ ꯍꯥꯏꯅ ꯑꯩꯒ ꯉꯔꯥꯡ ꯆꯠꯃꯤꯟꯅꯕ
ꯅꯨꯄꯤ ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯨ ꯀꯅꯥꯅꯣ? ꯍꯅꯨꯊꯪꯗ ꯑꯩꯅ ꯅꯨꯄꯤ ꯑꯃꯨꯛ ꯀꯣꯈꯤꯗ꯭ꯔ... ‘ꯂꯩꯀꯥꯏ
ꯇꯥꯔꯒ ꯑꯩꯕꯨ ꯀꯔꯤ ꯍꯥꯏꯅꯅꯤ ꯍꯥꯏꯗꯨꯅ ꯃꯥꯒꯤ ꯅꯨꯄꯤ ꯑꯗꯨꯗ ꯁꯥꯎꯔꯕ
ꯖꯥꯠꯅꯤ... ꯃꯗꯨꯗ ꯅꯨꯄꯤ ꯑꯗꯨ ꯃꯃꯤꯠ ꯃꯅꯥ ꯆꯞ ꯌꯨꯡꯈꯩ ꯄꯥꯈꯠꯂꯦ꯫ ꯅꯨꯄꯤ
ꯑꯗꯨꯅ ꯍꯥꯏꯔꯛꯏ- ꯇꯥꯃꯣ ꯁꯥꯎꯕꯤꯅꯨ ꯇꯥꯃꯣꯅ ꯉꯔꯥꯡ ꯑꯩꯕꯨ ꯄꯨꯔꯒ
ꯅꯝꯕꯣꯜꯗ ꯂꯨꯍꯣꯡꯕ ꯆꯠꯂꯤꯗꯨꯗꯤ, ꯇꯥꯃꯣ ꯑꯩꯁꯦ ꯉꯔꯥꯡ ꯅꯪꯅ ꯄꯨꯕ ꯅꯨꯄꯤꯗꯨ
ꯑꯗꯨꯕꯨ ꯅꯠꯇ꯭ꯔꯕꯔꯅꯦ? ꯅꯨꯄꯥ ꯑꯗꯨ ꯁꯥꯎꯕ ꯍꯟꯗꯦ ꯀꯔꯤ ꯑꯗꯨꯝ ꯍꯥꯏꯅ
ꯍꯥꯏꯕ ꯍꯦꯛꯇ ꯌꯥꯕ꯭ꯔꯅꯦ? ꯅꯨꯄꯤꯗꯨꯅ ꯀꯔꯤꯞ ꯅꯣꯛꯂꯗꯨꯅ ꯍꯥꯏꯖꯩ- ꯍꯣ
ꯐꯥꯒꯤ ꯇꯧꯕꯅꯦ ꯐꯥꯒꯤ... ꯃꯗꯨꯗ ꯅꯨꯄꯥ ꯑꯗꯨꯅ ꯈꯨꯝꯃꯤ... ꯍꯥꯏ ꯐꯥꯒꯤ ꯑꯣꯏꯔꯁꯨ
ꯃꯇꯥꯡ ꯌꯥꯝꯅ ꯆꯥꯗꯦ ꯅꯁꯛ ꯈꯨꯊꯤ ꯂꯥꯛꯊꯤ ꯑꯗꯨꯒ... ꯅꯨꯄꯤꯗꯨ ꯀꯞꯇꯦ
ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯗ ꯈꯥꯡꯈꯤ꯫ ꯐꯥꯒꯤ ꯍꯩꯇꯕꯒꯤ ꯏꯃꯨꯡ ꯑꯣꯏꯕꯒꯤ ꯍꯧꯅꯕ ꯅꯨꯃꯤꯠ
ꯆꯨꯞꯄ ꯏꯁꯥꯎꯗ ꯁꯥꯎꯅꯩ꯫ ꯋꯥ ꯑꯃꯠꯇ ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯗ ꯍꯦꯛꯇ ꯂꯨꯅ ꯂꯨꯄ
ꯈꯟꯖꯤꯟꯈꯤꯗꯨꯅ ꯃꯇꯩ ꯃꯅꯥꯎ, ꯃꯄꯥ-ꯃꯄꯥ, ꯃꯆꯤ ꯃꯅꯥꯎ ꯉꯥꯏꯍꯥꯛ ꯂꯩꯇꯅ
ꯂꯪꯈꯥꯏꯅꯩ꯫ ꯆꯥꯛ ꯂꯣꯏꯔꯕ꯭ꯔ ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯒꯤꯁꯨ ꯈꯠꯅꯩ, ꯏꯁꯤꯡ ꯂꯨꯝꯃꯨ ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯒꯤꯁꯨ
ꯂꯥꯎꯅꯩ...꯫

ꯐꯥꯒꯤ ꯍꯩꯇꯕ ꯃꯤ ꯌꯥꯝꯅ ꯊꯣꯔꯛꯏ꯫ ꯃꯄꯨꯟꯁꯤ ꯑꯗꯨ ꯃꯤ ꯈꯠꯅꯕꯗ ꯍꯧꯕ, ꯁꯨꯛꯂꯒ ꯑꯗꯨꯝ ꯂꯩꯕ ꯃꯤ ꯀꯌꯥꯅꯤ, ꯑꯣꯟꯊꯣꯛꯄ ꯇꯥꯏꯕꯪ ꯑꯃꯅꯤ
ꯃꯈꯣꯏ ꯑꯁꯤꯁꯨ꯫ ꯃꯇꯥꯡ ꯆꯥꯅ ꯐꯥꯒꯤ ꯇꯧꯕ ꯑꯃꯗꯒꯤ ꯌꯨꯝ ꯑꯃ ꯃꯩ
ꯆꯥꯛꯀꯗꯕꯗꯒꯤ ꯀꯟꯕ ꯌꯥꯏ, ꯊꯧꯔꯤ ꯌꯥꯟ ꯁꯤꯈꯤꯒꯗꯧꯕꯗꯒꯤ, ꯍꯨ ꯆꯥꯗꯅ
ꯁꯤꯒꯗꯧꯕꯗꯒꯤ ꯊꯥꯡ ꯇꯦꯟ ꯄꯥꯏꯅꯒꯗꯧꯕꯗꯒꯤ ꯀꯟꯕ ꯌꯥꯏ꯫ ꯐꯥꯒꯤ ꯍꯩꯇꯕ
ꯃꯤ ꯌꯥꯝꯈꯠꯂꯛꯂꯕꯗꯤ ꯇꯁꯦꯡꯅꯃꯛ ꯌꯨꯝꯗ ꯅꯠꯇꯦ ꯂꯩꯄꯥꯛ ꯑꯗꯨ ꯀꯥꯡ
ꯈꯣꯡ ꯆꯥꯏꯕ ꯐꯤꯚꯝ ꯑꯃꯅꯤ, ꯍꯥꯏꯗꯕ ꯌꯥꯔꯣꯏ꯫ ꯐꯅ ꯌꯥꯝꯅ ꯋꯥꯔꯕ ꯂꯩꯄꯥꯛ
ꯆꯍꯤ ꯈꯨꯗꯤꯡꯒꯤ ꯃꯦ 3 ꯕꯨ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯤꯊꯤꯕꯤꯒꯤ ꯑꯣꯏꯅ ꯋꯥꯔꯜ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯦꯁ
ꯐ꯭ꯔꯤꯗꯝ ꯗꯦ ꯍꯥꯏꯅ ꯄꯥꯡꯊꯣꯛꯅꯔꯤ꯫ ꯈ꯭ꯔꯤ: 1999 ꯒꯤ ꯑꯦꯄ꯭ꯔꯤꯜ
29ꯗꯒꯤ ꯃꯦ 3 ꯐꯥꯎꯕ ꯌꯨꯅꯥꯏꯇꯦꯗ ꯅꯦꯁꯟꯁ ꯏꯗꯨꯀꯦꯁꯅꯦꯜ,
ꯁꯥꯏꯟꯇꯤꯐꯤꯛ ꯑꯦꯟꯗ ꯀꯜꯆꯔꯦꯜ ꯑꯣꯔꯒꯅꯥꯏꯖꯦꯁꯟ (ꯌꯨꯅꯦꯁꯀꯣ) ꯅ
ꯁꯤꯟꯗꯨꯅ ‘ꯄ꯭ꯔꯣꯃꯣꯇꯤꯡ ꯑꯦꯟ ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯄꯦꯟꯗꯦꯟꯠ ꯑꯦꯟ ꯄ꯭ꯂꯨꯔꯦꯂꯤꯁꯇꯤꯛ
ꯑꯐ꯭ꯔꯤꯀꯥꯟ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯦꯁ’ ꯃꯤꯡꯊꯣꯟꯕ ꯁꯦꯃꯤꯅꯥꯔ ꯑꯃ ꯅꯝꯕꯤꯌꯥꯒꯤ ꯋꯤꯟꯗꯍꯣꯛꯇ
ꯄꯥꯡꯊꯣꯛꯈꯤ꯫ ꯑꯁꯤꯒꯨꯝꯂꯕ ꯊꯧꯔꯝꯁꯤꯗ ꯌꯨꯅꯥꯏꯇꯦꯗ ꯅꯦꯁꯟꯁꯀꯤ
ꯌꯨꯅꯤꯚꯔꯁꯦꯜ ꯗꯤꯀ꯭ꯂꯥꯔꯦꯁꯟ ꯑꯣꯐ ꯍ꯭ꯌꯨꯃꯦꯟ ꯔꯥꯏꯠꯁ, 1948 ꯒꯤ
ꯑꯥꯔꯇꯤꯀꯜ 19ꯗ ꯃꯄꯨꯡ ꯑꯣꯏꯅ ꯌꯨꯝꯐꯝ ꯑꯣꯏꯗꯨꯅ ꯋꯤꯟꯗꯍꯣꯛ
ꯗꯤꯀ꯭ꯂꯥꯔꯦꯁꯟ ꯁꯦꯝꯈꯤ꯫

ꯈ꯭ꯔꯤ: 1999 ꯗ ꯄꯥꯡꯊꯣꯛꯄ ꯌꯨꯅꯦꯁꯀꯣꯒꯤ ꯀꯨꯟꯇꯔꯨꯛ- ꯁꯨꯕ ꯁꯦꯁꯟꯅ ꯋꯤꯟꯗꯍꯣꯛ ꯗꯤꯀ꯭ꯂꯥꯔꯦꯁꯟ ꯑꯁꯤꯕꯨ ꯔꯤꯀꯃꯦꯟꯗꯦꯁꯟ ꯇꯧꯔꯕ ꯃꯇꯨꯡꯗ
ꯗꯤꯀ꯭ꯂꯥꯔꯦꯁꯟ ꯁꯤꯒꯤ ꯆꯍꯤꯒꯤ ꯀꯨꯝꯑꯣꯟ ꯅꯨꯃꯤꯠꯄꯨ ꯋꯥꯔꯜ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯦꯁ ꯐ꯭ꯔꯤꯗꯝ
ꯗꯦ ꯄꯥꯡꯊꯣꯛꯅꯕ ꯑꯌꯥꯕ ꯌꯨ ꯑꯦꯟꯅ ꯄꯤꯈꯤ꯫ ꯈ꯭ꯔꯤ: 1993 ꯒꯤ ꯗꯤꯁꯦꯝꯕꯔꯗ
ꯄꯥꯡꯊꯣꯛꯄ ꯌꯨ ꯑꯦꯟ ꯖꯦꯅꯔꯦꯜ ꯑꯦꯁꯦꯝꯕ꯭ꯂꯤꯅ ꯑꯌꯥꯕꯁꯤ ꯄꯤꯈꯤꯕꯅꯤ꯫ ꯑꯁꯤꯒꯨꯝꯂꯕ ꯃꯃꯜ ꯌꯥꯝꯂꯕ ꯄꯥꯂꯟꯁꯤꯅ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯤꯊꯤꯕꯤꯒꯤ ꯂꯩꯄꯥꯛ ꯈꯨꯗꯤꯡꯃꯛꯇ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯦꯁꯀꯤ ꯅꯤꯡꯇꯝꯕꯕꯨ ꯉꯥꯛꯄ ꯊꯧꯒꯠꯂꯤ ꯂꯣꯏꯅꯅ ꯌꯨ
ꯑꯦꯟꯒꯤ ꯃꯦꯝꯕꯔ ꯁ꯭ꯇꯦꯠ ꯈꯨꯗꯤꯡꯃꯛꯅ ꯊꯧꯔꯝꯁꯤꯒꯤ ꯅꯨꯡꯒꯤ ꯑꯥꯔꯊ ꯈꯪꯅ
ꯄꯥꯡꯊꯣꯛꯄ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯦꯁꯀꯤ ꯅꯤꯡꯇꯝꯕꯕꯨ ꯌꯣꯛꯈꯠꯅꯕꯒꯤ ꯄꯥꯟꯗꯝ
ꯊꯝꯂꯤ꯫ ꯃꯁꯤꯗꯁꯨ ꯅꯠꯇꯅ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯦꯁꯀꯤ ꯇꯉꯥꯏꯐꯗꯕ ꯊꯧꯗꯥꯡ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯦꯁꯅ
ꯂꯧꯒꯗꯧꯕ ꯊꯧꯗꯥꯡ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯃꯁꯤꯒꯤ ꯅꯤꯡꯇꯝꯕꯗ ꯁꯤꯡꯅꯔꯛꯄ ꯀꯌꯥꯗꯒꯤ
ꯉꯥꯛꯊꯣꯛꯄ, ꯅꯤꯡꯇꯝꯍꯟꯕ, ꯃꯁꯥꯒꯤ ꯃꯊꯧ ꯄꯥꯡꯊꯣꯛꯄꯗ ꯊꯋꯥꯏ ꯀꯠꯈ꯭ꯔꯕ
ꯖꯔꯅꯦꯂꯤꯁꯠ ꯀꯌꯥꯒꯤ ꯃꯐꯝꯗ ꯏꯀꯥꯏ ꯈꯨꯝꯅꯕ ꯐꯣꯡꯗꯣꯛꯄꯒꯤ ꯇꯥꯟꯖꯥꯁꯨ
ꯂꯧꯔꯤ꯫ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯦꯁꯀꯤ ꯅꯤꯡꯇꯝꯕꯗ ꯁꯤꯡꯅꯔꯛꯄ, ꯄꯥꯎꯆꯦ ꯐꯣꯡꯕꯗ ꯑꯊꯤꯡꯕ
ꯊꯝꯗꯨꯅ ꯑꯋꯥꯕ ꯄꯤꯕ, ꯐꯥꯏꯟ ꯂꯧꯕ, ꯃꯦꯗꯤꯌꯥ ꯍꯥꯎꯁ ꯊꯣꯡ ꯂꯣꯟꯍꯟꯕ,
ꯇꯥꯟꯊꯣꯛꯄ ꯖꯔꯅꯦꯂꯤꯁꯠ, ꯑꯦꯗꯤꯇꯔꯁ, ꯄꯕ꯭ꯂꯤꯁꯔꯁ ꯀꯌꯥꯗ ꯍꯔꯥꯁ
ꯇꯧꯕ, ꯐꯨꯕ-ꯆꯩꯕ, ꯐꯥꯖꯤꯟ ꯄꯨꯟꯁꯤꯟꯕ, ꯍꯥꯠꯇꯣꯛꯄꯤꯕ ꯐꯥꯎꯕ ꯌꯥꯎꯈꯤꯕ ꯊꯧꯗꯣꯛ
ꯀꯌꯥꯕꯨ ꯃꯤꯌꯥꯝꯗ ꯈꯪꯍꯟꯕꯒꯤ ꯈꯨꯗꯣꯡꯆꯥꯕ ꯂꯧꯏ꯫ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯦꯁꯀꯤ ꯅꯤꯡꯇꯝꯕ
ꯉꯥꯛꯄ, ꯃꯈꯣꯏꯗ ꯏꯀꯥꯏ ꯈꯨꯝꯅꯕ ꯎꯠꯄ, ꯉꯥꯛꯄꯤ ꯁꯦꯟꯕꯤꯕꯒꯤ ꯊꯧꯗꯥꯡꯁꯨ
ꯃꯥꯒꯤ ꯃꯥꯒꯤ ꯒꯚꯔꯟꯃꯦꯟꯠꯅ ꯂꯧꯕꯤꯅꯕ ꯑꯥꯄꯤꯜꯁꯨ ꯌꯨ ꯑꯦꯟꯅ ꯑꯁꯤꯒꯨꯝꯕ
ꯅꯨꯃꯤꯠꯁꯤꯗ ꯐꯣꯡꯗꯣꯛꯏ꯫ ꯑꯃꯔꯣꯝꯗꯁꯨ, ꯂꯝꯁꯤꯗ ꯁꯤꯟꯐꯝ ꯑꯣꯏꯅ ꯄꯥꯏꯗꯨꯅ
ꯂꯩꯔꯕ ꯖꯔꯅꯦꯂꯤꯁꯠꯁꯤꯡꯅ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯦꯁꯀꯤ ꯏꯊꯤꯛꯁ ꯉꯥꯛꯅ ꯆꯠꯅꯕ ꯋꯥꯐꯝꯁꯨ
ꯐꯣꯡꯗꯣꯛꯂꯤ꯫ ꯆꯍꯤ ꯈꯨꯗꯤꯡꯒꯤ ꯋꯥꯔꯜ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯦꯁ ꯐ꯭ꯔꯤꯗꯝ ꯗꯦ ꯊꯤꯝ ꯑꯃꯃꯝꯗ
ꯕꯦꯖ ꯇꯧꯗꯨꯅ ꯄꯥꯡꯊꯣꯛꯏ꯫ ꯑꯌꯥꯝꯕ ꯊꯤꯝꯗꯤ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯦꯁꯀ ꯂꯥꯛꯄ ꯃꯈꯜ ꯀꯌꯥꯒꯤ
ꯃꯨꯛꯅꯕ, ꯃꯁꯤꯗꯒꯤ ꯃꯥꯌꯣꯛ ꯌꯥꯅꯕ ꯄꯨꯊꯣꯛꯄ ꯎꯄꯥꯏ, ꯑꯐꯕ ꯂꯩꯉꯥꯛꯂꯣꯟ
ꯑꯃꯗ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯦꯁꯅ ꯂꯧꯔꯤꯕ ꯊꯧꯗꯥꯡ, ꯇꯦꯔꯣꯔꯤꯖꯝ ꯂꯩꯕ ꯂꯩꯄꯥꯛꯇ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯦꯁꯅ ꯂꯧꯕ
ꯊꯧꯗꯥꯡ, ꯀꯟꯐ꯭ꯂꯤꯛ ꯑꯣꯏꯕ ꯂꯩꯄꯥꯛꯇ ꯂꯧꯕ ꯊꯧꯗꯥꯡ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯄꯣꯁꯠ ꯀꯟꯐ꯭ꯂꯤꯛ
ꯀꯟꯇ꯭ꯔꯤꯁꯗ ꯂꯧꯕ ꯊꯧꯗꯥꯡ ꯑꯁꯤꯒꯨꯝꯕ ꯍꯤꯔꯝ ꯀꯌꯥꯗ ꯄꯥꯡꯊꯣꯛꯅꯩ꯫
‘ꯃꯦꯗꯤꯌꯥ ꯐ꯭ꯔꯤꯗꯝ WO ꯑꯦ ꯕꯦꯇꯔ ꯐꯔꯗꯔ: ꯁꯦꯄꯤꯡ ꯗ ꯄꯣꯁꯠ-2015
ꯗꯤꯚꯦꯂꯞꯃꯦꯟꯠ ꯑꯦꯖꯦꯟꯗ’ ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯁꯤꯅ ꯍꯟꯗꯛ ꯆꯍꯤꯒꯤ ꯊꯤꯝ ꯑꯣꯏꯒꯗꯧꯔꯤ꯫
ꯂꯝꯁꯤꯗ ꯃꯇꯤꯡ ꯂꯩꯅ ꯊꯕꯛ ꯇꯧꯕ ꯃꯤꯑꯣꯏ, ꯑꯣꯔꯒꯅꯥꯏꯖꯦꯁꯟ
ꯅꯠꯇ꯭ꯔꯒ ꯏꯟꯁꯇꯤꯇ꯭ꯌꯨꯁꯟꯗ ꯌꯨꯅꯦꯁꯀꯣꯅ ꯌꯨꯅꯦꯁꯀꯣ/ ꯒꯨꯏꯂꯔꯃꯣ ꯀꯦꯅꯣ
ꯋꯥꯔꯜ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯦꯥ ꯐ꯭ꯔꯤꯗꯝ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯥꯏꯖ ꯃꯤꯡꯊꯣꯟꯕ ꯑꯋꯥꯡꯕ ꯊꯥꯛꯀꯤ ꯃꯅꯥꯁꯨ ꯄꯤꯔꯤ꯫
ꯑꯁꯤꯒꯨꯝꯕ ꯃꯅꯥꯁꯤ ꯀꯣꯂꯝꯕꯤꯌꯥꯒꯤ ꯒꯨꯏꯂꯔꯃꯣ ꯀꯦꯅꯣ ꯏꯁꯥꯖꯥ ꯀꯧꯕ
ꯖꯔꯅꯦꯂꯤꯁꯠ ꯑꯃꯒꯤ ꯃꯤꯡꯗ ꯄꯤꯕꯅꯤ꯫ ꯈ꯭ꯔꯤ: 1986 ꯀꯤ ꯗꯤꯁꯦꯝꯕꯔ
17 ꯇ ꯒꯨꯏꯂꯔꯃꯣ ꯀꯦꯅꯣ ꯏꯁꯥꯖ TM ꯏꯁꯄꯦꯛꯇꯦꯗꯣꯔ ꯃꯤꯡꯊꯣꯟꯕ
ꯃꯍꯥꯛꯀꯤ ꯑꯣꯐꯤꯁ ꯃꯃꯥꯡꯗ ꯅꯣꯡꯃꯩꯅ ꯀꯥꯞꯇꯨꯅ ꯍꯥꯠꯈꯤꯕꯅꯤ꯫ ꯃꯍꯥꯛꯄꯨ
ꯏꯀꯥꯏ ꯈꯨꯝꯅꯕ ꯎꯠꯇꯨꯅ ꯃꯅꯥ ꯑꯁꯤ ꯃꯍꯥꯛꯀꯤ ꯃꯤꯡꯗ 1997 ꯗꯒꯤ ꯄꯤꯕ
ꯍꯧꯈꯤꯕꯅꯤ꯫ ꯄꯥꯎ ꯏꯒꯤ ꯂꯝꯗ ꯂꯩꯕ ꯂꯝꯗꯝꯁꯤꯗ ꯅꯤꯡꯊꯤꯅ SI ꯍꯩꯔꯕ ꯃꯤꯑꯣꯏ
14 (ꯇꯔꯥꯃꯔꯤ) ꯅ ꯁꯥꯕ ꯖꯖꯅ ꯔꯤꯀꯃꯦꯟꯗꯦꯁꯟ ꯄꯤꯔꯕ ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯚꯤꯖꯨꯑꯦꯜ
ꯅꯠꯇ꯭ꯔꯒ ꯑꯣꯔꯒꯅꯥꯏꯖꯦꯁꯟ ꯅꯠꯇ꯭ꯔꯒ ꯏꯟꯁꯇꯤꯇ꯭ꯌꯨꯁꯟꯗ ꯃꯅꯥꯁꯤ ꯄꯤ꯫ ꯃꯅꯥꯁꯤꯗ ꯁꯦꯜ ꯑꯣꯏꯅ ꯌꯨ ꯑꯦꯁ ꯗꯣꯜꯂꯔ 45,000 ꯂꯣꯏꯅꯩ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯆꯍꯤ ꯈꯨꯗꯤꯡꯒꯤ ꯃꯦ 2 ꯗ ꯌꯨꯅꯦꯁꯀꯣꯒꯤ ꯍꯦꯗꯀ꯭ꯋꯥꯇꯔꯗ ꯃꯅꯥꯁꯤ ꯈꯨꯠꯁꯤꯟꯅꯩ꯫

ꯍꯟꯗꯛ ꯆꯍꯤꯒꯤ ꯑꯦꯋꯥꯔꯗ ꯑꯁꯤ ꯇꯔꯀꯤꯒꯤ ꯑꯍꯃꯦꯗ ꯁꯤꯛ ꯀꯧꯕ
ꯏꯟꯚꯦꯁꯇꯤꯒꯦꯇꯤꯚ ꯖꯔꯅꯦꯂꯤꯁꯠ ꯑꯃꯗ ꯄꯤꯔꯒꯅꯤ꯫ ꯃꯍꯥꯛ ꯂꯝꯁꯤꯗ
ꯂꯩꯗꯨꯅ ꯅ꯭ꯌꯨꯖꯄꯦꯄꯔꯁ ꯀꯌꯥꯗ ꯊꯕꯛ ꯇꯧꯔꯛꯂꯕ ꯃꯤꯑꯣꯏꯅꯤ꯫ ꯂꯣꯏꯅꯅ
ꯂꯥꯏꯔꯤꯛ ꯀꯌꯥ ꯏꯈ꯭ꯔꯕ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯇ꯭ꯔꯦꯗ ꯌꯨꯅꯤꯌꯟꯂꯤꯁꯠ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯅꯤ꯫ ꯑꯃꯔꯣꯝꯗ, ꯖꯔꯅꯦꯂꯤꯖꯝꯒꯤ ꯊꯧꯗꯥꯡꯇꯅ ꯏꯁꯨ ꯀꯌꯥꯗ ꯌꯦꯡꯁꯤꯟꯕ, ꯊꯤꯒꯠꯄ, ꯀ꯭ꯔꯤꯇꯤꯁꯥꯏꯖ ꯇꯧꯕ ꯉꯝꯕ ꯑꯃꯗꯤ ꯑꯐꯕ ꯁꯥꯁꯟ ꯄꯨꯔꯛꯄ ꯉꯝꯅꯤ
ꯍꯥꯏꯔꯤ꯫ ꯃꯇꯥꯡꯁꯤꯗ ꯑꯈꯪ ꯑꯍꯩ ꯀꯌꯥꯅ ꯄꯤꯕ ꯃꯣꯠ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯊꯝꯖꯒꯦ, ꯑꯐꯕ
ꯗꯦꯃꯣꯀ꯭ꯔꯦꯁꯤ ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯁꯤ ꯖꯔꯅꯦꯂꯤꯁꯠꯁꯤꯡꯅ ꯃꯇꯤꯡ ꯂꯩꯅ, ꯑꯌꯦꯠꯄ ꯄꯤꯗꯅ
ꯊꯕꯛ ꯄꯥꯡꯊꯣꯛꯂꯕ ꯂꯣꯏꯅꯅ ꯑꯊꯤꯡꯕ ꯂꯥꯛꯀꯅꯤ ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯒꯤ ꯑꯀꯤ ꯇꯨꯖꯨꯡ
ꯂꯩꯇ꯭ꯔꯕ ꯃꯇꯝꯗ ꯂꯥꯛꯀꯅꯤ ꯍꯥꯏꯔꯤ꯫ ꯃꯇꯥꯡꯁꯤꯗꯅꯤ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯏꯅ ꯅꯩꯅꯕ ꯌꯥꯕ
ꯋꯥꯐꯝ ꯊꯣꯛꯂꯛꯂꯤꯕꯁꯤ꯫ ꯂꯝꯗꯝꯁꯤꯗ ꯂꯩꯔꯤꯕ ꯖꯔꯅꯦꯂꯤꯁꯠ ꯀꯌꯥꯅ ꯂꯝꯁꯤꯗ
ꯀꯗꯥꯏ ꯐꯥꯎꯕ ꯑꯀꯤ ꯇꯨꯖꯨꯡ ꯂꯩꯇꯅ ꯃꯁꯥꯒꯤ ꯊꯕꯛ ꯄꯥꯡꯊꯣꯛꯂꯤ꯫ ꯀꯟꯐ꯭ꯂꯤꯛ ꯖꯣꯟ ꯑꯣꯏꯕ ꯂꯝꯗꯝ ꯑꯣꯏꯕꯅ ꯖꯔꯅꯦꯂꯤꯁꯠ ꯀꯌꯥꯅ ꯃꯥꯏꯀꯩ
ꯑꯅꯤꯒ ꯁꯥꯐꯨ ꯃꯔꯛꯇ ꯊꯕꯛ ꯇꯧꯏ꯫ ꯅꯤꯡꯁꯤꯡꯕ ꯌꯥꯏ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯒꯤ
ꯖꯔꯅꯦꯂꯤꯁꯠ ꯀꯌꯥꯅ ꯃꯇꯝ ꯃꯇꯝꯒꯤ ꯑꯣꯏꯅ ꯊꯦꯡꯅꯈꯤꯕ ꯈꯨꯗꯣꯡꯊꯤꯕ꯫
ꯑꯃꯔꯣꯝꯗꯅ ꯄꯥꯎꯃꯤꯅ ꯃꯊꯧ ꯄꯥꯡꯊꯣꯛꯄ ꯂꯥꯛꯄ ꯁꯤꯅꯡꯕ ꯀꯌꯥ꯫
ꯑꯁꯤꯒꯨꯝꯕ ꯇꯥꯟꯖꯥꯁꯤꯗ ꯖꯔꯅꯦꯂꯤꯁꯠꯀꯤ ꯊꯧꯗꯥꯡ ꯃꯤꯌꯥꯝꯅ ꯅꯩꯅꯕ ꯌꯥꯕ ꯈꯟꯅꯕ
ꯌꯥꯕ ꯑꯣꯏꯔꯕꯅꯤ꯫

ꯋꯥꯔꯜꯗ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯦꯁ ꯐ꯭ꯔꯤꯗꯝ ꯗꯦ (ꯃꯦ 3)
ꯑꯣꯏꯔꯕꯁꯨ ꯑꯗꯨꯝ ꯆꯥꯟꯅꯕ
ꯐꯥꯒꯤ ꯑꯃꯗꯤ ꯑꯗꯨꯝ ꯍꯦꯛꯇ
ꯊꯣꯔꯛꯏ꯫ ꯑꯋꯥꯕ
ꯀꯣꯛꯅꯕꯅꯤ ꯈꯪꯗꯦ
ꯑꯃꯒꯤꯅꯤ ꯈꯪꯗꯦ ꯐꯥꯒꯤꯗꯤ
ꯑꯗꯨꯝ ꯊꯣꯔꯛꯏ꯫ ꯑꯃꯅ ꯑꯃꯗ ꯂꯪꯅꯗꯨꯅ ꯐꯥꯒꯤ ꯇꯧꯅꯕ ꯌꯥꯒꯗꯕꯅꯤ꯫

ꯀꯥꯔꯇꯨꯟ ꯑꯃ ꯌꯦꯛꯂꯨꯕꯒꯤ
ꯀꯥꯔꯇꯟ ꯌꯦꯛꯄ ꯃꯤ
ꯑꯗꯨꯕꯨ ꯁꯥꯒꯩ ꯃꯩꯇꯥꯜ
ꯑꯁꯤꯕ ꯑꯣꯏꯅ ꯈꯅꯕ
ꯀꯌꯥꯁꯨ ꯑꯗꯨꯝ
ꯃꯌꯥꯎꯔꯤ꯫ ꯐꯥꯒꯤ
ꯇꯧꯕ ꯐꯥꯒꯤ ꯃꯤꯁꯤꯡ
ꯑꯁꯤ ꯃꯅꯤꯡ ꯈꯔ
ꯇꯝꯍꯟꯅꯕ ꯐ꯭ꯔꯤꯗꯝ
ꯇꯨ ꯐꯥꯒꯤ ꯍꯥꯏꯕ ꯑꯃ
ꯚꯥꯔꯠꯀꯤ
ꯀꯟꯁꯇꯤꯇꯨꯑꯦꯟꯁꯤꯗ
ꯍꯥꯞꯆꯤꯟꯕ ꯀꯥꯏꯦ꯫
ꯐꯥꯒꯤꯒꯤ ꯕꯤꯜ-

ꯐꯥꯒꯤꯒꯤ ꯑꯦꯛ ꯍꯥꯏꯗꯨꯅ꯫ ꯅꯣꯡꯃ ꯅꯣꯡꯃꯒꯤ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯏ ꯄꯥꯒꯤ ꯍꯩꯅꯗꯗꯨꯅ
ꯋꯥꯆꯨꯝ ꯀꯨꯞꯂꯣꯟ ꯋꯥꯆꯨꯝ ꯀꯨꯞꯂꯣꯟ ꯋꯥꯆꯨꯝ ꯀꯨꯞꯂꯣꯟ
ꯀꯥꯔꯜ ꯂꯝꯕꯨꯕ

‘ꯗ꯭ꯌꯥꯟ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯀꯥꯁ’ (ꯐꯦꯕ꯭ꯔꯨꯋꯥꯔꯤ 12, 1849) ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯇꯥꯃꯤꯜ ꯄꯥꯎꯆꯦ
‘ꯁ꯭ꯋꯥꯗꯦꯁꯥꯃꯤꯇ꯭ꯔꯥꯟ’ ꯅ ꯑꯍꯥꯟꯕ ꯄꯥꯎꯆꯦꯁꯤꯡꯅꯤ꯫
ꯀꯨꯝꯖꯥ 2010-11 ꯒꯤ ꯗꯦꯇꯥ ꯃꯇꯨꯡꯏꯟꯅ, ꯍꯧꯖꯤꯛ ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥꯗ
ꯐꯣꯡꯂꯤꯕ ꯅꯨꯡꯇꯤꯒꯤ ꯄꯥꯎꯆꯦꯁꯤꯡ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯃꯔꯛ ꯃꯔꯛꯇ ꯐꯣꯡꯕ
(ꯄꯦꯔꯣꯗꯤꯀꯦꯜ) ꯆꯦꯐꯣꯡꯒꯤ ꯔꯦꯖꯤꯁꯇꯥꯔ ꯇꯧꯔꯕ ꯃꯁꯤꯡ ꯑꯁꯤ
82,222 ꯅꯤ꯫ 2009-10 ꯗ 77,384 ꯑꯣꯏꯈꯤꯕꯅꯤ꯫ ꯃꯥꯔꯆ 31,
2008 ꯗ 69,323 ꯑꯣꯏꯈꯤꯕꯅꯤ꯫ ꯍꯦꯟꯒꯠꯂꯤꯕ ꯆꯥꯡ ꯑꯁꯤ ꯆꯥꯗ
6.25 ꯅꯤ꯫ ꯍꯧꯖꯤꯛ ꯂꯩꯔꯤꯕ ꯅꯨꯡꯇꯤꯒꯤ ꯄꯥꯎꯆꯦꯒꯤ ꯃꯁꯤꯡ 10,205,
ꯆꯌꯣꯜꯗ 2/3 ꯂꯛ ꯐꯣꯡꯕ (ꯕꯥꯏꯇ꯭ꯔꯥꯏ ꯋꯤꯛꯂꯤ) 394, ꯆꯌꯣꯜ ꯆꯦꯐꯣꯡ
27321, ꯊꯥꯌꯥꯔ ꯆꯦꯐꯣꯡ 10,422, ꯊꯥꯒꯤ ꯆꯦꯐꯣꯡ 25,072, ꯆꯍꯤꯗ
ꯃꯔꯤꯔꯛ ꯄꯨꯊꯣꯛꯄ 5208, ꯆꯍꯤꯒꯤ ꯆꯦꯐꯣꯡ 719 ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯑꯇꯩ
ꯃꯔꯛ ꯃꯔꯛꯇ ꯄꯨꯊꯣꯛꯄ ꯆꯦꯐꯣꯡ 2881 ꯂꯩꯔꯤ꯫ ꯀꯨꯝꯖꯥ 2010-11
ꯗꯦꯇꯥ ꯃꯇꯨꯡꯏꯟꯅ, ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥꯗ ꯂꯣꯟ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯗꯥꯏꯂꯦꯛ 152 ꯒꯤ
ꯄꯥꯎꯆꯦꯁꯤꯡ ꯐꯣꯡꯂꯤ꯫ ꯎꯠꯇꯔ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯗꯦꯁꯅ ꯄꯥꯎꯆꯦ ꯃꯁꯤꯡ 13,065
ꯄꯨꯊꯣꯛꯇꯨꯅ ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥꯒꯤ ꯃꯅꯨꯡꯗ ꯈ꯭ꯋꯥꯏꯗꯒꯤ ꯌꯥꯝꯅ ꯄꯥꯎꯆꯦ ꯄꯨꯊꯣꯛꯄ
ꯁ꯭ꯇꯦꯠ ꯑꯣꯏꯔꯤ꯫ ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥꯗ ꯍꯤꯟꯗꯤ ꯂꯣꯟꯗ ꯐꯣꯡꯕ ꯄꯥꯎꯆꯦꯒꯤ
ꯃꯁꯤꯡ 32,793 ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯏꯪꯂꯤꯁꯗ ꯐꯣꯡꯕ 11,478 ꯑꯃꯗꯤ ꯂꯣꯜ
ꯑꯅꯤ (ꯕꯥꯏꯂꯤꯡꯒꯨꯑꯦꯜ) 5643 ꯑꯣꯏꯗꯨꯅ ꯃꯀꯣꯛ ꯃꯊꯪ ꯇꯥꯔꯤ꯫
ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥꯗ ꯀꯥꯁꯃꯤꯔ ꯅꯠꯇꯅ ꯈ꯭ꯋꯥꯏꯗꯒꯤ ꯃꯔꯨꯑꯣꯏꯕ
(ꯄ꯭ꯔꯤꯟꯁꯤꯄꯥꯜ) ꯂꯣꯟꯗ ꯄꯥꯎꯆꯦꯁꯤꯡ ꯄꯨꯊꯣꯛꯅꯔꯤ꯫
ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥꯗ ꯅꯨꯡꯇꯤꯒꯤ ꯄꯨꯊꯣꯛꯄ ꯄꯥꯎꯆꯦꯁꯤꯡ:

ꯔꯦꯡꯛ ꯆꯦꯐꯣꯡ ꯂꯣꯟ ꯁꯥꯔꯀꯨꯂꯦꯁꯟ 1 ꯗ ꯇꯥꯏꯝꯁ ꯑꯣꯐ ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥ ꯏꯪꯂꯤꯁ 3,314,493
2 ꯗꯩꯅꯤꯛ ꯖꯥꯒꯔꯟ ꯍꯤꯟꯗꯤ 2,674,304
3 ꯃꯂꯌꯥꯂꯥ ꯃꯅꯣꯔꯃꯥ ꯃꯂꯌꯥꯂꯝ 2,129,934
4 ꯍꯤꯟꯗꯨꯁꯇꯥꯟ ꯍꯤꯟꯗꯤ 1,843,608
5 ꯏꯅꯥꯗꯨ ꯇꯦꯂꯦꯒꯨ 1,737,086
6 ꯗꯩꯅꯤꯛ ꯚꯥꯁꯀꯔ ꯍꯤꯟꯗꯤ 1,674,790
7 ꯑꯃꯔ ꯎꯖꯥꯂꯥ ꯍꯤꯟꯗꯤ 1,643,828
8 ꯗꯦꯂꯤ ꯊꯥꯟꯊꯤ ꯇꯥꯃꯤꯜ 1,614,471
9 ꯔꯥꯖꯁꯊꯥꯟ ꯄꯇ꯭ꯔꯤꯀꯥ ꯍꯤꯟꯗꯤ 1,590,409
10 ꯗ ꯍꯤꯟꯗꯨ ꯏꯪꯂꯤꯁ 1,558,379
15 ꯍꯤꯟꯗꯨꯁꯇꯥꯟ ꯇꯥꯏꯝꯁ ꯏꯪꯂꯤꯁ 1,321,710
17 ꯑꯥꯅꯟꯗ ꯕꯖꯥꯔ ꯄꯇ꯭ꯔꯤꯀꯥ ꯕꯦꯡꯒꯂꯤ 1,217,082
20 ꯗꯤꯅꯥꯃꯂꯥꯔ ꯇꯥꯃꯤꯜ 865,011
ꯗꯤꯃꯣꯀ꯭ꯔꯦꯁꯤꯒꯤ ꯃꯔꯤꯁꯨꯕ ꯌꯨꯝꯕꯤ ꯑꯣꯏꯗꯨꯅ ꯂꯩꯉꯥꯛ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ
ꯈꯨꯟꯅꯥꯏꯒꯤ ꯋꯥꯐꯝꯁꯤꯡꯗ ꯃꯔꯨꯑꯣꯏꯕ ꯊꯧꯗꯥꯡ ꯂꯧꯔꯤꯕ ꯑꯃꯗꯤ
ꯑꯐꯕ ꯂꯩꯉꯥꯛ ꯈꯨꯟꯅꯥꯏꯒꯤ ꯀꯥꯡꯂꯣꯟ ꯂꯤꯡꯅꯕ ꯍꯣꯠꯅꯕꯗ ꯃꯤꯌꯥꯝꯒꯤ
ꯑꯅꯤꯡꯕ ꯑꯄꯥꯝꯕ (ꯄꯕ꯭ꯂꯤꯛ ꯑꯣꯄꯤꯅꯤꯌꯟ) ꯁꯥꯒꯠꯄꯗ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯦꯁꯅ
ꯆꯥꯎꯔꯕ ꯊꯧꯗꯥꯡ ꯂꯧꯔꯤꯕꯅꯤ꯫ ꯍꯥꯏꯅꯔꯤ, ꯑꯐꯕ ꯄꯥꯎꯆꯦ ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯁꯤ ꯂꯩꯄꯥꯛ
(ꯅꯦꯁꯟ) ꯑꯃꯅ ꯃꯁꯥꯃꯛꯇ ꯋꯥ ꯉꯥꯡꯕꯅꯤ꯫ ꯑꯃꯦꯔꯤꯀꯥꯒꯤ ꯅꯤꯡꯇꯝ ꯂꯥꯟ
ꯃꯇꯨꯡꯗ ꯒ꯭ꯔꯦꯠ ꯕ꯭ꯔꯤꯇꯦꯟꯒꯤ ꯃꯥꯌꯣꯛꯇ ‘ꯗꯤꯀ꯭ꯂꯥꯔꯦꯁꯟ ꯑꯣꯐ
ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯄꯦꯟꯗꯦꯟꯠ’ꯁ ꯂꯥꯎꯊꯣꯛꯅꯕ ꯃꯥꯡꯖꯤꯜ ꯊꯪꯅ ꯍꯣꯠꯅꯈꯤꯕ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ
ꯑꯃꯦꯔꯤꯀꯥꯒꯤ 3 ꯁꯨꯕ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯁꯤꯗꯦꯟꯠ, ꯊꯣꯃꯥꯁ ꯖꯦꯐꯔꯁꯟꯅ
ꯍꯥꯏꯈꯤꯕꯗꯨꯅꯤ: ‘ꯄꯥꯎꯆꯦꯁꯤꯡ ꯌꯥꯎꯗꯕ ꯂꯩꯉꯥꯛ ꯂꯤꯡꯕ ꯅꯠꯇ꯭ꯔꯒ ꯂꯩꯉꯥꯛ
ꯌꯥꯎꯗꯕ ꯄꯥꯎꯆꯦꯁꯤꯡ ꯂꯤꯡꯕ ꯍꯥꯏꯕ ꯋꯥꯐꯝ ꯑꯅꯤꯒꯤ ꯃꯅꯨꯡꯗ ꯑꯃ ꯈꯜꯂꯨ
ꯍꯥꯏꯅ ꯑꯩꯉꯣꯟꯗ ꯍꯥꯏꯔꯛꯂꯕꯗꯤ ꯑꯩꯍꯥꯛꯅ ꯑꯀꯣꯟꯕꯒꯤ ꯋꯥꯐꯝ ꯑꯁꯤ
ꯈꯟꯕꯗ ꯀꯔꯤꯒꯨꯝꯕ ꯑꯃꯠꯇ ꯆꯤꯡꯅꯕ ꯂꯩꯔꯣꯏ꯫’ ꯑꯗꯨꯕꯨ ꯃꯦꯗꯤꯌꯥꯅ ꯃꯊꯧ
ꯄꯥꯡꯊꯣꯛꯅꯕ ꯍꯣꯠꯅꯕꯗ ꯅꯪꯂꯤꯕ ꯑꯋꯥ ꯆꯩꯊꯦꯡ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯆꯠꯅ ꯀꯥꯡꯂꯣꯟ
ꯊꯧꯑꯣꯏꯗꯕ (ꯌꯦꯜꯂꯣ ꯖꯔꯅꯦꯂꯤꯖꯝ) ꯂꯩꯔꯛꯄ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯃꯦꯗꯤꯌꯥꯒꯤ
ꯅꯤꯡꯇꯝꯕꯕꯨ ꯆꯌꯦꯠꯅꯍꯜꯂꯛꯄ ꯑꯁꯤꯅꯆꯤꯡꯕꯅ ꯃꯦꯗꯤꯌꯥꯒꯤ ꯃꯥꯏꯊꯣꯡꯗ
ꯃꯥꯏꯍꯤꯡ ꯀꯥꯍꯜꯂꯤꯕꯅꯤ꯫
ꯃꯥꯂꯦꯝꯒꯤ ꯊꯥꯛꯇ ꯄꯥꯎꯆꯦ ꯄꯣꯛꯂꯛꯈꯤꯕꯒꯤ ꯄꯨꯋꯥꯔꯤ ꯑꯁꯤꯗꯤ ꯆꯤꯅꯥꯅ
ꯏꯍꯥꯟ ꯍꯥꯟꯅ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯤꯟꯇꯤꯡ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯦꯁꯇ ꯀꯨꯝꯖꯥ 868 ꯗ ꯅꯝꯕ ꯂꯥꯏꯔꯤꯛ
ꯄꯨꯊꯣꯔꯛꯈꯤꯕꯗꯒꯤ ꯄꯨꯋꯥꯔꯤꯗ ꯂꯥꯆꯟꯕ ꯍꯧꯅꯔꯛꯏ꯫ ꯆꯤꯅꯥꯗ ꯃꯇꯝ
ꯑꯁꯤꯋꯥꯏꯗ ‘ꯀꯣꯔꯠ ꯒꯦꯖꯦꯠ’ ꯀꯧꯕ ꯄꯥꯎꯆꯦ ꯑꯃ ꯄꯨꯊꯣꯔꯛꯈꯤ, ꯃꯁꯤꯅ
ꯃꯥꯂꯦꯝꯒꯤ ꯈ꯭ꯋꯥꯏꯗꯒꯤ ꯂꯤꯔꯕ (ꯑꯍꯥꯟꯕ) ꯄꯥꯎꯆꯦꯅꯤ ꯍꯥꯏꯅ ꯂꯧꯅꯔꯤ꯫
ꯖꯔꯃꯅꯤꯗ ꯖꯣꯍꯥꯟ ꯒꯨꯇꯦꯕꯔꯒ ꯀꯧꯕ ꯑꯃꯅ ꯀꯨꯝꯖꯥ 1455 ꯗ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯤꯟꯇꯤꯡ
ꯄ꯭ꯔꯦꯁꯗ ꯅꯝꯗꯨꯅ ꯂꯥꯏꯔꯤꯛ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯖꯔꯅꯦꯜ ꯀꯌꯥ ꯄꯨꯊꯣꯛꯈꯤ꯫ ꯑꯁꯨꯝꯅ
ꯌꯨꯔꯣꯞꯀꯤ ꯂꯩꯄꯥꯛ ꯀꯌꯥꯗ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯤꯟꯇꯤꯡ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯦꯁ ꯀꯌꯥ ꯂꯤꯡꯈꯠꯂꯛꯄꯗꯒꯤ
ꯖꯔꯅꯦꯂꯤꯖꯝꯒꯤ ꯏꯍꯧ ꯑꯁꯤ ꯄꯥꯛꯁꯟꯅ ꯁꯟꯗꯣꯔꯛꯈꯤ꯫

ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥꯗꯗꯤ ꯃꯨꯒꯣꯜ ꯂꯩꯉꯥꯛ ꯃꯇꯝꯗ ꯏ-ꯄꯥꯎ ꯏꯗꯨꯅ ꯁꯟꯗꯣꯛꯄ ꯍꯧꯈꯤ꯫ ꯃꯄꯥꯟ ꯂꯩꯄꯥꯛꯇꯒꯤ ꯀꯨꯝꯖꯥ 1550 ꯗ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯤꯟꯇꯤꯡ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯦꯁ
ꯄꯨꯔꯛꯇꯨꯅ ꯂꯥꯏꯅꯤꯡ ꯂꯥꯏꯁꯣꯜꯒꯤ ꯂꯥꯏꯔꯤꯛꯁꯤꯡ ꯅꯝꯕ ꯍꯧꯈꯤꯕꯒꯤ
ꯔꯦꯀꯣꯔꯗ ꯐꯪꯉꯤ꯫ ꯑꯗꯨꯕꯨ ꯆꯦꯟꯅꯤꯡꯉꯥꯏ ꯑꯣꯏꯗꯕ (ꯑꯣꯐꯤꯁꯤꯑꯦꯜ)
ꯔꯦꯀꯣꯔꯗꯗꯗꯤ 18 ꯁꯨꯕ ꯆꯍꯤ ꯆꯥꯗ ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥꯗ ꯄꯥꯎꯆꯦ ꯄꯣꯛꯈꯤ꯫
ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥꯒꯤ ꯑꯍꯥꯟꯕ ꯄꯦꯎꯆꯦ- ‘ꯍꯤꯀꯤ’ꯖ ꯕꯦꯡꯒꯜ ꯒꯦꯖꯦꯠ’ ꯅꯠꯇ꯭ꯔꯒ
‘ꯀꯜꯀꯇꯥ ꯖꯦꯅꯔꯦꯜ ꯑꯦꯗꯚꯇꯥꯏꯖꯔ’ ꯑꯁꯤ ꯖꯅꯨꯋꯥꯔꯤ 29, 1980 ꯗ ꯖꯦꯝꯁ
ꯑꯒꯁꯇꯁ ꯍꯤꯛꯀꯤꯅ ꯑꯦꯗꯤꯠ ꯇꯧꯗꯨꯅ ꯐꯣꯡꯈꯤ꯫ ꯍꯤꯀꯤ’ꯖ ꯕꯦꯡꯒꯜ
ꯒꯦꯖꯦꯠ ꯑꯁꯤ ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥꯒꯤ ꯃꯅꯨꯡꯗ ꯈ꯭ꯋꯥꯏꯗꯒꯤ ꯑꯍꯥꯟꯕ ꯑꯣꯏꯅ ꯎꯅꯝ
ꯇꯧꯗꯨꯅ ꯏꯪꯂꯤꯁꯗ ꯐꯣꯡꯕ ꯑꯍꯥꯟꯕ ꯄꯥꯎ-ꯆꯦꯅꯤ꯫
ꯃꯈꯥ ꯇꯥꯔꯛꯄꯗ- ꯕꯣꯝꯕꯦ ꯍꯦꯔꯥꯜꯗ (1789), ꯕꯣꯝꯕꯦ ꯀꯣꯔꯤꯌꯔ,
ꯇꯥꯏꯝꯁ ꯑꯣꯐ ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥ (1838), ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥ ꯒꯦꯖꯦꯠ, ꯀꯜꯀꯇꯥ ꯒꯦꯖꯦꯠ,
ꯃꯗ꯭ꯔꯥꯖ ꯀꯣꯔꯤꯌꯔ, ꯕꯣꯝꯕꯦ ꯍꯦꯔꯥꯜꯗ ꯅꯆꯤꯡꯕ ꯃꯊꯪ ꯃꯊꯪ ꯄꯣꯛꯈꯤ꯫
ꯄꯥꯎꯆꯦꯁꯤꯡ ꯑꯁꯤꯅ ꯕ꯭ꯔꯤꯇꯤꯁ ꯂꯩꯉꯥꯛ ꯃꯈꯥꯗ ꯂꯩꯔꯤꯕ ꯂꯝꯗꯝꯁꯤꯡꯒꯤ
ꯏ-ꯄꯥꯎ ꯐꯣꯡꯈꯤ꯫ ꯇꯥꯏꯝꯁ ꯑꯣꯐ ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥ ꯑꯁꯤ ꯕꯦꯟꯅꯦꯠ, ꯀꯣꯜꯃꯦꯟ
ꯑꯦꯟ ꯀꯝꯄꯦꯅꯤꯅ ‘ꯗ ꯕꯣꯝꯕꯦ ꯇꯥꯏꯝꯁ’ ꯍꯥꯏꯅ ꯀꯨꯝꯖꯥ 1838 ꯗ
ꯂꯤꯡꯈꯠꯈꯤꯕꯅꯤ꯫ ꯇꯥꯏꯝꯁ ꯒ꯭ꯔꯨꯎ ꯑꯁꯤꯅ ‘ꯗ ꯏꯀꯣꯅꯣꯃꯤꯛ ꯇꯥꯏꯝꯁ’
(1961), ‘ꯅꯕꯚꯥꯔꯠ ꯇꯥꯏꯝꯁ’ (ꯍꯤꯟꯗꯤ ꯂꯣꯟ) ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ‘ꯃꯍꯥꯔꯥꯁꯇ꯭ꯔ
ꯇꯥꯏꯝꯁ’ (ꯃꯔꯥꯊꯤ ꯂꯣꯟ) ꯄꯨꯊꯣꯛꯈꯤꯕꯅꯤ꯫
ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥꯒꯤ ꯂꯣꯟꯗ ꯈ꯭ꯋꯥꯏꯗꯒꯤ ꯏꯍꯥꯟ ꯍꯥꯟꯅ ꯐꯣꯡꯈꯤꯕ ꯄꯥꯎꯆꯦꯗꯤ
‘ꯁꯃꯥꯆꯥꯔ ꯗꯔꯄꯟ’ (ꯕꯦꯡꯒꯤ- ꯃꯦ 23, 1818) ꯅꯤ꯫ ꯍꯤꯟꯗꯤꯒꯤ ꯑꯍꯥꯟꯕ
ꯄꯥꯎꯆꯦꯗꯤ ‘ꯁꯃꯥꯆꯥꯔ ꯁꯨꯙꯥ ꯕꯔꯁꯟ’ (1854) ꯅꯤ꯫ ꯀꯅꯥꯔꯥꯒꯤ ꯑꯍꯥꯟꯕ ꯄꯥꯎ
ꯆꯦꯗꯤ ꯍꯔꯃꯦꯟ ꯚꯣꯒꯂꯤꯡ ꯀꯧꯕ ꯕꯁꯦꯜ ꯃꯤꯁꯟꯒꯤ ꯂꯥꯏꯅꯤꯡ ꯁꯟꯗꯣꯛꯄ
ꯅꯨꯄꯥ ꯑꯃꯅ ꯃꯥꯡꯒꯂꯣꯔꯗ ꯎꯅꯝ ꯇꯧꯗꯨꯅ ꯐꯣꯡꯈꯤꯕ ‘ꯃꯪꯒꯂꯨꯔ ꯁꯃꯥꯆꯥꯔ’ (1843)
ꯑꯁꯤꯅꯤ꯫ ꯃꯂꯌꯥꯂꯝꯒꯤ ꯑꯍꯥꯟꯕ ꯄꯥꯎꯆꯦꯗꯤ ꯗꯥꯛꯇꯔ ꯍꯦꯔꯃꯦꯟ
ꯒꯨꯟꯗꯥꯔꯇꯅ ꯐꯣꯡꯈꯤꯕ ‘ꯔꯥꯖ꯭ꯌ ꯁꯃꯥꯆꯥꯔꯝ’ (1849) ꯅꯤ꯫ ꯃꯔꯥꯊꯤ ꯄꯥꯎꯆꯦ
ꯁꯣꯔꯁ: ꯑꯣꯗꯤꯠ ꯕ꯭ꯌꯨꯔꯣ ꯑꯣꯐ ꯁꯥꯀꯨꯂꯦꯁꯟꯁ, ꯖꯨꯂꯥꯏ-ꯗꯤꯁꯦꯝꯕꯔ 2012
ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥꯒꯤ ꯆꯌꯣꯜ ꯆꯦꯐꯣꯡꯁꯤꯡꯒꯤ ꯃꯀꯣꯛ ꯃꯊꯪ ꯇꯥꯕꯁꯤꯡꯗꯤ-
‘ꯗ ꯁꯟꯗꯦ ꯇꯥꯏꯝꯁ ꯑꯣꯐ ꯏꯟꯗꯤꯌꯥ’ (ꯏꯪꯂꯤꯁ) ꯀꯤ ꯁꯥꯔꯀꯨꯂꯦꯁꯟ
1,071,963; ꯔꯕꯤꯕꯥꯁ꯭ꯔꯤꯌꯥ ꯍꯤꯟꯗꯨꯁꯇꯥꯟ (ꯍꯤꯟꯗꯤ) ꯒꯤ
1,006,912; ꯔꯕꯤꯕꯥꯔ ꯂꯣꯀꯁꯇꯥ (ꯃꯔꯥꯊꯤ) 363,006
ꯀꯃꯔꯁꯪꯒꯁꯇꯥꯟ (ꯕꯦꯡꯒꯂꯤ) 333,447; ꯃꯥꯔꯊꯨꯔꯚꯨꯃꯤ
ꯕꯣꯓꯤꯜꯕꯔꯊꯥ (ꯃꯂꯌꯥꯂꯝ) 333,022 ꯑꯁꯤꯅꯤ꯫
ꯃꯦꯒꯥꯖꯤꯟꯁꯤꯡꯒꯤ ꯃꯅꯨꯡꯗ ꯖꯥꯅꯤꯊꯥ (ꯃꯂꯌꯥꯂꯝ) ꯆꯦꯐꯣꯡ ꯃꯁꯤꯡ
687,175; ꯃꯂꯌꯥꯂꯝ ꯃꯅꯣꯔꯃꯥ (ꯃꯂꯌꯥꯂꯝ) 452,610; ꯃꯦꯔꯤ ꯁꯥꯍꯦꯂꯤ
(ꯍꯤꯟꯗꯤ) 317,645; ꯒ꯭ꯔꯤꯍꯂꯛꯁꯃꯤ (ꯍꯤꯟꯗꯤ) 282,168;
ꯒ꯭ꯔꯤꯍꯂꯛꯁꯃꯤ (ꯃꯂꯌꯥꯂꯝ) 246,250 ꯑꯁꯤꯅꯆꯤꯡꯕ ꯄꯟꯕ ꯌꯥꯏ꯫
(ꯁꯣꯔꯁ: ꯑꯦ ꯗꯤ ꯁꯤ-2012)꯫

ꯏꯔꯝꯗꯝ ꯃꯅꯤꯅꯄꯨꯔꯗ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯦꯁꯀꯤ ꯏꯍꯧ ꯂꯥꯛꯈꯤꯕꯁꯤ ꯀꯨꯝꯖꯥ
1908 ꯗ ꯏꯍꯥꯟ ꯍꯥꯟꯕ ꯑꯣꯏꯅ ꯈꯣꯝꯗ꯭ꯔꯥꯝ ꯁꯅꯥꯖꯥꯎꯕ, ꯍꯤꯖꯝ ꯆꯥꯎꯕ
ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯆꯤꯔꯣꯝ ꯒꯟꯙꯥ ꯁꯤꯡꯍ ꯑꯍꯨꯝꯅ ꯄꯨꯟꯁꯤꯟꯅꯔꯒ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯗ
ꯄ꯭ꯔꯦꯁ ꯑꯃ ꯂꯤꯡꯈꯠꯅꯕꯒꯤꯗꯃꯛꯇ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔ ꯁ꯭ꯇꯦꯠ ꯗꯔꯕꯥꯔꯗꯒꯤ
ꯑꯌꯥꯕ ꯌꯥꯊꯪ ꯍꯦꯛ ꯐꯪꯕꯒ ꯃꯈꯣꯏꯅ ꯀ꯭ꯋꯥꯀꯩꯊꯦꯜꯗ ‘ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯦꯁ’
ꯀꯧꯕ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯤꯟꯇꯤꯡ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯦꯁ ꯑꯃ ꯂꯤꯡꯈꯠꯈꯤ꯫ ꯃꯗꯨꯗ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔ
ꯂꯩꯉꯥꯛꯀꯤ ꯆꯦꯆꯥꯡ ꯅꯝꯕ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯃꯤꯇꯩꯂꯣꯟꯒꯤ ꯂꯥꯏꯔꯤꯛ ꯃꯆꯥ
ꯃꯆꯥꯁꯤꯡ ꯅꯝꯗꯨꯅ ꯄꯨꯊꯣꯛꯂꯝꯃꯤ꯫ ꯑꯅꯤꯁꯨꯕ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯤꯟꯇꯤꯡ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯦꯁꯅ
ꯀꯨꯝꯖꯥ 1918 ꯗ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔ ꯂꯩꯉꯥꯛꯅ ꯂꯤꯡꯈꯠꯈꯤꯕꯗꯨꯅꯤ꯫ ꯃꯗꯨꯗ
ꯂꯩꯉꯥꯛꯀꯤ ꯆꯦ-ꯆꯥꯡꯁꯤꯡ, ꯁ꯭ꯀꯨꯜ ꯇꯦꯛꯁ ꯕꯨꯛꯁꯤꯡ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔ
ꯁ꯭ꯇꯦꯠ ꯒꯦꯖꯦꯠ ꯅꯝꯗꯨꯅ ꯐꯣꯡꯈꯤ꯫ ꯑꯍꯨꯝꯁꯨꯕ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯤꯟꯇꯤꯡ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯦꯁꯗꯤ
ꯗꯥꯛꯇꯔ ꯅꯤꯡꯊꯧꯖꯝ ꯂꯩꯔꯦꯟꯅ ꯀꯨꯝꯖꯥ 1930 ꯗ ꯂꯤꯡꯈꯠꯈꯤꯕ ‘ꯌꯀꯥꯏꯔꯣꯜ
ꯄ꯭ꯔꯦꯁ’ ꯑꯗꯨꯅꯤ꯫ ꯃꯁꯤꯗ ꯊꯥꯒꯤ ꯆꯦꯐꯣꯡ ‘ꯌꯀꯥꯏꯔꯣꯜ’ ꯐꯣꯡꯈꯤ꯫ 4
ꯁꯨꯕ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯦꯁꯅ ꯑꯔꯥꯝꯕꯝ ꯗꯔꯦꯟꯗ꯭ꯔꯖꯤꯠꯅ ꯁꯒꯣꯜꯕꯟꯗ 1932 ꯗ
ꯂꯤꯡꯈꯠꯈꯤꯕ ‘ꯆꯨꯔꯆꯥꯟꯗ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯤꯟꯇꯤꯡ ꯋꯥꯔꯛꯁ’ ꯅꯤ꯫ ꯃꯉꯥꯁꯨꯕꯅ
ꯍꯋꯥꯏꯕꯝ ꯅꯕꯗ꯭ꯋꯤꯞꯆꯟꯗ꯭ꯔꯅ ꯎꯔꯤꯄꯣꯛꯇ 1937 ꯗ ꯂꯤꯡꯈꯠꯈꯤꯕ
‘ꯊꯥꯕꯜ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯤꯟꯇꯤꯡ ꯋꯥꯔꯛꯁ’ ꯅꯤ꯫

ꯑꯗꯨꯕꯨ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯗ ꯖꯔꯅꯦꯂꯤꯖꯝꯒꯤ ꯏꯍꯧꯗꯤ ꯍꯤꯖꯝ ꯏꯔꯥꯕꯠꯅ ꯈꯨꯠꯅ ꯏꯔꯒ ꯀꯥꯔꯕꯣꯟ ꯀꯄꯤ ꯑꯣꯏꯅ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯁꯥꯏꯀ꯭ꯂꯣꯁ꯭ꯇꯥꯏꯜ ꯇꯧꯔꯒ ꯀꯨꯝꯖꯥ
1922 ꯗ ꯐꯣꯡꯈꯤꯕ ‘ꯃꯩꯇꯩ ꯆꯅꯨ’ ꯅꯤ꯫ ꯗꯩꯅꯤꯛ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔ (1931),
ꯚꯥꯒ꯭ꯌꯕꯇꯤ ꯄꯇ꯭ꯔꯤꯀꯥ (1946), ꯄ꯭ꯔꯖꯥꯇꯟꯇ꯭ꯔ (1946), ꯄ꯭ꯔꯖꯥ (1947),
ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯏꯒꯤ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔ (1948), ꯉꯁꯤ (1948), ꯂꯧꯃꯤ (1949), ꯖꯟꯃꯚꯨꯃꯤ
ꯄꯇ꯭ꯔꯤꯀꯥ (1950), ꯑꯅꯧꯕ ꯃꯇꯝ (1951), ꯃꯥꯗꯔ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔ (1952),
ꯑꯅꯧꯕ ꯁꯃꯥꯖ (1953), ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔ ꯖꯅꯇꯥ (1957), ꯃꯇꯝ (1957), ꯏꯍꯧ,
ꯁꯅꯥꯂꯩꯄꯥꯛ, ꯅꯍꯥꯔꯣꯜꯒꯤ ꯊꯧꯗꯥꯡ, ꯏꯔꯩꯄꯥꯛꯅꯆꯤꯡꯕ ꯄꯥꯎꯆꯦꯁꯤꯡ
ꯐꯣꯡꯅꯔꯛꯈꯤ꯫ (ꯆꯤꯡꯂꯝꯒꯤ ꯌꯥꯎꯅ ꯑꯇꯩ ꯑꯅꯧꯕꯁꯤꯡ ꯍꯥꯞꯇ꯭ꯔꯤ) ꯄꯨꯟꯅ
ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯗ ꯅꯨꯡꯇꯤꯒꯤ ꯆꯦꯐꯣꯡ 26 ꯂꯩ꯫ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔꯤ 13, ꯏꯪꯂꯤꯁ 4,
ꯇꯥꯡꯈꯨꯜ 2, ꯀꯨꯀꯤ 1, ꯃꯥꯔ 1, ꯃꯤꯖꯣ 1, ꯋꯥꯏꯐꯩ 1, ꯄꯥꯏꯇꯦ 2, ꯃꯤꯇꯩ
ꯃꯌꯦꯛꯀꯤ 1 ꯅꯤ꯫ ꯏꯂꯦꯛꯇ꯭ꯔꯣꯅꯤꯛꯁ ꯃꯦꯗꯤꯌꯥ 9, ꯅꯦꯁꯅꯦꯜ ꯄꯦꯄꯔ
ꯀꯔꯦꯁꯄꯣꯟꯗꯦꯟꯠ 12 ꯂꯩ꯫ ꯆꯌꯣꯜꯒꯤ ꯆꯦꯐꯣꯡ 8, ꯒꯚꯔꯟꯃꯦꯟꯠ
ꯃꯦꯗꯤꯌꯥ 7 ꯂꯩꯔꯤ꯫
ꯂꯨꯔꯤꯕꯗꯤ ꯃꯦꯗꯤꯌꯥꯒꯤ ꯅꯤꯡꯇꯝꯕ ꯁꯤꯡꯅꯔꯛꯂꯤꯕ ꯋꯥꯊꯣꯛꯁꯤꯡ
ꯑꯁꯤꯅꯤ꯫ ꯑꯣꯄꯣꯖꯤꯁꯟ ꯕꯦꯟꯁꯅ ꯐꯝꯂꯤꯕ ꯂꯟꯅꯥꯏ ꯃꯦꯗꯤꯌꯥꯅ ꯈꯨꯠꯂꯥꯏ
ꯄꯥꯏꯗꯨꯅ ꯃꯨꯛꯅꯕꯒꯤ ꯐꯤꯚꯝ ꯂꯩꯕ ꯁ꯭ꯇꯦꯠꯁꯤꯡꯗ ꯊꯦꯡꯅꯔꯤꯕ
ꯈꯨꯗꯣꯡꯆꯥꯗꯕꯁꯤꯡ ꯑꯀꯤꯕꯒꯤ ꯃꯁꯛꯅꯤ꯫ ꯍꯧꯈꯤꯕ ꯆꯍꯤꯁꯤꯡꯗ
ꯖꯔꯅꯦꯂꯤꯁꯠ ꯀꯌꯥꯒꯤ ꯄꯨꯟꯁꯤ ꯀꯦꯝꯈ꯭ꯔꯦ, ꯑꯋꯥꯕꯁꯤꯡ ꯃꯥꯌꯣꯛꯅꯈ꯭ꯔꯦ꯫
ꯉꯁꯤ ꯍꯌꯦꯡꯁꯨ ꯃꯥꯌꯣꯛꯅꯕ ꯇꯥꯔꯤꯕ꯭ꯔ? ꯃꯦꯗꯤꯌꯥꯒꯤ ꯅꯤꯡꯇꯝꯕꯅ
ꯄꯤꯔꯛꯀꯗꯕ ꯌꯥꯏꯐ ꯅꯨꯡꯉꯥꯏꯕ, ꯆꯥꯎꯈꯠꯄ, ꯇꯪꯗꯨ ꯂꯩꯇꯥꯕ,
ꯗꯤꯃꯣꯀ꯭ꯔꯦꯁꯤꯒꯤ ꯃꯃꯜꯕꯨ ꯉꯁꯤꯒꯤ ꯆꯥꯎꯈꯠꯂꯕ ꯄꯨꯟꯁꯤ ꯃꯍꯤꯡꯗ
ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯏꯅ ꯈꯨꯠꯅ ꯂꯥꯝꯕ ꯐꯪꯗꯅ ꯇꯣꯛꯂꯒꯗ꯭ꯔ?

ꯋꯥꯏꯔꯨ ꯋꯥꯏꯔꯨꯆꯕꯗ
ꯍꯣꯡꯕ
ꯂꯩꯄꯥꯛ ꯃꯆꯥ ꯃꯁꯦꯜ ꯍꯨꯟꯅꯔꯤ, ꯆꯩꯅꯔꯤ, ꯂꯥꯎꯅꯔꯤ...꯫ ꯐꯥꯒꯤ ꯍꯥꯏꯕꯁꯤꯗꯤ
ꯑꯗꯨꯝ ꯌꯥꯅꯕ ꯇꯥꯕꯅꯤ꯫ ꯈꯔ ꯈꯔ ꯀꯣꯝꯊꯣꯛꯅꯕ ꯇꯝꯕ ꯇꯥꯕꯅꯤ꯫ ꯋꯍꯪ
ꯑꯃ ꯂꯩ... ꯑꯗꯨꯛ ꯔꯕ ꯃꯅꯤꯄꯨꯔ ꯑꯁꯤꯗ ꯀꯗꯥꯏꯗꯒꯤ ꯐꯥꯒꯤ ꯆꯡꯕ
ꯉꯝꯒꯗꯕꯒꯦ? ꯌꯥꯏ, ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯏ ꯐꯥꯒꯤ ꯄꯥꯝꯕ ꯐꯨꯔꯨꯞꯅꯤ, ꯑꯈꯪ ꯑꯍꯩ
ꯃꯥꯟꯈꯤꯅꯤ꯫ ꯐꯥꯒꯤ ꯍꯩꯕ ꯃꯤꯑꯣꯏ ꯀꯌꯥ ꯂꯩꯔꯝꯃꯤ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯏꯒꯤ ꯄꯣꯛꯅꯐꯝ
ꯑꯁꯤꯗ꯫ ꯃꯁꯤꯡ ꯋꯤꯠꯍꯦꯜꯗ ꯊꯝꯖꯔꯦ ꯑꯐꯥꯎꯕ ꯃꯌꯥꯝꯗꯨ... ꯍꯧꯖꯤꯛ
ꯑꯧꯅꯕ ꯃꯤꯔꯣꯜꯒꯤ ꯐꯥꯒꯤ ꯍꯩꯕ ꯃꯤ ꯊꯣꯔꯛꯄ ꯂꯦꯞꯇꯦ...ꯄ꯭ꯔꯤ ꯆꯥꯎꯕ-
ꯇꯣꯝꯕꯤ- ꯕꯥꯕꯨ ꯑꯃꯗꯤ ꯄꯣꯁꯠ -ꯆꯥꯎꯕ-ꯇꯣꯝꯕꯤ-ꯕꯥꯕꯨ ꯍꯥꯏꯕ ꯌꯥꯏ꯫
ꯅꯣꯛꯄꯕꯨꯗꯤ ꯄꯥꯝꯃꯒ ꯐꯥꯒꯤꯗꯤ ꯏꯊꯣꯛ ꯊꯣꯔꯛꯇꯦ꯫ ꯊꯣꯔꯛꯂꯕꯁꯨ
ꯃꯔꯥꯡ ꯀꯥꯏꯗ꯭ꯔꯦ꯫ ꯅꯨꯡꯁꯤ ꯅꯨꯡꯑꯣꯜ ꯃꯤꯀꯞ ꯃꯤꯔꯥꯎꯈꯣꯜ ꯉꯥꯛꯇ
ꯉꯥꯏꯔꯦ꯫ ꯐꯤꯂꯝ ꯑꯃꯇꯪ ꯌꯦꯡꯕꯗ ꯃꯤꯍꯨꯜ ꯆꯦꯟꯈꯠꯄ, ꯈꯣꯏꯗꯧ
ꯁꯥꯎꯒꯠꯄ, ꯏ ꯀꯥꯕ, ꯄꯤ ꯇꯥꯕ ꯍꯦꯛꯇ ꯃꯑꯣꯏꯔꯝꯃꯤ꯫ ꯕꯣꯅꯤꯒ
ꯀꯕꯣꯛꯂꯩ ꯏꯅꯥꯎꯆꯥꯒ, ꯖꯣꯁꯦꯐꯀ ꯔꯪꯒꯤꯂꯥꯜꯒ, ꯍꯦꯃꯟꯇꯒ, ꯀꯨꯟꯖꯔꯥꯖꯒ
ꯄꯣꯛꯂꯛꯂꯝꯕꯅ ꯄꯣꯛꯅꯐ ꯑꯁꯤ ꯌꯥꯝꯅ ꯅꯨꯡꯉꯥꯏꯕ ꯉꯝꯂꯤꯕꯅꯤ...꯫
ꯃꯃꯤꯡ ꯄꯜꯂꯨꯗ꯭ꯔꯕꯁꯨ ꯑꯅꯧꯕ, ꯑꯔꯤꯕ ꯐꯥꯒꯤ ꯇꯧꯕ ꯂꯤꯂꯥ ꯇꯧꯕ ꯃꯤ
ꯀꯌꯥꯅꯤ꯫ ꯅꯣꯡꯃ ꯃꯈꯣꯏꯒꯤ ꯃꯔꯝꯗ ꯏꯒꯦ ꯈꯟꯖꯔꯤ꯫ ꯂꯥꯏ ꯌꯦꯛꯂꯒ,
ꯂꯤꯂꯥ ꯁꯥꯟꯅꯔꯒ, ꯏꯁꯩ ꯁꯛꯂꯒ ꯐꯥꯒꯤ ꯇꯧꯗꯨꯅ ꯂꯩꯄꯥꯛ ꯑꯁꯤ ꯐꯅ ꯌꯥꯝ
ꯆꯨꯝꯊꯣꯛꯄ ꯌꯥꯅꯤ꯫ ꯌꯥꯍꯧ ꯊꯦꯡꯕꯤ ꯃꯃꯧꯗꯨ ꯃꯅꯦꯝꯕꯣꯛꯅ ꯆꯕꯦꯡ ꯆꯕꯦꯡ
ꯉꯥꯡꯗꯧ ꯁꯔꯨꯛ, ꯏꯕꯦꯝꯃ ꯏꯅꯦꯝ ꯆꯥ ꯂꯣꯟꯕ ꯂꯣꯏꯔꯦ, ꯃꯄꯥꯟꯗ ꯂꯩꯔꯦ
ꯊꯛꯂꯁꯤ ꯂꯥꯎꯅꯦꯍꯦ ꯍꯥꯏꯗꯅ ꯁꯥꯎꯗꯅ ꯉꯥꯡꯂꯒ ꯌꯥꯍꯧ ꯉꯟꯕꯤ ꯆꯥ
ꯂꯣꯟꯒꯟꯕꯤ ꯑꯣꯏꯔꯛꯄ ꯌꯥꯏ꯫ ꯃꯧꯅꯦꯅ ꯌꯥꯍꯧ ꯏꯇꯦꯡ ꯍꯦꯛ ꯊꯦꯡꯂꯗꯅ
ꯃꯈꯣꯏ ꯃꯃꯥ ꯃꯄꯥ ꯑꯗꯨꯅ ꯋꯥꯔꯛꯂꯛꯇꯕ꯭ꯔ ꯀꯔꯤꯅꯣ ꯍꯥꯏꯔꯨꯔꯗꯤ ꯑꯗꯨꯝ
ꯂꯣꯏꯔꯦ꯫ ꯁꯤꯅꯤ ꯐꯥꯒꯤ...꯫

ꯉꯁꯥꯏꯒꯤꯗꯨꯗ ꯂꯥꯛꯆꯔꯤ- ꯑꯗꯨꯗꯒꯤ ꯐꯥꯒꯤ ꯍꯩꯕ ꯅꯨꯄꯥꯒꯤꯗꯤ ꯉꯔꯥꯡ ꯇꯥꯃꯣꯒ ꯒꯥꯔꯤ ꯃꯆꯥꯗ ꯆꯠꯝꯤꯟꯅꯕ ꯅꯨꯄꯥꯗꯨ ꯀꯅꯥꯅꯣ ꯍꯥꯏꯔꯨꯕꯗ
ꯍꯥꯏꯔꯛꯀꯅꯤ... ꯍꯦ ꯏꯕꯦꯝꯃ ꯉꯔꯥꯡ ꯑꯩꯅ ꯆꯠꯃꯤꯟꯅꯕꯤ ꯅꯨꯄꯤꯗꯨ ꯅꯪꯅꯦ..
ꯉꯔꯥꯡ ꯏꯕꯥꯅꯤ ꯒꯥꯔꯤ ꯃꯆꯥꯗ ꯅꯝꯕꯣꯜꯗ ꯊꯕꯛ ꯑꯃ ꯆꯠꯃꯤꯟꯅꯔꯤꯕꯗꯨꯗꯤ
ꯍꯥꯏꯔꯒ ꯐꯥꯛ ꯐꯥꯛ ꯍꯦꯛꯇ ꯅꯣꯛꯃꯤꯟꯅꯒꯤ꯫ ꯐꯥꯒꯤ ꯇꯧꯁꯦ...꯫ ꯐꯥꯒꯤ
ꯏꯁꯦ꯫ ꯐꯥꯒꯤ ꯌꯦꯡꯁꯦ...꯫

ꯕꯕꯤꯅꯥ ꯑꯦꯂꯥꯡꯕꯝ

“ꯃꯁꯤꯗꯁꯨ ꯅꯠꯇꯅ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯦꯁꯀꯤ ꯇꯉꯥꯏꯐꯗꯕ ꯊꯧꯗꯥꯡ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯦꯁꯅ ꯂꯧꯒꯗꯧꯕ ꯊꯧꯗꯥꯡ ꯑꯃꯁꯨꯡ ꯃꯁꯤꯒꯤ ꯅꯤꯡꯇꯝꯕꯗ ꯁꯤꯡꯅꯔꯛꯄ ꯀꯌꯥꯗꯒꯤ ꯉꯥꯛꯊꯣꯛꯄ, ꯅꯤꯡꯇꯝꯍꯟꯕ, ꯃꯁꯥꯒꯤ ꯃꯊꯧ ꯄꯥꯡꯊꯣꯛꯄꯗ ꯊꯋꯥꯏ ꯀꯠꯈ꯭ꯔꯕ ꯖꯔꯅꯦꯂꯤꯁꯠ ꯀꯌꯥꯒꯤ ꯃꯐꯝꯗ ꯏꯀꯥꯏ ꯈꯨꯝꯅꯕ ꯐꯣꯡꯗꯣꯛꯄꯒꯤ ꯇꯥꯟꯖꯥꯁꯨ ꯂꯧꯔꯤ꯫ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯦꯁꯀꯤ ꯅꯤꯡꯇꯝꯕꯗ ꯁꯤꯡꯅꯔꯛꯄ, ꯄꯥꯎꯆꯦ ꯐꯣꯡꯕꯗ ꯑꯊꯤꯡꯕ ꯊꯝꯗꯨꯅ ꯑꯋꯥꯕ ꯄꯤꯕ, ꯐꯥꯏꯟ ꯂꯧꯕ, ꯃꯦꯗꯤꯌꯥ ꯍꯥꯎꯁ ꯊꯣꯡ ꯂꯣꯟꯍꯟꯕ, ꯇꯥꯟꯊꯣꯛꯄ ꯖꯔꯅꯦꯂꯤꯁꯠ, ꯑꯦꯗꯤꯇꯔꯁ, ꯄꯕ꯭ꯂꯤꯁꯔꯁ ꯀꯌꯥꯗ ꯍꯔꯥꯁ ꯇꯧꯕ, ꯐꯨꯕ-ꯆꯩꯕ, ꯐꯥꯖꯤꯟ ꯄꯨꯟꯁꯤꯟꯕ, ꯍꯥꯠꯇꯣꯛꯄꯤꯕ ꯐꯥꯎꯕ ꯌꯥꯎꯈꯤꯕ ꯊꯧꯗꯣꯛ ꯀꯌꯥꯕꯨ ꯃꯤꯌꯥꯝꯗ ꯈꯪꯍꯟꯕꯒꯤ ꯈꯨꯗꯣꯡꯆꯥꯕ ꯂꯧꯏ꯫ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯦꯁꯀꯤ ꯅꯤꯡꯇꯝꯕ ꯉꯥꯛꯄ, ꯃꯈꯣꯏꯗ ꯏꯀꯥꯏ ꯈꯨꯝꯅꯕ ꯎꯠꯄ, ꯉꯥꯛꯄꯤ ꯁꯦꯟꯕꯤꯕꯒꯤ ꯊꯧꯗꯥꯡꯁꯨ ꯃꯥꯒꯤ ꯃꯥꯒꯤ ꯒꯚꯔꯟꯃꯦꯟꯠꯅ ꯂꯧꯕꯤꯅꯕ ꯑꯥꯄꯤꯜꯁꯨ ꯌꯨ ꯑꯦꯟꯅ ꯑꯁꯤꯒꯨꯝꯕ ꯅꯨꯃꯤꯠꯁꯤꯗ ꯐꯣꯡꯗꯣꯛꯏ꯫ ꯑꯃꯔꯣꯝꯗꯁꯨ, ꯂꯝꯁꯤꯗ ꯁꯤꯟꯐꯝ ꯑꯣꯏꯅ ꯄꯥꯏꯗꯨꯅ ꯂꯩꯔꯕ ꯖꯔꯅꯦꯂꯤꯁꯠꯁꯤꯡꯅ ꯄ꯭ꯔꯦꯁꯀꯤ ꯏꯊꯤꯛꯁ ꯉꯥꯛꯅ ꯆꯠꯅꯕ ꯋꯥꯐꯝꯁꯨ ꯐꯣꯡꯗꯣꯛꯂꯤ꯫”

“ꯂꯨꯔꯤꯕꯗꯤ ꯃꯦꯗꯤꯌꯥꯒꯤ ꯅꯤꯡꯇꯝꯕ ꯁꯤꯡꯅꯔꯛꯂꯤꯕ
ꯋꯥꯊꯣꯛꯁꯤꯡ ꯑꯁꯤꯅꯤ꯫ ꯑꯣꯄꯣꯖꯤꯁꯟ ꯕꯦꯟꯁꯅ ꯐꯝꯂꯤꯕ
ꯂꯟꯅꯥꯏ ꯃꯦꯗꯤꯌꯥꯅ ꯈꯨꯠꯂꯥꯏ ꯄꯥꯏꯗꯨꯅ ꯃꯨꯛꯅꯕꯒꯤ ꯐꯤꯚꯝ ꯂꯩꯕ
ꯁ꯭ꯇꯦꯠꯁꯤꯡꯗ ꯊꯦꯡꯅꯔꯤꯕ ꯈꯨꯗꯣꯡꯆꯥꯗꯕꯁꯤꯡ ꯑꯀꯤꯕꯒꯤ
ꯃꯁꯛꯅꯤ꯫ ꯍꯧꯈꯤꯕ ꯆꯍꯤꯁꯤꯡꯗ ꯖꯔꯅꯦꯂꯤꯁꯠ ꯀꯌꯥꯒꯤ ꯄꯨꯟꯁꯤ
ꯀꯦꯝꯈ꯭ꯔꯦ, ꯑꯋꯥꯕꯁꯤꯡ ꯃꯥꯌꯣꯛꯅꯈ꯭ꯔꯦ꯫ ꯉꯁꯤ ꯍꯌꯦꯡꯁꯨ
ꯃꯥꯌꯣꯛꯅꯕ ꯇꯥꯔꯤꯕ꯭ꯔ? ꯃꯦꯗꯤꯌꯥꯒꯤ ꯅꯤꯡꯇꯝꯕꯅ ꯄꯤꯔꯛꯀꯗꯕ
ꯌꯥꯏꯐ ꯅꯨꯡꯉꯥꯏꯕ, ꯆꯥꯎꯈꯠꯄ, ꯇꯪꯗꯨ ꯂꯩꯇꯥꯕ, ꯗꯤꯃꯣꯀ꯭ꯔꯦꯁꯤꯒꯤ
ꯃꯃꯜꯕꯨ ꯉꯁꯤꯒꯤ ꯆꯥꯎꯈꯠꯂꯕ ꯄꯨꯟꯁꯤ ꯃꯍꯤꯡꯗ ꯑꯩꯈꯣꯏꯅ
ꯈꯨꯠꯅ ꯂꯥꯝꯕ ꯐꯪꯗꯅ ꯇꯣꯛꯂꯒꯗ꯭ꯔ?”