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## **Editorial**

It is our pleasure that we have accomplished the task of publishing the fourth volume of Adarsha Multiple Campus Journal (AMC Journal) successfully. It is a product of teamwork. The campus family, Research Management Cell (RMC) officials, editorial team, authors, advisors, expert reviewers, designer and printing press official, national library team, and Tribuvan University Library team have contributed directly to the publication of this journal.

We would like to extend heartfelt gratitude to those who have contributed to this publication. Like in previous years, we announced for research-based articles from valued authors. We received eight articles. The editorial team screened them. A few articles did not meet requirements during the initial screening process. We provided the authors adequate feedback to improve their articles before peer review. The revised articles that incorporated the editors' feedback were forwarded to the expert reviewers. However, we had an insufficient number of articles. Therefore, we delayed the entire process. We do apologize to the authors who had submitted their manuscripts earlier.

We started the process of editing again once we received sufficient articles. We employed a double-blind peer review process. We did not acquainted authors to expert reviewers. Similarly, we did not introduced expert reviewers to the authors as well. Therefore, the probability of bias and favoritism was nominal. We could not include two articles in this journal because they had fundamental problems with research methods, citations, and references. The authors could not rework in our limited timeframe. We notified them accordingly. The editorial team sent feedback from the expert reviewers to the authors. When authors resent the articles by incorporating the feedback, we sent the articles to Nepali and English Education departments for language editing. It took time but the quality of the articles increased. The team found some language errors and problems with citations and references. We sent the feedback to the authors. We praise the valued authors for their rigorous efforts at three times. When they sent the revised articles, we edited the articles finally. We sent edited articles to the designer. Thus, we adopted a participatory and collaborative approach while collecting and improving the quality of the articles. There may exist errors despite our efforts. Therefore, we apologize for such errors. We cordially request our valued readers to point out the errors so that we might not repeat them in the next volume.

Despite the errors, we are a bit satisfied with the process we followed. It contributed to the collective learning not only within the campus family and faculty members but also among the academia who participated in the entire process of this publication and afterwards.

When we decided to publish this journal after a long delay, we got several articles. This time we employed a new approach of combined work of editor and expert reviewers. It resulted in quick and quality feedback to the authors. Therefore, we became successful in accomplishing the task in a short time.

We would like to thank former Campus Chief, Mr. Rudra Prasad Danai, current Campus Chief Ms. Muktikala Lamichhane, Prof. Dr. Ramesh Prasad Bhattarai, and Mr. Ramesh Bhattarai for their generous inspiration and support. This time we have included our advisors viz. Hon. Rajendra Prasad Pandey, Dr. Sadananda Kadel, Dr. Roj Nath Pandey, and Mr. Gebnath Neupane. We have got their valuable advice and support to accomplish the task. It is remarkable that Mr. Ishwari Prasad Dhungana also provided us with inputs to ensure the quality of this journal. We also remember the entire campus family for their generous support. Finally, we got quality and sincere support from Mr. Anjan Ghimire for appreciable design.

We hope an ardent participation of authors, expert reviewers, and other stakeholders associated in the future as well to perpetuate the quality publication.

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## **Revisiting Basic School Social Studies and Human Value Education Curriculum in Nepal**

## Dr. Rajendra Kumar Shah\*

#### Abstract

Social studies were already taught in schools in Nepal, and the contents of human values education have recently been incorporated into social studies. In the context of Nepal, this subject is completely new and it is necessary to study whether the implementation of the Basic School social studies and human value education curriculum including learning outcomes, content, teaching methods, and assessment procedures of this subject is effective. For this purpose, a mixed method has been used in this study. First of all, data and information were collected using a survey questionnaire. Thus, this study can be termed as a descriptive survey method. Secondly, an in-depth interview was also conducted to explore the perceptions of the respondents. Thus, this study may be termed a general qualitative method. Convenient sampling was used as a sampling procedure. Thirty social studies and human value education teachers from Basic Schools were selected as samples in this study. The findings of the present study reveal that there is a big gap between the philosophy of social studies and human values education curriculum and the social norms, values, and culture of Nepali society. Therefore, it is challenging to implement this curriculum effectively. Similarly, in the dissemination of the curriculum, the concept of the new curriculum has not been reached to all the teachers across the country. The findings of the present study further indicated that the learning outcomes, contents, and pedagogical practices of the curriculum should be improved. Last but not least, the role of parents, stakeholders, and students is crucial in the implementation of the Basic School social studies and human value education curriculum.

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**Keywords:** Basic Education, Social Studies, and Human Value Education Curriculum, objectives, content, teaching-learning, assessment

### Introduction

Social studies and human value education curriculum as a subject is one of the important subjects in the field of primary education. In the context of Nepal, the need for social studies was felt in the early 1950s. The first education commission -Nepal National Education Planning Commission (NNEPC) developed a primary education curriculum and kept social studies as a separate subject in the primary education curriculum (NNEPC, 1956). To meet the purposes and objectives of primary education the curriculum must provide learning experiences in the common and compulsory for all children (College of Education, 1956). Social studies was one of them to introduce from grade one to teach how mankind lives. The report has further clarified that social studies experiences should be centered on the social activities of mankind, especially those naturally engaged in by children. They should emphasize cooperative and constructive behaviors among children and adults. They should develop desirable social attitudes that promote community living. They should promote understanding of their own and other cultures. They should develop an appreciation of the democratic way of life and the responsibilities of democracy' (NNEPC, 1956). The contents were proposed as: grade one-life in school and at home; grade two-life in the neighbourhood; grade three-life in the region - valley; the hills, or the Terai; grade four-life in the other parts of Nepal and grade five-life outside of Nepal (College of Education, 1956). These themes provided for the gradual expansion of the child's vision from his immediate environment to as broad a world outlook as possible for them to comprehend. They move from the immediate to the remote, from the concrete to the more abstract. Further, that has the capability of integrating bases for developing the skills of other subjects (CDC, (2003). Stated illustrations a study of life in the neighborhood offers opportunities to understand science, nature study, and health, and to practice skills by painting or drawing scenes of the village, by learning to use money, by speaking and writing about incidents observed in the village, and by reading stories of village life (CERID, 1997).

The report (CERID, 2005) mentioned that the contents of the social studies based on the experiences help young people to better understand and appreciate, and to practice, democratic relationships among mankind. The report further mentioned that at the primary level, each student should be familiar with the political and economic geography of Nepal, Asia, and the rest of the world. Accordingly, the report stated that other contents such as the historical antecedents of Nepal and Asia, significant phases of world

history; the origin, meaning, and development of culture, and the culture of different people of the world could be incorporated into the curriculum of social studies. At the same time, political forms and their origins; economics of trade, industry, agriculture, and commerce; the government of Nepal in detail, and general concepts of government in other countries; community life in Nepal, social problems, religion, and other problems are also suitable subject matters which could be included in the curriculum. Each student should develop skills in social research, meeting and solving problems, community survey, working cooperatively with others, parliamentary procedures, self-expression, self-analysis, and using maps, timelines, graphs, charts, pictorial display, etc. to receive and express ideas (CERID, 2007). The emphasis there was not on segmented bits of knowledge to be retained for possible future use, but on the immediate day-to-day, self-directed, and purposeful behavior that enables youth to become independent, resourceful, useful members of adult society.

The National Education System Plan (NESP) in 1971-1976 of the His Majesty's Government of Nepal was the first structured curriculum designed to achieve the aims of education (MOE, 1971). NESP (1971-1976) had allocated 20 % of the weightage among the all in the class 1 to 3, of the total 650 marks, it was allocated 100 full marks. Similarly, from class 4 to 7 (lower secondary level) the social studies had been given weightage of 13 % or 100 full marks out of 1000 in total. However, at the secondary levels (class 8 to 10) social studies was replaced with history and geography by 12 % weightage or 100 full marks out of 900 in total (MOE, 1971). The examination of existing primary school textbooks in 1988 and then revision in some of the lessons of the textbooks and their testing in the classroom situation by primary education project (1984-1992) led the Ministry of Education and Culture to undertake the task of Primary Education Curriculum renewal in 1990 (CERID, 1992). The curriculum of 1992, developed general objectives of primary education. Primary education curriculum 1992 has some specific features. Some of the features of this new curriculum are-identification of learning outcomes at the end of a primary cycle; determination of level-wise and grade-wise learning outcomes; integration of social studies, environmental science, and health for grades one to three, and phasewise implementation of the curriculum (Parajuli, 1999).

Higher Level National Education Commission (HLNEC) 1997, a study on the effectiveness of primary education curriculum 1998 and the different regional and national workshops of stakeholders on primary education curriculum pointed out insufficiency in primary education curriculum 1992. Thus, the Primary Education Curriculum 1992 was revised in 2003 and this revised curriculum was piloted in 50 schools of the 10 districts in Nepal. On the basis of the outcomes of piloting, several

changes have been introduced in the curriculum again in 2005. The changes seem to have been made to reduce the content load and incorporate higher-level objectives emphasizing behavioural changes. The Primary Education Curriculum 2005 has formulated six aims of primary education (MOES, 2005). To fulfill the general objectives Primary Education Curriculum 2005 has determined seven broad areas of content for primary-level social studies. These broad areas of content are me, my family, and my neighbour; our traditions, social problems; civic awareness; our earth; our past, and our economic activities. These content areas are similar to the previous one (Pyakurel, 2004). A slight modification was made in the content areas which were made more specific and clearer. But the number of content areas remains the same.

The Primary Education Curriculum 2005 has developed a detailed outline of general objectives, contents, teaching-learning methods, and students' evaluation system for all subjects including primary-level social studies. It has also determined the detailed outlines of contents as well scope and sequence of the contents (CERID, 2008). Regarding teaching-learning, it has emphasized the learning by doing and project method, but a detailed outline of teaching-learning strategies has not been included in the curriculum. In the same manner, it has suggested the continuous evaluation system but it lacks a detailed outline of the evaluation process (CERID, 2005). It was hoped that Primary Education Curriculum 2005 would be a relevant and progressive model of curriculum. However, different studies criticized the curriculum on several grounds. Different studies which are carried out at CERID indicate that content, pedagogical practices, and student evaluation procedures are still unsatisfactory. Although Primary Education Curriculum 2005 has made some changes in the prevailing primary education curriculum, intended learning outcomes are not specific, contents are not relevant and teaching learning and student evaluation procedures are unsatisfactory. It calls for further detailed study of the primary-level social studies curriculum in Nepal.

According to the suggestions given by the National Curriculum Framework for School Education 2076 B.S., the curriculum of school education was changed and implemented gradually. At the same time, the Basic Education social studies and human value education curriculum was developed and implemented in various grades. In addition to the framework of all subjects of school education, it has also recommended various aspects such as visions of school education, national purpose of education, competencies of school education, curriculum content, teaching method, assessment procedures, etc. Since social studies and human value education have been implemented at the Basic schools in Nepal, it is very important to study and about this curriculum. Therefore, this research has been conducted to study the curriculum of social studies and human values education implemented from classes VI to VIII.

## Objective of the Study

The main objective of this study is to analyze the major problems found in the effective implementation of the Basic Education social studies and value education curriculum.

## Central Research Question

The central research question of the present article is: What major problems have been encountered during the implementation of the Basic Education social studies and human value education curriculum in Nepal?

## Research Questions

Answers to the following questions were sought:

- What are the major problems encountered while disseminating the basic education social studies and human value education curriculum in Nepal?
- What are the main problems faced with the elements of this curriculum while implementing the basic education social studies and human value education curriculum?
- What are the other problems related to the curriculum of this subject?

### Literature Review

Social Studies and Human Value Education are often considered to be dull and boring subjects (Chiodo & Byford, 2006). Not only do students perceive social studies and human value education to be dull, but they also fail to see the relevance of social studies to their everyday lives (Schug, Todd & Beery, 1982; Shaughnessy & Haladyna, 1985). Why is this? Is it because the content is dull; or is it because the instructional methods utilized by the teacher do not engage and inspire students to learn social studies? Shaughnessy & Haladyna (1985) concluded that "It is the teacher who is key to what social studies will be for the student. Instruction tends to be dominated by the lecture, textbook or worksheets and social studies does not inspire students to learn" (p. 694). Siler (1998) explained that teachers tend to use only one teaching style day after day, which denies students the opportunity of a variety of teaching techniques. Ellis, Fouts, and Glenn (1992), stated that teachers often rely solely on text, lecturing, worksheets, and traditional tests as methods of learning. However, several researchers concluded that students have more interest in a topic when a variety of teaching methods are implemented (Bonwell & Eisen, 1991; Chiodo & Byford, 2006; Byford & Russell, 2006; Mills & Durden, 1992; Slavin, 1994).

The ability to use various techniques and methods for instruction is often neglected by educators. Teachers tend to have students participate in activities that do not encourage critical thinking but instead encourage rote memorization of names, dates, & places. VanSledright (2004) explained "the common preoccupation with having students commit one fact after another to memory based on history textbook recitations and lectures does little to build capacity to think historically" (p.233). In addition, Hoagland (2000) observed that teachers need to connect the content to the individual interests of the students, thus increasing student interest in the content and actively engaging students in the learning process. This entails utilizing a variety of teaching techniques that help engage students in the learning process. Some examples of engaging instructional methods include cooperative learning, role-playing, and technology (Driscoll, 2005). Stahl (1994) explains that using cooperative learning requires students to become active learners. Furthermore, Stahl (1994) believed that "cooperative learning provides opportunities for students to learn, practice, and live the attitudes and behaviors that reflect the goals of social studies education" (p. 4-5).

Using various teaching techniques is considered by many a best practice, and numerous studies conclude positive results about the use of various instructional methods. In this context, *Dow* (1979) concluded that direct observation, data gathering, reading, role-playing, constructing projects, and watching films are all excellent ways to provide students with new information. Using film to enhance social studies instruction is an effective instructional method (*Russell*, 2007; *Russell*, 2008; *Paris*, 1997). In 2006, researchers concluded that using simulations heightened student interest and increased understanding (*Russell & Byford*, 2006). As well, researchers have found that the discussion method is a valuable method for teaching social studies (*Harwood & Hahn*, 1990; *Byford & Russell*, 2007). In 2006, researchers concluded that 85% of the 8th-grade teachers who participated in the study (n=350) used whole class presentations (lecture) as a method of instruction. As well, the researchers concluded that 64% of teachers had students read in textbooks and 54% had students complete a worksheet as part of the class activities (*Leming*, *Ellington*, & *Schug*, 2006). This data exemplifies that teachers utilize lecture-based instruction and non-engaging activities despite numerous research findings.

#### **Methods and Procedures**

The research methods, procedures, and tools used in this study are presented in the following sections.

Information was collected by developing a questionnaire for the Basic school social studies and human value education teachers of this study. However, the data and information collected in this method was not enough. Therefore, an in-depth interview

was also conducted with those teachers. A mixed method of research was adopted in this study. For this purpose, first of all, this research study utilized a survey method as described by *Creswell (2005)*. The design was appropriate because it is useful in establishing the nature of existing situations and current conditions and also in analyzing such situations and conditions. It enabled the researcher to collect data from Basic School teachers to identify their perceptions on various aspects of Basic Education social studies and human value education curriculum. Thus, this study can be termed as a descriptive survey. Secondly, an in-depth interview was also conducted to know the perceptions of the teachers on the Basic education social studies and human education curriculum, and a detailed view of the participants is presented in the form of quotations. Thus, this study may be termed a general qualitative method.

Utilizing a convenient sample, a total of 30 social studies and human value education teachers from Basic Schools participated in this study. The researchers chose to use these schools for the study because the results of the research conducted can be more easily generalized to other schools in other parts of the nation. Meaning, that the teachers in these schools represent a population typical of other schools found throughout the nation. The study group of the research consisted of the Basic School social studies and human value education teachers who worked in Madhyapur Timi Municipality, Bhaktapur, Nepal. Out of 79 social studies and human value education, 30 teachers were selected as samples, and out of them, 18 of them were male and 12 of them were male.

The researcher constructed a questionnaire titled 'Revisiting Basic Education Social Studies and Human Value Education Curriculum in Nepal'. The questionnaire consisted of seven sections namely; (i) philosophy of social studies and human value education curriculum; (ii) curriculum dissemination practice; (iii) learning outcomes; (iv) lesson and contents; (v) pedagogical practice; (vi) assessment procedures; and (vii) parental and stakeholder-related issues. In addition, the researcher also conducted in-depth interviews with the teachers.

Two experts in social studies and human value education curriculum, at Tribhuvan University validated the Instrument. They made some corrections which were affected in the final copy of the instrument. The reliability of the instrument was also ensured through trial testing. The researcher personally administered the instrument. The test-retest method was used to ascertain the reliability of the questionnaire items. This involved administering copies of the questionnaire to five Basic education social studies and human value education teachers in Madhyapur Timi Municipality, Nepal which were, not included in the final study. After one week, the same questionnaire was re-administered on the same respondents. Pearson Product Moment Correlation was used to correlate the

two sets of scores. A reliability coefficient of 0.90 was obtained and considered satisfactory for the study.

Four research assistants helped the researcher in administering copies of the questionnaire to the participants. They retrieved the questionnaire copies after the teachers filled them. The distribution and collection lasted for three weeks, at the end of which all the copies (100%) were collected back.

## **Findings**

Considering the research questions of this study, seven major themes have been formulated in this study and based on these seven major themes, the results and discussion of this study have been presented in detail in the following sections.

## Philosophy of Social Studies and Human Value Education Curriculum

Philosophy is a view or thought towards life and the world. Actually, it is the process of seeing, knowing, and thinking the world through the eyes of the consciousness. Curriculum is based on the educational philosophy. Thus, philosophy is the basis of education as well as curriculum. The opinion of teachers on the philosophy of Basic Education social studies and human value education curriculum has been presented below:

**Table 1:**Opinion of respondents on the philosophy of Basic Education social studies curriculum

Themes	Sub-themes	F
Philosophy	Philosophy of Basic Education Social studies is not mentioned in	11
of the	the curriculum	
Curriculum	Nepalese society has traditional beliefs, social norms and values	9
	and it conflicts with the child-centered teaching	
	Nepalese society is not ready for the learner-centered teaching	8
	I do not know	2

Source: Field Survey, 2079

As seen in Table 1, a majority of the respondents (11) think that the philosophy of social studies is not mentioned in the curriculum. Similarly, teachers (9) think that Nepalese society is not ready for the learner-centered teaching, and participants (12) comment that Nepalese society has traditional beliefs and it cannot adopt modern philosophy.

A quotation from a teacher's statements on the philosophy of the Basic education social studies and human value education curriculum is presented below:

If Basic education social studies and human value education curriculum could be implemented, the learner-centered teaching would be nice but it cannot. As a society, we are not ready for learner-centered. It should not be from top to bottom but rather from bottom to top. I do not think that it is successful. Neither parents nor students, schools, and society are ready for this system. This is a system built on unsound grounds. This is too sophisticated for our country, and not realistic.

Regarding the learner-centered teaching, a quotation of a teacher is given below:

The Basic education social studies and human value education curriculum is good in general; yet, as the infrastructure was not prepared well, some difficulties were experienced in its implementation. There are many positive sides to Basic Education social studies and human value education curriculum. But it is very difficult to implement learner-centered philosophy in this subject in the context of Nepal.

Most of the respondent teachers' perception shows that the Basic education social studies and human value education curriculum's philosophy is not appropriate to Nepalese society, it is not possible to implement the curriculum in all schools in Nepal. Learner-centered teaching environments are democratic pedagogy in terms of authentic materials that emphasize individualism, give students responsibility for their learning, and direct students to research, and consider individual differences The collective structure of the Nepalese society may have made it difficult to implement a curriculum with individualistic understanding.

#### Curriculum Dissemination Practice

Curriculum dissemination is one of the vital processes in the curriculum development process. After the finalization of the curriculum, the draft curriculum comes into effect and it needs dissemination. In this regard, participants' opinions regarding Basic education social studies and human value education curriculum dissemination are summarized below:

**Table 2**: *Opinion of respondents on problems concerning the dissemination of the curriculum* 

Themes	Sub-themes	F
Information about	Curriculum development center official informed us	4
dissemination	Our school informed us	7
	I knew from my peers	6
	I did not know about dissemination programme	13
Dissemination	The dissemination programme was satisfactory	9
process	Inadequacy of the time and duration of orientation	6
	Lack of well-trained facilitators	3
	Lack of adequate contents	6
	Dissemination process was not satisfactory	6
Coverage of the	Coverage of all elements	8
objectives,	Presentation of the facilitators is inadequate	12
contents, teaching-	Orientation was not fruitful to the teachers	10
learning and		
student evaluation		
Piloting process	The piloting process is unsatisfactory	12
	Piloting process is not satisfactory	18

Sources: Field Survey, 2079

In Table 2, teachers' opinions about the problems they encounter in the dissemination of the Basic school social studies and human value education curriculum are presented. Under the theme of information dissemination, six teachers mentioned that they knew about the dissemination programme from their peers. Accordingly, six teachers mentioned that their schools were informed about the dissemination programmes. Regarding the dissemination process, most of the teachers were not satisfied. Only nine teachers were satisfied with dissemination programmes. Teachers think that the curriculum's dissemination was inadequate, and the time of dissemination was not enough to understand a new conception and construction before the Basic Education social studies and human value education curriculum was put into effect. In this regard, a quotation from a teacher's statements is presented below:

The period of dissemination orientation programme was very short. On the other hand, dissemination was based on the lecture. Thus, most of the questions were not answered by the trainers. Almost all contents were not covered in the dissemination. Actually, this orientation programme should be based on the needs of the participants. But orientation was based on the Curriculum Development Center and facilitators. In short, dissemination was not effective (T4).

The teachers stating their opinions about the problem encountered during the piloting process of the social studies curriculum mainly emphasized the shortness of the piloting period and the lack of feedback from teachers. In this connection, a quotation from a teacher's statements is given below.

Within only one year, the piloting process was completed without a complete understanding of what it was. Some certain feedback should have been taken from teachers. Not only from the schools where the piloting was conducted but also from some other village school's feedback should have been collected. (T8)

Curriculum dissemination is one of the vital aspects of the curriculum development and implementation process. When curriculum is developed it is necessary to test it in the field to find out whether there is any defect in the curriculum or not.

## Learning Outcomes

Learning outcome is one of the important elements of the curriculum. At the same time, other elements of the curriculum are based on the learning outcomes. Contents are instrumented in the textbooks based on learning outcomes. Accordingly, pedagogical practices and assessment procedures are also designed based on learning outcomes. Thus, learning outcomes are the backbones of the whole educational process. Opinions on the suitability and adequacy of the objectives of the Basic education social studies and human value education curriculum have been presented below:

**Table 3:** *Opinion of respondents on objectives of the Basic Education of social studies curriculum* 

Themes	Sub-themes	F
Specific objectives of	Related to the general objective of Basic	22
Basic Education social	Education	
studies curriculum	Stated clearly	20
	Appropriate and attainable	16
	Important for further learning	11
	Are not measurable	10
	Do not comply with the level of students	18
	Are not suitable for the conditions of the region	19
	Are either unrelated to or determined by the other	21
	elements	

Themes	Sub-themes	F
	Are not related to daily life, students' interests,	19
	and needs	
	Are not accomplishable	22
	Are not understandable	12
	Do not meet the expectations of the society	22
	Are not adequate and sufficient	17
	Are not sequenced properly and the scope also not	23
	appropriate	

Sources: Field Survey, 2079

When Table 3 is examined, it is seen that the theme of learning outcomes in the Basic education social studies and human value education curriculum has fourteen sub-themes and teachers criticized that most of the learning outcomes are not measurable, the scope of the learning outcomes is not clear, they are not suitable for the conditions and so on. In this respect, one participant complained:

All the learning outcomes are developed considering the level of students attending schools in developed major cities. They must be renewed considering the levels of students from all districts, provinces, and various regions of the country.

Most of the participants of the present study complained that the number of learning outcomes is not adequate and there is no resemblance between the level-wise objectives of Basic education and contents of Basic education social studies and human value education curriculum. Accordingly, the scope and sequences of some learning outcomes are not clear. Thus, there is a mismatch between the scope of the contents and learning outcomes of Basic education social studies and human value education curriculum. One of the participants comments:

All the learning outcomes are satisfactory in general. But there is a mismatch between various levels of learning outcomes and other aspects i.e. national goals of education, general objectives of Basic Education, level-wise objectives and contents, teaching-learning activities designed in the curriculum, and assessment procedures. Thus, there is room for improvement in the Basic education social studies and human value education curriculum.

## Another participant comments:

There is no relationship between some learning outcomes and contents because some learning outcomes are not covered in the lessons. Accordingly, most of the learning outcomes are related to cognitive domains. Objectives/learning outcomes from the affective and psychomotor domains are rarely included in the social studies curriculum.

## Another participant comments:

Curriculum developers did not consider the scope of some learning outcomes while they developed the learning outcomes of the curriculum because the scope of some learning outcomes is not suitable and relevant. Lessons of such types of learning outcomes are presented in detail while objectives do not need a detailed study of the contents.

#### Lessons and Contents

Contents also plays a vital role in the classroom delivery process. In order to make the curriculum more functional and relevant, the contents of the curriculum should be up-to-date and relevant. Accordingly, vertical and horizontal organization of the contents should be suitable. Opinions of the participants on the theme of the content and its sub-themes are presented below:

**Table 4:** *Opinion of respondents on the lesson and contents* 

Themes	Sub-themes	F
Contents of	Relevant to objectives/contents related to instructional	14
Basic	objectives	
education	Are up to date	18
social	Relevant to the child and his environment	12
studies and	Are suitable from the perspective of organizational structures	15
human	Reinforced to pupils' learning	14
value	Connected each other	11
education	Are psychologically suitable	18
curriculum	Are reliable and valid	11
	Accurate and suitable from the perspectives of language	17

Sources: Field Survey, 2079

Table 4 shows that most of the respondents are satisfied with the contents instrumented in the existing Basic education social studies and human value education curriculum. Respondents complained that the sequence, continuity, and integration of the contents and subject matters were not scientific and logical. They further mentioned that vertical and horizontal organization is not satisfactory. In the same context, one participant says:

Some of the contents are not suitable for some regions of the country. For example, most of the contents are related to urban areas. Accordingly, some topics are not related to the children's day-to-day life. On the other hand, children's needs, interest, and aspiration are not considered when selecting the contents of Basic education social studies and human value education curriculum.

#### Another teacher comments:

The presentation of the contents is not suitable. Some of the contents are superficial. They need further detailed explanations and some topics are unnecessarily detailed. This situation makes children bored to learn the contents.

A quotation from a teacher's statements about the five most frequently mentioned subthemes of the theme of content is presented below:

Class hours are not enough and the topics are too comprehensive. It is very difficult to cover all the topics within the given time. In order to keep up with the syllabus we have to teach the topics superficially. In the exams, on the other hand, students encounter questions requiring details.

#### Another teacher comments:

Most of the contents of Basic education social studies and human value education curricula are not successful in fostering critical thinking in children. Such types of content are based on rote learning. They are creating obstacles in the development of critical thinking among children.

#### Another teacher comments:

In my opinion, most of the contents do not represent the children's own social and cultural norms and values. Thus, children do not take ownership of such types of content. They are very far from the life of the real life of the children who are reading these norms and values. There is an urgent need for the local content.

### Pedagogical Practice

A good curriculum outlines suitable and relevant pedagogical practices. Pedagogical practice should be based on the objective formulated and contents instrumented in the

curriculum. Participants of the present study provide the following opinions regarding the existing teaching-learning process:

**Table 5:** *Opinion of respondents on pedagogical practices* 

Themes	Sub-themes	F
Pedagogical practices	Adequate, sufficient, relevant	16
	Unsatisfactory	19
Availability of physical	Lack of physical infrastructure	18
conditions	Lack of playground and other	14
	infrastructures	
Availability of course materials	Availability of course materials	17
	Lack of course materials	21

Sources: Filed Survey, 2079

As seen in Table 5, the majority of the teachers mentioned that the pedagogical practices designed in the existing Basic education social studies and human value education curriculum are not adequate. There is a lack of suitable and relevant pedagogical practice in the curriculum. In this respect, one participant provides the following comment:

The existing Basic education social studies and human value education curriculum does not design teaching learning strategies for each lesson. Curriculum only recommends learner-centered teaching learning strategies. But detailed outlines of the strategies are not designed in the curriculum. Only the names of the teaching methods are not sufficient for Basic education teachers. They need detailed outlines of teaching learning procedures.

Similarly, most teachers indicate that there is a lack of infrastructure to implement the curriculum successfully. Existing Basic education social studies and human value education curricula adopt learner-centered approach. It needs more diversity of course materials but most primary schools do not have. Most of the Basic schools are under lower socio-economic structure. In this respect, one participant says:

Most classrooms are crowded and students' levels are different. The classroom arrangement is not suitable for the learner-centered teaching learning. There is a lack of sufficient space to conduct learner-centered activities. There is also a lack of materials. On the other hand, most of the teachers are also not trained in learner-centered teaching.

Another participant comments on the teaching-learning as follow:

It is difficult to implement this curriculum in rural areas. In rural areas, there is a lack of qualified and trained teachers. Most of the teachers have passed SLC (grade X) only. There are not familiar with the learner-centered teaching strategies. In order to implement learner-centered teaching they need more training and orientation on learner-centered philosophy.

Teachers stated that they felt not competent enough in some subjects while implementing the curriculum. Under the theme of teacher competency, the most commonly mentioned sub-theme is lack of knowledge and experience and then lack of educational support. A teacher's opinions about teacher competency are given below.

I have been teaching in this curriculum for nearly seven years. This curriculum requires me to use modern methods and technologies, but nobody asks me whether I know or can implement these. To overcome this problem, my colleagues and I wanted in-service training but nothing has happened so far.

## **Assessment Procedures**

Most teachers do not think that assessment is not a part of the curriculum. Assessment is also crucial as objectives, contents, and teaching learning. Without an effective assessment of the learner, teaching-learning could not be complete. Participants' opinions on problems encountered while evaluating students were mentioned below:

**Table 6:** *Opinion of respondents on the assessment system of the curriculum.* 

Themes	Sub-themes	F
Assessment	Need competent and qualified teacher	21
	Need a lot of time	22
	Needs a large number of assessment instrument	20
	Needs a small group of students	11
	Lack of physical conditions	12

Sources: Field Survey, 2079

A teacher's opinions about the problems experienced about the assessment and evaluation element of the curriculum are presented below:

Basic Education social studies and human value education curriculum adopts a continuous assessment system. I am not clear about the continuous assessment system. I do not know much about what to do. I do not know how to do. And I do not know how to use what. This is not only my problem; while talking to my colleagues I also realize that they do not know either.

## Another participant further says:

Continuous assessment needs a lot of time. It also needs competent and qualified teachers in order to implement a continuous assessment system in primary schools. At the same time, there are lack of physical conditions in primary schools in order to implement continuous assessment systems. Accordingly, a continuous assessment system needs a large number of assessment tools and activities. Thus, it is very difficult to implement a continuous assessment system in Basic schools in Nepal.

#### Parental and Stakeholder-related Issues

Stakeholders play key roles in the implementation of the curriculum. Stakeholders (parents) are regarded as the first agency of education. In order to make Basic Education social studies and human value education more qualitative, suitable, and competitive, its curriculum must be relevant to the needs, interests, and aspirations of parents as well as society. A curriculum is relevant only if it can incorporate people's expectations of education. Accordingly, to make education useful to people, it is necessary to find out, at first, the kind of perceptions, attitudes, and expectations that the parents hold towards education. Parents and stakeholders can offer suggestions and encouragement for changes and provide support when changes are introduced in the education system.

At the same time, the knowledge, experiences, motivation, growth, and development of the children or students also affect classroom delivery. Teachers mentioned parents, stakeholders, and students-related problems are presented below:

**Table 7:**Parents, stakeholders and student-related problems

Themes	Sub-themes	F
Administrator competency	Lack of experience	16
	Lack of qualified and competent administrators	18
	Attitudes and behaviours towards teachers	21

Parent competency	Parental attitude towards children	14
	Parental attitude towards education	18
	Parents' education level	22
	Parents' economic condition	24
Student competency	Lack of basic knowledge and experience	19
	Lack of basic skills to learn something	17
	Lack of parental motivation	22
	Lack of educational support	21
	Lack of developmental level of children	23

Sources: Field Survey, 2079

Students' previous knowledge and experience are also important aspects of the teaching-learning process. Students themselves should have sufficient experience in the contents of the effective learning process. Children should have minimum knowledge and experience to learn the selected subject matters by the curriculum. Accordingly, children should have the minimum skills to learn selected knowledge and experiences. In this respect, one participant says:

In the new curriculum, the main purpose is to teach students how to obtain information rather than directly transmitting it to them; yet, our students are not good at obtaining information; thus, they cannot reach and construct information rather they use the information of others.

Most of the teachers still emphasize rote learning and their teaching process is based on paraphrasing. They oppose the active participation of the child in the teaching-learning process. A teacher comments:

The major aim of the teaching-learning should be learning to learn. But most of the Basic school teachers prefer rote learning rather than the construction of knowledge.

Another teacher's opinion in this regard is:

As school head teachers are untrained and lack experience, they are unwilling and unenthusiastic. A majority of them do not understand human psychology and they are short of pedagogical knowledge.

Most of the participants comments about parental competency as well. In this regard, a teacher's opinions are given below:

Some parents are indifferent to their students and this not only affects their achievement but also behaviours. In this regard, parental support is of great importance. For the future of their children, parents should attach greater importance to their children's education.

#### **Results and Discussion**

The philosophy of the existing Basic Education social studies and human value education curriculum conflicts with traditional norms, values, and ideology of the Nepalese society. In this regard, Dewey (1938) points out that philosophy is the general principle of education and that education is the laboratory of education. Philosophy plays an important role in deciding the aims of education, teaching content, and organisation. Hence, its impact on curriculum design cannot be overemphasised. Dewey (1938) stresses that education should equip children with the ability to solve social problems to promote their growth. They must develop continuously to meet the ever-increasing challenges of the world. By this, *Dewey* (1938) deems it necessary to design a curriculum based on children's experiences and let children be involved in interesting and challenging problems. This is the basis of curriculum design even at the tertiary level because the curriculum has to address the needs of students and society. In the Basic Education curriculum, there has been a fundamental shift from traditional educational philosophy toward modern educational philosophy. The change in the philosophy of the program has led to changes in many aspects, such as influencing all elements of the curriculum, organizing learning environments according to learner-centered teaching, attaching importance to thinking skills and problem-solving, using active learning methods and alternative assessment techniques (Dewey, 1938). For this reason, such a comprehensive change may have created resistance to change and innovation in teachers who are practitioners of the curriculum. The existing curriculum of social studies and human value education adopts the philosophy that emphasizes learner-centered teaching. But Nepalese society has still orthodox beliefs and values. It indicates that Nepalese society is not ready for the implementation of learner-centered teaching. There are still challenges in the implementation of this curriculum. Responses of the respondents showed big differences in the educational conditions in Nepal and stated that a unique curriculum cannot be for everyone. However, in Basic education social studies, and human value education, an understanding has been adopted that thinking and problem-solving skills are taken into account and that it is important to use and interpret knowledge instead of knowing. However, the philosophy of the central assessment system and the incompatibility of the philosophy of the curriculum may have adversely affected the implementation of the curriculum.

After finalization of the curriculum draft, the curriculum dissemination programme is organized in order to provide the necessary information on newly introduced curriculum and its major features. Thus, dissemination can affect the whole curriculum implementation process. On the other hand, participants can be benefited from the dissemination programme from various points of view. CERID (1994) conducted a study on the dissemination of Basic education social studies and human value education curriculum. According to the findings of this research, curriculum dissemination was not effective because the time duration was very short, trainers were not experienced and well-qualified, and the content of the curriculum was not covered in dissemination (CERID, 1994). Other various studies support this finding. Lessons learned from the successful dissemination of curriculum programmes include the involvement of stakeholders throughout the process, the use of dissemination strategies informed by a priori audience analysis, adequate training, and the use of interpersonal channels for communication. Effective dissemination requires a conscious and active effort to transfer knowledge and programs from researchers and developers to potential end users. This fact indicates that dissemination should be effective for the implementation of the Basic Education social studies and human value education curriculum. In the dissemination program of the present Basic Education social studies and human value education curriculum, it is seen that the teachers meet the various problems with philosophy, objectives, content, classroom delivery process, and assessment of the curriculum.

When the opinions of the teachers on the objectives of the curriculum are examined, it is found that the formulation of objectives is not based on the basic principles of objectives formulation, and the structure of the Nepalese society and regional differences are not taken into consideration. In addition, it is thought that teachers evaluate the objectives according to the previous curriculum. Two problems can be attributed to the teachers' problems regarding the objectives of the curriculum. First, the curriculum's objectives should be based on needs analysis and the philosophy of education from the teachers' viewpoint. It can be considered that it was conducted a proper needs analysis and that the new educational philosophy is not well understood by curriculum developers. Secondly, other items of the curriculum are shaped according to the objectives. In addition, it can be said that attention is not paid to the principles that should be paid attention to in writing objectives, and structural and formal principles are not taken into account in selecting content.

Opinions on the contents of the curriculum reveal the existence of formal and structural incompatibilities in the content. Regarding the contents of the primary level social studies curriculum, the majority of the participants blamed that there is an urgent need for localization of the contents. Most of the contents do not represent the rural areas, their

geographical features, and their physical conditions. Contents should represent the local aspects and regional features. Another problem related to the contents of the primary-level social studies curriculum is the presentation of contents. Participants complained that some contents are detailed while other contents lack detailed presentation.

Most of the participants complain that Basic education social studies and human value education curricula recommend learner-centered teaching. But detailed learner centered teaching-learning strategies are provided in the curriculum. Accordingly, participants express their view that the same teacher, same contents, same environment, and same teaching-learning activities cannot foster critical thinking in the children. This type of teaching-learning affects the all-round development of the children. On the other hand, teachers indicated that inadequate equipment and infrastructure of the schools, and crowded classes had problems in implementing the curriculum.

According to the teacher's opinion on the assessment process of the Basic education social studies and human value education curriculum, it is understood that the teachers do not want to apply the measurement instruments prepared according to the new philosophy of the curriculum or Continuous Assessment System because of not being experts on Continuous Assessment System and contradiction of the measurement instruments. If the philosophy of a curriculum is not internalized, it is thought that there are problems in applying all the items of the curriculum. As a result, it can be considered that the teachers cannot adapt the test instruments designed according to the Continuous Assessment System to their classes. It is not possible for children who are prepared according to the child-centered teaching to be successful from the purely knowledge-based assessment system, because conceptual knowledge, thinking skills, and problem-solving concepts are at the forefront. For this reason, it can be said that the new curriculum has made it difficult for teachers, students, and parents to adapt. Teachers do not break from the old curriculum. In addition, while teachers are acting according to the new curriculum, they are feeling anxious to prepare the report of Continuous Assessment System.

Other problems are observed regarding Basic education social studies and human value education curriculum. It is found that children lack previous knowledge and experiences to learn new content. Children do have not a minimum level of learning and previous experiences to learn prescribed lessons for them. Students' maturity level is also another factor that affects the implementation of primary-level social studies curriculum. Another aspect related to the implementation of Basic education social studies and human value education curriculum is educational administration. Most of the administrators lack experience in successful implementation of curriculum, and the attitude of administrators is also not positive towards implementation of Basic education social studies and human

value education. Accordingly, the inadequacy of the administrators in supporting the teachers and the socio-economic problems of the students are some of them. In the implementation of the Basic education social studies and human value education, teachers stated that they did not have the necessary educational support in the regard that they did not have sufficient knowledge and skills regarding the curriculum. In Basic education social studies and human value education, teachers need more than ever to be supported by school administrators and parents. However, it can be argued that school administrators lack the knowledge and experience to guide teachers adequately and that negative attitudes lead teachers to take responsibility for the program alone.

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## **Experience of Knowledge Sharing Among the Teachers in Higher Education**

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#### Abstract

Knowledge sharing experience among teachers in higher education practice is important now a days. This study aims at exploring the experiences of the knowledge-sharing process among teachers in a higher education institution. It highlights teachers' professional experience professionally in knowledge sharing. Social-constructivist perspectives and phenomenological study frameworks are used. Data was collected by conducting in-depth interviews with two people from a college under Tribhuvan University, an institution of higher education. Data were analyzed by coding, creating themes, showing interrelationships, and reasoning. Results show that institutional culture and politics, teacher rewards, beliefs, status, and professional ethics and standards influence decisions to share or withhold knowledge with some teacher colleagues. The outcomes focus on professional conditions, political influences, and incentives all have a significant impact on knowledge sharing, with institutionalized processes and hierarchies affecting the willingness of educators to share expertise. Trust and ethical considerations are also important, with trust and perceptions of ethical standards affecting active involvement and cooperation. This study recommends that knowledge sharing is a productive topic to carry out research in the future.

Keywords: Higher education, Institutional Culture, Knowledge-sharing, Professional Ethics, Teacher Experience

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#### Introduction

I completed my school education from public school and my graduation is from Tribhuvan University. After graduation, i.e., in 2013, I started my career as a teacher at Tribhuvan University. When I started my role, I felt differences. In the college environment, priority of the majority of teachers had on income and personality. Teachers were more involved in different external assignments, and college job got their least priority. The relationship between students and teachers was very poor, with limited and necessary interactions. Educational development activities such as seminars, workshops, meetings, presenting papers externally and internally, discussion forums, inter-department discussions, and writing and sharing about the teaching discipline for knowledge enhancement and capacity development were observed to be limited. I reflect myself that knowledge-sharing process helps develop common understanding among teachers regardless of age, sex, ethnicity, faculty, geography, etc. in higher education. Knowledge sharing within organizations enhances intangible knowledge, ideas, feedback, and tangible values through the effective transfer of knowledge between people in different roles and relationships (Annansingh et al., 2018). Therefore, the sharing of knowledge is necessary for the professional growth and development of the educational institution as well as of individuals. It also demonstrates the conduct of the activities in a lively manner and improves the confidence of the members of the education sector. Knowledge sharing among others and between the teachers will also affect the academic and institutional culture. Knowledge sharing is an institutionally necessary and important task. Knowledge focuses on helping others, solving problems, and identifying and developing new idea through knowledge sharing (Amayah, 2013).

Knowledge sharing is a process of information and ideas sharing as well as demonstration of the process. Similarly, knowledge sharing is a mental and social process that intertwines a person's sense of belonging or internal perception and any sense of free choice. Social constructionist theorists maintain that "... a culture provides the context in which tools and signs (such as language and numbers), and knowledge (the body of affective and cognitive information available to an individual) are shaped" (Sivan, 1986, p. 214). Furthermore, it exchanges personal experiences and knowledge which is acquired through professional and knowledge-searching processes. The teacher is the best professional knowledge provider through research and development, and share this knowledge with each other. In this regard, knowledge-sharing perceptions, excesses, and experiences are different from teacher to teacher individually.

Knowledge sharing is the spread of cognitive and experience-based ideas. Knowledge-sharing includes intellectual action, which is the dissemination of experiences in work-

related circumstances (Savolainen, 2017). Furthermore, knowledge sharing is a complex intellectual process as well as a process of refining knowledge. Research identifies that, directly and indirectly, knowledge-sharing processes improve teachers' overall performance (Shah and Mahmood, 2016). Knowledge is knowledge for the knower, whereas sharing is a process of updating the knowledge (Wilson, 2000). Knowledge sharing is a process of inquiry, sharing new information is searched, added, and updated the new information. It is based on a complex intellectual process that is related to personal knowledge and experience.

Institutional internal trust and the educational environment influence knowledge sharing. Internal motivation, networking, and trust influence academics' and researchers' attitudes toward sharing in a Higher Educational Institute (Chedid et al., 2020). Sharing knowledge needs collaboration; in higher education, professional trust is an important component of knowledge sharing that promotes both quality and efficiency inside the educational institution (Mutahar, 2022). In addition, institutional factors influence knowledge sharing. The organizational environment, behaviors, and psychological factors affect the organization's members. Reward systems, top management support, openness, and trust influence employees' knowledge-sharing performance (Nezafati et al., 2023). On the other hand, knowledge management consists of an accumulation of actions led by management to produce, store, transmit, and utilize knowledge; nevertheless, the efficacy of knowledge management is dependent on institutional culture, which can encourage or inhibit learning and knowledge exchange (Harorimana, 2010). Organizational management and institutional factors impact knowledge sharing. However, organizational culture and knowledge sharing are interrelated. This process is expected to maintain professional ethics and ensure trust in the higher education institutions.

Institutional culture is an important basis for knowledge sharing. Institutional administrative cooperation, collaboration, and institutional culture create trust among members of higher education institutions. Establishing trust in faculty willingness for knowledge management improves institutional performance (Kumari et al., 2023). Institutional environments such as culture, collaboration, and rewards act as motivation for members to share knowledge. In addition, the organizational reward system could potentially influence knowledge-sharing discretionary reasoning, potentially playing a significant role in this process (Van Houten, 2023). There have been some studies related to knowledge management in Nepal's Higher Education Institutions. Those studies are based on the relationship between knowledge management and academic process. The research results show the relationship between knowledge management and knowledge use, acquisition, production and dissemination processes (Poudel et al., 2023; Poudel, 2023). However previous studies have less priority of higher education teachers'

experiences of knowledge-sharing through experiential learning and knowledge production using different processes. Therefore, this research focuses on the experience of knowledge sharing among teachers in higher education institutions in Nepal.

## **Objectives**

Based on the experience of knowledge sharing among teachers in higher education institutions, this article aims to explore the experiences of knowledge sharing process among teachers in higher education institutions. University teachers have been taken as the focus of the study. It focuses on teachers' experience in knowledge sharing. It addresses the research question 'How do teachers experience knowledge sharing in higher education institutions?'

## **Theoretical Basis**

In this study, Vygotsky's social constructionism is made the theoretical basis of the research. While analyzing the received information and creating meaning, it will be constructed mainly based on the social constructionist approach. Social and cultural factors influence knowledge and understanding, emphasizing the importance of social interaction, language, and shared experiences in creating ideas, values, and knowledge (Schunk, 2012). The transformation of knowledge occurs through social processes, shaping cultural affiliations. People create meaning through social practices guided by institutional culture. "It is a dimension of social interaction" (Pritchard, 2009, p. 24).

Social constructivism embraces a frame of knowledge construction that emphasizes a view of collectively constructed meaning rather than the individual construction of knowledge (Sivan, 1986). The process of sharing experience or knowledge among teachers is based on participation in their work. It is influenced by their knowledge, culture, hierarchy, and other variables. This may not be a pre-determined process; it is a process of teacher perception and the teacher's personal experience. While it depends on their organization and personal interests.

#### Method

In this research, an interpretive paradigm is used, which understands other cultures, from the inside (Taylor & Medina, 2013). Similarly, it incorporates a relativist ontology with a subjectivist epistemology (Levers, 2013). Qualitative phenomenological study is a well-established approach in qualitative research design for experiences of knowledge sharing. The study uses qualitative analysis to gain insights into teachers' experiences of

knowledge sharing in higher education institutions at Tribhuvan University, through phenomenological approach. Patton (2015) states that the phenomenological core question is "What is the meaning, structure, and essence of the lived experience of this phenomenon for this person or group of people?" (p. 190). The phenomenological research approach is that which aims to gain depth inside or understanding of the phenomenon. It is more subjective and related to human beings' perceptions which are felt in everyday life. The process of a purposive sample of college professors with two TU affiliated college teachers (one male and one female) were selected from the total population of the selected institution of the Tribhuvan University. The sample was chosen based on expertise and involvement in knowledge-sharing current practice (teachinglearning experience, writing and publication, and position of the profession). Information was gathered through an in-depth interview, and the interview was recorded on a digital audio recorder and transcribed using a manual process. Google Translate software was used for the data translation. Data were analyzed through thematic processes such as coding, categorizing, comparing, grouping, and creating themes. The results of the study are analysed and conclusions have been drawn through the lens of social constructive theory.

#### Results

This study reveals that professional conditions significantly impact knowledge sharing among teachers, with incentives and institutional decisions influencing this process. Trust in teachers' knowledge sharing influences active participation, but passive participation and educational benefits are also observed. Designation hierarchies and status also influence knowledge sharing, with higher hierarchy wanting control over language acceptance. Professional ethics also play a crucial role in knowledge sharing procedures and content. The findings were analyzed under five areas: organizational culture and politics, incentive for teachers, trust, status, professional ethics, and standard.

#### **Organizational Culture and Politics**

Knowledge management and knowledge sharing among teachers are increasingly seen as means of professional development. Teachers' professional situations and exchange of expertise depend on their expertise. Professional conditions and organizational culture and politics have a significant effect on knowledge sharing among teachers. Knowledge sharing among teachers is concerned with communication and collaborative behaviors. The study presents different processes of institutional culture within the college contexts under the university. The professional structure and politics within the organization is found to affect the sharing of personal and educational knowledge of teachers. Teacher A said "There is a tradition of obtaining leadership in organizations based on political

beliefs. Discussion, writing, and publishing in an organization should be an institutional effort, but the effort has not been institutionalized". Teacher B said that, "Non-academic politics has controlled the institution, with writing, publishing and disseminating being group-based rather than institutional, teachers' professional status and exchange of expertise has been controlled." Teacher participation and professionalism and expertise should play an effective role in the knowledge management and sharing of educational institutions, but the politics and leadership within the institution were found to hinder the sharing of knowledge.

Teachers' professional situations and exchange of expertise depend on their expertise and institutional structure. Teacher A said that "the professional designation has become an institutional and professional structure that discourages other knowledge exchange." Institutionalized processes of knowledge sharing, which are often implemented institutionally, have become structures that discourage motivation. The leader of the organization is interested in the politics of the organization rather than the culture of sharing knowledge. political influences in writing and publishing, the culture of knowledge sharing is not being developed. The influence of politics on institutional culture means that the teachers working in the institution build their inner circle in terms of who to communicate with personally and who to trust instead of sharing knowledge. This institutional communication ignores institutionally exchanging knowledge. Teacher A indicated that "they were not interested in sharing knowledge." Teacher B indicated that "ideology is associated with color." The meaning of the statement... Whose statement should I accept or not? Analyzing the basis of the preceding responses revealed that institutional politics and culture influenced teachers' knowledge sharing rather than fostering their professionalism and expertise.

#### **Incentive for Teachers**

Knowledge-sharing-related policy decisions are linked to institutional decisions. Have you received encouragement from your college to share knowledge or write and publish? In reply of the question, a participant gave a negative answer, teacher B, said that, "the short research required by the college was not requested and he admitted that he was not encouraged even when publishing articles in the journal published within the college." Never got it? When asked, the participant showed a change in facial expression and attempted to present a blunt answer. When asked again, the participants said that they were able to publish that they had received a small incentive. In the same way, teacher A said that, "if there is no reward, the work of writing and publishing will be reduced. When you get a reward, the willpower to work increases. The reward acts as a natural motivation. However, I have not received any additional financial support from the

college to date." These results show that teachers agree that knowledge sharing is influenced by incentives.

#### **Trust**

Conservation and trust in teachers' sharing of knowledge influences active participation. Cooperation takes the form of a conservation process that accelerates action. Teacher B said that, "although new teachers are professionally self-confident, there seems to be a reluctance among some teachers to share knowledge, which I have experienced." It represents a crisis of faith. Teachers are concerned about the safety of their work. It is unfair to use the knowledge of others and it does not mean that someone uses it unfairly. Teacher A said that, "there are some teachers who try to take advantage of their position in the work of sharing knowledge, who make them act according to their own preferences and take the leading place in publishing ownership." It indicates that there are also teachers who passively participate in the sharing of teachers' knowledge and take educational benefits.

Regarding teachers who share knowledge with experience and reduce participation in knowledge sharing, teacher B said that, "because of teachers who seek some benefit, others have also benefited from their work." This result shows that teachers cannot be trusted in the search and sharing of knowledge.

#### Status

Designation hierarchies and status were found to be factors influencing teachers' knowledge sharing: seniority based on designation and the constructed perception of a scholarly individual. Teachers in the lower hierarchy based on designation are found to be willing to share knowledge through interaction. Individuals in the higher designation hierarchy want control over the language of acceptance of knowledge sharing. Teacher A, presenting his long experience, said that, "Young teachers are very self-confident and they want to share their knowledge, even if they are approved by high-ranking people, they want to control it by making negative comments because they want their sharing of knowledge not to affect their designation". In the other teacher, B's words, "the 'senior side' in this task wants to take permission to share knowledge and keep his own. It seems to try to control the youth group that is active rather than allowing the sharing of knowledge". Teacher A agreed with Teacher B in stating that, "even within the junior designation, academic standing and professional experience indicated familiarity with the situation in which knowledge-sharing and publication-related work had an impact." As a second element, the findings show that knowledge sharing provides teachers with a

respected position in their organization and the teacher community, in that teachers go to the knowledge sharer for advice and support to share the necessary knowledge, which indicates the knowledge sharer's respect (Teacher B). These results indicate, knowledge sharing is affected by the hierarchy of designations.

## **Professional Ethics and Standard**

Professional ethics and standards influence knowledge sharing within organizations and institutional groups. Professional ethics and standards refer to performance or day-to-day professional tasks related to knowledge sharing. Regarding professional ethics and standards of knowledge sharing in Higher Education Institutions teacher A illustrates:

"My understanding is that knowledge sharing is a complex task. This work of learning, teaching, developing, and disseminating from each other is a highly moral work as well as a professional mind, but the moral value is very high in this work, which easily increases and decreases professional ethics, so sharing knowledge in a professional manner is the teacher's religion. Gamification of query-driven."

Knowledge sharing is a highly ethical, intellectual, social and institutional act. Knowledge sharing requires personal competence, behavior and action as well as organizational ethics and standards. Professional ethics and standards influence both the event and the content of knowledge sharing. As indicated by teacher B, the sharing of subject matter is done only on moral grounds. It is not within the ethical boundaries to share beyond your limits, conflictingly, as is often the case in our institutions. In the same way, teacher B says that if professional respect is forgotten, the name will fall into the abyss. In the further question of how do you do this? Both teacher (A) and (B) indicated that they prefer to work in groups but rarely follow professional ethics.

## **Discussion**

The study analyzes teachers' experiences with knowledge sharing in higher education institutions using a phenomenological approach. Organizational culture and politics, incentives for teachers, trust, status, and professional ethics and standards were the major factors found during this study which influence knowledge sharing. These findings were analyzed employing qualitative approach.

Institutional culture and politics have affected the process of knowledge sharing. Institutional culture has a profound effect on many aspects such as professional structure, teachers, and knowledge sharing process. When selecting institutional leadership, having

a strong will to provide educational culture, if selected through the educational process, knowledge sharing can be made institutionally effective, but if the selection is made based on political beliefs, the meaning of knowledge sharing cannot be understood. Politically biased protection may not play role in knowledge sharing. This means that writing, and disseminating are the important means of sharing knowledge. Influenced by politics, it reveals the culture of the organization. Knowledge sharing is naturally affected when organizational culture is weak. This finding resembles with Van Houtan (2023)'s argument i.e. active devotion is crucial for knowledge sharing and organizational identity. It further emphasizes that sharing culture and practice are influenced by political state and culture, which contradicts with the importance of reciprocity in social exchange theory. In my understanding, knowledge sharing may not be free from mainstream political influence; it has been fragmented by institutional culture and politics.

Making a provision of incentives to teachers that affects teachers' knowledge sharing in both direct and indirect ways. According to the results, teachers act with the expectation of getting rewards. Similarly, institutional incentive culture plays an important role in the knowledge-sharing process (Lyu & Zhang, 2016). Although teachers are an integral part of the knowledge-sharing process, they express reluctance to be involved in the knowledge-sharing process due to the lack of rewards. Of course, incentives increase knowledge sharing practice. It is a motivating factor of the knowledge sharing within and beyond the institution.

Personal trust and conservation are essential aspects of knowledge sharing. Protection and trust influence active participation. Collaboration takes the form of a conservation process that accelerates action. Junior teachers are reluctant to participate and share, while those with more knowledge and senior teachers share their knowledge easily, but those people doubt the contribution of junior teachers (Van Houtan, 2023). Whereas, teachers can be assigned higher designations to provide support and security for their work, and those with more knowledge can provide assistance and participate in knowledge sharing at the highest level, where those with more knowledge should act as supporting trainers. Partially, some teachers who are higher in the designation hierarchy interfere in knowledge sharing and take advantage of it, which creates mistrust in knowledge sharing. This work seems quite different from Vygotsky's theoretical view of More Knowledgeable Other (MKO) (Schunk, 2012). It seems that the teachers do not believe in knowledge sharing with the tradition of being a passive participant and taking advantage.

Contrary to the above arguments, some people opine that knowledge sharing requires confidence, not designation. How a person shares knowledge is based on the motivation within the person. Rank is not a motivation in itself. This result contradicts the claim that

status induces employees to generously share their tacit knowledge (Park et al., 2017). Professional designation controls but cannot motivate the sharing of knowledge among teachers. In this sense, all teachers involved in the teaching profession do not have to get a designation to share knowledge, they can seek and share knowledge with the desire to acquire knowledge and confidence. A designation is merely an institutionally acquired social reputation that may not involve internal activism, discovery, and sharing. Similarly, findings show that knowledge sharing does not significantly affect teachers' designation hierarchy, but provides social identity and recognition. The sharing of knowledge discovery depends on personal confidence, experience, and proactivity, so the result is closely related to learning as an active process of constructing knowledge (Adams, 2003) to make sense of the world.

Knowledge sharing is a complex task based on high ethical standards. The result is professional mental process-based work with high ethics, which includes institutional and individual minds. Based on this there should be knowledge sharing. A teacher's job is to share knowledge, if it can be respected, it increases professional and personal standards and keeps life alive. Finally, it affects the professional and personal reputation which affects the existence of the entire organization. The obtained results agree with the theoretical view that knowledge sharing is an important organizational behavior that affects the continued existence and development of the organization (Curado et al. 2021). However, it is also found that professional ethics are not fully followed in knowledge sharing, which threatens to lead professional knowledge sharing to personal loss.

### Conclusion

The study focuses on the experiences of knowledge sharing among teachers. Professional conditions, political influences, and incentives significantly influence knowledge sharing, with institutionalized processes and hierarchies influencing teachers' willingness to share expertise. Trust and ethical considerations are crucial factors, with trust and the perception of ethical standards affecting active participation and cooperation. The hierarchy and status based on designation also affect knowledge-sharing dynamics, with seniority impacting control and value perception. Personal confidence, experience, and proactivity drive the desire to acquire and share knowledge. The study emphasizes the complex relationship between professional ethics and knowledge sharing, as sharing knowledge is complex and not always aligned with ethical standards. Overall, this study is different from other studies, which claim that knowledge sharing or knowledge sharing within the institution is affected by multiple factors such as culture, political influences, incentives, trust, and ethical considerations collectively shape teacher knowledge sharing, impacting individual behaviors and organizational/institutional culture.

Knowledge-sharing is an intellectual activity for the professional development of an individual. Institutional cultural practices are most important in knowledge sharing. Institutional culture and politics have weakened higher education institutions in knowledge sharing. The professional designation provides social approval for knowledge sharing. However, the failure to meet the designation in knowledge sharing indicates the weak side of the educational activity. It is understood that the experience of knowledge sharing among teachers is weak due to the lack of incentives for teachers to participate less in knowledge sharing and the lack of professional ethics.

#### Recommendation

Organizational culture and political influence on knowledge sharing is a huge and multifaceted topic, this study scope for the future research of knowledge sharing. It encourages to explore about mentioning model of knowledge sharing. It provides a basis for the future study of how institutional culture plays a role in knowledge sharing in higher education institutions.

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# **Medicine Users' Perspectives on Self-medication**

## Mr. Santosh Shrestha\*

#### **Abstract**

This paper provides an anthropological assessment on self-medication practices. It seeks to investigate representations associated with self-medication and identify contextual elements which can reinforce or inhibit such practice by employing medicine-users' perspective on the non-compliance of prescription. Primarily based on the informal conversations/interviews with 10 informants, it analyzes how socio-cultural and different forces shape our understanding of and actions towards health, illness and healing and the ways of wondering and behaving related to self-medication. It explores a few determinants for self-medication including the influence of medicine-sellers, circle of family members and friends, the role of pharmaceutical marketing, notion of the health problem as transitory and a minor issue, familiarity with and easy access to certain medicines, and difficulties in access to health care professionals. It concludes that the ubiquity of cultural practice of self-medication is the function of the concept of people on inaccessibility, time consumption, unaffordability and dissatisfaction in the delivery of formal health care services.

**Keywords:** anthropology, disease, illness, medicine, self-medication.

## Introduction

Self-medication is a common human behavior and an important form of self-care in the health care system. Self-medication refers to the scenario where a person uses non-

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prescription medicines or other approaches to cope with illness conditions or a treatment of oneself without professional help to alleviate an illness or a condition (Van der Geest, 1984a; Zhao & Ma, 2016). This definition clarifies that self-medication includes the utilization of medicines for the treatment of the disease or symptoms or for disease prevention without a professional prescription. Self-medication can take place through the consumption of varieties of modern medicines such as allopathic, *ayurvedic* and homeopathic medicines or the use of homemade remedies like green teas and herbal extractions. Besides acquiring medicines without a professional prescription, self-medication also involves cultural foundation as 'resubmitting old prescriptions to purchase medicines' (Greenhalg, 1987) or sharing medicines with family members, relatives or members of one's social circle or friends (Van der Geest, 1984b). However, this paper analyzes the beliefs and practices related to the usage of cutting edge allopathic medicines.

Self-medication is common in both developed and developing countries (Van der Geest, 1988; Bradley & Blenkinsopp, 1996; Tripathi, Bapna, & Tekur, 1996). According to Van der Geest (1984a), self-medication is natural because of its convenient, economic and easy availability, even in small villages, people can purchase painkillers, antibiotics and medicines against malaria, worms, and diarrhea or common health problems. Within the growing nations like Nepal, experts may not be available or time consuming, so self-medication is vital. As many people store some medicines at home (Pellegrino, 1976; Uglade & Homedes, 1994), it may additionally involve the use of leftover medicines stored at home. Medicines as things, according to Van der Geest, Reynolds, and Hardon (1996), circulate effortlessly from 'one regime of value and knowledge to another'. Subsequently, as they point out, it is important to know that how knowledge about medicines is actually disseminated and/or constructed and to what extent a medicine carries over one context of social life to another.

Medicines also mark people's identity as do other material goods (Appadurai, 1986). Medicines can affect people as intimately as food and shape people's sense of being (Nichter & Vuckovic, 1994) and belonging, and can be used to facilitate and reinfore social relationships (Van der Geest, Reynolds, & Hardon, 1996). Hence, as an anthropologist, I am interested to examine the sociocultural and psychological efficacy of allopathic medicines in Nepali context.

At pharmacies/medical halls, the pharmacist/medicine-seller is generally the person who determines which medicine is used, as a consequence demonstrating that people trust in his/her ability to prescribe. Studies have additionally shown that, in developing countries, quantitative and qualitative methods were used to investigate how interactions between

customers and medicine-sellers and medical representatives can influence self-medication (for examples, Kafle et al., 1992; Goel, Ross-Degnan, Berman, & Soumerai, 1996; Tripathi, Bapna, & Tekur, 1996; Kamat & Nichter, 1998; Oldani, 2002; Oldani, 2004; Dokania & Dokania, 2014). Therefore, the role of medicine-sellers together with representatives of pharmaceutical companies may be the leading factors for self-medication. Similarly, production and marketing nevertheless constitute the maximum conspicuous gap inside the anthropological study of medicines (Van der Geest, Reynolds, & Hardon, 1996). However, those data/facts have attracted little attention from anthropologists (Kamat & Nichter, 1998).

As mentioned above, economic, political, and cultural factors have stimulated a constant increase in self-medication worldwide (Bradley & Blenkinsopp, 1996), turning this practice into a major public health trouble. The relevance of self-medication can be a strategy for consumption of medicines for health wellbeing of an individual. From anthropological perspective, however, I argue that there is more to investigate on self-medication practices and the way diseases and the people suffering from them and verify other related statistics here in our context. Similarly, knowledge regarding broad social relations associated to beliefs and practices of self-medication can be gained from the study of the 'subtle messages, the metaphors, the anecdotes, and the interpretations' of narratives that are provided in popular accounts of ailment traits and patterns of self-medication (Lantz & Booth, 1998).

As self-medication is a common practice worldwide, social and cultural consequences of medicines should be taken into account by using ethnographic examples of medicine use, prescription, distribution and production looking at medicines as social and cultural phenomena (Uddenberg, 1990; Banerjee, Das, & Chakrabarti, 2011). Although self-medication is probably the dominant therapy worldwide lying outside the domain of formal health care services, it has obtained little research attention. Most users tend to take self-medication as a matter of course and can forget about instances of self-treatment in their own lives. Since self-medication is coping with health problems at the most primary level, it should be an important theme in pharmaceutical anthropology; a 'paradigmatic shift' in medical anthropology of Nepal (Banerjee, Das, & Chakrabarti, 2011).

The anthropological approach of contextualization is fruitful to understand use of medicines (Van der Geest, Reynolds, & Hardon, 1996) and self-medication, specially contextualizing several research themes along with the role of pharmaceutical marketing practice and medicine-sellers, prescriptions via medical doctors and the others which includes nurses and paramedics. Similarly, the context of medicine uses can also be

linked with different wider factors such as socio-economic, cultural, religious, family, kinship, and medical pluralism. Therefore, self-medication must be understood within the total health seeking process of the individual as a part of social group and wider network/community and anthropological approach is necessary to grasp empirical knowledge on it.

## **Objective**

This paper seeks to explore representations linked with self-medication and identify contextual elements which can underpin such practice by employing medicine-users' perspective on the non-compliance of prescription.

#### **Theoretical Orientation**

It is considered that classical anthropology was confined with the study of 'other's culture' or alternative way of life. Until very recently, maximum anthropologists have not taken their own culture for granted before the time of Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, Clifford Geertz, Claude Levi-Strauss and Marvin Harris. Earlier than them, 'scientific papers primarily based on empirical studies' had not been in practice (Harris, 1978 cited in Ortner, 1984, p. 126) without gaining deeper understanding of their own way of life.

This applies in medical anthropology too. Until almost seventies or even later, ethnographic work by medical anthropologists (for examples, Caudil, 1953; Scotch, 1963; Fabrega 1971; Colson and Selby, 1974 cited in Van der Geest, 1988) was almost exclusively devoted to traditional medical phenomena and within the framework of 'witchcraft, sorcery, and magic' (Van der Geest, 1988). As a result, medical anthropologists have paid little attention to research in pharmaceutical anthropology or anthropological scrutiny on western allopathic medicines. This trend continued when the distinction between disease (western scientific definition of health problem) and illness (a cultural category and a set of culturally associated activities) was introduced (Fabrega, 1971 cited in Van der Geest, 1988). Only recently, anthropologists have started out to conduct study on medicine as an object for cultural research dealing with important themes such as medical pluralism (Subedi, 2008), therapy choice and the cultural hegemony (Van der Geest, 1988).

Anthropologists studying medicines look at medicines as social and cultural phenomena (Cohen, McCubbin, & Collin, 2001; Van der Geest & Hardon, 2006). Using Appadurai's (1986) concept of the 'social life of things, Van der Geest, Whyte and Hardon (1989, 2002) have used a popular metaphor to capture the social and cultural life of medicines.

Seeing medicines as valuable things with multiple meanings, they have illustrated medicines in the hands of different actors such as consumers like patients and caretakers, providers like pharmacist/medicine-sellers, prescribers like medical doctors and nurses, and producers. Additionally, I consider self-medication as a socio-cultural construct because it includes a multiplicity of socio-demographic characteristics such as age, gender, class, education, occupation, and income and other forces such as medical pluralism, health care cost, waiting time, lack of awareness, the approach of pharmaceutical marketing including the role of pharmacist/medicine-sellers and medical representatives.

'Public discussions' about illness and disease have also been powerful vehicles for communicating ideas about diseases symptoms and the medicines used for healing in our society (Lantz & Booth, 1998). As Brown (1995) has noted, illness is socially constructed, I investigate how social forces shape our understanding of and actions toward health, illness and healing in terms of self-medication. Moreover, I learn the way our perceptions of disease and illness are used to explain and the way we practice self-medication to recover from them.

Social constructions of self-medication are powerful channels for the 'expression, legitimization, and expansion of certain groups' social power' (Shore & Wright, 1997; Lantz & Booth, 1998). Similarly, the manufacturing, sharing and dissemination of such discourses about healthy verses diseased serve to establish the authority of professionals (medical, psychological) over the individual (Foucault, 1973). Following Kleinman's (1980) terminology, the notion of healing is the part of the explanatory model which may vary from culture to culture. Consequently, an anthropological study, using ethnographic examples of medicine use, prescription, distribution and marketing, is crucial to discover the role of those traits and above mentioned issues embedded in self-medication practices in Nepal.

As the concept of efficacy is itself a cultural artefact (Van der Geest, 1988), concept of disease and healing practice (self-medication) can be established bounding to be based totally on cultural dominance inside the context of triumphing medical pluralism (Subedi, 1989; Minocha, 1980; Subedi, 2008) in Nepal. Therefore, getting to know and understand the contexts of medicines in terms of self-medication in our context, I want to contribute to a 'practical role' that an anthropologist can fill in medicine offering a holistic view and emphasizing cultural relativism: evaluating and interpreting indigenous practices sympathetically within the context of Nepali culture (Foster & Anderson, 1987, p. 208).

There is 'only a thin line between self-medication and prescribed medication', as Van der Geest, Reynolds and Hardon (1996) opine, and 'a health-practitioner or nurse can never

be sure that patients will take medicines exactly as they were told/instructed. Accordingly, every medication is to some extent self-medication, until the health worker administers it. And, hundreds of studies have been involved viewing compliance in taking medicines from a medico-centric perspective (p. 165) ignoring positive aspects of noncompliance. However, noncompliance needs to be studied from patients/ medicine-users point of view (Trostle, Hauser, & Susser, 1983; Conrad, 1985; Homedes & Ugalde, 1993; Vuckovic & Nitcher, 1997). Consequently, this paper tries to look at noncompliance from medicine-users point of view because they may have accurate motives and good reasons for taking their medicines in a way aside from that indicated through the prescriber (Fineman, 1991; Van der Geest, Reynolds & Hardon, 1996).

#### Method

In this study, I have employed informal conversations/interviews to investigate the underlying representations concerning self-medication and identifying the contextual elements that in some way reinforce or inhibit this practice among 10 inhabitants from the city of New Baneshwor, Kathmandu, who have been on self-medication in the previous three months.

Initially, I have employed exit interviews with the family members of informants who had appeared in a pharmacy, which is around the periphery of civil hospital between January and March 2020. I have also employed participant observation to capture/record the actual conversations between buyers (research participants) and medicine-sellers whilst purchasing the medicines in a natural setting to ascertain medicine-related behavior. I call them research participants because they have provided me with 'crucial data' (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998) and have also played proactive role for the 'knowledge production' related to self-medication practices in Nepal (Patton, 1990).

Data collection and subsequent analysis were based on the model of signs and symptoms, meanings, and actions system developed in medical anthropology developed by E. Corin and collaborators (Uchoa & Vidal, 1994) aiming to clarify underlying cultural logics about the group's practices, their meanings and signs related to them. According to this model, contextual elements which include the social dynamic and central cultural codes and norms, among others, delineate the way people recognize and evaluate a health-related problem or event and act towards it. It enables to demonstrate and remark the impact of social and cultural factors on health related perceptions and behaviors to systematize the study of representations (the ways of thinking), behaviors (ways of acting) and practices of communities in health domain (Uchoa & Vidal, 1994) associated with the practice of self-medication.

I started out my informal conversations/interviews with the question 'within the last three months, did you take any of the medicine in the form of tablets/pills, injections, capsules, syrup, or drops?' I asked this question to investigate the diverse modalities of self-medication, their personal characteristics, the medicine used, the health problem treated, and use of and access to health care services. Whilst the research participants reported use of medicines, I asked for the name of the medicine, the reason for its use and who had indicated it to identify their perception of the event. Then, I asked the questions focusing on practices that could facilitate self-medication, like storage of leftover prescription medicines in their home or changes in relation to the prescription itself or reutilization of the prescription.

I have recorded all the informal conversations/interviews in my smartphone receiving their consent. Later, I have transcribed, processed and analyzed the facts. I analyzed all of the set of informal conversations/interviews with a close reading and identified various groups of common analytical categories in the significant units under thematic classifications. Then, they were organized into patterns, categories, and descriptive units and looking for relationships and connections between them (Brewer, 2000). Then, I have tried to explain and interpret the meanings and significance attached with the diverse analytical categories seeking to unveil interactions between conceptual logics and underlying contextual elements in self-medication.

I interviewed a total of 10 research participants, eight men and two women, ranging in age from 28 to 70 years. Six of them belong to caste groups (all Bahun/Chhetri) whereas four research participants belong to ethnic groups. Their different *modalities* of self-medication are consumption of medicines purchased without a professional prescription, reuse of old prescriptions, shared use of medicines by their relatives or friends, non-compliance with prescriptions of medical doctors, and use of 'leftover medicines stored at their home' (Uglade & Homedes, 1994). I have found acquisition of medicines without a prescription as the most frequently (90%) cited modality.

Reutilization of old prescriptions and shared use of medicines have been usually associated with earlier experience with the medication either by the research participants themselves or some of their family members or friends. Hardon (1991) has rightly described how mothers in a poor area of Manila provide medicines to their children when they suffer from colds and coughs. They have also discussed the social context of the use of medicines in multiple tiers: they may help to cure the child faster, they confirm to the mother that she is a good mother, they send a message to the child that the mother cares, they communicate that same message to the husband, neighbors and others, and all these

messages together reinforce the health restoring on the sick child. Similarly, it is not surprising that the manufacturers (pharmaceuticals) of cough and cold medicines emphasize a hacking dry cough in their advertizing in television (Tan, 1999).

In three cases, non-compliance with the professional prescription is associated with a perceived improvement in symptoms (of uric acid, blood pressure and diabetes) and underrating of his trouble as one male research participant of aged 70 opines "I didn't use the prescribed dose (twice a day) the doctor had recommended, I use less (once a day). I said to myself, this should be enough, it is probably nothing serious, right?"

All the research participants have stored their required medicine at their home. Use of leftover medicines kept at their home appears to be a strategy developed to deal with unforeseen needs, specifically when access to medical care is not possible. This trend appears within the opinion of a female research participant of aged 55 as she says: "sometimes a headache, a muscle cramp in my legs, menstrual pain, all of a sudden a toothache or a fever in the middle of the night, there's no clinic open, and in case you visit to the emergency ward of the nearest hospital without cash you can't get treated."

They view the practice of self-medication as a custom and see themselves as complacent and sloppy. However, they all agree that we should not allow self-medication for a child. This fact is a counter argument as that of Hardon's (1991) finding. A female research participant of aged 45 warns us explaining why she doesn't give any medication to her son without a doctor's prescription as "with my kid, how am I supposed to give him just anything? My son has his own system, and another kid's system is distinctive. He could get poisoned, something could happen, and he could die. And it would be my fault." As she teaches chemistry in a college, her educational qualification can contribute to developing such cognizance.

The *choice* of medication can be influenced by various factors. In most of cases, the pharmacist or medicine-seller recommends the required medicines for self-medication (Logan, 1983; Oldani, 2002, 2004). Sometimes, it is the physician himself who authorizes the use of a given medicine if a given symptom appears or persists. However, often times it is laypeople who influence the choice of medication because all of my research participants have consumed medicines on the basis of advice by family, friends, or even neighbors. This means that the input of family members and friends has been decisive than that of medical doctors. The major reason behind it is the efficacy of medicines to cure the perceived symptoms.

Some cultural attributes of a medicine (Uddenberg, 1990) can also make it particularly prone to use in self-medication. They have strong belief that people generally tend to

favor medicines with which they have prior experience or which they used previously in similar conditions and which worked previously and could probably work again. The place where the medicine can be acquired and the ease in obtaining it also are determinants in the choice as one male research participant of aged 60 opines "it is common, isn't it? Everybody has that medicine (e.g., analgesics like 'citamol' and antimicrobials like 'metron'), everybody keeps it at home."

A negative assessment of a medicine's efficacy is the predominant cause for non-compliance with a physician's prescription and for deciding to abandon treatment. A male research participant of aged 50 supports this as he opines: "she (doctor) prescribed some medicines, and I took them, but I didn't get any better. Then, I purchased some other medicine that someone else had advised me was good as it had worked to him." Again, this assertion verifies the trust on the conversation between them as the use of medicines worked well to cure the perceived symptoms.

Studies conducted by a number of medical anthropologists (such as Van der Geest 1988; Vuckovic & Nitcher 1997; Cohen, McCubbin, & Collin, 2001) suggest that 'irrational prescribing' that is 'prescribing medicines which people cannot purchase' is another purpose for non-compliance and self-medication, that is equally genuine in our context, too. It is obvious that people are not able to buy the prescribed medicines because of their unaffordability or economic reason. People fail to purchase prescribed medicine if they consider it expensive. As a result, patients can select some of the prescribed medicines that they could pay for and leave the others. Even though such medicines are 'effective', they are now not efficient (Muller, 1982 cited in Van der Geest, 1988). As social act, prescribing a medicine can also demonstrate the prescribers' concern (Pellegrino, 1976; Smith, 1980). This observation offers two other areas to be studied: socio-psychological gap between prescribing medical doctors and poor patients and commercial interests of the medical doctors or medicine prescribers (Kleinman, 1980; Melrose, 1982).

Aches and pains such as headaches, common colds and fever, diarrhea and high blood pressure have been observed as the major types of *health problems* most frequently referred to as the targets of self-medication. In general, my research participants view self-medication as an indication for the treatment and 'management of minor', transitory, non-serious or familiar health problems (Maitai, Guantai, & Mwangi, 1981). However, they do not see self-medication as indicated for more serious health problems such as chest pain and diabetes or arthritis. They think that more knowledge is needed about patterns of self-care and such knowledge changes over time in utilizing medicines safer and more effective (Brudon-Jacobowicz, 1994).

According to my research participants, self-medication is practiced as a substitute for formal medical/health *care* when the latter is perceived as inaccessible, time-consuming and unaffordable or unsatisfactory. They believe that it is much simpler to take some medicines than going to the medical doctors. They prefer to stay home rather than stand to wait on line for an appointment of a doctor wasting an entire day. Sometimes, self-medication is a spin-off from dissatisfaction with the quality of care received as one male research participant of aged 55 shares: "his (the doctor) prescription does not work well to me, so I spoke to my daughter-in-law, who brought me these medicines."

#### Discussion

Purchase of medicine without prescription from the pharmacies/medical halls is found as the utmost regularly model of self-medication. As there is no provision designed for regulatory mechanism of the Nepal government to disallow medicine-seller to sell medicines for self-medication, the medicine-seller is generally the person who determines which medicine is used, for that reason demonstrating that people trust in his/her ability to prescribe. Kamat and Nichter (1998) also describe various modalities of this behavior, highlighting the cultural and socioeconomic context in which it occurs and the way among pharmacy/medical hall owners, medicine-sellers, and medicine company sales representatives have an influence on it.

Keeping medicine at home is a common practice in our context. The medicines that are stored at home may be left over from a previous prescription or have been acquired specifically for this purpose, that is, potential future use. Based on the above findings, we can characterize the medicine chosen for self-medication because it ought to be familiar that everyone can comprehend it, common that everyone has, effective that has worked before, and easy to acquire that has been found anywhere.

Some common health problems to be dealt with preferentially with self-medication have been found to treat headaches and colds (Beckerleg, et al., 1999), fever, high blood pressure, diabetes and menstrual issues. Kasulkar and Gupta (2015) have also found that women seek self-treatment whilst having menstruation problems.

A distinction among health problems can be traced for which self-medication is or is not allowed is based on the perception of certain attributes of the problems along with length, familiarity, degree of severity, and intensity of clinical signs and symptoms. Transitory and familiarity indicate the opportunity of self-medication as medical care. A serious health problem together with chest pain can be interconnected with the notions of impossibility of cure and the risk of demise as we culturally recognize it as critical

organs, particularly the lungs and the coronary heart. Sooner or later, the disappearance of signs has been interpreted as a signal of cure.

As Subedi (2008) argues, the profit making orientation associated with the allopathic medicines and the concentration of services in medical complexes can also be connected with the self-medication practices. My research participants have established a complicated relationship among self-medication and recourse to formal health care services thinking about medicines as commodities and vehicles of modern fashions of health being in the context of globalization (Ferguson, 1981; Miller, 1987).

Self-medication is seen as a first step within the search for resolution of health problems and a more accessible substitute for medical care (Kamat & Nichter, 1998). Furthermore, dissatisfaction with the quality of the care received from health care services has also encouraged the practice of self-medication to my research participants specially the time spent to secure a medical doctor's appointment, consultations being too brief, medical doctors hardly ever speak to the patients, omit orientation of gender, caste/ethnicity and culture and opinions/critiques, and deny patients the opportunity to effectively express their problems. Allowing continuous use of a medicine with the aid of medical doctors themselves can be interpreted as encouragement and approval of self-medication (Nichter & Vuckovic, 1994).

### **Conclusions**

As is elsewhere, self-medication is practiced outside the control of medical professionals, typically at home in Nepali context. The ubiquity of cultural practice of self-medication is the function/consequence of the perception of people on inaccessibility, time consumption, unaffordability and dissatisfaction within the delivery of the formal health care services. As an example, I have found the practice of self-medication among individuals regardless of age, sex, caste and ethnicity with a chronic ailment diagnosis and among those with fewer medical visits within the preceding year. These results are consistent with the notion that chronic and serious health problems are not prone to self-medication, and that self-medication is used instead for formal health care.

Although the medical doctors' understanding and competencies are recognized, underlying the self-medication practice is the concept that the medical doctor is not the handiest one who knows the way to prescribe. Most frequently, medicine-sellers, circle of family members, friends, and neighbors are heard. Consulting the medicine-sellers, keeping medicines at home, and sharing medicines with family members are reported as profound strategies for self-medication.

The localized nature of society, limited access to, and relatively low quality of public health institutions and the prohibitive costs of allopathic medicines and modern health services are a few factors influencing the choice of self-medication. The good judgement governing consumption of non-prescribed medicines is linked more closely to representations of the health problem as experienced and the availability of medical care than to the traits of the person experiencing the trouble or the medicine used.

Medication use at the local level is determined by much more than the prevalence of ailments and the provision of pharmaceutical remedies to address those illnesses. Even though, there is no provision designed for regulatory mechanism of the Nepal government to disallow pharmacists to sell medicines, permitting continuous use of a medicine by using doctors themselves can be interpreted as encouragement and approval of self-medication.

The localized character and gravity of illness are often expressed in terms of the political economy, type and socio-cultural, and psychological efficacy of medicines as commodities most urgently needed enabling Nepali patients/medicine-users with confident that something is performed about his/her health problem through self-medication in the globalized context. And, non-compliance is not the end result of patients/medicine-users' misunderstanding the prescriber's records however it is the end result of patients/medicine-users having one of kind ideas and interests which includes familiarity with common health problems and their preventive measures, personal autonomy and a subtle form of medicalization through which people become themselves dependent not on the medical profession but on the pharmaceutical industry. This study evidences that patients/medicine-users practice self-medication responsibly by means of recognizing and respecting nonprescription medicines, and use them carefully.

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# **Association Between Mental Health Literacy and Stigma:** A Review

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#### **Abstract**

Background: People with mental illness often do not receive proper mental health services. Lack of knowledge and social stigma are factors contributing to the low prevalence of seeking help for mental health problems. In low- and middle-income countries, only around one-fifth of the population receives adequate treatment, and this situation is similar in South Asian countries. Objective: The main objective of this review is to identify research on mental health literacy and stigma in SAARC countries. Methods: Three databases (PubMed, SCOPUS, and EMBASE) were searched up to September 20, 2022. A total of 47 articles were included in the review, of which five met the inclusion criteria. Thematic analysis was conducted to review the articles. Results: The relationship between mental health literacy and stigma was found to be negative, meaning that an increase in literacy decreased stigma and vice versa. The main barriers to treatment were stigma and lack of financial means to afford care. Conclusion: Government planners and policymakers should implement mental health literacy programs to reduce stigma and encourage help-seeking behavior among individuals with mental illness. The data highlights the positive effects of anti-stigma campaigns on mental health literacy and help-seeking.

**Keywords:** mental health literacy, stigma, help-seeking, South Asia, adults

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## **Background**

Mental illness is a silent epidemic that faces significant financial and systemic challenges (Monteiro, 2015). The COVID-19 pandemic has further exacerbated mental health problems, including depression, anxiety, stress, panic attacks, anger, impulsivity, somatization disorder, sleep disorders, emotional disturbance, posttraumatic stress symptoms, and suicidal behavior (Hossain et al., 2020). Unfortunately, the majority of people with severe mental illness in low- and middle-income countries do not receive proper treatment (Luitel et al., 2015). In Nepal, only 18.4% of individuals received treatment within a 12-month period, with knowledge and attitude-related barriers being the main obstacles to accessing care (Jha et al., 2018). These barriers are closely linked to stigma and discrimination (Patel et al., 2016). Efforts to improve attitudes towards seeking help should focus on reducing stigma and increasing mental health literacy (Wrigley, Jackson, Judd, & Komiti, 2005). The stigma surrounding mental illness is a significant barrier to seeking help and receiving care (Reavley & Jorm, 2011) (Hanafiah & Van Bortel, 2015). Mental health literacy, personal stigma, self-stigma, and social support all play a role in shaping attitudes towards mental health help-seeking (Jung, von Sternberg, & Davis, 2017).

Most researches have focused solely on stigma or mental health literacy, without exploring the association between the two. Studies have shown that lower levels of mental health literacy, higher levels of stigma, and lower rates of behavioral health service use are interconnected (Benuto, Gonzalez, Reinosa-Segovia, & Duckworth, 2019). However, there have been limited studies conducted in South Asian countries compared to high-income countries. Therefore, this review has been carried out.

## **Objectives**

This review aims at addressing the perceived barriers and mental health literacy in South Asian countries, with a specific focus on the association between mental health literacy and stigma. The main objectives of this review are to identify research on mental health literacy and stigma in South Asian countries and to identify research for planning new research in mental health literacy and stigma.

## Methods

## Formulation of the research question:

"What research has been conducted to investigate the association between mental health literacy and stigma in South Asia?"

### Inclusion and exclusion criteria for the review:

We included peer-reviewed articles published by researchers in South Asian countries. We excluded articles published in languages other than English, book chapters, conference proceedings, dissertations, editorials, and commentaries. All relevant publications were initially screened based on their abstracts and titles. Both members of the review team checked the inclusion and exclusion criteria, and any questions were resolved through discussion. After this initial screening, the full text of selected publications was considered for eligibility.

## Develop a search strategy

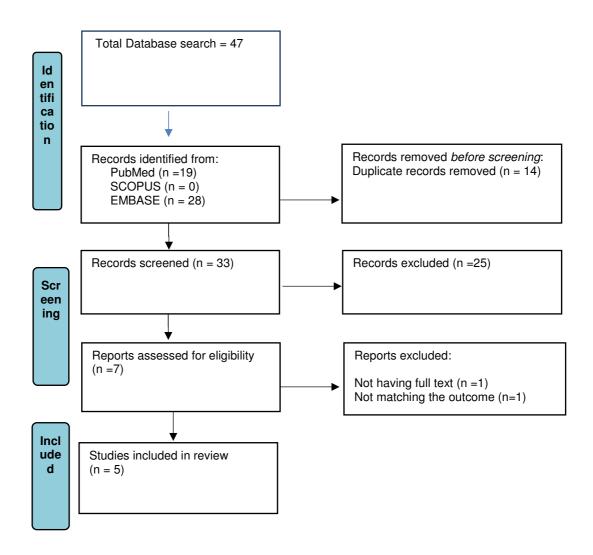
The article conducted a systematic search to locate and select relevant studies and reports on mental health literacy and stigma. The search was performed using three databases: PubMed, SCOPUS, and EMBASE. PubMed was chosen for its frequent updates and inclusion of online articles, SCOPUS for its wide range of journals, and EMBASE for its high sensitivity scores. The search strategies used a combination of keywords and MeSH terms to represent the primary concepts of mental health literacy and stigma. Four concepts were developed, and keywords within each concept were linked using the OR operator. The search strategies are summarized in annex.

## **Articles included in the review**

Figure 1 presents the flow chart of the included studies in the review. The initial database search returned 47 published English-language articles. Fourteen articles were removed as duplicates after uploading the list of articles to Zotero. After removing duplicates, there were thirty-three articles remaining. Zotero mechanically imports citation data from various sources, websites, and web databases (Gall, Brahmi, & Trinoskey, 2009). The reviewers then reviewed the title and abstract of the articles and found seven that met the inclusion criteria. Out of the seven articles included, one did not have full text and another did not meet the research outcome for review. This resulted in five potentially relevant items being reviewed.

Figure: 1

Flow chart of the search



## Extraction of data and analyze and interpretation results

The reviewers re-read all the articles included in the review and entered the data into a pre-defined spreadsheet. This spreadsheet included information on study objectives, periods, and methods. Both reviewers developed the information in the spreadsheet and

then cross-checked it for accuracy and clarity. The data extraction form was based on a checklist developed by a review group and a study description and replication template from September 20, 2022. Annex table shows the search strategies used in the review, which aimed to capture the main concepts of mental health literacy and stigma. Thematic analysis methods (Joffe, 2012) were used to analyze the findings. The author focused on the conclusions and findings of research that showed a link between mental health literacy and stigma. A numerical summary and a narrative description of the findings are provided. The narrative description of the findings was reviewed using the narrative synthesis framework (Popay et al., 2006). The findings are described separately for each review article.

## **Results and Findings**

Among the articles reviewed, two of them tested an intervention, and three were cross-sectional studies. The studies were published between 2015 and 2020, with the majority conducted in India (n = 4), and additional studies were conducted in Nepal. Most of the studies used qualitative methods (n = 3), with the remaining studies using one-to-one quantitative and mixed-methods approaches.

Study 1 revealed barriers to treatment among adults who screened positive for depressive disorder and alcohol use disorder. For depressive disorder, the proportion of individuals experiencing any degree of barriers ranged from 55% to 92.8%, and for alcohol use disorder, it ranged from 45.2% to 96.5%. The most commonly reported major barriers for depressive disorder were: inability to afford the financial cost, concern about being perceived as 'crazy', reluctance to discuss feelings, emotions, or thoughts, fear of being seen as weak for having mental health problems, and lack of support in accessing mental health care. Similarly, the most frequently reported major barriers for alcohol use disorder were: inability to afford the financial cost and uncertainty about where to seek mental health care. The main barriers to treatment were financial constraints, stigma, and reluctance to seek help due to illness (Luitel, Jordans, Kohrt, Rathod, & Komproe, 2017).

The second study suggests that promoting social inclusion for individuals with mental disorders requires improving access to mental health services, general healthcare, and employment opportunities. Some individuals with mental disorders are entrusted with household finances and contribute to the family's income, while maintaining positive social relationships. It is crucial to reduce stigma and take action at the policy and societal levels to enhance the inclusion of individuals experiencing mental distress and disorders (Mathias, Kermode, Sebastian, Koschorke, & Goicolea, 2015).

The third study implemented interventions to raise awareness about anti-stigma campaign activities, such as door-to-door campaigns, drama, and video films. However, a few participants were aware of the posters and pamphlets displayed in public places and primary health centers. Many participants mentioned that the drama and videos helped them understand the importance of not abandoning or mistreating individuals with psychological problems, but rather providing support to them. Community members reported feeling confident in approaching and encouraging individuals to seek treatment from a doctor. Concerns were raised about the accessibility of treatment-seeking (Maulik et al., 2017).

Table: 2

Articles included in the review

Study	Author	Title of the study	Interventions and Participants	Objectives	Outcome/Results
1		Treatment gap and barriers for mental health care: A cross- sectional community survey in Nepal.	No interventions, number of study population 1983 age18 years and above	Examine possible barriers to initiation and continuation of mental health treatment	The main barriers to treatment include a lack of financial means to afford care, stigma, and being too unwell to seek help. (Luitel et al., 2017).
2	Koschorke, &	Under the banyan tree-exclusion and inclusion of people with mental disorders in rural North India.	No interventions, and 20 People with mental disorders	Interviews probed experiences of help-seeking, stigma, discrimination, exclusion, participation, agency, and inclusion in their households and communities.	Urgent need to reduce stigma and take action in policy and at all levels of society to increase the inclusion of people with mental distress and disorders. (Mathias, Kermode, Sebastian, Koschorke, & Goicolea, 2015)

Study	Author	Title of the	Interventions	Objectives	Outcome/Results
		study	and Participants		
			1 ai ticipants		
3		Evaluation of	Yes, A total	To test the	The campaign was
	al., 2017	an anti-stigma	of 1576 and	changes in	beneficial and led to
		campaign	2100	knowledge,	the improvement of
		related to	participants	attitude and	attitudes and
		common mental	were interviewed,	behavior, and	behaviors related to mental health and a
		disorders in	at pre- and	help-seeking	reduction in stigma
		rural India: a	post-	neip-seeking	related to help-
			intervention		seeking. (Maulik et
		approach.	inter vention		al., 2017).
4		Longitudinal	Yes, A	To test the	An anti-stigma
	al., 2019	assessment of	multimedia-	changes in	campaign highlighting
		an anti-stigma	based anti-	stigma	the positive effects of
		campaign	stigma	perceptions over	over 2 years (Maulik
		related to	campaign with a 1417	three-time	et al., 2019).
		common mental	population	points in the rural	
		disorders in	population	communities	
		rural India.		where the ant	
		1010101		stigma	
				campaign was	
				conducted.	
	G1 : 1	D 6 : 1	N.Y.	XX 1 . 1.1	
5	-	Professional and	No any interventions,	Understand the Professional	The study revealed
	a, 2020	psychological	60 college	Psychological Psychological	poor attitudes among college students toward
		help-seeking	students	help-seeking	professional help-
		behavior	Stadents	behavior of	seeking for mental
		among college		college students	health and recommends
		students		for their mental	increased education
				health issues and	
					reduce the perceived
				differences.	stigma for help-seeking
					(Shreevidya, 2020).

In the fourth study, the aim was to examine the longitudinal variations in knowledge, attitude, and behavior related to mental health and perceptions of seeking help for mental illness in a rural community. The most effective intervention for reducing stigma was found to be social contact. The results indicated that participants showed sustained improvement in their knowledge, attitude, and behavior towards mental health over the 2-year follow-up period, and there was a reduction in stigma associated with seeking help. This highlights the positive effects of a 2-year anti-stigma campaign (Maulik et al., 2019).

The fifth study focused on the low levels of professional and psychological help-seeking behavior among male and female college students. Only a few colleges in the state offer counseling services with trained personnel. College students with mental health issues do not seek psychiatric treatment due to the lack of affordable and accessible services, stigma surrounding mental disorders, and a lack of awareness. It is important to encourage professional help-seeking by involving teachers and college management, who can introduce campus mental health services and provide qualified intervention. This will help combat stigma and promote mental health among college students (Shreevidya, 2020).

## **Discussion**

A narrative review is a specific type of review that provides an organized method of collecting and summarizing information on a particular subject. Unlike other systematic reviews, narrative reviews offer a comprehensive overview of existing literature, which helps to validate the article. In this review, we examine the available information on mental health literacy, help-seeking, and stigma in South Asia. Our findings reveal a connection between stigma and mental health literacy programs. The research on mental health literacy and stigma focused solely on India and Nepal in South Asia. One study was conducted in Nepal, while the remaining four were conducted in India. Two of the reviewed articles tested interventions, while the other three were cross-sectional surveys. Overall, the reviewed studies demonstrated a negative relationship between mental health literacy and stigma.

The main barriers to treatment include a lack of financial means, stigma, and being too unwell to seek help (Luitel et al., 2017). Research also shows that individuals with higher levels of education, particularly those with a degree, have lower levels of stigma and higher levels of mental health literacy (Holman, 2015). A study by Amsalem and Martin (2022) found a positive and significant effect of the Depression Stigma Scale on intervention in anti-stigma programs between active and control groups. Maulik et al.

(2019) conducted an anti-stigma campaign that highlighted the positive effects over a period of two years. It has been found that anti-stigma interventions are more effective when they focus on specific mental disorders rather than mental illness in general (Reavley & Jorm, 2011).

Increased mental health literacy and reduced stigma are associated with increased self-efficacy (Beasley, Kiser, & Hoffman, 2020). The mental health and anti-stigma campaign had positive effects, improving attitudes and behaviors related to mental health and reducing stigma around seeking help (Maulik et al., 2017). Understanding depression also reduces anxieties about stigmatized beliefs being passed on from educators to students (Miller et al., 2019). Mental health literacy was found to predict help-seeking attitudes, even when considering self-stigma and help-seeking history as significant predictors (Cheng, Wang, McDermott, Kridel, & Rislin, 2018). It is crucial to reduce stigma and take action at all levels of society to promote the inclusion of individuals with mental distress (Mathias et al., 2015). These findings have implications for targeted health promotion campaigns and increasing service utilization to address mental health disparities (Holman, 2015). After the intervention, there were significant improvements in mental health knowledge and help-seeking intentions (Booth, Doyle, & O'Reilly, 2021). It is important to address mental health literacy and self-stigma while considering demographic and psychological differences in help-seeking (Cheng et al., 2018).

### **Conclusions**

Anti-stigma interventions that target specific disorders rather than mental illness in general are more likely to succeed (Reavley & Jorm, 2011). Research indicates that there is a negative relationship between mental health literacy and stigma, meaning that increasing mental health literacy can decrease stigma and vice versa. Implementing stigma reduction interventions can be a valuable tool in reducing stigma related to mental disorders and improving attitudes towards seeking help (Conceição, Rothes, & Gusmão, 2022). These findings can be beneficial for policymakers and mental health professionals in developing strategies to minimize barriers to care and address the treatment gap through community-level anti-stigma plans. Policymakers should prioritize anti-stigma programs to reduce barriers to seeking help for mental health issues. We recommend conducting further research on this topic.

**Strengths and Limitations:** This review has some limitations. It is based only in South Asia, so the results may not be applicable worldwide. Additionally, this review is conducted for academic purposes as part of authors BSW course, so it did not receive any approval or registration.

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# **Supporting information**

## Search strategy and result of different data set 9/20/2022

Concept	PubMed	EMBASE	SCOPUS
Population = (1)	"adult"[MeSH Terms] OR  "adult*"[Title/Abstract] OR  "middle-aged"[MeSH Terms] OR "middle-aged"[Title/Abstract] OR  "senior citizen*"[Title/Abstract] =  8,552,659	'adult*':ti,ab OR 'aged':ti,ab OR 'middle-aged':ti,ab	TITLE ("middle-aged) OR TITLE ("senior citizen") OR
Mental health literacy = (2)	literacy"[Title/Abstract] OR "help seek*"[Title/Abstract] OR "help-seeking knowledge"[Title/Abstract] OR "help seeking attitude*"[Title/Abstract] OR	literacy':ti,ab OR 'help seek*':ti,ab OR 'help-seeking knowledge':ti,ab OR 'help seeking attitude*':ti,ab OR 'help seeking intention*':ti,ab OR	("mental health literacy") OR TITLE ("help seek*") OR ABS ("help seek*") OR TITLE ("help-seeking knowledge") OR ABS ("help-seeking

			("help seeking intention*") OR ABS ("help seeking intention*") OR TITLE ("service use") OR ABS ("service use") = 23,805
Stigma = (3)	"barriers to care"[Title/Abstract] OR "discrimination"[Title/Abstract] OR "stigmatizing	'barriers to care':ti,ab OR 'discrimination':ti,ab OR 'stigmatizing	· ·
Country (4)	"india" [Title/Abstract] OR	'india':ti,ab OR 'srilinka':ti,ab OR 'pakisthan':ti,ab OR 'bhutan':ti,ab OR 'maldivs':ti,ab OR 'bangladesh':ti,ab OR 'afaganisthan':ti,ab OR 'south asia':ti,ab OR 'south asian country':ti,ab =	asia") OR TITLE

			ABS("afaganisthan") OR ABS ("south asia") OR ABS ("south asian country") = 406,913
1&2&3&4 (5)	= 21	= 28	0
5&English & human	= 19	=28	0



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# **Feminist Transformation: Result of the Waves of Feminist Movement**

Mr. Laxmi Prasad Bhandari \*

#### **Abstract**

This article is about feminist transformation. The main objective is to draw the connection of feminist transformation to waves and types of feminism. Document analysis has conducted under qualitative research design for drawing conclusion. The main intention of feminist transformation is to eradicate various forms of oppression and injustice that exist on the basis of gender difference. The right to vote and property ownership, legal and social rights and the use of social media for ending oppression were the achievement of the waves and these achievements were for feminist transformation. On the other hand, all feminism types have the same motive to end oppression on the basis of gender which makes feminist transformation easier. It is concluded that there is the means-end relationship between waves and types of feminism to feminist transformation. The saying and doing of people and authority must be same for true feminist transformation.

**Keywords:** Feminism, feminist movement, document analysis, power relation, sexuality, means-end relationship

#### Introduction

The social system in which females hold the primary power positions in roles of political leadership, moral authority, social privilege and control of property is matriarchy

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whereas the social system in which males hold such power positions is patriarchy. From the ancient time, patriarchy has always been a part of human civilization, although it was not in favor of justice. The cause of being patriarchy in practice may be the roles that have been assigned to the genders. There were the gender practices that had always demanded women to give more to the world then she takes from the world.

Feminism focuses on the experience of women's lives and the oppression of women in this culture. The way of conceptualization of feminism can be of different nature. Feminism is a range of social movements, political movements and ideologies that aim to define establish and achieve the political, economic, personal and social equality of the sexes (Hawkesworth, 2006).

Feminist Sociological theory aims to understand the nature of gender inequality and focuses on gender politics, power relation and sexuality. Firstly, feminist ideas emerged in the Western society and then expanded all over the world in different ways (Chandrika, 2019).

There are different issues related to women. Violence against women like rape, domestic violence, sexual harassment, reproductive rights, work conflict and family conflicts should be discussed from the feminist perspective.

Campbell (2012) argued that Feminist theory highlights the presence of gendered social structure. According to feminists, gender is socially constructed and acts as a mechanism for social stratification in male dominated society. Feminism is a social movement and political program aimed at ameliorating the position of women in society.

In fact, women and men are complement to each other. Progress can be achieved by the joint effort of both. There should be equal role of both in each and every aspect of lifelong activities. Feminism is the belief of social, economic, and political equality of sexes (Burkett, 2019).

In Nepal, women were engaged in each and every patriotic movements with courage and bravery in past. During Anglo-Nepal war at Nalapani on 1814, they had fought against British East India Company and impressed even the opponents by their bravery. Not only that, Nepalese women had great role in the movement for overthrowing the Rana regime. They had participated themselves in the movement against Party-less Panchayat system. They had great role in achieving multi-party democracy in 1990 and federal republic in 2006 (Pandey, 2016).

Women/female in general has always been treated as second-class citizen. As time is passing on, things have changed more than the people's imagination. But the present

picture of Nepal is quite different. In Nepal, the important event in feminist movement was the women's movement in 1951 where women fought for their rights to vote. It is the journey from there to this day that Nepal got Onsari Gharti Magar as its first female speaker of the parliament, Sushila Karki as first female chief justice of supreme court and of course not to forget Bidhya Devi Bhandari as the first female president. It is a remarkable achievement for a country like Nepal where patriarchy has always subordinated women's position. In private household level or in state level, the oppressed and marginalized are always women. Nepal have achieved significant changes in state level with women in the major positions and 33 percent quota in parliamentary body. Now the question to be asked is whether the progress in state level has brought any positive changes in local level for women. Main motive to promote women at state level is to bring changes in local level but Nepal's situation has not been able to make significant changes in day to day life of women. It is only few percentages of women who live in cities are able to live independently and with much freedom but for the rest, situation remains almost similar as past. Women are still struggling to get citizenship in the absence of their farther or husband. Single mothers are still struggling to provide their children an identity. Female feticide still exists, women labors still work in low wages than that of men, and not to forget ever existing torture that women have to face in name of dowry (Devkota, Bagale and Devkota, 2016).

The level of consciousness and awareness among Nepali women has improved over the years. Women who had not the right to cast vote in the country are now able to become candidates in election. The victims who faced violence in the past have now become activists. From followers, women have now become leaders. Women's participation in politics has increased remarkably. Thousands of women have joined politics, enabling them to enter the top decision-making level. They are now able to play critical role in the overall affairs of the state. Now there is a need for changing perception of seeing women. Women should not be considered as a weak victim, but should be taken as a very powerful force for change. They are very much ready for this. If we ignore this force, this will be a blunder. We have to understand that women are not only seeking rights, but have been preparing themselves to take responsibilities as well. Knowingly and unknowingly we are redefining the masculinity. There are many young generation people breaking gender stereotypes in many contexts. Mostly in the urban and educated communities, the most conventional gender roles are changing (Rimal, 2022).

In this overall situation, there are not the remarkable studies about the connection of feminist transformation to the waves of feminist movements and different types of feminism.

# **Objectives**

This article tries to review feminism in general. The following are the specific objectives of this article:

- To draw the connection of feminist transformation to the waves of feminist movement,
- To relate feminist transformation with types of feminism.

#### Literature Review

For achieving the above objectives, the following literatures are studied:

Feminism is the thought that describes a political, cultural or economical movement aimed at establishing equal rights and legal protection for women. Although largely originating in the west, it is manifested worldwide and is represented by various institutions committed to activity on behalf of women's right and interest (Burkett, 2019). The voice of Draupadi in eastern epic 'Mahabharat' and the story of goddess Sita in 'Ramayana' are also remarkable in this context.

West and Zimmerman (1991) had argued that the research project in the social sciences have often ignored women and issues of concern to women, have created differences between men and women, girls and boys that are not a natural, essential or biological.

According to the argument of West and Zimmerman, the social science researches have not paid their attention to women and girls related issues. By the cause of this fact, there is not adequate support of research studies on feminist transformation and the patriarchal concept is indirectly highlighted.

Alcoff (1988) had argued that feminist thinkers have articulated two major responses towards the world situation. The first response has the claim that feminists have the exclusive right to describe and evaluate women. Thus cultural feminists argue that the problem of male supremacist culture is the problem of a process in which women are defined by men. They reappraise women's passivity as her peacefulness, her sentimentality as her proclivity to nature, her subjectiveness as her advanced self-awareness and so forth. But the second major response has been to reject the possibility of defining women as such at all. According to this response both feminist and misogynist attempt to define women are politically reactionary and ontologically mistaken. Replacing women as housewife with women as Supermom (or Earth mother or super professional) is no advance.

The first response that feminist thinkers have articulated towards the world situation clarified by Alcoff (1988) is the problem of male supremacist culture in which women are defined by men and men reappraise women's passivity, sentimentality, and subjectiveness as peacefulness, proclivity to nature, and self-awareness respectively. This reappraisal has supported men's control over women indirectly. The second response has defined women as politically reactionary. I think Alcoff's interpretation to feminist thinkers work includes both motivation and empowerment to women which is positive but the culture of 'women define by men' is not positive towards feminist transformation.

Feminist movements have campaigned and continue to campaign for women's right including right to vote, to hold public office, to work, to earn fair wages and equal pay and for eliminating the gender pay gap, to own property, to receive education, to enter contracts, to have equal rights within marriage and to have maternity leave. Feminist have also worked to ensure social integration and to protect women and girls from rape, sexual harassment and domestic violence (Echols, 1989). Echols highlighted all matters including social integration are in favor of feminist transformation.

Spivak (1978) had said that the production of housework is not strictly organized in the capitalist mode, such an analysis would bring us face to face with a paradox. The contemporary women, when she seeks financial compensation for house work, seek the abstraction of use-value into exchange-value. The unremunerated household works have too much use-value then the exchange-value. She tried to define the word 'woman' by deconstructing the meaning. She had opposed to defining the word 'woman' as resting on the word 'man' is a reactionary position. She had the opinion that we should make the condition of making to define women for them without connecting to men.

I think Spivak's argument in favor of deconstruction of meaning of 'women' is the true representation of feminist transformation which argued that we should make the condition of making to define women for them without connecting to men. It has also addressed the importance of 'use value' of different works performed by women.

Mcrobbie (2004) argued that post-feminism positively draws on and invokes feminism as that which can be taken into account, to suggest that equality is achieved, in order to install a whole repertoire of new meanings which emphasize that it is no longer needed, it is spent force. The social construction of categories 'women' and 'men' has historically been justified by reference to biological differences but the objectivity of hard science in this area can be questioned so that the biological definition of sex itself becomes untenable (Muldoon and Reilly, 1998 as cited in Campbell, 2012, p. 137).

I have the idea that social construction of categories 'women' and 'men' justified by reference to biological differences as stated by Mcrobbie can be slightly tolerable but

defining each and every activity on the basis of this construction is not justifiable for feminist transformation.

Meagher (2012) sharing her experiences argued that formal institutional changes can and do to play critical roles in the transformation of an organization. So they are necessary but not sufficient conditions for ensuring that social democracy takes place. We need to work to counter the various behaviors which are seen to control or dominate women. Control was still exhausted through sexual harassment, through the tokenization of women, through gender segregation and by the placement of burdens on women to have to translate their work explaining how and why it was relevant to mainstream continental philosophy projects.

Meagher have focused on formal institutional changes which can truly support the feminist transformation.

Although economically women are not empowered, they are empowered while performing household and other works. The work of female is not evaluated in money. The society has put sex and rape in the same category when we talk about women violence. That is social taboo. There is a social strategy to marry the victim with the rapist. Such mentality never helps female to free the discrimination (Pokhrel, 2019).

This is the reality in most of the developing countries like Nepal that most of the household and other works performed by women are not evaluated in money. On the other side the social strategy to marry the victim women with the rapist increases the strength of rapist. So this type of provisions must be ended for feminist transformation.

Campbell and Wasco (2000) had argued about multiple feminism. According to them, there are multiple feminisms and these are similar in that they focus on the experiences of women's lives and the oppression of women in this culture. But they are different in how they conceptualize that marginalization. Identifying feminism and conceptualizing marginalization can help on feminist transformation.

Parashar (2016) discussing about feminism and post colonialism said that post colonialism offers feminism the conceptual tool box to see multiple sites of oppression and to reject universalism around gendered experiences of both men and women.

I think Prashar's idea of post-colonialism finding out the multiple sites of oppression and rejecting universalism around gendered experiences supports in strengthening feminist transformation.

Offen (1988) had discussed about relational and individualist feminism. Relational feminism proposed a gender based but egalitarian vision of social organization and the main features of relational feminism were stated like the primacy of a companionate, non-hierarchical, male-female couple as the basic unit of society etc. On the other hand individualist feminism posited the individual as the basic unit irrespective of sex or gender.

I think male and female both are companion to each other and they are couple as the basic unit of society. Relational feminism truly supports feminist transformation, but the relation of male and female must be equal weighted and balanced.

#### Methods

I used qualitative research design for this study. I collected the secondary data. I searched articles related to feminism and feminist ideology using Google. I downloaded the related articles using booksc.org, researchgate.net etc. After downloading the articles, I printed them. Then I studied the printed materials thoroughly for several times and wrote up the matters related to my objectives in rough paper and analyzed them. In this way, I have conducted document analysis.

### Result and Discussion

In this part I have presented the concept of feminist transformation and the connection of waves of feminist movement and the types of feminism by using the document analysis. That is presented below:

# **Feminist Transformation**

Feminist transformation is a deeply-seated response to the restriction and inequalities of gender oppression especially by women but also by many men. In organized women's movements it also seeks to eradicate other forms of oppression and injustice which women suffer from, such as racism, class oppression and the destruction of nature (Matthaei and Brandt, 2013). They also stated seven distinct processes United States had focused feminist transformation. These processes are the questioning/envisioning, the equal rights and opportunity process, the valuing the devalued feminine process, the gender integrative process, the feminist discernment process, the feminist combining process and the feminist unifying/diversifying/globalizing process.

This means feminist transformation is not only the campaign of women but also the campaign of men for ending the restriction and inequalities of gender oppression.

Feminist transformation tries to eradicate various forms of oppression and injustice from which women are suffered. Feminist transformation seeks to free woman as well as men from on unhealthy and oppressive gender straightjackets.

Snare (2013) argued that it is for achieving equal rights for both men and women as long as they step up and work together. Snare's view is in favor of equal rights for both men and women in each and every aspects of life activities.

Safarik (2003) investigated academic feminism as a case of transformation in higher education. She argued that feminist scholarship is transformative in that it has introduced a new paradigm for enquiry as a cultural shift that has transpired in academe over past 30 years. Feminist transformation has the idea 'Heal yourself, Heal the world.' It can help you find your true self, empower yourself, and heal yourself and your relationships. In its organized form, feminist transformation is helping transform our world into a more just, free and sustainable place.

As Matthaei and Brandt (2013) stated that the main motto of feminist transformation is to eradicate various forms of oppression and injustice which are in existence on the basis of sexual difference, Snare (2013) had the opinion that feminist transformation is for achieving equal rights for both men and women as long as they step up and work together. When various forms of oppression and injustice, which are in existence on the basis of sexual difference are eradicated, the equal rights for both men and women can be established. So, the ideas of Matthaei and Brandt and Snare correlate to each other. On the other hand, the focus of Safarik (2003) on academic feminism and on healing self, healing world and healing relationship have also the aim to establish equal rights between sexes. So, her idea also correlates with that of Matthaei and Bandt, and Snare. So, there is triangulation of ideas.

Based on the study of literature and above all discussions, I came on the conclusion that feminist transformation is the long process that is for breaking up the restriction and inequalities of gender oppression and for empowerment of backward sexual group mainly women and in some cases men also. The feminist theory also keeps the same view. Therefore, there is the clear triangulation among research finding, the theory and the related literature.

# The Connection of Feminist Transformation to the Waves of Feminist Movement

Feminist transformation is affected by the waves of feminist movement. There is some kind of connection of feminist movement to feminist transformation. So, the connection of the waves of feminist movement to feminist transformation is discussed here on the basis of document analysis.

The first wave feminism was a period of activity during the 19th and early 20th century. It focused on the promotion of equal contract, marriage, parenting, and property rights for women. In 1839 AD, the custody of infants act formulated, which gave women the right of custody of their children for the first time (Mitchell, 1997). UK formulated" Married Women's Property Act" in 1870. With the turn off of 19<sup>th</sup>century, activism focused primarily on gaining political power mainly the right of women's suffrage and sexual, reproductive and economic power too. Women's suffrage for parliamentary office began in Britain's Australian Colonies at the close of nineteenth-century such as 1893 in New Zealand, South Australia in 1895, Australia in 1902 AD (Freedman, 2003).

Based on above all studies, I have concluded that the first wave movement was related to property ownership and suffrage mainly. By the attainment of suffrage and property ownership, the overall condition of women was changed. They had got the deciding power to choose the political leadership. Gradually, they developed the decisive power for different state activities. Their self-confidence level increased. The involvement in different activities like social, cultural, political and household works had changed. I think the first wave movement became the milestone on the way of feminist transformation. So, there is the connection of feminist transformation to the first wave feminist movement.

After managing the voting rights, the feminist movement gradually turned to women's inequality in wider society. Second wave feminists coined the phrase "the personal is political" as a means of highlighting the impact of sexism and patriarchy on every aspect of women's private lives (Munro, 2013).

The second wave of the women's liberation movement began in 1960s and campaigned for legal and social equality for women (Krolokke and Sorensen, 2005). It got success in breaking down the gender stereotypes and emphasized that feminism was of importance to man as well as to women.

Guillaumin (1994) had the view that feminists continued to campaign for the reform of family laws which had given husband's control over their wives during second wave.

Thus, it is the conclusion that the second wave movement was for reforming family laws that refer to the ideas and actions associated with the women's liberation movement. It began on sixty's decade which campaigned for legal and social rights for women. It reformed the family laws. By the reform of family laws women's position in family activities was strengthened. They empowered themselves and developed their decisive power for management of household activities. All those activities contributed to feminist transformation.

The third wave refers to a continuation of and a reaction to the perceived failures of second wave feminism beginning in 1990s. In or around 1992, the third wave was identified, which focused on individuality and diversity (Krolokke and Sorensen, 2005).

Munro (2013) had stated that third-wave feminism has been critiqued for its focus on individual emancipation, in contrast to the 'personal is political' debates of the second wave. While the third-wave's focus on micro-politics is in keeping with a well-documented shift towards individualism in the latter years of the 20th century. Some argue that this can be depoliticizing, shifting the onus for charge onto the individual.

Thus, the third wave movement was identified during ninety's decade which focused on individuality and diversity and it was the continuation and reaction of second wave movement. By addressing the individuality and diversity factors, this wave contributed in enhancing the confidence level, self-decision capacity and coordinating ability, which have also connection with feminist transformation.

The fourth-wave feminism is associated with the use of social media that began around 2012. Its focus is justice for women and opposition to sexual harassment and violence against women. Its essence is incredulity that certain attitudes can still exist (Chamberlain, 2017).

The fourth-wave feminism is defined by technology and is characterized particularly by the use of Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube and Blogs such as feministing to challenge misogyny and further gender equality. The message issues that forth-wave feminist focus on include street and workplace harassment, campus sexual assault and rape culture. Scandals involving the harassment, abuse, and murder of women and girls have galvanized the movement.

Thus, it is the conclusion that the technology-based fourth wave movement is a campaign of justice for women through social media which is in the opposition to sexual harassment and violence against women. The development and use of technology against oppression towards women have contributed in feminist transformation. Therefore, there is the connection of fourth wave movement to feminist transformation.

It is the central idea of this discussion that all the four waves were the important parts of feminist transformation and they had the common motive directly or indirectly i. e. challenging to the oppression on the basis of gender and establishing equality. In other words, all the four waves had the common motive and that is feminist transformation. The views of all related literature presented above have also the same intention or sense. The feminist theory also have the view of ending oppression on the basis of gender and

establishing equality. So there is the triangulation of ideas among my reflection, the related documents' view and the intention of theory.

# The Relation of Feminist Transformation to Different Feminism Types

Feminist transformation had different nature. That means different types of feminism came in existence according to the nature of feminist transformation. So, there is some kind of connection of feminist transformation to types of feminism. So, the connection of feminist transformation to the types of feminism must be the matter of discussion for clearance about feminist transformation. Therefore, the connection of feminist transformation to the types of feminism is presented here on the basis of document analysis.

Liberal feminism clarifies that women's unequal access to legal, social, political and economic institutions caused women's oppression and it widens advocacy for women's equal access to resources (Jones and Budig, 2008). It works within the structure of mainstream society to integrate women into that structure. It gives stress for building connections among all women to advocate for equal access to resources in society. The liberal feminists are those who advocate such reforms as legal equality between the sexes, equal pay for equal work, and equal employment opportunities. But they deny that complete equality requires radical alterations in basic social institutions as capitalist economic system, the biological family, monogamous marriage, biological motherhood etc. (Warren, 1980 as cited in Kramarac & Treichler, 1985).

Liberal feminism is an assimilationist and reformist rather than revolutionary approach. It aims to fit women into existing society and to remove obstacles to their public advancement (Beasley, 2005).

Radical feminism is a movement that believes sexism is to deeply rooted in society that the only cure is to eliminate the concept of gender completely. It claims women's oppression originate in sexuality and women's bodies are controlled through violence, objectification and social institutions such as religion. Radical feminist see sexism is the oldest and most pervasive form of oppression; they argue that the eradication of patriarchy and compulsory heterosexuality are key to ending gender oppression. This would be accomplished by increasing women's control over their bodies, including transforming sexuality, childbirth and motherhood (Jones and Budig, 2008).

Marxist feminism argues that capitalism is the root cause of women's oppression, and that discrimination against women in domestic life and employment is an effect of capitalist

ideology (Bottomore, 1991). Marxist feminism claim patriarchy is produced by capitalism and will end up with capitalism's demise (Jones and Budig, 2008).

On the other hand socialist feminism distinguishes itself from Marxist feminism by arguing that women's liberation can only be achieved by working to end both the economic and cultural sources of women's oppression (Ehrenreich, 1976). It argues that patriarchy and capitalism are separate systems of oppression. Socialist feminism calls for the transformation of relations within the family through a redistribution of responsibilities, and changes in access to education, healthcare, economic opportunities and political power (Jones and Budig, 2008).

Thus socialist feminism focuses on more social change and on movement that calls for an end of capitalism through a socialist reformation of economy where as Marxist feminism argues that women are oppressed due to the private property system or the capitalism. The way to end the oppression of women is to overthrow the capitalist system. That is the main view of Marxist feminism.

Ecosystem feminism is more spiritual than political or theoretical in nature. It may or may not be wrapped of with goddess worship and vegetarianism. The basic tent is a patriarchal society exploits its resources without regard to long-term consequences as a direct result of the attitudes fostered in a patriarchal culture hierarchical society.

Warren and Cheney (1991) said ecological feminism is a feminism which attempts to unite the demands of the women's movement with those of the ecological movement. Ecofeminist often appeal to ecology in support of their claims. Particularly claims about the importance of feminism to environmentalism.

Cultural feminism is the ideology of a female nature or female essence re-appropriated by feminists themselves in an effort to re- validate undervalued female attributes. For cultural feminists, the enemy of women is not merely a social system or economic institution or set of backward beliefs but masculinity itself and in some cases male biology. Cultural feminist politics revolve around creating and maintaining a healthy environment-free of masculinist values and all their offshoots such as pornography-for the female principle. Feminist theory, the explanation of sexism, and the justification of feminist demands can all be grounded securely and unambiguously on the concept of the essential female (Alcoff, 1988). Thus cultural feminism is a movement that points out how modern society is hurt by encouraging masculine behavior. It argues that society would benefit by encouraging feminine behavior only. When radical feminism died out as a movement, cultural feminism got rolling.

Relational feminist tradition proposes a gender-based but egalitarian vision of social organization. It addresses the primacy of a companionate, non-hierarchical, male-female couple as the basic unit of society, whereas individualist Feminism focuses the individual, irrespective of sex or gender, as the basic unit. Relational feminism emphasizes women's rights as women (defined principally by their childbearing and/or nurturing capacities) in relation to men. It insists on women's distinctive contributions in these roles to the broader society and makes claims on the common wealth on the basis of these contributions. By contrast, the individualist feminist tradition of argumentation emphasizes more abstract concepts of individual human rights and celebrates the quest for personal independence (or autonomy) in all aspects of life, while downplaying, deprecating, or dismissing as insignificant all socially defined roles and minimizing discussion of sex-linked qualities or contributions, including childbearing and its attendant responsibilities.

Relational feminism represented the dominant line of argument prior to the twentieth century throughout the Western world. Indeed, relational arguments dominated European continental debate on the woman question until very recently. Individualist feminism also had deep historical roots in European culture, but it had become increasingly characteristic of British and American discourse. New historical work on Anglo-American feminism, however, increasingly reveals relational modes of argument in the British tradition existing side-by-side with individualist approaches (Offen, 1988).

Psychoanalytic feminism applies Freudian theories to gender inequality. It seeks to correct the male bias in psychoanalytic theory, producing theories that explore women's experiences with their emotions, bodies and sexuality. Theories argue early childhood experiences shape women's psyches and create differences between men and women. They argue the phallus, a symbol of male power, dominates Western culture. Solutions call for an androgynous society, possibly created through dual parenting (Jones and Budig, 2008)

Psychoanalytic feminism is closely related to the view of the fourth wave feminism which includes the unfinished business of the first three waves of feminism. In other words, the inequalities that persist in the political and personal spheres should be the idea that these unfinished agendas will contribute to the fourth wave, in which social action and spiritual psychological practice converge must be included (Diamond, 2009).

No matter which type of feminism is, all have the motto of feminist transformation. For example, liberal feminism argues feminist transformation through liberal process whereas radical feminism by increasing women's control over their bodies, including transforming sexuality, childbirth and motherhood. Likewise Marxist and Socialist feminism take

capitalism as the cause of women's oppression and advocate for women's liberation. Ecosystem feminism is in favor of attaining equality with ecological balance and cultural feminism focuses on creating and maintaining a healthy environment-free of masculinist values and all their offshoots for eradicating inequality. Relational feminism focuses on making balanced and good relation and individualist feminism focuses the individual, irrespective of sex or gender, as the basic unit but both relational and individualist feminism aim to attain equality between sexes in each and every aspects. Psychoanalytic feminism is related mainly with the fourth wave feminism but the aim is same to others. In this way all feminists have the same aims of their academic discourse and that is to establish equal rights between sexes.

All the literature stated above have the intention that all types of feminism vwere for ending oppression on the basis of gender and establishing equality. My argument on the basis of document analysis, we have to end all types of violence and oppression for establishing the ideal society and maintaining justice. Feminist theory highlights the presence of a gendered social structure and aims to understand the nature of gender inequality and focuses on gender politics, power relations and sexuality. Therefore feminist theory also have the same interpretation. So, there is the triangulation among my reflection, the related documents' view and the intention of theory.

## Conclusion

The study had drawn the connection of feminist transformation to the waves of feminist movement and feminism types. It is concluded that feminist transformation have the connection to the waves of feminist movement and all feminism types. The right to vote and property ownership, legal and social rights and the use of social media for ending oppression were the achievement of the waves. All these achievements were for feminist transformation. On the other hand, all feminism types have the same motive to end oppression on the basis of gender which makes feminist transformation easier. Therefore the clear reflection of this study is, the waves of feminist movements and the feminism types are the important means and feminist transformation is the end itself. Therefore, here is the means-end relation. In other words, all the waves and types of feminism were the important efforts on the way of feminist transformation. If the people work according to the sentiment of these waves and types, feminist transformation can be possible. The saying and doing of people and authorities must be same for eradicating oppression and injustice and maintaining feminist transformation.

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# **Practice of Critical Pedagogy in Higher Education Classrooms**

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## **Abstract**

Relying on the context of university teachers to unveils their awareness of and practice different tenets of critical pedagogy (CP). This article focuses on how university teachers perceive and practise diverse values of CP regarding classroom relationships, interactivity, and assignment-based learning in the constituent campuses of Nepal. The lived experiences elicited from the in-service's teacher employing in-depth semi-structure interview within the frame of interpretative design have been interpreted in the article. In the context of prevailing classroom practices from the critical perspective, teacher holds the positive understanding towards using the critical pedagogy. Despite the importance of critical pedagogy, effectively, incorporating critical pedagogy in classroom pose the challenges related to teacher professionalism, collaboration, traditional mindset and administrative support as well as student-related issues. This paper suggests utilizing the critical pedagogy successfully; teacher requires to be more responsible, friendly, and professional.

Keywords: critical pedagogy, higher education relationship, interaction, classroom assignment

# Introduction

The quality of education is a major concern at schools and colleges in Nepal. The quality of education is affected by many factors including the pedagogical approach of teachers

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in schools and colleges (Ministry of Education, 2016). Teaching learning approach is the crucial approach for quality education (CDC, 2007). Thus, the new methods of teaching in higher education is introduced for making the quality of higher education (HEP, 2019). Moreover, to make the quality of higher education, a practical based teaching and learning is essential (ADB, 2015). Despite many efforts to change the approach to teaching and learning, still many classrooms remain textbook and teacher-centered with didactic teaching methods that emphasize the rote learning and the uncritical absorptions of facts (Ministry of Education, 2016). In this line, the ADB's study report (2015) underlines that the practices of rudimentary teaching and learning process are crucial issues affecting quality of teaching and learning in higher education of Nepal.

The report of education commission of Nepal has emphasized on the methods of teaching that should be student centered rather lecture methods, but also should be focused on drills, groups discussions, library work, and homework (MOE, 1961; Sharma, 2059 B.S.). Moreover, the commission also suggests for employing the term papers, case study, fieldwork, and research activities (Sharma, 2059 B.S.). In addition, to maintain the quality in higher education, there should be given the internal autonomy and developing the sense of accountability in order to develop intellectual capacity and creative activities to the students (NEC, 1992 and MOEST, 2019). Similarly, to build the accountability and responsibility of the stakeholders i.e., student and teacher should participate in instructional policy making process (NEC, 1992).

The work of teaching and learning at Tribhuvan University is not satisfactory because of the prevalence of lecture and note-taking methods by the teachers (NEC, 1992). It is seen that the purpose of higher education is to practice the rote-learning rather than to develop the skills of thinking and creativity among the students. Although the teaching methods at the university level are still monotonous and unattractive or traditional, there has not been seen the possibility to arouse the interest of the students in their learning (NEC, 1992). Higher education is a part of unified system of education from early childhood and throughout the life. But it influences all level of education in particular secondary education should be a priority because the secondary education is a foundation of preparing the students as an active person for further learning (UNESCO, 1998). Similarly, increasing the learners' activeness in the learning, the educating process of school and college should be considered about the socio-cultural context of the students (Acharya et al., 2022). Though increasing the relevancy of education whether the secondary or higher education by employing the different methods of teaching is still an issue of classroom teaching and learning in our education system of Nepal (MOEST, 2019). In the same line, the Royal Commission of Education considered the students of higher education come with weak foundation of school-level education and poor languages such types of teaching and learning process have not been practice in the college yet (MOE, 1961). The aim of critical education is to develop the individuals' human values, characters, and to make citizens who are aware of the glorious culture and civilization of the nation (MOE, 1961). The function of education is considered to transform the social injustice which are socially less accepted (Freire, 1970). The method of teaching and learning activities of the higher education policy acknowledges under the different education commissions to follow the critical pedagogical approach in education (NNEPC, 2011; NEC, 2049 B.S.; HEC, 2055 B.S.). Existing teaching in higher education has undermined such "transformation" which is the main responsibility of a university teachers (Rajesh, 2014). This study has attempted to explore how the university teachers persevere and apply the critical pedagogy in their classroom teaching. I was motivated to conduct this research based on my personal and professional experiences as a student and working as a university teacher.

After completing university education, I have been teaching at the university for fourteen years, by the same methods that the teacher would have used in the classroom while I was a student at the university. But, the pedagogical policy of university education has been constantly changing. Most of the teaching policies of higher education are prescribed towards student-oriented learning such as discussion, assignment, mini-project, researchoriented, and collaborative learning, but also it does not seem in practice (Pervin & Mokhtar, 2022). This gap between theory (policy) and praxis has appeared in classrooms at the university that inspired me to study the pedagogy of the university. Moreover, most of the empirical literature regarding the perception and practice of critical pedagogy focused on English language teaching whether in secondary or higher education classroom (Paudel, 2020). Therefore, this study will focus on the general educational classroom under the faculty of education, who are not self-identified as critical teachers. Though, the main objective of this paper was to explore the existing perception and practices of critical pedagogy in the classrooms at the faculty of education, through the critical pedagogical perspectives. I hope that this research can shed some new light on what extent CP can be implemented in certain educational contexts and possible challenges that teachers may face in the process.

# **Objectives**

The following were the objectives of the study:

- To know how do university teachers perceive critical pedagogy?
- To explore how do university teachers implement critical pedagogy in their classroom?

#### **Review of Literature**

The study has mainly focused on examining the existing teaching-learning process in the classroom of higher education from the critical pedagogy perspective. In this section, the study has attempted to capture the major pedagogic development based on philosophical perspectives and social theories that led to the present understanding of the teaching and learning as well as the teaching-learning process in higher education. It also attempts to review the external factors that explicitly and implicitly influence the teaching-learning processes or pedagogical process in the classroom like ideology, socio-cultural aspect of the school community, and power that led to the remarkable ongoing transformation of the teaching-learning environment. It also reviews major innovative findings of the previous researches regarding pedagogical principles that inspire good teaching-learning practices, primarily critical change that can contribute to the mode of teaching in higher education.

# Critical Pedagogy as a Theoretical Framework

The theoretical foundation of this study is based on critical pedagogy to analyze how the teacher applies critical pedagogy in the M. Ed. curriculum of Tribhuvan University. The educators' belief in their intention of teaching is to support the students as a vehicle for both personal and social transformation (Braa & Callero, 2006). By applying this framework, critical pedagogy views education as a social construction where the individual and the society are constructed (Costandius & Blitzer, 2015). So, it has been inherently influenced by the notion of socioeconomic and political power (Akin-Sabuncu, 2022). According to this framework, education is the liberation and empowerment of the oppressed and marginalized toward equitable and just societies (Bradshaw, 2017 & Freire, 1973). This theoretical framework is founded on the belief that education fosters a liberal school culture that seeks to transform class structures and practices that perpetuate an oppressive, unjust, and undemocratic life (Akin-Sabuncu, 2022). It views education as a process that helps students to develop the skills for critical thinking and practice of selfreflection about the knowledge and values in different subjects which they face in the classroom (Muszyńska, & Gómez-Parra, 2022). Subsequently, education is the practice of freedom whose aim is to liberate the oppressed students in schools and society (Freire, 1973). Liberation means a praxis - the action and reflection of the student upon their world to transform it (Freire, 1993). The mutual relationship between theory and praxis is the central idea of critical pedagogy. It aims to see how power works in the context of the production, distribution, and consumption of knowledge within the school. It also hopes that the student is an informed citizen and social agent (Steinberg & Freire, 2011). Through this framework, students must offer the opportunity to engage the multiple positions that constitute different cultural codes, experiences, and languages (Giroux, 1997). To achieve these goals, a teacher integrates knowledge, power, and ideology into their classroom pedagogy which led to the student's emancipation (Giroux, 2015). From this theoretical stance, teachers at all levels of education are potentially powerful agents of social change (Giroux, 1997). In particular, in classroom teaching, teachers have a pivotal role in the classroom situation is to awaken students' minds by teaching them critical thought rather than encouragement to the need for a revolution (Katz, 2014). Thus, through the lens of critical pedagogy, this study addresses how teacher performs their teaching activities in university-level education like TU.

# Policy Provision on the Critical Pedagogy in Higher Education

In the history of formal education in Nepal, Nepal National Education Planning Commission (NNEPC) is the first education plan that considers the essence of quality of education at all levels. In the context of methods of teaching for higher education, this commission has suggested that the teaching pedagogy should be improved based on modern practice, new instructional aids and ensuring the variety in methods and materials of learning (Government of Nepal, 2011 B.S.). The second is All-round National Education Commission (ARNEC) which has suggested for applying the individualized teaching approach in the teaching of higher education (MOE, 1961), but the commission has not seemed any influence on higher education because of illness in the planning and implementation of the education programs (Shah, 2020). The NESP is recognized as the most important plan in the field of education but it has not clearly said what kinds of teaching-learning activities will be adapted but only that scientific methods of teaching will be applied instead of traditional methods at all level-education (NESP, 1971). It can be disclosed that "it was the central system of education" (p. 321). The Royal Commission of HE is the fourth education plan of Nepal that also considers the method of teaching for effective teaching in higher education. They should maintain student-teacher ratio, manage tutorial classes, not to be only lecture methods in teaching but also, they should focus on drills, group discussions, class seminars, library work, and homework (MOE, 1961). Besides, the instruction policy should be taken to promote term papers, case studies, fieldwork, and research work at the university education. The other recommendation is that the job of educational guidance services to the student within higher education is to be taken as an integral part of teaching (MOE, 1961). All of the instructional activities concerning higher education that have been proposed follow the critical theory, but the plan has not been experienced in practice. In the same way, the NEC states that the faculties should, however, be given full freedom to determine the contents and standards of their teaching and research without interference from any quarter (NEC, 1992). In addition, the teaching methods for HE should be made more student-centered rather than teacher-centered. Another education plan like Higher National Education Commission (HNEC) has also recommended that research-based teaching-methods and individual counseling services are to be integral parts of the teaching of higher education (Sharma, 2059 B.S.).

In early 1997, the Nepalese government felt the need for further reform in education. And then, High-level National Education Commission (HLNEC) was established in 1997 to study and analyze policies, programs, and the organization of existing education, with a hope of making education more appropriate to meet the challenges of the 21st century. This commission conceived the educational objectives as to the enhancement of national's cultural awareness and building individual's morals, increasing the creativity, analytical power, and scientific in thinking (Sharma, 2059 B.S.). Therefore, it has been seen that this commission has fully followed the principle of the critical perspective in the formulation of the objective of higher education. For accomplishment of such educational goals, this commission has proposed the student-centered methods of teaching rather than teacher-centered methods. Further, it has suggested that the research-based teaching to be an integral part of teaching in Higher education and provide counseling services to students to choose subjects and courses (Sharma, 2059 B.S.). Besides that, the teacher should be regular in their teaching work and to be arranged adequate physical facilities for effective teaching such as adequate classrooms, furniture audiovisual materials, textbooks, journals, reference books, etc. (Sharma, 2059 B.S.). Later, the National Education Policy has been introduced in 2019. It is guided by the principle of a federal democratic republic aimed at ensuring the right of every person to get an education and make education universal, relevant, competitive, and quality (MOEST, 2019). This policy focused on the pedagogical reform in the higher education, for pedagogical reform, it focuses on to employing the project methods, inquiry methods, and research-oriented activities while teaching in higher education.

# Critical Pedagogy as a Dialectical Conversation between Teacher and Students

The dialectical view of the relationship between student and teacher (as authorities) has attempted to display its relevancy for critical pedagogy (Giroux, 1997). Herein, authority is perceived as a function of concrete human situation in which a person or group fulfilling purpose, where requires direction or guidelines from a source outside or inside of the school administration (Giroux, 1997). Encountering authoritarian relationships in the classroom is a central aspect of CP. Therefore, it is necessary to nurture its transformative aims (Vargas, 2019). As McLean (2006) remarks, most of the classroom pedagogy's aims have to open spaces of possibility, enable imagining, and become "other", but the existing patterns of classroom performativity in terms of the student as a

consumer and teacher as a producer of commodities, transgress dualisms between teacher and students.

Freire criticized that banking education as completely detached from the social-cultural realities and interests of the learner. For him, the imposition of only informational or factual knowledge over the students, it is systematic oppression that they suffered (Freire, 2005). The purpose of classroom teaching has to enhance the student's critical thinking skills (Freire, 1973). Freier analyzes the term "dialogue" as a human phenomenon that has two fundamental elements – reflection and action - which make dialogue possible (p. 88). In a critical interaction, if one is sacrificed, the other merely suffers. And then, there is no true praxis. Thus, when the reflection and action come together within the classroom that only can transform students' understanding.

Dialogue is not the act of one's depositing 'ideas' in another, nor simply exchange of ideas to be "consumed" by dialoguer, nor search for the truth but rather to the imposition of their own truth. In the context at critical classroom, it is an encounter between students and teacher that help to those people who want to change itself and their social world.

Freire claimed that dialogical encounters help students to develop critical consciousness of social, political, and economic contradictions so that they can take action against them (Freire, 1990). Thus, to develop the skills of critical thinking among students, they have to require analyzing and to be interactive through dialogue (Schugurensky, 1998). Such way of learning that can help to the people to understand who is and is not allowed access over the resources and the opportunity, and how access is allowed or denied within the society (Freire, 1990).

Now, the world has been growing towards the global and social polarization, then, increasing levels of marginalization and new dimensions of poverty and oppression. In this context of Higher education, the ideas of Freire's dialogical method of teaching under the critical pedagogy need to be adapted in the schools and colleges to face the new challenges coming in the future (Freire, 1990).

# **Teachers' Role in Classroom Teaching**

Teachers need to develop critical ability through which they can analyze their school and colleges sites. Specially, it will support to examine their educational goals, contents, learning resources, and context of the learning and to refine their promises (Bashyal, 2007). Each teacher needs to reflect themselves, what is needed for them to become a good critical teacher. It here is needed to appreciate at first their own history and cultural

experience. If they can appreciate their own background, they can better appreciate the heritage and culture of their own students (Bashyal, 2007). In this consideration, a research study found that the knowledge and skills that are obtained while teacher teaching in the classrooms that will facilitate the student to social integration and wellbeing (Shabashvili, & Gochitashvili, 2017). In critical classrooms, a teacher should ensure the support and facilitation to the student in terms of: First, selection of learning materials and adjustment to the learning goals. Second, they should remain as a facilitator to application of this materials into the practice, and lastly, they should support to make the favorable milieu for students to express their experiences with respecting student's social-cultural knowledge (Shabashvili, & Gochitashvili, 2017). Thus, CP considered teacher worthwhile to offer brief instructions and a list of the activities, resources, and combinations thereof which will facilitate the teacher to give knowledge to the students and make them develop the skills facilitating their social integration and welfare. (Shabashvili, & Gochitashvili, 2017). Many critical pedagogues contend that, for critical teaching, a teacher needs to move beyond theory to actualize the practical applicability of critical pedagogy (Giroux, 1997; Freire, 1970). In a same line, Freire highlighted the real teaching as a practical activity hence, a teacher should be more interested in practice than in theory (Freire, 1987). The principles of critical pedagogy offer the teachers to be open to the students in a class to share their stories of their experiences, culture, knowledge, language, etc. so that they will be able to walk into a class with confidence (Giroux, 1997). Critical pedagogy for higher education is mostly needed as the world continues to suffer from socio-cultural, economic, and political injustice (Jeyaraj, 2014). In the midst of such adversity, the aims of critical education seek to bring hope for an improvement and change future (Freire, 1970). Teachers who engaged in critical pedagogy should stand for justice and equity in their respective classrooms and striving to educate student to become social critic and conscience (Jeyaraj, 2014).

# Method

I have employed qualitative research design while conducting this study under the interpretative research paradigm, where more emphasis has been laid on participants' experiences (Creswell, 2007). The intention of my study is to explore the perception and practices of pedagogy in the classroom which one influences of the thought-language of the participants (Freire, 1970). In this paper I believe on reflective experiences emerged from the dialogical relationship between student, teacher, and classroom setting (Freire, 1970). Thus, the findings of this paper have based on the subjective reality of the respondents (Ahmed, 2008). In doing so, the subjectivist epistemology is followed into this paper because the subjectivist research is in revealing how the participant teacher's experiences shape their perception regarding to the classroom pedagogy. Thus, this

study's finding constructed through the process of mutual understanding between researcher and participants, is the epistemological aspect of the study (Ahmed, 2008). Moreover, this study has adapted to the value-laden approach where more emphasis on participants' experiences rather than researcher (Creswell, 2007). In collusion, interpreting and analysis of the research findings mainly based on the classroom experiences of the research participants (Pervin et al., 2022). Five teachers of constituent campuses have selected through the purposive sampling technique to ensure liveexperienced of the participants into the current study (Brown, & Sekimoto, 2017; Poulter & Tosun, 2020). As a research tool, in depth semi-structured interview is used for collecting the information from the teachers. The time for each individual interview was taken around two-hours. The pseudonyms have used to preservation of participant's privacy respectively Laxmi, Rout, Roman, Maya, and Roshan. In a data analysis procedure, I have organized my information analysis activities into four phases: In the first stage, I have involved in close reading of the transcript data repeatedly. In the second stage, I performed the coding with the help of transcribed notes. Ultimately, I chunked codes together as a way of identifying my initial themes. In this way, my next phase comprised of searching for connections and relationships among themes and placing them in clusters. And then, I clustered my initial themes which were developed from the complete list of coding categories that represented all possible themes and subthemes of the research phenomena.

During the information analysis process, I employed the phenomenological framework outlined by Pietkiewicz and Smith (2012). It offers to the researcher to focus on uncovering the "essential meaning" presented in the data. With realizing this frame of analysis of information, I came to the conclusion of the study by taking the support of the related literature, the established principle of CP, and lived experiences of the participants while the analysis of the information.

# **Results and Discussion**

The results of this study focused on how university teachers perceived and practised classroom pedagogy in their classroom through the lenses of critical pedagogy. The final thematic groups were generated as interactive classroom (culture of silences, communication and contextualization of teaching), students-teacher relationship (student's contributions, collaborative learning environment, and motivation), and assignment-based teaching (students' activeness, ability to construct the new insight, and engaging the practical activities). The study themes have been discussed in three layers including narrative quotations in participants' voices, conceptual analysis of narratives, and interpretation in relation to the relevant literature.

# Perception of respondent on classroom interaction

A classroom is considered as a social unit. Most of the diversity is considered as an important fact in developing the classroom society. The classroom practices reflect the society of the future. The participants opined that making the interactive classroom practices to challenge status quo and learner's initiative learning process an important for university classrooms. The participant forwarded view that the questioning techniques in classroom teaching mostly valued for making the interactive classroom. The following narratives excerpt the glimpse of perception of teacher on classroom interaction:

Laxmi. "Discussion with the students during the classroom teaching helps make learner-centered teaching."

Rohan. "The task of teaching should be student-centered which means asking questions to the students and providing opportunities for them to present their experiences which can promote interaction."

Maya. "Teachers should not discriminate pupils in the classroom based on gender, caste, religion, and language...

Angel. " ...providing opportunities for them to present their task in the classroom"

The experiences of the respondents of the study reveal that classroom discussion, opportunities for class presentation, and equal participation in the learning are the main ideas of the learning centered teaching (L C T). Based on the participants' statements teachers highlight interaction as a classroom discussion between students and teacher where students and teacher are equally responsible in the learning process. To provide the opportunities of classroom presentation during the classroom teaching is another idea to make the learner active in their learning process which is the active and responsible learner is one of the key areas of critical pedagogy (Acharya et al., 2022). It may have a general notion of CP but does not follow its complete procedures. They do not unfold and connect the idea about the social structure, culture, and domination. Thus, the findings of the study signal that the understanding of the teacher about CP is learner-centered teaching. Similarly, other participants' voices are, the classroom environment should be psychologically safe and free. There should not be discrimination based on gender, language and religions. It is assumed that CP only promotes interaction. Dialogical interaction between student and teacher in the classroom is an important strategy of critical pedagogy, where communication and interconnection between teacher and students come together are necessities for critical pedagogy (Freire, 1970; Aliakbari & Faraji, 2011). In this sense, teachers may have poor theoretical knowledge about the actual concept of CP. So, teachers do not understand the spirit of the CP properly.

# Teachers' practices of interaction in the classroom

Interaction is an empathetic relationship between students and teachers where they are engaging in collaborative work for the achievement of common goals in the classroom (Freire, 2005). Respectful attitudes and teacher support are considered the basic things of the classroom for developing the interactive classroom in higher education (Makarov, 2021). The psychologically safe environment is significant for harmonizing the relationship with students for fostering interaction in the classroom. The views of participants emphasize that the teaching is supposed to be interactive to make the students active in the learning process. The perceptions of teacher practices on interaction in their classroom are presented as the evidence:

Angel. "As a teacher, I ask questions to students in the classroom. But I do not wait for answers. As I see the faces of students, they do not try to answer my questions. But they expect answers directly from me. The questions in the classroom act as the means for controlling their distractions. I think, there are some aspects such as personal support in the learning process is missing."

Roman. "I often ask questions to the students about having any problems with their previous lesson. Later on, I open the computer with the slide, and then I request the students to read this slide. And then I begin to explain with examples. They are listening attentively. I ask again to have anything else, at the end, students often request to summarize and then, I end the lesson by repeating it once."

Maya. "My way of communication in the classroom is one-way, students listen to me passively in the classroom but I am unable to make interactive classroom because of overcrowded classrooms, they are busy looking mobile, side-talking, and note-taking."

Laxmi. "While I try to make the class learner-centered, the students often tell me "We passed the exam by reading the notes...and here we are now...not having enough study materials. So, sir! you must give notes in class."

Roshan. "I ask the question to the students about the subject matter, at the beginning of the teaching, in the group. The students who answered the questions well, I more often say that woh! What a good answer! Thank You! I am so happy! The student who is passive in the classroom, I do not use any alternatives for their learning."

The finding highlights the question-answer techniques to make an interactive classroom in higher education. However, it could not properly be functioning in the classroom. In the interview, teachers shared their view "students are seen in silence in the classroom." The ideas they share aligned with teacher-dominated practices. The causes behind the silences of the students may have students' anxiety, an imbalanced relationship among students and teachers, the habit of taking more time to answer the questions, and extra support is needed to understand the questions. In this context, the study findings indicate that the teachers' role is missing for making the safe classroom environment at the university level. The respectful and safe learning environment is considered as the basic things for the interactive classroom (Melo, 2019). However, making the students active, providing the practical examples during the classroom teaching, and measuring the students' understanding regarding the lesson are the responsible teaching of a teacher. The opinion they shared in the interview signaled "the students as an attentive listener and teacher as a medium of passing the information through the structural questions" that limiting the students' freedom in the classroom. These findings of the study represent the existing teaching practices in higher classroom near about the characteristics of the banking approach of teaching where the position of a teacher as a subject of the learning process and students as the object (Freire 1970, p. 73). The overall insights of the participants acknowledge that the learning structure of the classroom is revolving around the teacher rather than students, which focuses less on the interactive classroom. Contextualization of the teaching is one of the aspects of the critical pedagogy, a teacher interested in practices than theory (Steinberg & Freire, 2011). The experiences of the teacher seemed towards connecting the lesson to the student's background by providing the practical evidence only through teachers' verbal explanation. In addition, a teacher needs to be open to the students in the classroom to share their experiences and cultural knowledge which is the prime indicator of the interactive classroom (Freire, 1970).

Motivation is considered a powerful technique for fostering the engagement of students in the learning process (Bashyal, 2007). The shared experiences of the participant teachers found that engagement and motivation are the core elements of the interactive classroom which can be developed by using symbolic motivation techniques in the classroom. Moreover, the proper use of different techniques of motivation can increase the learning habits of students inside as well as outside of school and college settings. The view of the findings can be aligned with tenets of the critical pedagogy. Contrary to this, the view of participants shared regarding poor skills and knowledge hinder teachers' ability to ensure equal participation in the learning process. Thus, the existing practices of teaching in higher education may create the gap between "good" and "poor" students. From the above discussion, the university teachers have seemed to practise the different question-answer and motivation techniques to make the classroom interactive. However, the lack

of independent learning habits among students, poor student motivation, and poor interest of the student are the significant factors hindering the interactive classroom in university-level education.

# Teachers' perception on teacher- students' relations in the classroom

The frequently informative interaction between students and teachers is a presumption of democratic classroom learning where teachers and students are free for exercising the learning process. It could foster the students-teachers' relationship in the classroom setting. Based on the participants' experiences, positive attitudes to the students and the academic interaction with the students makes the students become positive toward the teachers. The findings of the participants' experiences asserted that the interaction with the students was academically poor. The relationship among the teachers, students, and other faculty members is crucial in school setting. However, some of the participants argue that the teachers' relationship with students has negative influences on students for taking their learning responsibility in the classroom. In this context, some of the voices of the participants are as follows:

Roshan. "I feel that the relationship with the student should be academic. Forming a relationship with students through academic power can sustain the students' learning because a teacher always attempts to encourage positive aspects of students and provide feedback to improve the negative aspect of the students during the learning process."

Angel. The relationship among students, teachers, and administrators of the colleges is to be positive in how to improve the overall learning activities of the colleges because it is a teamwork.

Roman. "A democratic learning environment is essential for classroom learning. Where collective and individual way of teaching are the appropriate methods of CP."

Maya. "Mutual relation between students and teachers is more appropriate in the lower level-education than higher education."

The study found that the power relationship, collaboration, and respect for the student in the learning process contribute to fostering democratic relations in the classroom. The participant teachers also know that power redistribution between teachers and students is an important aspect of critical pedagogy because it prefers to practise learner-centered teaching in the classroom (Kincheloe, 2008). Some of the participants of this study seem

opposed to the democratic relationship with students because such a relationship makes the students more dependent or passive in nature. Although teachers have the general information or knowledge about power, collaboration, and values of the learner in their learning process, but have no crux ideas about the collaborative learning culture among the university teachers. Some of the participants revealed that collaborative relationship in the college is essential. However, they seem in a hurry in how to control each other rather than improving the common goals of the students as well as the college. From the above discussion, although few teachers are found in opposition to the democratic relationship with the students, but most of the teacher' perception seemed positive towards the students' relationship. Theoretically, they realized the need for friendly relationship with students.

## Practices of teacher- students' relations in the classroom

The relationship with the students in classroom is an important aspect of critical classroom where teachers acknowledge the students as central persons of the learning process. To encourage, motivate, and provide the feedback to the students is the core techniques to improve the relationship with the students. The participants' view of this study argued that teachers are not found responsible for their professionalism as well as students' learning because they are teaching without making the plan and preparation of the lesson and to provide the insufficient time to the students' learning. The study results also found that the unitary types of methods of teaching, learning resources, and learning activities would not be able to address students' needs and interests who come in the classroom from diverse backgrounds. This resulted that the relationship between students and teachers is poor. In this context, some of the voices of the participants are as follows: Maya. "As a teacher, I always encourage the students for their learning by providing feedback when they feel difficulty in the learning process. But in practice, it is poor because the overcrowded (a large number of students) classroom limits the interaction with the students."

Raout. "To build the relationship with students in the classroom, alternative facilities should provide to the students who are poor in the learning process that are guidance services, alternative teaching methods, and materials but it is poor in practice."

Roshan. "While I am teaching, I ask the question regarding the types of economy in the group. A student answers the question, who is irregular and no play the major role in a class. I am surprised and tell him woh! What a good answer! Thank you! "A better answer than me." I am so happy! In later days, I meet him often in the library."

Maya. Developing flexibility in relationships with students in the classroom learning process makes them more idle persons, does not make them interested to participate in internal activities of the classroom, be late to do homework, and twist the teacher's attention from the classroom issues on the other fields.

The democratic attitudes of teachers to their students are a significant predictor of the good practices of CP in the classroom (Turabik & Gün, 2016). Some of the study participants share their experiences as motivation, encouragement, providing the sufficient learning materials and individual support or teaching are playing the significant role in building the effective relationship with students. But in practice, due to the overcrowded classroom, spending the little time in college, insufficient learning materials, and lack of support from faculty members, teachers are found unable to create the space of collaborative learning inside or outside of college setting. A few of the participants argued that democratic relationship with students is possible in the school level education than the higher-level education. These findings are corresponding with the assumption of Freire' banking approach of teaching (Freire, 1970). It also revealed that some participant teachers have the knowledge about how to build the relationship with students. They are using the different methods of teaching for supporting students' engagement in their learning and different techniques of motivation in the classroom for instruction to the students for poor scoring in the classroom. The positive relationship with student in the classroom, teacher has three benefits: to get the opportunity to know their students very well, provide choices to the students, and encourage the students to become active learners everyday (Vargas, 2019). This study also covers such ideas in their practices in the classroom as a significant element for making the positive relationship with students. In summary, most of the teachers have the general knowledge about the concept of relation with students and its actual practices in the classroom and a few participants have the moderate knowledge about this concept, but lack of collaborative learning culture in the teachers, insufficient time, lack of responsibility of teachers, lack of learning resources, and lack of collaboration among the faculty members are the hindering forces for building good relationship with students in the classroom. Hence, the relationship with student is to be reciprocal to achieve common goals of the classroom but in practice co-operative relationship is still low. From this statement, it asserted that the narrative sickness relationship is still predominant in the classroom p. 71). How the pedagogical power relationship to the different (Freire, 1970, backgrounds of the student is relevant which is the crux idea of critical pedagogy. The finding of the study indicated that the involvement of the students in team activities, motivation of the students for teamwork, and facilitating students for teamwork refer to, theoretically, the teacher may have a general knowledge about the different notions of CP. In a real sense, the university teacher has still a belief in hierarchical relationships with the students in the classroom which would seem in opposition to the notion of CP.

# Perception of assignment-based teaching in the classroom

Assignment based-teaching is an important approach to teaching for transferring the responsibilities of learning from teacher to students. Similarly, assignment-based, research-based, and community-orientated practices of teaching are considered the key strategies for strengthening the implementation of critical pedagogy inside and outside the college setting (Jeyaraj, 2014). The participants' opined that perception of assignments-based teaching and learning are as appropriate methods for making the students active in the learning process. Some of the participants' narratives are as follows:

Angel. "Practical activities of the student in the classroom is necessary to make the students more responsible citizen for a society because it supports not only to know the existing knowledge in practice but also develops the ability to construct new insight."

Maya. " Activities-based teaching and internal assessment system is the basic idea to make the student active in the learning process."

Rohan. "To change the curriculum into the practice (theory - action come together) can only be through the practice of assignment-based teaching in the classrooms."

Roshan. "Learning process can be linked to the daily-lives of the students." Laxmi. "The teaching at the classroom should be through a learner-centered approach, it offered students to involve in different tasks or assignments and involved in research activities outside and inside of the college."

Some of the participants' experiences are sought assignment-based teaching can make education relevant to students' lives. Some others' views are found near to the statement " to make the students more active than a teacher in the learning process." This perception of the the teacher directly link to the assignment-based teaching as a teaching strategies of critical pedagogy like problem- posing learning (Freire, 1970). Based on the discussion, it has been signaled that teacher perception of assignment-based teaching only can break the hierarchical relation between the student and teacher in the classroom. Moreover, another concern of the participant is "learning process can be linked to the daily-lives of the students" which one is possible only the practices of assignment-based, project work

or research-based teaching in the higher education classroom (ADB, 2015). In the same line, another view of respondents was that the learner centered- teaching should practice in the classroom because it focuses on placing the students at the center of the learning process, in which the students' needs, interest and goals are accepted as a foundation of the learning process. A key aspect of learner-centered teaching is active involvement of students in various learning tasks and assignments that fosters the students to critically engage with their subject matter and takes ownership of their learning. This one concern of participants aligned with finding of Shor (2012), suggested that the real teaching is to be more practical activity than in theory. So, teachers should be more interested in activities-based teaching than traditional. Moreover, the aims of using the assignmentbased teaching in the classroom is to make students able to give new things to their society (Jeyaraj, 2014). The critical classroom is a place where the teachers and students have to work collaboratively to change the theoretical curriculum in to the practical life. The findings of the study signal that activities-based teaching i.e., project work and involvement in the research activity are the core activities of the CP in the higher education. In conclusion, the university teacher has understood the need of practical based teaching in the higher education. Moreover, it is also found that teacher and students have to work co-operatively in the classroom that fosters the teamwork is the basic function of the CP. On the basis of findings, the level of understanding of the teachers about practical-based teaching is found positive.

# Practices of assignment-based teaching in classroom

The assignment is an indispensable part of classroom teaching in higher education. It is perceived as a self-learning method, developing presentation skills, and enhancing the learning experiences of students (Uddin, 2020). But how it is practiced or assigned to the students is a serious problem for both students and teachers because they take it as an impediment to their learning life, which are the key aspect of the critical pedagogy (Freire, 1970). The opinions of the participants shared in the interview regarding the practices of assignment-based teaching represent here are as follows:

Raout. I give the assignment by matching it with the course of study of the programs. I provide feedback to the students who submit on time. But I have not used alternative measures for those who do not bring it on time.

Roman. Whilst teaching in the classroom,  $I \setminus we$  say that "many questions come from this unit", because it is important, so our study is seen poorly research-oriented. Of course, our teaching practice is not oriented toward the students' creative development.

Laxmi. The mandatory assignment of the classroom is linked to the internal assessment of the students by the curriculum. However, the student does not show interest to do this work, even I have blocked the internal number of the students. In opposition, the campus administration indirectly forces us to provide the internal number to students who are not participating in such classroom activities.

Maya. There is no! no!!! "Equal participation in the task or assignment in my classroom", a few students participated in the seminar actively but many of the students come to class irregularly because they are busy in the other field during college time resulting that being partially involved in the research-based task or assignment of their respective course.

Roshan. What an activity! In the classroom, sir! I often go with lecturing...but I practice some activities partially which is provisioned by the semester system. For instance, field visit, classroom presentation, and writing research-based article is mandatory in our curriculum. Students show poor interest to do this work because of poor academic experiences at the previous level of education. I often teach them only about how this work is carried out theoretically in the class.

The experiences of the participants about the exercises of the assignment-based teaching in the classroom mainly concerned the teaching lesson of the students and the other experiences are connected to the internal assessment which is mandatory by the instructional policy of higher education (Faculty of Education, 2070 B.S.). Moreover, the experiences shared in the interview from the participant teachers, for instance, " much of the question comes from this unit." This statement signaled that our teaching process is still traditional because the teachers are seen as busy for preparing the students to the final examination rather than preparing for the future. The findings aligned with the study finding of Uddin (Uddin, 2019). In the same line, one participant experiences i.e., "There is no! no !! no!!! Equal participation..." however the instructional policy of higher education has attempted to institutionalize the assignment, seminar, and research-based teaching as a method of classroom teaching (MOEST, 2019; NEC,1992 & UGC, 2013), but it would not be practically implemented in the classroom. Another experience of the respondent is " our assignment system of the classroom is linked to the internal assessment." From the experiences of participants, to connect the students' assignment into the internal assessment process of the students that is the strong aspect of implementation of critical pedagogy in the classroom. According to Freire (1970),

assignments should enable students to reflect on their own lived experiences and question the dominant narratives. On the other hand, the authentic assessment promotes the social consciousness among the students (McLaren, 2012). A participant asserted that the existing policy regarding the assignment-based teaching is found in line with assumption of CP. Another view of participants is found some different, for instance, " I often go with lecturing...but practise some activities partially." There are two types of assignments practised in the classroom. First, is used to engage the students in learning i.e., home assignments, project work, and other research activities, and the second is to complete the criteria of the student's final examination of the years that are standardized by the concerned authorities. The involvement of students in both types of assignments is low because of irregularity in the classroom due to the business of other fields at college time. Thus, the findings reveal that research-based or assignment-based teaching is partially practised in the classroom, however, the policy prescribes it as mandatory (Faculty of Education, 2070 B.S. & Sharma, 2059 B.S.). In conclusion, though, teachers have felt positive about the practices of assignment-based teaching as a method of critical pedagogy as with the findings of Safari (Safari, 2012). In addition, this study also found that the instructional policy is constantly changing within the higher education system by adapting practical work like assignment, project work, and research activities, considering as key aspect of critical pedagogy. However, due to the traditional mindset of the teacher, low level of motivation, and lack of responsibilities towards the students' learning, hence, it would not be properly practised in the university classroom.

## Conclusion

The study examined the perceptions and practices of university teachers regarding interactive learning, the teacher-student relationship, and assignment-based teaching in the classroom. The findings revealed that while teachers generally had a positive understanding of interactive learning and recognized its importance, they lacked knowledge on how to effectively implement it. Communication and intercommunication were seen as crucial elements for creating a dialogical relationship in the classroom, but many teachers neglected the space for student reflection and feedback. Teacher-dominant interaction was found to still prevail in university classrooms, indicating a gap between perception and practice.

The study also highlighted the significance of a positive teacher-student relationship in fostering a collaborative learning environment. Teachers who established such relationships were able to motivate students, encourage active participation, and value diverse experiences. However, building these relationships posed challenges, and the study suggested that recognizing individual needs, providing personalized support,

employing alternative teaching methods, and offering diverse learning materials were crucial steps for establishing a good rapport with students.

Regarding assignment-based teaching, teachers recognized its importance in bridging the gap between theoretical curriculum and its practical application. However, the study revealed that few teachers had actually implemented assignment-based teaching in their classrooms, citing challenges in its implementation. Despite the positive perception of assignment-based learning, the research found that teacher professionalism, collaboration with faculty members, and traditional mindsets were obstacles to its effective implementation. Additionally, administrative issues such as overcrowded classrooms, lack of support from the administration, and student irregularity further hindered the use of assignment-based teaching.

In conclusion, the critical pedagogy is not just a method for classroom teaching, it is also a philosophy of education that provides the guideline to both teacher and student for building the critical learning environment of the students to gain critical thinking skills and to help create a just society. Although, the result of this study found that teachers have positive perceptions about CP, but the understanding level of the CP is poor in general that is like the findings of Kesler (2019), Aliakbari & Faraji (2011). Moreover, the perceptions of teachers are found in favor of implementation of different notion of CP in their classroom. However, its implementation in the classroom is found poorer. Overcoming challenges related to teacher professionalism, collaboration, traditional mindset, and administrative support as well as student-related issues, would be crucial for successfully incorporating critical pedagogy in the classroom.

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# लक्ष्मीप्रसाद देवकोटाका आख्यानमा मनोविश्लेषण

डा. रजनी ढकाल\*

सार

प्रस्तुत लेख नेपाली साहित्यका महाकवि लक्ष्मीप्रसाद देवकोटाका कथा र उपन्यासमा चित्रित मनोविश्लेषणको अध्ययनमा केन्द्रित छ। देवकोटाका तेह्नवटा कथाहरूको संगालो लक्ष्मी कथासङ्ग्रह र चम्पा उपन्यासमा पात्रका अन्तरमनका फरक तहको चित्रण भएको पाइएकाले ती आख्यानहरूमा रहेका पात्रको मनस्थितिको विश्लेषण यस लेखमा गरिएको छ । मनोविश्लेषणको सैद्धान्तिक आधार निर्माण गरी पाठपरक विश्लेषण विधिमा लेखिएको यस लेखमा कथा र उपन्यासका पात्रको मनोविश्लेषणका लागि यौनमनोविज्ञानको अभिव्यक्ति, बालमनोविज्ञानको चित्रण, नारीस्वतन्त्रताको मनोविज्ञान, मानसिक चोट र पागलपनको अभिव्यक्ति तथा लकानेली कल्पनाशीलतालाई आधार बनाइएको छ । लक्ष्मीप्रसाद देवकोटाका आख्यानमा पात्रको मनोविज्ञानलाई सूक्ष्म रूपमा केलाई समाजको अवस्थालाई बोध गराउन सफल रहेका र उनका आख्यानका पात्रहरू समाजको परम्परित सोचका विरुद्ध सचेत भएका, सामाजिक न्याय र वैयक्तिक स्वतन्त्रताप्रति जागरुक भएका देखिन्छन् । देवकोटाका आख्यानका पात्रहरू विभिन्न परिस्थितिका कारण आइपरेका असामान्य अवस्थाबाट चोटपूर्ण बन्न पुगेका छन्। त्यसैले प्रस्तुत अध्ययनमा लक्ष्मीप्रसाद देवकोटा समाजका वास्तविकतासँग जोडिएका आख्यानमा पात्रको मनस्थितिको सुक्ष्म चित्रण गर्न सफल आख्यानकार बनेको निष्कर्ष निकालिएको छ। उनका आख्यानले नारी, बाल, अभिघातीत पात्रका मनस्थिति, यौनचाहनाले विक्षिप्त पात्रका मनस्थिति केलाई समाजको वास्तविकताको उजागर गरेका छन्।

मुख्य शब्दावली : नारीस्वतन्त्रताको मनोविज्ञान, पागलपनको अभिव्यक्ति, बालमनोविज्ञान, यौनमनोविज्ञान, लकानेली कल्पनाशीलता।

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#### परिचय

लक्ष्मीप्रसाद देवकोटामा सिर्जनाको अजस्र प्रतिभा थियो। यसका साथै उनी असल मानवीय ग्णले बनेका विशेष व्यक्तित्व थिए। उदार हृदय, देशभक्ति, य्गचेतना, सामाजिक न्यायको भावना र मानवताप्रतिको उत्कट निष्ठाले उनको व्यक्तित्व र लेखकीय चिन्तन द्वैलाई विशिष्ट बनाएको हो भन्न सिकन्छ। नेपाली साहित्यका सबैजसो विधामा कलम चलाएका महाकवि लक्ष्मीप्रसाद देवकोटाको साहित्य लेखनको प्रिय विधा आख्यान पनि रहेको छ । उनका लक्ष्मी कथासङग्रह (२०३२) र चम्पा (लेखन २००४, प्रकाशन २०२४) उपन्यास प्रकाशित छन् । देवकोटाको पहिलो कथा 'उनको मने' (१९९६, शारदा) हो । सोही समयितर लेखिएका उनका तेह्रवटा कथा लक्ष्मी कथासङ्ग्रहमा सङ्कलित छन् । दशवटा जित कथाहरू विभिन्न पत्रपत्रिकामा प्रकाशित तर असङ्कलित अवस्थामा रहेका र देवकोटाले २००७ सालमा बनारस पठाउन भनी शङ्कर लामिछानेलाई श्रृति लेखन गरेर दिएका पाँचवटा कथाहरू भने अप्रकाशित नै छन् भन्ने क्रा *बिम्ब-प्रतिबिम्ब*मा पाइन्छ (लामिछाने, २०२८, पृ.७८-७९)। त्यसैगरी उनले लेख्ने योजना बनाई तयार पारेका एक सयवटा शीर्षकहरू अङ्ग्रेजी भाषामा रहेको तथ्य चूडामणि बन्धुले देवकोटाको जीवनीमा उल्लेख गरेका छन्। यसबाट देवकोटामा आख्यान लेखनको गहिरो रुचि र योजना रहेको प्रमाणित हुन्छ । नेपाली साहित्यमा कविता र निबन्ध विधामा भौँ सफलताको जस देवकोटालाई निमले पनि उनका आख्यानले तत्कालीन समयको समाज र ती समाजका पात्रहरूको मनोविज्ञानलाई सुक्ष्म ढङ्गले विश्लेषण गरेका छन् ।

चम्पा लघु उपन्यासमा देवकोटाले सहमितिबिनाको अनमेल विवाहबाट उत्पन्न दाम्पत्यजीवनको समस्या र त्यसको मनोविज्ञानलाई प्रस्तुत गरेका छन् । परम्परागत समाजले मिहलाप्रित गर्ने गरेको उपेक्षा र उसको यौनेच्छापूर्तिमा गरेको बाधाको केन्द्रमा यो उपन्यास रिचएको छ । पितको अस्वस्थताले चम्पामा उत्पन्न मानिसक असन्तुष्टि र उसको अहम्को मनोविज्ञानलाई मात्र नभई युवा उमेरमा रोगी भई पत्नी र यौनसम्बन्धको परहेजमा बस्न बाध्य भएको रामकान्तको मनोविज्ञानलाई पिन यस उपन्यासले चित्रण गरेको छ । यसैगरी सामाजिक सम्बन्धमा रहेका सासूबुहारी, देउरानी जेठानीको सम्बन्धको मनोविज्ञानलाई समेत उपन्यासले केलाएको छ । उमेर नपुगी विवाह भएकी किशोरी चम्पाको मनोविज्ञान बुभन नसक्ने अभिभावक र उसलाई बुभन नसक्ने पारिवारिक सम्बन्धका पात्रहरूले गर्दा जिटल बन्दै गएको चम्पाको मनस्थितिलाई उपन्यासले रोचक ढङ्गले प्रस्तुत गरेको छ ।

लक्ष्मी कथासङ्ग्रहमा सङ्गलित तेह्रवटा कथामध्ये 'उनको मने' र 'तारा' कथामा बाल मनोविज्ञानको चित्रण छ भने 'गुरु ज्ञानिसंह', 'शिशिली आफ्नो बिहे आफेँ गर्छिन्', 'मर्स्याङ्दी' जस्ता कथामा सामाजिक सांस्कृतिक विषयसँगै यौनमनोविज्ञानको पक्ष सबल रहेको छ । त्यसैगरी उनका अन्य केही कथाहरू पिन नारीमनोविज्ञान, अभिघात, लकानेली मनोविश्लेषण आदिका पक्षबाट अध्ययनीय रहेका छन् । सामाजिक यथार्थलाई आलोचनात्मक चेतनासहित प्रस्तुत गरिएका उनका आख्यानका पात्रको

मनोविश्लेषणात्मक अध्ययन एउटा महत्त्वपूर्ण विषय हो। देवकोटाका आख्यानमा मनोविज्ञानलाई केन्द्र बनाएर केही अध्ययन भए पिन मनोविश्लेषणात्मकताका दृष्टिबाट उनका आख्यानको अध्ययन हुन सकेको देखिँदैन। प्रस्तुत लेख देवकोटाका आख्यानमा समाहित मनोविश्लेषणात्मक पक्षहरूको अध्ययनमा केन्द्रित छ।

# उद्देश्य

प्रस्तुत लेखमा देवकोटाका आख्यानको मनोविश्लेषणात्मक अध्ययन गर्ने मूल उद्देश्य रहेको छ । यसअनुसार यस अध्ययनमा देवकोटाका कथा र उपन्यासका पात्रको मनोविश्लेषणात्मक तथ्यको खोज गरी पाठको विश्लेषण गरिएको छ । अध्ययनको मूल उद्देश्यअनुसार पात्रका अन्तरमनका यौन, बाल, नारी मनोविज्ञानका सन्दर्भ तथा अभिघातीत मनस्थिति तथा लकानेली मनोविज्ञानसँग जोडिएका तथ्यको मनोविश्लेषणात्मक अध्ययन गरिएको छ ।

#### विधि

प्रस्तुत अध्ययनका निम्ति निर्धारित उद्देश्य पूरा गर्न लक्ष्मीप्रसाद देवकोटाका लक्ष्मी कथासङ्ग्रह र चम्पा उपन्यासका पात्रका अन्तरमनका फरक तहको खोजी गरी कथा र उपन्यासमा व्यक्त भएका पात्रका असामान्य मनिस्थितिलाई प्राथमिक सामग्रीका रूपमा सङ्कलन गरिएको छ । यसरी सङ्कलन गरिएका सामग्रीबाट प्राप्त भएका तथ्यको विश्लेषण र मूल्याङ्कन गरी निष्कर्षसम्म पुग्नका लागि मनोविश्लेषणका विषयमा सिग्मन्ड फ्रायड, ब्रोयर, जुलिया क्रिस्तेभा, लुसी इरिगेरी, हेलेन सिक्सस, ज्याक लकानका मनोविश्लेषणसम्बन्धी सैद्धान्तिक मान्यताको विश्लेषण गरिएका अन्य सैद्धान्तिक र प्रायोगिक ग्रन्थहरूलाई द्वितीयक सामग्रीका रूपमा सङ्कलन गरिएको छ । यी सामग्रीको उपयोग गरी लक्ष्मी कथासङ्ग्रह र चम्पा उपन्यासमा अभिव्यक्त मनोविश्लेषणको अध्ययन गरिएको छ । पाठपरक विश्लेषण विधिमा लेखिएको यस लेखमा कथा र उपन्यासका पात्रको मनोविश्लेषणका लागि यौनमनोविज्ञानको अभिव्यक्ति, बालमनोविज्ञानको चित्रण, नारीस्वतन्त्रताको मनोविज्ञान, मानसिक चोट र पागलपनको अभिव्यक्ति तथा लकानेली कल्पनाशीलतालाई आधार बनाइएको छ ।

#### सैद्धान्तिक आधार

मनको अन्तरङ्ग विश्लेषण नै मनोविश्लेषण हो। मानिसको जीवन र उसको कार्यशैली मनमा रहेका अनन्त इच्छाद्वारा निर्देशित हुन्छ भन्ने मनोविश्लेषणवादबाट निर्धारित सैद्धान्तिक चिन्तनले मूलतः मनको अध्ययन गर्दछ। यस सिद्धान्तका प्रणेता र मूल व्याख्याता सिग्मन्ड फ्रायड हुन्। उनले मनलाई चेतन, अवचेतन र अचेतन गरी तीन तहमा बाँडेर अध्ययन गरेका छन्। अचेतन मनबाट निर्देशित हुने मानिसका व्यवहारको अध्ययन नै मनोविश्लेषण हो र मानिसको मनभित्र दिष्ट रहेका वा दमनमा परेका विषय अचेतन हुन् (फ्रायड, सन् १९८९, पृ. ५७३)। अचेतन मन अतृप्त इच्छाहरूको भण्डार हो। मनमा रहेका अनन्त इच्छा र चाहनाहरू अनुकृल समय र परिस्थित

पाउनासाथ व्यवहारमा देखिन्छन् । अचेतनमा रहेका भावनालाई व्यवहारमा बारम्बार देखाउने काम मनोरोगीले गर्छ भन्ने फ्रायडको मान्यता छ । मनोविश्लेषण भन्नु नै पात्रमा रहेको त्यही अचेतनको खोजी हो । मानसिक रोगीको उपचार गर्ने तरिकाका रूपमा मनोचिकित्सक फ्रायडले सुरु गरेको ज्ञानको यो आधारले साहित्यका पात्रको अचेतनलाई खोज्ने साहित्यको विश्लेषण गर्ने एउटा आधार बनेको छ । साहित्यमा विषयको प्रस्तुति पात्रका माध्यमबाट हुन्छ र तिनका जीवनमा रहेका अनेक समस्याहरूसँगै मनको भित्री तहमा रहेको मनस्थितिको खोजी गर्ने काम हुन्छ । फ्रायडका अनुसार मानिसको भित्री मनमा रहेका चाहनाहरू मानिसका शारीरिक सुख र आनन्दसँग जोडिएका हुन्छन् । उनले शरीरको सुखापेक्षी स्वभावलाई मनको अचेतनतासँग जोडिदिएका छन् (घर्ती, २०७९, पृ. १६४) । त्यसैले साहित्यमा पात्रको अचेतन मनमा रहेका चाहना कसरी उसका बोली र व्यवहारमा परिणत भएका छन् भन्ने करा खोजिन्छ ।

समाज तथा जीवनका अनेक परिस्थितिहरूले सजिलै पूरा हुन नसकेका चाहनाहरू मानिसको अचेतनमा रहन्छन् र अन्कूल अवसर पाउनासाथ ती पात्रका बोली, व्यवहार र हाउभाउबाट प्रकट हुन्छन् भन्ने फ्रायडेली मान्यतालाई उनीपछिका मनोविश्लेषकहरूले पनि स्वीकार गरेका छन्। वैयक्तिक मनोविज्ञानका रूपमा सिद्धान्त निर्माण गरेका अल्फ्रेड एडलर हुन् वा समाज मनोविश्लेषणात्मक सिद्धान्तकारका रूपमा सामूहिक अचेतनलाई केन्द्र बनाएका कार्ल गुस्ताभ युङ हुन् सबैले अचेतनतालाई स्वीकार गरेका छन् (घर्ती, २०६७, पृ.३८)। यसैगरी नारीवादलाई मनोविश्लेषणसँग जोड्ने नारीवादीहरू ज्लिया क्रिस्तेभा, ल्सी इरिगेरी, हेलेन सिक्स आदिले नारीदमन र नारीका अचेतनतर्फ अध्ययनलाई केन्द्र बनाएका छन् (उप्रेती, २०६९, पृ.२४५) । त्यसैगरी शारीरिक र मानसिक गहिरो चोटबाट निर्माण भएको पात्रको विक्षिप्त मनोअवस्थालाई फ्रायड, ब्रोयर, अट्टो रेड्क आदिले अभिघातका रूपमा पिन चिनाएका छन्। मानसिक सन्तुलन गुमाउन पुगेको विक्षिप्त मनोअवस्थालाई पनि मनोविश्लेषणात्मक अध्ययनमा समेटिएको छ (घर्ती, २०६७, पृ. ४७)। समाजमा हुने गरेका युद्ध र द्वन्द्वका अनेक सन्दर्भसँगै पछिल्लो समयमा अभिघातको अध्ययनले अभ फराकिलो रूप धारण गरेको छ। त्यसैगरी बालबालिकाको अबोध मनोअवस्था र तिनको निर्दोष मनस्थितिको अध्ययन पनि मनोविज्ञानको विषय हो । उत्तरसंरचनावादी ज्याक लकानले पनि फ्रायडेली मनोविज्ञानलाई भाषासँग जोडेका छन्। उनले अचेतनको संरचना भाषाको संरचनाजस्तै हुन्छ (लकान, सन् १९७७, पृ. ४९-५०) भनेका छन् । कतिपय सन्दर्भमा उनले अचेतनलाई स्वैरकल्पनासँग जोडिदिएका छन् । उनले फ्रायडेली मान्यतालाई फरक ढङ्गमा विश्लेषण गर्दै व्यक्तिले आनन्दका लागि आफूलाई अर्के ठान्ने मनोवृत्ति अँगाल्छ भनेका छन् । मनोविश्लेषणको सिद्धान्त पछिल्लो समयमा विकसित हँदै गरेका अध्ययनका अनेक पक्षसँग पनि जोडिएको छ। उत्तरऔपनिवेशिकता, साइबर संस्कृति, पर्यावरणीय अध्ययन, भूत सिद्धान्त आदिसँग पनि यसको सम्बन्ध रहेको छ। यहाँ यौनमनोविज्ञान, अभिघात, नारीस्वतन्त्रताको मनोविज्ञान, लकानेली कल्पनाशीलता तथा बालमनोविज्ञानका केही आधारलाई प्रयोग गरेर देवकोटका आख्यानको विश्लेषण गरिएको छ।

#### प्राप्ति र छलफल

## चम्पा उपन्यासमा यौनमनोविज्ञानको अभिव्यक्ति

चम्पा उपन्यासका चम्पा र रामकान्तका साथै अन्य पात्रहरूका व्यवहारमा यौनचाहना प्रतिबिम्बित छ। यस उपन्यासका पात्रहरूमा समाजका अनेक नियम, परम्परागत व्यवहार, पारिवारिक परिस्थिति, स्वास्थ्यवस्था आदिका कारण पूरा हुन नसकेको यौनको चाहना तिनका बोली, हाउभाउ र व्यवहारहरूबाट प्रकट भएका छन्। उपन्यासमा बाह्र वर्षीया किशोरीदेखि बहत्तर वर्षका श्रीकान्तसम्मका व्यवहारमा यौनिक रुचिका हाउभाउ प्रकट भएका छन्। उपन्यासमा चम्पाका हजुरबा, हजुरआमा, सासू, जेठानीहरू, चम्पाको पित रामकान्त आदिका यौनमूलक व्यवहार चित्रित छ।

उपन्यासकी मूल पात्र चम्पामा किशोरावस्थादेखि यौनिक चञ्चलता देखिन्छ। फ्रायडले बाह्र वर्षपछिको उमेर जनेन्द्रिय अवस्थामा रहने र यो उमेरपछि किशोरिकशोरीहरू विपरीत लिङ्गीप्रति आकर्षित हुने यौनमनोविज्ञानको पक्षलाई बुकाएका छन्। उपन्यासकी मूल पात्र चम्पामा किशोरी चञ्चलता देखिन थालेपछि घरमा उसको विवाहको क्रो उठेको छ। रजस्वला नभइसकेकी चम्पाको चञ्चलता र बहिर्म्खी स्वभावलाई उपन्यासको सुरुवातमा नै चित्रण गरिएको छ । हज्रब्बा सुब्बा श्रीकान्तलाई ऐना हेरेको देखेपछि बाह्र वर्षीय चम्पाले चञ्चले स्वभावमा सोधेकी छ, "हैन हज्रब्बा ! हज्रलाई पनि ऐना हेर्न मन लाग्छ ?" (पृ. १०) । हज्रब्बाको बुढ्यौली उमेरले स्न्दरताका विषयमा रुचि नराख्ला वा आफू मात्र किशोर उमेरमा सुन्दर देखिने चाहनामा हुन्छ भन्ने उसको आन्तरिक सोच यहाँ प्रकट भएको छ। विपरीत लिङ्गीका अगांडि आफूलाई सुन्दर देखाउने मनको भित्री चाहनाले चम्पाले आफुलाई पटक पटक सिँगारेको र ऐना हेरेको सन्दर्भ पनि उपन्यासमा आएको छ । त्यसैगरी उसको सौन्दर्यप्रतिको रुचिले गर्दा पनि हज्रब्बाले उसलाई बिहे गरिदिने क्रा सुनाएका छन्। उपन्यासको सुरुतिर वर्णित उसको सौन्दर्यमोह, तर्कशील सोच, वैयक्तिक स्वतन्त्रताका लागि प्रतिकार गर्ने चेतनाबाट चम्पाको व्यक्तित्व परिपक्वतातिर प्रवेश गरेको देखिन्छ। उसको बोली, व्यक्तित्व र स्वभावमा देखिएको चपलतालाई उपन्यासमा यसरी चित्रण गरिएको छ -"ध्विनहरूको निरर्थक अनुप्रासात्मक उफरआफर चापल्य र रसनोत्तेजकता उनको स्वभावको दानासँग मिल्थ्यो" (प्. १३)। किशोर उमेरबाट अनेक जिज्ञासासहित शरीरमा देखिएका परिवर्तन स्वीकार गर्दे मनमौजी जीवनशैली मनपराउने किशोरीको स्वभावलाई यहाँ चित्रण गरिएको छ ।

समाजको परम्परित सोचअनुसार चम्पाको विवाह किशोर उमेरमा नै भएको छ। परिवारका महिला सदस्यको दबाब पिन यसको एउटा कारक बन्न पुगेको देखिन्छ। उमेर निमल्ने, जोडी पिन निमल्ने तथा चम्पाको कल्पनाको व्यक्तित्व बाहिरको रामकान्तसँग विवाह भएपछि चम्पा कहिल्यै खुसी हुन सकेकी छैन। चम्पामा रहेको यौनको चाहनालाई न रामकान्तको खराब स्वास्थ्यस्थितिले पूरा गर्न दिन्छ न त रामकान्तको कमजोर र अगठित शरीरप्रित चम्पामा कुनै मोह जाग्छ। आफ्नो चाहना विपरीतको मान्छेसँग विवाह गर्न्परेकोमा चम्पा सधैँ रुष्ट हन्छे। परिवारका अन्य सदस्यसँग पिन सधैँ

भगडा गिररहने र आफ्नो अभिमानी व्यक्तित्व देखाउने उसको स्वभाव यौन चाहनाको दमन र आफ्नो सोच अनुसारको पुरुष प्राप्त नगर्नुको कारण नै हो। हुन त उपन्यासमा परम्परित समाजका सासू र जेठानीहरूको हेपाहा व्यवहारका विरुद्ध उसको अस्तित्वचेत मुखरित भएको छ तर चम्पामा परिवारभित्र सुखी भएर बस्न नसक्ने चिडचिडे स्वभाव विकसित हुनुमा उसको पित रामकान्तको कमजोर र रोगी व्यक्तित्व नै कारक भएको छ। आफ्नो अपेक्षाविपरीतको दुर्बल शारीरिक व्यक्तित्व भएको पात्रलाई पित बनाउन परेकोमा चम्पामा असन्तुष्टि देखिन्छ। रामकान्तलाई कुनै रूपमा पिन स्वीकार गर्न नसकेको चम्पाको व्यवहारलाई उपन्यासमा यसरी चित्रण गरिएको छ:

सुवासिनी मान्छेका जोडिजिद्दीले चम्पा र रामकान्तको बिहा भयो। दुलही बिहाको दिन खूब रोइन्। भात खाइनन्। घरमा पिन भोलिपल्ट बिहानसम्म सुँक्कसुँक्क गिररहेकै देखिन्थिन्। जब दुलाहाबाजे रामकान्त पोशाक उतारेर भान्सातर्फ रवाना भएका थिए, दुलहीले आफ्नो दुलाहाको शारीरिक सौन्दर्यको भेद पत्ता लगाइन्। 'छाती' उनले विचार गिरन्, 'डमरुको छालाजस्तो सुक्या' रहेछ। परेवा छाती रे त्यस्तो बाङ्गेको हाड उठेको - हाम्रो बुबाले भन्नुहुन्थ्यो। आँगभिर छि; के विधि डन्डीफोर होला - सब पाक्या' छ, कस्तो फोहोरी मान्छे होला छि; - गालामा के त्यित लामो खुकुरीले काट्या' जस्तो अथवा भालुले चिथोऱ्या' जस्तो !... च्यान्टा घोडा भनेर जस्तो गिज्याएको हो ! - नामै च्यान्टी भइसक्यो आर्का'। कित सानो मान्छे होला ? चिमिरे ! भँगेराजस्तो - काखी गन्हाएर वाक्क आइरहेछ अभ !' दुलहीले बान्ता गरेकी थिइन् त्यस बिहान। दुलहादुलहीलाई एकै ओछ्यानमा त्यस रात सुताइदिएका नन्द अमाजूले। रातभिर दुलहीलाई निद्रा लागेन। शरीरको गन्ध कुनै मान्छेको, बाफै तातो नै कस्तो-कस्तो पेट उमठ्लाजस्तो - दुलहीलाई घनघोर घीन लाग्यो। (पृ. ३०-३१)

चम्पामा रामकान्तप्रति देखिएको उदासीनता अपेक्षित चाहना पूर्ति हुन नसक्ने सोच नै हो जुन उपन्यासका पछिल्ला भागबाट पुष्टि हुन्छ। कुनै रूपमा पिन आकर्षित गर्न नसकेको दुलाहा रामकान्तको व्यक्तित्वप्रति चम्पामा घृणाभाव उत्पन्न भएको छ। यौन सुख दिन नसक्ने जस्तो शरीर भएका कारण नै उसलाई पिहलो रातमा नै रामकान्त गन्हाएको छ। यसैको प्रतिकारमा उसले बान्ता गरेकी छ। रातभर निद्रा नलाग्नु, पेट उमठ्लाजस्तो हुन्नु, उसको व्यक्तित्वले कुनै पिन आकर्षण नगर्नु चम्पाको संभावित यौन असन्तुष्टिका प्रतिक्रियात्मक व्यवहार हुन्। यौन सुखसँग प्रणय र व्यक्तित्वको आकर्षण जोडिएको हुन्छ भन्ने कुराको सङ्केत चम्पाका व्यवहारबाट स्पष्ट भएका छन्। "चम्पा चाहन्थिन् केही आर्कें, पर्न गयो केही अर्कें" (पृ. ३२) ले उनको अपेक्षा विपरीतको व्यक्ति लोग्ने बनेको स्पष्ट भएको छ। भित्रदेखि मन नपरेको व्यक्तिसँग ऊ किहल्यै खुसी हुन सकेकी छैन र अन्ततः घर नै त्यागेर हिँडेकी छ।

उपन्यासमा चम्पा र रामकान्तका बिचमा केही समय आकर्षण रहेको देखिएको छ। टिबी रोगी पतिसँग सम्बन्ध राख्न नहने भन्ने परिवारको आदेशान्सार चम्पाले आफूलाई नियन्त्रणमा राखेकी छ

तर रामकान्त केही स्वस्थ भएको अवस्थामा उसले चम्पाप्रति अनुराग देखाउँदा चम्पाका मनमा यौनका अनेक रहर बढेका छन् । उसले बारम्बार पतिको सान्निध्य चाहेकी छ र त्यसको प्रतिकारमा बोलेकी छ, "जोडाजोडी मिलेर कित ट्रॅंडिखेल ड्ल्न जान्छन्, आफ्नो त्यित पिन छैन कोठाभित्र पसी रे । किन नपस्न् त कोठामा ?" (पृ. ४६) । कोठामा पतिसँगै बस्न पनि बन्देज भौँ गरेकी सासूसँग चम्पालाई गुनासो छ । पतिसँग यौन परहेजमा बस्नुपरेकोमा ऊ परिस्थितिप्रति रुष्ट बनेकी छे । सासू र जेठानीहरूको ब्हार्तनले कस्तै लगेको उसको जीवन भन् बिरसिलो बनेको छ। यसैको प्रतिकारस्वरूप उसले घरलाई जेल मानेकी छ। चम्पाले यौन असन्तृष्टिका कारण प्रतिकारस्वरूप गरेका (पात च्यात्न्, सासू र जेठानीलाई अपमानपूर्ण बोलीले मुखमुखै लाग्न्, परिवारको चाहना विरुद्धको भड्किलो शृङ्गार गर्न् आदि) विद्रोही व्यवहार मात्र होइन यौनको क्षतिपूर्तिका लागि गरेका रसपूर्ण व्यवहार पनि उपन्यासमा वर्णित छन् । पतिको सान्निध्यमा रहन नपाएकी चम्पाले कृष्णको फोटोलाई अँगाल्न्, सिनेमा हेर्ने लत बसाउन्, बारम्बार बगैँचामा फूलका बिचमा बस्न्, फूलले च्ल्ठो सिँगार्न्, रावणले सीताको हरण गरेको सन्दर्भ सम्भेर आनन्दित हुन्, सिकँदै जाने सौन्दर्य र बैँसलाई सम्भेर भोगवादी हुन मनपराउन्, न्रजहाँ र म्मताजको प्रेम सम्बन्धले किल्पिन्, पितलाई फिल्मस्टार बनाएर सिनेमा खेल्न चाहन् आदि उसका यौनिक चाहनाका व्यवहार र सोचहरू हुन्। वास्तविकतामा पाउन नसकेपछि उसको मन कल्पनाका अनेक यौनिक र प्रेममय पात्रत्वमा विचरण गरेको छ।

टोखाबाट स्वास्थ्यमा सुधार भएर फर्किएपछि रामकान्तको अतृप्त यौनले टिबी रोगको परहेजलाई नाघ्न खोजेको छ । ऊ चम्पाको सौन्दर्यमा मोहित भएको छ र बारम्बार उसको सान्निध्य र यौनसुखमा पुग्न चाहेको छ । कोठामा चम्पालाई राख्न खोज्नु, रोगलाई बेवास्ता गरी चम्पालाई खोजिरहनु, स्वच्छन्दतावादी किव टेनिसनको किवतात्मक पड्कित "एकबाजि प्रेम गरेको हुनु र गुमाएको हुनु किले पिन प्रेममा नपरेको हुनुभन्दा उत्तम छ" (पृ. ५५) सिम्भिनु, कामदेवलाई राजा मान्नु, सृष्टिको संरचना नै यौनसँग जोडिएको देख्नु, सिग्मन्ड फ्रायडको दर्शन र लिङ्ग मिहमा सिम्भिनु, हरेक मनुष्यलाई यौनमूर्ति देख्नु, चम्पालाई उर्वरा भूमि सोच्दै उनको उत्पादकत्वमा आफ्नो आवश्यकता देख्नु आदिले उसमा भएको यौन रुचिलाई प्रस्ट पारेको छ । यौनचाहना पूरा हुन नसक्दा रामकान्त राति बाह्र बजे धारामा नुहाउन गएको छ । त्यितमात्रै होइन आफूलाई रोग लागेको र चम्पासँग नजिक हुन नपाइने भएपछि आफ्ना सम्पूर्ण पुस्तक च्यातेर आफ्नो ज्ञानप्रति उपहास गरेको छ । उसले पत्नी चम्पालाई आफूबाट मुक्त भएको घोषणा गरी पुनर्विवाह गर्न भनेको छ । यौनकर्मबाट बर्जित रामकान्तको जीवनप्रतिको मोह सिकएको छ । ऊ जोगीभौँ जपमाला लिएर शान्त र मौनजस्तो देखिए पिन बारम्बार उसमा टिबी रोग र आफ्नो परिस्थितिप्रति घोर असन्तुष्टि देखिएको छ । उसले चम्पासँग राख्न चाहेको सम्बन्ध पूरा हुन नसकेपछि ऊ पिन घरबाट बेपत्ता भएको छ । उपन्यासमा रामकान्तको यौनमनोविज्ञानलाई यसरी चित्रण गरिएको छ :

कामदेव नै संसारको सच्चा राजा हो जब प्रथम कामको स्पन्दनमै ब्रह्माबाट पिन संसार रचना भएन । प्रेम प्रतिक्रिया हो । भाले-पोथी, पोथी-भाले यहाँभन्दा दुनियाँमा अर्को के छ ? पशुपित-गृह्येश्वरी, गृह्येश्वरी-पशुपित । कि जाने शङ्कराचार्यले जीवनको रहस्य कि जाने सिग्मन्ड फ्रायडले । लिङ्ग दर्शन संसारको उच्चातिउच्च दर्शन हो । के हरेक मनुष्य यौनमूर्ति होइन ? पर्दाभित्र आत्मा भनेकै त्यही हो । जीवन संवर्द्धनको क्रियाको निमित्त योग्य स्वस्थता राख्नु नै पौरुष हो । (पृ. ५५)

आफ्नो जीवनमा प्रेम सुरु हुनुभन्दा पहिले मृत्यु आएकोमा रामकान्त असन्तुष्ट छ तर बाँच्ने इच्छाले नै ऊ चम्पासँग यौन सम्बन्ध नराखी टाढा भएको छ । टिबी रोगले यौन सम्बन्धमा रहन नसके पनि ऊ अन्तिम समयसम्म चम्पाप्रति आकर्षित छ । उसले चम्पालाई लेखेको चिठीमा चम्पाको सौन्दर्य र यौनसुखको कल्पना गरेको छ - "म तिम्रो ज्वाला, पिवत्र सुन्दर ज्वालामा होमिएर शीघ्र मर्न चाहन्नँ" (पृ. ५८) । त्यसैगरी चम्पाले पिन रामकान्तले उसलाई स्वतन्त्र भएर अगाडि बढ, पढ, आफ्नो अस्तित्वमा बाँच, बोक्रे धर्मका विरुद्ध लड भने पिन रामकान्तको त्यागप्रति केही असन्तुष्ट रहेकी छ । उसले आफूलाई हाँगा काटिएको लहराजस्तो ठान्दै बिलौना गरेकी छ । घरवैरागी नै भएर बसे हुने भन्ने उसको अपेक्षाले ऊ रामकान्तको विरपिर नै रहन चाहेको देखिन्छ । रामकान्तलाई ढुङ्गाको मन भएको भनी गाली गर्नुबाट उसमा रामकान्तप्रति केही आकर्षण बाँकी रहेको बुभिन्छ । पितपत्नीको सम्बन्ध र सामाजिक बन्धनले पिन चम्पाको मनले यसरी सोच्न पुगेको हो तर त्यसको अन्तर्यमा पुरुष सान्निध्यको मोह रहेको छ । रामकान्तसँगको बिछोड र परिवारको ताडनाले कोधित चम्पामा विद्रोही सोच आएको छ र अन्त्यमा घर छोडेर हिँडेकी छ ।

उपन्यासमा बहत्तर वर्षका चम्पाका हजुरबुबा श्रीकान्त र सुब्बेनी बज्यै निशाका कुराकानी पिन यौनिक रुचिका व्यवहारमा केन्द्रित छन्। सुब्बाले नातिनीका गाला निमोठ्नु, उसको चञ्चलतामा मोहित हुँदै उसलाई जिस्क्याइरहन् यौनिक सुखका सङ्गेत हुन्। सुब्बेनी बज्यैको रङ्गिलो र सिंगारिएको कोठा, कपाल फुलेकोमा उनलाई परेको चिन्ता, कृष्णको फोटो, भिकभकाउ लुगाहरू आदिले उनमा शृङ्गारिक भाव रहेको प्रस्ट हुन्छ। अभ बुलु र चुनु जस्ता बुहारीका भिकभकाउ लुगा र कोठामा सिजएका कृष्ण पत्नीका कत्पनामा रासलीला खेल्न आउलान् भन्ने सोचले पिन सुब्बाभित्र रहेको यौनरुचि र पुरुष कुण्ठालाई प्रस्ट पारेको छ। बन्धुका अनुसार यस उपन्यासमा फ्रायडीय विचारमा बहस भएको छ (२०६७, पृ. १७७)। यसको पात्र रामकान्तले नै बारम्बार फ्रायडका विचारलाई अगाडि सारेको छ।

# लक्ष्मी कथासङ्ग्रहमा यौनाभिव्यक्ति

लक्ष्मी कथासङ्ग्रहको 'गुरु ज्ञानसिंह' कथाका मूल पात्र ज्ञानसिंहको पिश्चमी ज्ञानले गर्दा स्वच्छन्द बन्दै गएको चित्रका रूपमा चिनाइएको छ । ब्रह्मचर्यमा बसेका ज्ञानसिंह सपनामा आमाले विवाह गर भन्ने आग्रह गरेपछि लक्ष्मीसिंह जस्ता शिष्यको सङ्गतमा परेर बिस्तारै बदलिएका छन् । उनको ब्रह्मचर्यको जीवनशैली र सोचमा परिवर्तन आएको छ । पिहले सधैँ माला लिएर राम राम जिपरहने तथा सांसारिक नाताले निखचोस् भनी सतर्क रहने ज्ञानसिंह बिस्तारै पाश्चात्य ज्ञान र जीवनशैलीमा आकर्षित भएका छन् - "हुँदा हुँदा गुरुले छापा सुन्न लागे, अङ्ग्रेजी साहित्यका टुकाहरू, अङ्ग्रेजी

उपन्यासहरू र पोपका इतिहासहरू, लक्ष्मीसिंहले विज्ञान र मनोविज्ञानका पिन कुरा सुनाए। आखिर त्यही मान्छे जो मेमसाहेबका चिरत्र सुन्न लाग्यो" (पृ. २८)। शिष्य लक्ष्मीसिंहको डाहाडे स्वभावको जालमा फस्न पुगेका ज्ञानसिंहको अचेतनमा रहेको यौन चाहनाले नै आफ्नो सामाजिक रूपमा आदर्श मानिएको चिरत्रलाई खसाल्न पुगेको छ। लक्ष्मीसिंहले ज्ञानसिंहको प्रतिष्ठालाई खसाल्न पैसा दिएर रुपखानी जस्ता नारी पात्रलाई उत्प्रेरित गरेको छ। अरूको जालमा फस्नुमा ज्ञानसिंहमा रहेको यौनभोक मूल कारक बनेको छ। ज्ञानसिंहले अन्ततः आफ्नो अडानलाई छोडेर सोचेको छ, "के छ संसार आखिर? एक किसिमले लक्ष्मीसिंह पिन ठिकै छ। स्त्री पुरुष, पुरुष स्त्री, लीला, सिर्जना यही मान्छेभित्र छैनन् परमेश्वर?" (पृ. ३२)। उनको दिवएको यौन चाहनाको पराकाष्ठाका रूपमा उनले रूपखानीलाई नचाहेरै अँगाल्न पुगेका छन्। बारम्बार मरेकी आमा सपनामा 'बिहे गर बाबु' भन्दै रुनु र बाँभोपन हटाउन आग्रह गर्दै आएकी रूपखानीलाई इन्कार गर्दागर्दै पिन अँगाल्नुबाट उनी अचेतनमा रहेको अतृप्त यौन चाहनाले निर्देशित भएको देखिन्छ।

त्यसैगरी साहूको ऋण तिर्न नसकेर बेचिनुपर्ने बाध्यता भएकी 'मर्स्याङ्दी' कथाकी मर्स्याङ्दीमा यौनअतृप्तावस्थाले गर्दा पिहले सेते र पिछ गुण्डाहरूसित यौन सम्बन्ध राख्न पुगेकी छ । विपन्नताले गाँजेको उसको जीवनमा आर्थिक पक्ष मूल कारण बने पिन उसमा रहेको यौन चाहनाले पिन यस्तो सम्बन्धमा उसलाई अभिप्रेरित गरेको देखिन्छ । 'शिशिली आफ्नो बिहे आफै गर्छिन्' कथाकी शिशिलीमा पिन यौनसन्तुष्टि नभएकै कारण सिलललोचनसँग सम्बन्ध राखी उसैसँग जान बाध्य भएकी छ । यहाँ सामाजिक बन्धनमा रहन नचाहेकी शिशिलीको स्वतन्त्रता यौनिक चाहसँग जोडिएको छ । यौनअसन्तुष्टिले नै शिशिलीले आफ्नो जीवनको फरक निर्णय गरेकी छ । देवकोटाका कथामा मर्स्याङ्दी र शिशिली जस्ता नारी चरित्रले आफ्नो यौन सन्तुष्टिका लागि फरक निर्णय लिएका छन ।

#### बालमनोविज्ञानको चित्रण

देवकोटाका 'उनको मने' र 'तारा' कथा बालमनोविज्ञानमा लेखिएका छन्। यी कथाले बालकको अबोधपनाको चित्रण गरेका छन्। 'उनको मने' कथामा बालकको पशुप्रेम व्यक्त भएको छ भने 'तारा' कथाले मृत्युको बोध गर्न नसकेकी बालिकाको भावनालाई देखाएको छ। 'उनको मने' कथामा जुनुको पशुप्रेम देखिएको छ। पण्डित स्थिरदेवका घरमा दशैँका लागि ल्याइएको सानु बोकेलाई देखेर सबै केटाकेटी त्योसँग भ्याम्मिन पुगेका हुन्छन्। सानु बोकेलाई आफूसमान व्यवहार गरेका हुन्छन्। बोकेलाई सिन्दुर छर्ने, बोकेजस्तै चारहातखुट्टाले उभिने, त्यसको पुच्छर तान्ने जस्ता क्रियाकलापको चित्रणले बालबालिकाको पशुसँगको मित्रवत् व्यवहार प्रकट भएको छ। अभ बालिका जुनुले बोकेप्रिति देखाएको स्नेह विशेष छ। लुकान्त सिपाहीले बोकेलाई पूजा गर्न लैजाँदा जुनुले पिन हातखुट्टाले टेकेर हिँडेकी छ। बोकेलाई बाँधेको बेला सुम्सुम्याउनु र बोकेलाई काट्दा विरोध गर्नु र लुरुकान्तको हात समाउँदै रुनुले उसभित्रको बालसुलभ संवेगको चित्रण गरेको छ। मानवेतर प्राणीलाई आफूसरह व्यवहार गर्नु र साथीका रूपमा राखी उसको मृत्युप्रति संवेदित हुनुले बालबालिकाको मनोविज्ञान र पशुप्रेमलाई प्रकट गरेको छ।

'तारा' कथामा तारा नामक बालिकाको मनस्थितिको चित्रण गरिएको छ । सानैमा आमा मरेकी ताराले बारम्बार आफ्नो बाबुसँग "आमा खै बा !" भनेर सोधिरहन्छे । सानी छोरीको प्रश्नले बाबु सधैं संवेदनशील बन्दछन् । ताराले पिन आमा फर्केर आउन सिक्दनन् भन्ने कुरा बुभ्ने भएकी हुन्न । बालिका ताराले आमा नभएको कारण बुभ्न सिक्दन । उसले "आमा आए कस्तो हुन्थ्यो" मात्र भिनरहन्छे । ताराको आमाप्रतिको आकर्षण र मोहले बाबुको हृदय दुःखी हुन्छ । छोरीलाई आमा आउन नसकेको कारण बुभाउन नसक्दा पिन उनमा अभ चोट परेको हुन्छ । एकदिन तारा अचानक बिरामी परेपछि बाबु विक्षिप्त हुन्छन् । डा. मधुसुदनको उपचारपछि तारा बिस्तारै ठिक हुन्छे तर बाबु कोमलप्रसाद विक्षिप्तअवस्थामा नै मृत्युवरण गर्दछन् । यस कथाले एकातिर मृत्युको अवस्था बोध गर्न नसकेकी बालिकाको अवोध मनस्थितिको चित्रण गरेको छ भने अर्कातिर प्यारी छोरी बिरामी हुँदा विक्षिप्त हुन पुगेका बाबुको मनोदशालाई देखाएको छ (धिमिरे, २०६६, पृ. २९४) । बाबुछोरीको प्रियताले कथामा इडिपस कम्प्लेक्सलाई पिन सङ्केत गरेको देखिन्छ । पत्नीको मृत्युपछि छोरीसँग भुलेर जीवन गुजारा गरेको कोमलप्रसाद छोरी बिरामी हुँदा अचानक विक्षिप्त हुन पुग्नु र त्यही विक्षिप्तताका कारण मृत्युवरण गर्नुले उनमा रहेको स्वपीडनको अवस्थालाई पिन सङ्केत गरेको छ ।

देवकोटाले बालबालिकाको मनस्थिति, तिनको अबोधता र निर्दोषितालाई केन्द्रमा राखेर कथा लेखेका छन्। यी कथाहरूले उनी बालमैत्री लेखक तथा तिनका मनस्थिति बुभने स्रष्टाका रूपमा पिन चिनिएका छन्। जुनुले मनेलाई काटेको देख्दा कारुणिक हुनु र त्यसलाई मार्नबाट बचाउने प्रयत्न गर्नुले बालबालिकाको मनोविज्ञानमा र तिनको संवेगात्मक गुण र अवस्थालाई चिनाएको छ। तिनको मनोअवस्थामा विस्तारै विकास आउने कुरा पिन यस कथाले सङ्केत गरेको छ। ताराले मृत्युको सत्य नबुभकेकै कारणले एकोहोरो रूपमा आमालाई खोजेको देखिन्छ। स्वजनको विछोडलाई बारम्बार सम्भाउने उसको व्यवहारले बालकको एकोहोरो चिन्तन र आवेगलाई चिनाएको छ।

#### नारीस्वतन्त्रताको मनोविज्ञान

देवकोटाको आख्यानमा नारी चेतना र तिनको मनोविज्ञानलाई महत्त्व दिइएको छ। उनको चम्पा उपन्यासमा चम्पाको स्वातन्त्र्य चेतसँगै यौनिक रुचि पिन मुखरित भएको छ भने 'व्यक्तित्व', 'शिशिली आफ्नो बिहे आफैँ गिर्छन्', 'मर्स्याइदी' जस्ता कथाले नारीचेतनासँगै बदलिँदो समयको नारीमनोविज्ञानको चित्रण गरेको छ। पुरुषशासित समाजमा सधैँ दमनमा परेका नारीमा शिक्षासँगै नारीस्वतन्त्रताको चेतना खुल्न थालेको तथ्य देवकोटाका कथाले प्रस्ट पारेका छन्। शिक्षा र चेतनाले गर्दा उनीहरूमा आफ्नो यौन रुचि र वैयक्तिक स्वतन्त्रताप्रित आत्मबल बढेको देखिन्छ। देवकोटाको नारी चेतनालाई प्रश्रय दिने दृष्टिकोण पिन उनका आख्यानमा मुखरित भएको छ भने कितपय सन्दर्भमा उनमा रहेको स्वतन्त्रताको चेतनालाई पिन उनका यस्ता आख्यानले पुष्टि गरेका छन्। विशेषगरी राणाकालको उत्तरार्धितरको सङ्क्रमणकालीन समयका नेपाली नारीहरूमा विकसित भइरहेको विद्रोही प्रवृत्तिलाई उनका आख्यानले देखाएका छन् (शर्मा, २०६६, पृ. २४१)। देवकोटाका

आख्यानका नारीहरूले आफ्नो शरीरमाथिको अधिकारलाई सचेततापूर्वक प्रकट गरेका छन् । समाजको परम्परागत सोचका विरुद्ध आफ्नो विद्रोही, स्वतन्त्र र निर्णायक नारी चरित्र प्रस्तुत गर्ने उनका कथाहरू 'व्यक्तित्व' र 'शिशिली आफ्नो बिहे आफैँ गर्छिन्' हुन् ।

'व्यक्तित्व' कथामा नारीस्वतन्त्रताकी नेतृत्वदायी व्यक्तिका रूपमा बिजुलीलाई उभ्याइएको छ। यस कथाले परम्परागत समाजको विरुद्ध नारीचेतनाको शक्तिशाली प्रस्त्ति दिएको छ । कथामा ज्कारू नारीहरूको समृह छ जसको नेतुत्व बिजुलीले गरेकी छ । टी पार्टीमा उनीहरूको जमघट र वैयक्तिक स्वतन्त्रताका विषयमा बहस हुन्छ । यस बहसमा बिज्लीले आफ्नो अस्तित्व र स्वतन्त्रतालाई चिनाउँदै आफ्नो विगतलाई सम्भिन पुग्छे। उसले आफुलाई क्नै पनि हिचिकचाहटिबना पोइल गएको तथ्य उजार गर्छे र आफ्नो यौनिक रुचि र वैयक्तिक स्वतन्त्रताका लागि आफ्नो चाहनाअनुसारको केटो खोज्न सिकने विचार व्यक्त गर्छे। उसले आफ्नो परिचयमा भनिदिन्छे, "म पोइलो जाने कल्पनादेखि घिनाउन्सट्टा खास पोइलो गएकी नारी हुँ, पतिता है ?" (पृ. ७६)। बिज्लीको यो अभिव्यक्ति र व्यवहार फ्रान्सेली नारीवादी विचारक ज्लिया क्रिस्टेभाको मतसँग मिल्दो छ । क्रिस्टेभाका अनुसार पुरुषको जस्तो स्वभाव भएका वा चरित्रहीन नारीको उपमा दिने पुरुष समाजको विरुद्ध जुभनका लागि महिलाहरू आफूलाई जबरजस्ती त्यस्तै रूपमा बदलिदिन्छन् (उप्रेती, २०६९, पृ. २३९) । देवकोटाका कथाका बिजुली, शिशिली जस्ता जुक्तारू नारी पात्रले आफूलाई नै बेस्से घोषणा गरेका छन् । बिज्लीले नारीस्वतन्त्रताको पक्षमा बहस गर्दा र आफ्नो परिचय दिँदा मन नपराएकी परा नामकी पात्रले नपुंसक बुढो लोग्नेले आफूलाई धोका दिई दोस्री पत्नीका रूपमा बिहे गरेको थाहा पाएपछि आफ्नो यौन अधिकारका लागि अभ बेजोड तर्क दिँदै घर छोडेर हिँडेकी छ। पहिली पत्नीको मृत्यपछि घरकी सहयोगी नौलीसँग बारम्बार यौन सम्बन्ध राख्ने गरेको उसको लोग्नेले बिज्लीलाई चरित्रहीन भनी आरोप लगाउँछ र परालाई तिनको समूहमा नजान धम्क्याइरहन्छ तर नौलीबाट लोग्नेको वास्तविकता थाहा पाएपछि पराको सोच परिवर्तन भएको छ। जातीयताका कारणले नौलीलाई दोस्री पत्नी स्वीकार गर्न नसकेको उसले बिरामी भई नप्ंसकताको स्थितिमा पुगेपछि परालाई उसका सन्तान रेखदेख गरिदिने सहयोगीका रूपमा भित्रयाएको छ र आफ् ब्रह्मचर्यमा रहेको ढोङ गरी बसेको छ । परम्परागत समाजले जकडेको विचारमा नियन्त्रित भएकी परालाई एकाएक परिवर्तन हुन बिज्लीको सहासी व्यक्तित्व त उत्प्रेरक बनेको छ नै यसका साथै जीवनमा लोग्ने भनाउँदोले दिएको धोकाले पनि उसलाई स्वतन्त्रताको चाहना र यौन अधिकारका लागि विद्रोही बन्ने आँट आएको छ । यस कथाका नारीहरूले नेपालमा विकसित 'चरित्रहीन चेलीहरू' संस्थालाई सम्भाउँछन् भने कथाकी बिज्ली पात्र देवकोटाको सुलोचना महाकाव्यकी बिज्ली (सलोचनाकी नन्द) जस्ती चेतनशील लाग्दछे (एटम, सन् २०१२, पृ. ७५)। कथामा नारीको व्यक्तित्व र स्वतन्त्रतालाई ब्भाउन बिज्लीको विचार यसरी प्रकट भएको छ:

कित छन् स्त्रीहरू जसमा व्यक्तित्व छैन । ममा त्यो व्यक्तित्व थियो म उत्रैं । मलाई समाज पितता भन्ने थियो । मेरो पुरुषको व्यक्तित्वद्वारा म विश्वको मुखमा बट्टा लगाएर समाजको अरू चढ्दो बढ्दो आदरपात्रिका छु । व्यक्तित्व भनेको जीवन हो । मनुष्यत्व हो । यसको अभाव रोग र मृत्यु हो। हामीमा आफ्नो आत्मालाई खराब परिस्थिति, मिथ्या पुरुषत्व तथा भूट परम्पराबाट छुटाउन सक्ने सामर्थ्य चाहिन्छ। त्यो सामर्थ्य ममा थियो, म उत्रैं। मेरो जीवन बन्यो। यसलाई कसैले अशुद्धि भन्न सक्तछ? भन्नेहरूको समाजलाई म तिरस्कार र त्याग गर्दछ। (पृ. ७७)

महिलाले आफ्नो स्वतन्त्र जीवन कसरी पाउन सक्छे भन्ने उदाहरण पिन आफै बनेर बिजुलीले नारीलाई मानिस भएर बाँच्न प्रेरित गरेकी छ । त्यसैगरी 'शिशिली आफ्नो बिहे आफैँ गर्छिन्' कथामा नारीले परिवारको आदेशमा बाँच्न बाध्य हुनुपर्ने अवस्थाका विरुद्ध शिशिलीमा उत्पन्न भएको लैङ्गिक चेतना प्रस्तुत भएको छ । लठेब्रो केटोसँग विवाह गराइएकी शिशिलीले उसलाई अस्वीकार गरेर पिन पितको घरमा नै बसेकी छ । उसले परिवारले गरेको निर्णयमा विरोध जनाउन यस्तो व्यवहार देखाएकी छ । आत्महत्याको बाटो छोडेर ऊ घरमा नै सङ्गर्ष गर्दै बाँचेकी छ तर पितलाई आफ्नो शरीर छुन पिन दिएकी छैन । पितबाट छुटकारा पाउन उसले आफूलाई बेस्या घोषणा गरेकी छ । त्यसपिछ उसले सबैलाई चुनौती दिँदै आफूले मनपराएको केटा सिलललोचनसँग हिँडेकी छ । कथामा उसको विद्रोह यसरी बोलेको छ, "हामी पुतली खेलाउने ? हाम्रो स्थान छैन संसारमा ? हामी के छोरी भएर जन्मेंदै, हाम्रो मानवता गयो ?" (पृ. ४०) । आफ्नो जीवनमा कसैले हस्तक्षेप गरेको मन नपराउने शिशिली आफ्नो बाटो आफैँ बनाउँछे । उसले कार्तिक्वीरलाई छोडेर सिलललोचनसँग बिहे गर्ने घोषणा गर्छे । उसको स्वतन्त्रताबोधी व्यक्तित्वलाई चिनाउँदै कथाको अन्त्यमा समाख्याताले भनेका छन् - "धेरै आँखा छन् यहाँ जो नैतिक सत्यको क्रियामा तेरो अधःपतनको विषालु फल फलेको देख्न चाहन्छन् । तर स्यावास ! ती स्त्रीमध्ये तँ बहादुर होस् ! नमस्कार आधुनिकताकी देवी ! नमस्कार !" (६०) ।

चम्पा उपन्यासकी चम्पामा पिन आफ्नो अस्तित्वप्रति केही रूपमा चेतना सुरु भएको छ । उसले उपन्यासमा आफ्नो रोजाइअनुसारको केटो नपाएकोमा विद्रोहभाव देखाएकी छ । असहमितको विवाह भए पिन पिरवारको निर्णयलाई स्वीकार गर्न बाध्य भएकी चम्पाले यौन सम्बन्ध राख्न बर्जित गिरिएको पितको समीप पुग्ने र त्यसका लागि आफ्नो अपेक्षा रहेको व्यवहार देखाउनुले ऊ आफ्ना चाहना र अधिकारप्रति सचेत रहेको देखिन्छ । यसका साथै उपन्यासमा समाख्याताले उसको मातृत्व अधिकारका पक्षमा बारम्बार बहस गरेका छन् । उसको पित रामकान्तले समेत चम्पालाई डल्ला फोरिएकी ऊर्वरा भूमिका रूपमा चित्रण गरेको छ । यसले गर्दा उपन्यासमा चम्पाको अधिकारका विषयमा चेतनामूलक विचार प्रकट भएको छ । त्यसैगरी चम्पालाई रामकान्तले कीचक नाउँ दिएकोमा उसले त्यस नामप्रति असन्तुष्टि व्यक्त गरेकी छ । समाजमा पुरुषहरूले आफ्नी पत्नीलाई दिने गरेको अपमानजनक नामप्रति उसलाई सहमित छैन, "के नाम राख्या' होलान् छिः ? नेप्टी रे, चेप्टी रे, आलु रे, ग्वाइरे रे, डेब्री रे, - नेपालमा सुवासिनी मान्छेलाई चौपट्ट हेलाँ गर्छन् वा !" (पृ. ४२) । मिहलाका नाममा समेत सम्मानजनक शब्द चयन गर्न नचाहने पितृसत्तात्मक समाजले मिहलालाई घरिभेत्रै जेल बनाएकोमा पिन चम्पालाई आपित्त रहेको छ । उपन्यासको अन्त्यमा आफ्नो विचार र अस्तित्वलाई सम्मान नगर्ने परिवारसँग सँगै बस्न नसकने निर्णय गरेकी चम्पाले आफ्नो

स्वतन्त्रताको बाटो रोजेकी छ। आफ्नो गन्तव्यलाई स्पष्ट पार्न नसकेकी चम्पाको व्यक्तित्वलाई पूरा गर्न देवकोटाले सोही समयतिर लेखिएको कथामा शिशिली नारीपात्रको निर्माण गरेका होलान् भन्ने सङ्केत चूडामणि बन्धुले गरेका छन् (बन्धु, २०६७, पृ. १७७)। जे होस् देवकोटाको आख्यान लेखन नारीचेतनाको उजागर गर्ने उद्देश्यमा केन्द्रित देखिन्छ।

#### मानसिक चोट र पागलपनको अभिव्यक्ति

देवकोटाका आख्यानमा कतिपय पात्रहरू असह्य मानसिक चोट, बेदना आदिले पागलपनको स्थितिमा पुगेका छन्। उनका कितपय पात्रहरू छोराछोरीको गम्भीर रोग, मृत्यु तथा अस्वाभाविक पिरिस्थितिका कारण अभिघातमा पुगी असामान्य भएका छन्। मानसिक चोटमा परेका व्यक्तिहरू सामाजिक मान्यता, पिरवार र दुर्घटनालाई सामञ्जस्य गर्न नसकेर पागल भएका छन्। छोराछोरीलाई रोग लागेको देखेर र उनीहरूको मृत्यको पीडा सहन नसकेर बहुलाउने पात्रहरू 'तारा' र 'अजिमा' कथामा छन्। 'तारा' कथामा कोमलप्रसाद आफ्नी छोरी तारा सिकिस्त बिरामी परेपछि पागल भएका छन्। पत्नी पिहले नै गुमाएका उनले छोरी सिकिस्त परेपछि विक्षिप्त बन्दै गएका छन्। दिनदिनै परिवर्तन हुँदै गएको उनको स्वास्थ्यावस्थालाई डाक्टरको जिज्ञासमा छिमेकीले यसरी चिनाएका छन्:

कहाँ पिहले त के भन्नुपऱ्यो अब । पुराण बाच्न, ठट्टा गर्न, कसले पो भेट्टाउने हो नाइँ । बजै स्वर्ग भएदेखि भोक्राएर रहनुहुन्थ्यो, उस्तो बोल्नुहुन्नथ्यो । तर तारा नानीको चोट परेपिछ वाक्यै बन्द । टोलाउँछन् । उहँ बोल्ने हैनन् । बराबर निस्सासिएभैँ गर्छन् (पृ. १३४-१३६) ।

कोमलप्रसादको मनमा गढेको चोटका कारण उनी निको हुन सक्दैनन् । विरामी भएकी छोरी तारा तर्ङ्गिए पनि उनी निको हुँदैनन् । कोमलप्रसाद पत्नी वियोग र संभावित पुत्री वियोगको त्रासले आघातीत भई बहुलट्ठीपनसँग जीवन छोड्छन् । यसप्रकार अभिघातले मानसिक मात्र नभई शारीरिक ध्वंशसमेत गर्छ भन्ने कुराको सङ्केत देवकोटाका कथामा पाइन्छ (एटम, सन् २०१२, पृ. ६९) । देवकोटाको 'अजिमा' कथामा पनि सन्तानको मृत्युले अभिघातीत भएका अभिभावकको मानसिक स्थितिको चित्रण गरिएको छ । पं. अणिमानाथ र पत्नीको अनेक प्रयत्नमा जिन्मएको प्रिय सन्तान मुकुन्द सिकिस्त विरामी परेपछि अनेक उपचार गरिएको छ । गुभाजू, वैद्य, डाक्टर कसैले पनि उपचार गर्न नसकेपछि पण्डितलाई मानसिक आघात परेको छ । पत्नीले छोराको उपचारमा अनेक प्रयत्न गरिरहँदा उनी टोलाइरहेका हुन्छन् । अभ पाठशालामा उन्टो कुरा पढाउन पुग्छन् । मेघदूत पढाइरहँदा रघुवंशको श्लोकको अर्थ लगाउँछन् । यहाँ सन्तानको पीडा भुल्न उनले रघुवंशका श्लोकलाई सिम्भिन पुगेको देखिन्छ । छोराको उपचारमा डाक्टर बोलाउन गएका उनी बाटामा हात हल्लाउँदै, टाउको ठोक्दै, वर्बराउँदै हिँड्छन् । डाक्टरले सोधेका प्रश्नमा अनौठा उत्तर दिन्छन् । पण्डितका असामान्य क्रियाकलापले उनको बहुलद्वीपनलाई चिनाएको छ । प्रिय सन्तानको वियोगबाट सिर्जित अतिसय चोटले अभिघातीत हुन पुगेका कारण पण्डित बहुलाएका छन् । उनले आफ्नै पत्नीलाई छोरो मारेको आरोप लगाएका छन् - "यो डिङ्गित आमा ! यस अलच्छिनीले छोरो पोलेर

खाई" (पृ. १७०) । कथामा निमोनिया भएर मरेको छोराको चोट सहन नसकी पण्डित बहुलही भएका छन् । यस कथामा प्रस्तुत भएको यो चित्रणले देवकोटाको आफ्नै जीवनमा जोडिएको घटनालाई पिन सम्भाएको छ । उनका छोरा प्रकाश बिरामी परेका बेला डाक्टर बोलाउन होस नभएको र अरूको आदेशमा जाँदा पिन खाली हात फर्किएको प्रसङ्गले यहाँ देवकोटाको पागलपनलाई पिन सङ्गेत गरेको छ । छोरो गुमाउन पुगेका देवकोटाको जीवनको केही सत्य यस कथाले पिन उजागर गरेको देखिन्छ ।

'बङ्गाली बाबू' कथामा हँसीमजाकका लागि ख्यालख्यालमा नचाइएको नाङ्गो खुकुरीलाई देख्दा असुरक्षित महसुस गरी बङ्गाली फणीन बाबू बेहोस भएका छन् । म पात्रले फणीन बाबूलाई ठट्टैठट्टामा देखाएको खुकुरीले उनको मनस्थितिलाई असन्तुलित बनाएको छ । यो घटनापछि उनी बारम्बार मूच्छा पर्न थालेको हुनाले नेपालबाट फिर्किन पुगेका छन् । नेपालको रमणीयता र नेपालीको सजातीयता वर्णन गरेर श्री ३ बाट हुकुमपर्माङ्गी ल्याई नेपालमा व्यापार गर्ने योजना बनाएका उनी यही चोटका कारणले फिर्किन बाध्य भएका छन् । बङ्गाली परिवारसँग आत्मीय बनिसकेको मपात्रले आफूले गरेको गल्ती महसुस गरी माफी मागे पिन फणीन बाबूले कलकत्तामा भेटिएका मपात्रलाई चिन्न नसकेको सन्दर्भले उनमा निर्मित गिहरो चोटलाई चिनाउँछ - "फणीन बाबूले मेरो मुख हेरे । मलाई स्पष्टतया चिने हुन् तर उनले निचनेभेँ उत्तर दिएनन्" (पृ. ७२) । बङ्गालीलाई गोर्खाली खुकुरीले तर्साउन नखोजे पिन त्यसको भयानकतादेखि मात्र नभएर काठमाडौँबाट मधेशमूलका मान्छेलाई प्रशासनले नै खेदै गरेको सन्दर्भ पिन जोडिएर फणीनको नर्भस हुने बानीमा थप कारक बनेको छ । यसले गर्दा उसमा भय सिर्जना भएको देखिन्छ ।

'तीज' कथाको पं. रमाकान्त दुई सय रुपियाँ घुस लिँदा अफिसमा समातिएको छ र सफाइ पाए पिन आफ्नो इमान गुमेको गिहरो चोटमा असन्तुलित बन्न पुगेको छ । छोरीलाई तीजमा दर पठाउने पैसा नभएपिछ पत्नीको दबाबले घुस खान बाध्य भएको रमाकान्तले बारम्बार 'दुई सय रुपियाँ भोलिलाई...' भन्दै भट्याइरहनु उसको असन्तुलित मनको उपज हो । त्यसैगरी 'घरेलु धर्म'की रमा ईश्वरभक्तिको अतिसय लतमा डुबेर सन्तानको रेखदेख गर्न सकेकी छैनन् । सन्तानको मृत्युलाई समेत प्रभुको बोलावट भन्दै हाँस्न पुगेकी उनको मनस्थिति धर्मको अन्धताले एकोहोरिएको देखिन्छ । घरका व्यावहारिक पक्षभन्दा भजन कीर्तनमा बढी समय दिने उनले धर्मको अन्धताले उनलाई असामान्य बनाएको छ । 'मर्स्याइदी' कथाको सेते आफ्नी प्यारी मर्स्याइदी र बच्चुको अन्त्य सहन नसकी धारिलो हितयारले खप्पर फोरेर मर्छ । नेपालमा चलेको दासप्रथाको समयलाई आधार बनाएर लेखिएको यस कथामा बच्चु र मर्स्याइदीलाई फुकाउन प्रयत्न गरेको सेते उल्टै चोरीको आरोपमा जेल परेको छ र छुटेर आउँदा उनीहरूको मृत्यु हेर्न विवश भएको छ । बाँधा भएर अरूको घरमा बस्न बाध्य भएका उनीहरू मृत्युपछ मात्र मुक्त भएको भयानक घटना कथामा छ ।

चम्पा उपन्यासको पढन्ते रामकान्त टिबी रोग लागेपछि किताब च्यातेर अध्यात्मितर लाग्नु र पछि घर छोडेरै हिँड्न् उसमा परेको मानसिक चोटको परिणाम हो। यसैगरी उमेर प्गेकी चम्पाले आफ्नो पितसँग यौनसम्बन्ध राख्न नपाउँदा कृष्णको मूर्ति नै स्थापना गरेकी छ। अत्यधिक शृङ्गार गर्नु, घरका सदस्यसँग सधैँ भर्कोफर्को गर्नु, तिस्बरसँग कुरा गर्नु आदि व्यवहार उसका मनका चोटसँग जोडिएका छन्। यस्ता व्यवहारले चम्पामा पिन अभिघातीत मनस्थिति रहेको देखिन्छ। देवकोटाका आख्यानमा अनेक प्रकारका चोटबाट सम्हालिन नसकेका पात्रको पागलपन चित्रित छ। यस्तो पागलपन मनको सन्तुलन बिग्रिन पुगेका कारण जन्मेको हो। मनोरोगीका रूपमा रहेका यस्ता पात्रको बहुलद्वीपनलाई आख्यानकार देवकोटाले सफल रूपमा चित्रण गरेका छन्।

#### लकानेली कल्पनाशीलता

उत्तरसंरचनावादी चिन्तक ज्याक लकानले फ्रायडेली मनोविश्लेषणको पुनर्व्याख्या गर्दै पात्रको अचेतनतालाई भाषा र स्वैरकल्पनासँग जोडिदिएका छन्। लकानका अनुसार एकत्व र पृथकताको काल्पनिकी पात्रको मनोविज्ञानमा निर्माण भइरहन्छ (उप्रेती, २०६९, पृ. १६९)। देवकोटाका आख्यानमा कितपय पात्रको मनिस्थिति र अभिव्यक्ति लकानेली मनोविश्लेषणसँग मेल खाने देखिन्छ। चम्पाले रामकान्तसँग ऐकान्तिक क्षण बिताउन नपाउँदा कृष्णको स्वरूपसँग गरेका कल्पनावाट उसको मनमा भ्रम सिर्जना भएको छ। उ आफू र कृष्ण वा रामकान्तमा फरक नदेख्ने भएकी छ। नराम्रो व्यक्तित्वको रामकान्तलाई उसले फिल्मको हिरोका रूपमा कल्पना गरेकी छ। यसैगरी उसले रामकान्तलाई घृणा गर्दागर्दै पनि पटकपटक चाहेकी र घर छोडेर हिँड्दा बरू घरवैरागी भएको बेस भन्नुले उसले आफ्नो विचार र भाषामा स्पष्ट दृष्टिकोण निर्माण गर्न नसकी भ्रममा रहेको देखिन्छ। रामकान्तलाई मन नपराउँदा नपराउँदै पनि उसको साथमा आफ्नो अस्तित्व देख्नुले उसको सोच भ्रमपूर्ण भएको छ। उसले आफू को हुँ र कुन निर्णयमा हिँड्छु भन्ने स्पष्टता पाउन नसकेको देखिन्छ। जीवनमा कल्पना र वास्तिवकताको सम्बन्ध अविभाज्य हुन्छ भन्ने लकानको मान्यता (इभान्स, सन् १९९६, पृ. १८-१९) जस्तै चम्पाका जीवनमा पनि यस्ता विषय जोडिँदै आएका छन्। चम्पा कहिले आफूलाई कैदी सम्भिन्छे त कहिले अप्सरा। उसको जीवन शक्तिको दमन तथा अस्तित्वको द्वन्द्वमा चिप्लिइरहेको छ।

उपन्यासमा चम्पाले घरलाई जेल र आफूलाई सडकमा काम गर्ने कैदीभौँ सम्भेकी छ, "वचनका कोर्रा खानु उस्तै। खिसिटेप्ली उस्तै। कैदीहरू सडक पेल्छन्, बृहारीहरू मस्यौटो" (पृ. ४६)। फेरि सोही घरमा ऊ रामकान्तलाई देख्दा आफूलाई अप्सरा, हेलेन र द्रौपदीसँग तुलना गर्न पुग्छे। उपन्यासको अन्त्यमा घर छोडेर हिँड्ने बेलामा पिन उसको गन्तव्य स्पष्ट भएको छैन। जुभारु र आकामक हुँदाहुँदै पिन उसले आफ्नो अस्तित्वमा ढुलमुले रूप धारण गरेकी छ। चम्पाले विवाह भएर गएको घर र रामकान्तसँग काल्पिनक सम्बन्ध राखेकी छ कहिले हो जस्तो कहिले होइन जस्तो। लकानको मतमा सङ्केतित र सङ्केतकको अन्तहीन शृङ्कला चिप्लिइरहेभौँ चम्पाको मनमा पिरचय र सम्बन्धका शृङ्कला चिप्लिएका छन्। यस उपन्यासको रामकान्त पिन कहिले शङ्कराचार्यको दर्शन त कहिले फ्रायडका सिद्धान्त पढ्न थाल्छ। जीवन भोग वा त्याग के हो भन्ने भ्रमपूर्ण द्वन्द्वमा ऊ पटकपटक रुमिलएको छ। यसैगरी 'अजिमा' कथाको पात्र पं. अणिमानाथ डाक्टर र वैद्यको

उपचार विधिमा सधैँ द्वन्द्वमा रहन्छ अनि उसका विश्वासहरू चिप्लिइरहन्छन् । गुभाजुलाई सम्मान गरे पिन उसको उपचार पद्धितमा विश्वास गर्दैन तर डाक्टर बोलाउन जाँदा बिर्सिएर टाउको ठोक्दै फिर्किन्छ । छोरालाई गुभाजुले हेर्न लागेको पाँच दिनपछि बल्ल छोराको खोजखबर गरी डाक्टर बोलाउन जाने पिण्डितसँग देवकोटाको आफ्नै स्वभाव मिल्छ पिन भन्ने गिरएको छ (बन्धु, २०६७, पृ. १७०) । भारफुकमा रहेको जनविश्वासलाई विरोध पिन नगर्ने अनि विश्वास पिन नगर्ने व्यवहारले पिण्डित सकसमा परेको छ । आफ्नो छोराको उपचारमा ऊ पटकपटक भ्रममा पिररहन्छ र केही गर्न नसक्ने बन्छ । कथाका पात्रहरू गुरु ज्ञानिसंह, शिशिली, बिजुली आदिमा पिन भ्रमपूर्ण काल्पिनकीको यो तह देखिन्छ । देवकोटाका पात्रका विश्वास र व्यवहारका पक्षहरू बारम्बार चिप्लिइरहने अचेतनमा पुगेका देखिन्छन् ।

#### निष्कर्ष

आख्यानकार देवकोटाले चम्पा उपन्यास र लक्ष्मी कथासङ्ग्रहका अधिकांश कथामा पात्रको मनस्थितिको सुक्ष्म विश्लेषण गरेका छन्। देवकोटाको लेखन मूलतः सामाजिक यथार्थका विषयमा केन्द्रित भए पनि समाजका अन्धमान्यता र समाजविकासका विरोधी व्यवहारका विरुद्ध चेतनशील आवाज निर्माण गर्ने उद्देश्यअन्सार लेखिएका छन् र उनले आख्यानमा त्यस्ता चरित्रको मनस्थितिलाई चित्रण गरेका छन्। सामाजिक व्यवहारमा अप्ठेरोमा परेका, परम्परागत सोचले अगांडि बढ्न नसकेका, गरिबी र अनेक वैयक्तिक समस्याले उल्भनमा परेका पात्रहरूको मनोविज्ञानलाई केलाउँदै आख्यानको निर्माण गर्ने कला देवकोटामा पाइन्छ। उनका पात्रहरू सामाजिक र वैयक्तिक समस्याहरूका कारण अनेक मनोवैज्ञानिक उल्भनहरू र भ्रमपुर्ण काल्पनिकीमा परेका छन् । पित्सत्तात्मक समाजले गरेको शोषण र विभेदले नारीमाथि भएका अनेक हिंसाहरू तथा नारीले आफ्नो अधिकारका लागि निर्माण गरेका विद्रोही आवाज मात्र होइन परम्परागत सोच र प्रतिकृल स्वास्थ्यका कारण अनेक समस्यामा परेका परुषका मनस्थितिको विश्लेषण देवकोटाका आख्यानले गरेका छन्। समाजका जटिलता र समस्यालाई पात्रका मनोविज्ञानका माध्यमबाट रोचक रूपमा उठाई तिनको संबोधन गर्न सिकन्छ भन्ने विश्वास देवकोटाको आख्यान लेखनमा रहेको छ । अवैज्ञानिक सोच र दृष्टिकोणमा विश्वास राख्ने परम्परागत समाजमा वैज्ञानिक दिष्टको चेतना निर्माण गर्नका लागि पनि देवकोटाले अनेक रोगले समस्यामा परेका अभिभावकका मनस्थितिलाई खोतलेका छन्। विज्ञानले विकास गरेको उपचार पद्धितभन्दा परम्परागत सोचमा जकडिएको समाजलाई सचेत बनाउन उनले सन्तान गुमाउन पुगेका अभिभावकको असन्त्लित मनोदशालाई चित्रण गरेका छन्।

समाजमा लैङ्गिक सन्तुलन कायम गर्न दबाइएका महिलाको आवाजलाई मुखरित गर्नुपर्ने उद्देश्यका साथ देवकोटाले नारी मनोविज्ञानलाई खोतल्न पुगेका छन्। आफ्नो अस्तित्व र अधिकारका लागि सचेत हुन थालेका तत्कालीन समयका शिक्षित नारीमा विद्रोही स्वर उराल्दै तिनले आफ्नो शरीर र यौनमाथि खोजेको अधिकारलाई लेखकले खोतलेका छन्। देवकोटाले समाजमा पुरुषको यौनभोक र

विक्षिप्तिका विरुद्ध पनि विभिन्न पात्रका माध्यमबाट सचेत बनाएका छन्। उनका आख्यानका चम्पा, शिशिली, बिजुली, परा, मर्स्याङ्दी जस्ता नारी चिरित्रले आफ्नो यौनचाहना र स्वतन्त्रताको वकालत गरेका छन् भने रामकान्त, सुब्बा श्रीकान्त, ज्ञानिसंह, सािहँला बाजे (पराको लोग्ने), पिण्डत (मर्स्याङ्दी कथाको पात्र) जस्ता पुरुष पात्रका व्यवहारमा यौनका अनेक रूप प्रकट भएका छन्। त्यसैगरी कोमलप्रसाद, फणीन बाबू, पं. अणीमानाथ, पं. रमाकान्तका मनमा परेको गिहरो चोटले उनीहरू अभिघातीत बनेका छन्। तारा र जुनुजस्ता बालपात्रको मनोविज्ञानलाई पिन आख्यानकारले कथामा केलाएका छन्।

लक्ष्मीप्रसाद देवकोटा पात्रको मनोविज्ञानलाई सूक्ष्म रूपमा केलाई समाजको अवस्थालाई बोध गराउन सक्ने सामाजिक आख्यानकार हुन्। उनका आख्यानका पात्रहरू समाजको परम्परित सोचका विरुद्ध सचेत भएका, सामाजिक न्याय र वैयक्तिक स्वतन्त्रताप्रति जागरुक भएका देखिन्छन्। यसका साथै उनका पात्रहरू विभिन्न परिस्थितिका कारण आइपरेका असामान्य अवस्थाबाट चोटपूर्ण बन्न पुगेका पनि छन्। यस दृष्टिबाट देवकोटा सामाजिक आख्यानमा पात्रको मनस्थितिको सूक्ष्म चित्रण गर्ने सफल आख्यानकार बनेको पृष्टि हन्छ।

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डा. केशव भुसाल\*

सार

प्रस्तृत लेख संसारमा बोलिने भाषाहरूको पारिवारिक वर्गीकरण र तिनका विशेषता अध्ययनमा आधारित रहेको छ। यस लेखमा संसारमा बोलिने भाषाका विभिन्न पक्षहरूको सुक्ष्म समीक्षण गरिएको छ। संसारमा बोलिने भाषाहरूको अध्ययन गर्नु, भाषाको पारिवारिक वर्गीकरणका आधारहरू निर्धारण गर्नु, संसारमा बोलिने भाषाको पारिवारिक वर्गीकरण उल्लेख गर्नु र तिनमा निहित विशेषताहरू प्रस्त्त गर्न् यस लेखका मूलभूत उद्देश्य रहेका छन्। प्रस्त्त लेखमा मूलतः गुणात्मक अनुसन्धान विधिको प्रयोग गरिएको छ । यस ऋममा पुस्तकालयीय कार्यका माध्यमबाट सोद्देश्यमूलक तरिकाले सामग्रीहरूको सङ्कलन गरिएको छ । प्रस्तुत लेख तयारीका ऋममा भाषाको पारिवारिक वर्गीकरण र यससम्बद्ध विविध पक्षको चर्चा गरिएका अङ्ग्रेजी, नेपाली सैद्धान्तिक पाठ्यपुस्तकहरूलाई अध्ययनीय सामग्रीका रूपमा लिइएको छ र तिनको अध्ययनबाट प्राप्त तथ्यहरूको अध्ययन विश्लेषण गरिएको छ। जसका आधारमा संसारमा हजारौं भाषाहरू बोलिने गरेको, भाषाको पारिवारिक वर्गीकरणका निश्चित आधार रहेको, संसारमा बोलिने भाषाहरूलाई दस परिवारमा वर्गीकरण गर्ने गरिएको र संसारका भाषाहरूमा आआफ्नै मौलिक विशेषता रहेको लगायतका निष्कर्ष निकालिएको छ । प्रस्तुत लेखले संसारमा बोलिने भाषा, भाषाको परिवार एवम् पारिवारिक वर्गीकरणका क्षेत्रमा कार्यरत वा कार्य गर्न इच्छुक शिक्षक, विद्यार्थी, शोधार्थी, लेखक तथा विषय विशेषज्ञलाई आवश्यक कुराहरू अधिगत गर्न सहयोग पुऱ्याउने अपेक्षा गरिएको छ ।

पारिवारिक वर्गीकरण, पारिवारिक वर्गीकरणका आधार, भाषा, भाषा परिवार, मुख्य शब्दावली : भाषाका विशेषता।

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# पृष्ठभूमि

भाषा मानवीय सञ्चारको प्रणाली हो। "मानिस मूलतः भाषिक सञ्चार गर्दछ" (यादव र रेग्मी, २०५९, पृ. १५)। यसका माध्यमबाट मानवीय विचार वा भावनाहरूको साटासाट गरिन्छ। "जीवनमा भाषाको प्रमुख स्थान र व्यापक प्रभाव रहेको हुन्छ" (गुप्त र भाटनगर, सन् १९७४, पृ. १) । मानव भाषा कथ्य, लेख्यका अतिरिक्त साङ्केतिक स्वरूपमा पनि व्यवहृत भएको पाइन्छ । कथ्य भाषाका सन्दर्भमा विचार विनिमयार्थ वक्ता-श्रोता र लेख्य भाषाका सन्दर्भमा लेखक-पाठकको अपेक्षा गरिन्छ भने साङ्केतिक भाषाका सन्दर्भमा साङ्केतिक तौरतरिकाको अवलम्बन गरिन्छ। संसारमा अनेकौं भाषाहरू बोलिन्छन् । "संसारमा अहिलेसम्म कति भाषा बोलिन्छन् भन्ने बारेमा प्राप्त मतहरूमा एकरूपता रहेको भेटिदैन" (न्यौपाने र अन्य, २०६७, पृ. ३४९) । भाषाशास्त्रीहरूले समय-समयमा विभिन्न भाषाको अध्ययन-अनुसन्धान गरेका छन् तथापि संसारमा यति नै भाषा छन् भनेर किटान गर्न सकेका छैनन्। सुरुसुरुमा अर्थात् सन् १९३९ तिर संसारमा बोलिने भाषाको सङ्ख्या अन्दाजी २५०० देखि ३००० सम्म रहेको धारणा सार्वजनिक भएको थियो यद्यपि त्यसमा एक मत थिएन । पछि अर्थात् सन् १९९४ तिर संसारमा २७९६ भाषा रहेको अड्कल गरिएको थियो । त्यस्तै सन् २००० मा भाषावैज्ञानिक डेभिड किस्टलले विश्वमा ६००० भाषाहरू रहेको अनुमान गरेका थिए भने हाल संसारमा बोलिने भाषाको सङ्ख्या ७००० नाघिसकेको तथ्य विद्वान्हरूले अघि सारेका छन्। इथ्नोलग ल्याङ्ग्वेज अफ द वर्ल्ड (सन् २०२३) का अनुसार सम्प्रति संसारमा बोलिने भाषाहरूको सङ्ख्या ७१६८ पुगेको छ । यस प्रकाशनद्वारा सन् २०२३ मा छब्बिसौं संस्करणका रूपमा प्रकाशित भाषासूचीमा प्रस्तुत तथ्य उल्लेख गरिएको छ। कुनै एक व्यक्ति सबै भाषाको विज्ञ नहुने, द्विभाषिकताको कारणले अल्पसङ्ख्यकको भाषा लोप हुँदै जाने तथा भाषाशास्त्रीहरूले नयाँ-नयाँ भाषा पत्ता लगाउने भएकाले संसारका भाषाको सङ्ख्या घटबढ भइरहन्छ। त्यसैले संसारका भाषाको निश्चित सङ्ख्या पाउन कठिन रहेको छ। पन्त (२०३६) का अनुसार "संसारभरका भाषाहरू भिन्नभिन्न भए तापिन कुनै अंशमा यी भाषाहरूमा समता वा एकता देखिन्छ। यही समताका आधारमा संसारभरका भाषाहरूको वर्गीकरण गर्न सिकन्छ" (पृ. ४०) । प्रस्त्त अध्ययनमा संसारमा बोलिने भाषा, तिनको पारिवारिक वर्गीकरण र विशेषताहरूको सूक्ष्म अध्ययन गरिएको छ ।

#### अध्ययन विधि

प्रस्तुत लेख गुणात्मक अनुसन्धान विधिमा आधारित रहेको छ। यस लेखमा वर्णनात्मक र विश्लेषणात्मक विधिको प्रयोग गरिएको छ। प्रस्तुत लेख तयारीका क्रममा पुस्तकालयीय कार्यका माध्यमबाट आवश्यक सामग्रीहरूको सङ्कलन गरिएको छ। प्रस्तुत लेखमा भाषा परिवार र भाषाको पारिवारिक वर्गीकरणसम्बन्धी सैद्धान्तिक चर्चा गरिएका अङ्ग्रेजी-नेपाली सैद्धान्तिक सामग्रीहरूलाई मुख्य अध्ययनीय सामग्रीका रूपमा उपयोग गरिएको छ भने भाषाको पारिवारिक वर्गीकरणका बारेमा बारेमा चर्चा एवम् अध्ययन गरिएका लेखहरू, शोधकार्यहरू र इन्टरनेटबाट प्राप्त सामग्रीहरूको अतिरिक्त अध्ययनीय सामग्रीका रूपमा प्रयोग गरिएको छ। यस लेखमा सङ्कलित सामग्रीहरूको अध्ययनबाट प्राप्त तथ्यहरूलाई सूक्ष्म रूपमा अध्ययन, विश्लेषण गरी विभिन्न शीर्षकमा प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ।

#### प्राप्ति र छलफल

संसारका भाषाको पारिवारिक वर्गीकरणमा आधारित प्रस्तुत अध्ययनमा यससम्बद्ध विभिन्न विषयवस्तुलाई निम्नान्सारका उपशीर्षकहरूमा विभक्त गरी व्याख्या विश्लेषण गरिएको छ :

#### भाषाको पारिवारिक वर्गीकरणको परिचय

संसारमा बोलिने सहसौं भाषाहरूलाई विभिन्न आधारमा वर्गीकरण गरिएको पाइन्छ। भाषाको सङ्ख्या निश्चित नभएभौं भाषिक वर्गीकरणको आधार र सङ्ख्या पिन अनिश्चित नै छ। "चार कोस पर पानी र आठ कोस पर बानी बदिलन्छ" भन्ने लोकोक्ति जस्तै भूगोलिपच्छे फरक-फरक भाषाको प्रयोग-व्यवहार हुन्छ। सत्रौं शताब्दीमा युरोपेली विद्वान्हरूलाई संस्कृत भाषाको ज्ञान भएपछि उनीहरूले संस्कृत, ग्रीक र ल्याटिन भाषाको तुलनात्मक अध्ययन गरेसँगै भाषाको वर्गीकरण गर्ने कार्य प्रारम्भ भएको मानिन्छ। तिवारी (सन् २०१६) का अनुसार "संसारका भाषाहरूलाई महादेश, देश, धर्म, काल, संरचना, परिवार र प्रभावका आधारमा वर्गीकरण गर्न सिकन्छ" (पृ. ९३) र संसारका भाषा वर्गीकरण गर्ने यी आधारहरूमध्ये पिन परिवार, भूगोल र आकृतिमूलकतालाई महत्तम आधारका रूपमा लिइन्छ। यस दृष्टिले भाषाको पारिवारिक वर्गीकरणलाई संसारका भाषा वर्गीकरणको मुख्य आधार मान्न सिकन्छ

रचनातत्त्व र अर्थतत्त्वका आधारमा गरिने भाषाको वर्गीकरणलाई पारिवारिक वर्गीकरण भिनन्छ। अर्को शब्दमा "भाषाको पारिवारिक वर्गीकरणको अर्थ हो 'विश्वका भाषाको परिवारमा वर्गीकरण गर्नु' (तिवारी, २०१६, पृ. १०५)। यसलाई वंशगत वा आनुवंशिक वर्गीकरण पिन भन्ने गरिन्छ। जसरी एउटै पूर्खाबाट उत्पन्न सबै सन्तितलाई एउटै गोत्रको मानिन्छ, त्यसरी नै एउटै भाषाबाट कालान्तरमा उत्पन्न अनेकों भाषाहरूलाई पिन सगोत्रीय भाषा मानिन्छ। सिजापती (२०५०) का दृष्टिमा "जसरी परिवारमा अथवा भनौं वंशमा एउटा आदिपुरुष हुन्छ र त्यसबाट वंश स्थापनार्थ अनेकों हाँगाबिंगा निक्लन्छन्, त्यस्तै गरेर भाषाको पिन पिहले एउटा भाषा थियो र त्यही एउटा भाषाबाट अनेकों भाषा भए" (पृ.४८)। भाषाको पारिवारिक वर्गीकरणमा यसैअनुरूप विभिन्न भाषाको तुलनात्मक अध्ययन गरिन्छ र समान विशेषतायुक्त भाषालाई एउटा वर्गमा राखी त्यसको परिवार निर्धारण गरिन्छ अर्थात् यसमा पूर्ख्यौली भाषालाई मूल मानी त्यसबाट विकसित सजातीय भाषाहरूलाई समूहीकृत गर्ने प्रिक्रया अवलम्बन गरिन्छ।

#### भाषाको पारिवारिक वर्गीकरण

भाषाको पारिवारिक वर्गीकरण गर्ने निश्चित आधारहरू हुन्छन् । वस्तुत: "भाषाको पारिवारिक वर्गीकरण भाषाको उत्पत्ति, विकास, आपसी सम्बन्ध र इतिहासका आधारमा गरिन्छ" (शर्मा र लुइँटेल, २०६४, पृ. २४०) । मूल भाषा कुन हो, त्यसबाट के-कस्ता भाषाहरू विकसित भएका छन्, मूल र व्युत्पन्न भाषाको उत्पत्ति कहाँ र किंहलेदेखि भएको हो ? लगायतका प्रश्नको उत्तर यस किंसिमको वर्गीकरणबाट प्राप्त हुन्छ । यसैका आधारमा भारोपेली भाषाबाट संस्कृत, ग्रिक, ल्याटिन, फारसी, अङ्ग्रेजी, जर्मन लगायतका भाषाहरू विकसित भएका हुन् भन्ने कुरासमेत प्रमाणित भएको छ । तिवारी (पूर्ववत्) का अनुसार भाषाको परिवार निर्धारणका लागि निम्नानुसारका आधारहरूको उपयोग गरिन्छ :

(क) भाषिक समानता : ध्वनिमा समानता, शब्दमा समानता, रूप रचनामा समानता, वाक्य रचनामा समानता र अर्थमा समानता

#### (ख) स्थानिक निकटता।

तिवारीका अनुसार भाषावैज्ञानिकहरूले उपर्युक्त छ आधारहरूमध्ये कुनैलाई कम र कुनैलाई अधिक महत्त्व दिएका छन्। आन्तरिक र बाह्य परिवर्तनशीलताका कारण ध्वनिमा समयानुसार परिवर्तन आउन सक्छ, भाषामा एकअर्का भाषाबाट शब्दभण्डार आउन सक्छन् अनि ध्वनि परिवर्तनसँगै अर्थमा पिन परिवर्तन हुन सक्छ भन्दै केही भाषावैज्ञानिकहरूले ध्वनि, शब्दभण्डार र अर्थलाई पारिवारिक वर्गीकरणको दृढ आधार मानेको पाइँदैन। उनीहरूका अनुसार पदरचना र वाक्यरचनामा व्याकरणिक अनुशासन कायमै रहेको हुन्छ भने धेरैजसो भाषाहरू भौगोलिक दृष्टिले पिन निकट हुन्छन् अपितु यो (स्थानिक निकटता) अनिवार्य भने हुँदैन।

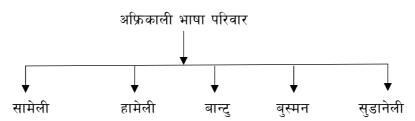
भाषाको पारिवारिक वर्गीकरणमा विभिन्न किसिमका समस्याहरू सृजना हुन सक्छन्। प्रामाणिक सामग्रीको कमी, ऐतिहासिक समकालिकताको अभाव, अध्ययनको अपूर्णताजस्ता कारणले गर्दा भाषा परिवारको सङ्ख्यामा एकरूपता पाइँदैन। सायद यसैले होला विभिन्न विद्वान्हरूले एकदेखि सयसम्मका भाषा परिवारको सङ्ख्या उल्लेख गरेका छन्। अधिकारी (२०६५) का अनुसार भाषाशास्त्री रेइसले संसारका सबै भाषालाई एउटै परिवारका भाषा मानेका छन् भने भाषाको पारिवारिक वर्गीकरण गर्ने प्रथम विद्वान् विल्हेम भान हम्बोल्ट (१७६७-१८३५) ले संसारका भाषाहरूलाई १३ परिवारमा वर्गीकरण गरेका छन्। त्यस्तै भाषाशास्त्री ग्रेले संसारका भाषाहरूलाई २६ परिवारमा, भोलानाथ तिवारीले १३ परिवारमा, पार्टरिजले १० परिवारमा र फ्रेडरिक मुलरले १०० परिवारमा वर्गीकरण गरेका छन्। भाषा जहाँसुकै बोलिने भए पनि भाषा नै हो भन्ने आधारमा रेइसले संसारका भाषालाई एउटै परिवारमा राखेका र एउटै परिवारमा अट्न सक्ने भाषालाई पनि दुक्याएर फ्रेडरिक मुलरले अधिक परिवार निर्धारण गरेका हुन् भन्ने धारणा विद्वान्हरूमा पाइन्छ।

यसप्रकार भाषाको पारिवारिक वर्गीकरणमा मतैक्य देखिँदैन तदिप अधिकांश विद्वान्हरूले संसारमा निम्न १० परिवारका भाषा बोलिने क्रामा भने सहमति जनाएका छन् :

अफ्रिकाली भाषा परिवार, अमेरिकाली भाषा परिवार, ककेसियाली भाषा परिवार, जापानी-कोरियाली भाषा परिवार, मलय पोलिनेसियाली भाषा परिवार, युराल-अल्टाइली भाषा परिवार, भारोपेली भाषा परिवार, चिनिया-तिब्बती भाषा परिवार, आग्नेली भाषा परिवार र द्रविड भाषा परिवार।

#### (क) अफ्रिकाली भाषा परिवार

अफ्रिका महादेशका विभिन्न देशमा बोलिने ६०० भन्दा बढी भाषाहरूको परिवारलाई अफ्रिकाली भाषा परिवार भिनन्छ । अफ्रिकाली भाषा परिवारका केही भाषा पश्चिमी एसियामा पिन बोलिन्छन् । महादेशका आधारमा नामकरण गिरएको यस भाषा परिवारमा पाँच मुख्य उपपिरवार रहेका छन् : सामेली, हामेली, बान्टु, बुस्मन र सुडानेली । न्यौपाने र अन्य (२०६७) का अनुसार "कितपय विद्वान्हरूले अफ्रिकाली भाषा परिवारको नाम उल्लेख नगरी यस परिवारका भाषालाई सामेली, हामेली, बान्टु, बुस्मन र सुडानेली गरी पाँच परिवारअन्तर्गत चर्चा गरेका छन्" (पृ. ३२३) भने कितपयले एउटै अफ्रिकाली परिवारभित्र यस परिवारका भाषाको चर्चा गरेका छन् । उपपरिवारमा निहित भाषिक अभिलक्षणका आधारमा हेर्दा यी उपपरिवार अफ्रिकाली भाषा परिवारअन्तर्गत नै समेटिन्छन् ।



#### सामेली

अफ्रिकाली भाषा परिवारअन्तर्गतको यस उपपरिवारको नामकरण इस्लामिक जगत्का पैगम्बर हजरत नुह (दैवी शिक्तप्राप्त व्यक्तित्व) का जेठा छोरा 'सेम' का नामबाट गरिएको हो । यस उपपरिवारका भाषाहरू उत्तरी अफ्रिका र पिश्चमी एसियाका भूभागमा बोलिन्छन् । यसका प्रमुख चार शाखाहरू : असिरियाली, बेबिलियाली, फिनिसियाली र आरामाइकेली रहेका छन् । यी शाखाअन्तर्गत पिन अनेकों भाषाहरू पर्दछन् । सामेली भाषा मिश्र, इराक, अरब, सिरिया, इथियोपिया, मोरक्को, अलिजिरिया आदि ठाउँमा बोलिन्छ । हिब्रु, अरबी, अकादियन, सुमेरियन आदि यसअन्तर्गतका प्रसिद्ध भाषा हुन् । यसको सबभन्दा पुरानो भाषा हिब्रु हो जसमा बाइबलसमेत लेखिएको छ । शिलष्ट योगात्मकता (अर्थतत्त्व र रचनातत्त्व छुट्याउन नसिकने), त्रिव्यञ्जनात्मक धातु व्यवस्था, शब्दरचनामा मध्ययोग तथा उपसर्ग-प्रत्ययको प्रयोग, त्रिकारकको प्रयोग (कर्ता, कर्म र सम्बन्ध), संज्ञान्तमा सर्वनाम संयोजनद्वारा सम्बन्ध स्थापना, समासशून्यता तथा व्याकरणिक लिङ्ग व्यवस्था (प्राकृतिक होइन) यस उपपरिवारका मुख्य भाषिक विशेषता हन् ।

#### हामेली

यस उपपरिवारको नामकरण नूहका कान्छा छोरा हेमका नामबाट गरिएको हो। यस उपपरिवारका भाषाहरू मुख्यतया उत्तरी अफ्रिकामा बोलिन्छन्। यसका प्रमुख तीन शाखाहरू- मिश्रेली, लिबियाली र इथियोपियाली रहेका छन्। यीअन्तर्गत पिन अनैकों भाषाहरू पर्दछन्। हामेली भाषा लिबिया, सोमालिया, इथियोपियालगायतका भूभागमा बोलिन्छ। प्राचीन मिश्र, क्याप्टिक, सोमाली, गल्ला, नामा, फुला आदि यसका प्रसिद्ध भाषा हुन्। यीमध्ये मिश्र भाषा सबभन्दा पुरानो र समृद्ध भाषा हो। शिलष्ट योगात्मक भाषिक विशेषतायुक्त यस उपपिरवारका भाषामा सामेलीमा जस्तै बिलयो, ठुलो वा बिलष्ठ वस्तु वा प्राणी (हात्ती, भाला, तरवार, चट्टान, ठुला-ठुला रुख आदि) लाई पुलिङ्गवत् र सानो, कमजोर र हल्का वस्तु वा प्राणी (भेडा, बाखा, बिराला, हिसया, चक्कु, साना विरुवा, भारपात आदि) लाई स्त्रीलिङ्गवत् व्यवहार गरिन्छ भने पदरचनामा उपसर्ग-प्रत्ययको प्रयोग तथा कालबोधका लागि सहायक क्रियाको उपयोग गरिन्छ। यस किसिमका विशेषता सामेलीसँग मिल्ने भएकाले यस उपपिरवारको महत्त्व हराउँदै गएको र यसअन्तर्गतका भाषा सामेली उपपिरवारमा बिलाएको अनुमान गरिएको छ।

#### बान्ट्

बान्टु अफ्रिकाली भाषा परिवारको अर्को उपपरिवार हो। यस उपपरिवारअन्तर्गत बोलिने भाषाहरूमा मानिसलाई जनाउन बान्टु शब्दको प्रयोग गरिने भएकाले त्यसैका आधारमा यसको नामकरण गरिएको हो। यस उपपरिवारका भाषाहरूको मुख्य क्षेत्र दक्षिण अफ्रिका हो। यसबाहेक मध्य अफ्रिका र जाञ्जिबार द्विपसम्म पिन यस उपपरिवारका भाषाहरू बोलिन्छन्। यसअन्तर्गतका भाषाहरूलाई पूर्वी वर्ग, मध्य वर्ग र पश्चिमी वर्गमा बाँडिएको पाइन्छ। पूर्वी वर्गमा स्वाहिली, काफिर, जुलु, किसु, किकोंव, मध्य वर्गमा सेचुना, सेरोलाङ्ग, लेकेजा र पश्चिमी वर्गमा हेरेरो, बुन्दा, काङ्गो, इसुबुलगायतका भाषाहरू पर्दछन्। यस उपपरिवारको प्रसिद्ध भाषा 'स्वाहिली' हो। यसमा मात्र साहित्यको रचना भएको पाइन्छ। यस उपपरिवारका भाषाहरूमा अश्लिष्ट योगात्मकता (अर्थतत्त्व र रचनातत्त्व छुट्याउन सिकने), अन्तःस्फोटात्मकता (क्लिक ध्विनको प्रयोग हुने), स्वरभेदगत अर्थता (स्वरअनुसार एउटै शब्दको पिन अर्थ परिवर्तन हुने, सुस्त बोल्दा एउटा अर्थ र जोडले बोल्दा अर्को अर्थ लाग्ने), लैङ्गिक व्यवस्थाहीनता, पदरचनामा मूलतः उपसर्ग र अंशत प्रत्ययको प्रयोगलगायतका विशेषताहरू पाइन्छन्।

#### बुस्मन

दक्षिण-पश्चिम अफ्रिकाका आदिबासीहरूलाई बुस्मन भिनन्छ। यस उपपिरवारअन्तर्गतका भाषाहरू त्यसै क्षेत्रका मानिसहरूले बोल्ने भएकाले यसको नाम बुस्मन रहन गएको मानिन्छ। यस उपपिरवारका भाषाहरूको मुख्य क्षेत्र दक्षिण-पश्चिम अफ्रिका (अरेन्ज नदीदेखि नगामी भिन्न वा तालसम्म) नै हो। यस उपपिरवारमा पिग्मी, होटेन्टोट र बुस्मन गरी तीन शाखाहरू रहेका छन्। होटेन्टोट, नामा, हमरा, सन्दवा, ऐकवे, औकवे, हातें तोत आदि यसअन्तर्गतका प्रमुख भाषाहरू हुन्। अफ्रिकाली भाषा परिवारमा यस उपपिरवारका भाषाहरूलाई प्राचीन र जङ्गली भाषा भिनएको पाइन्छ। यसअन्तर्गतका भाषाहरूमा साहित्यको रचना भएको पाइँदैन। अन्तः स्फोटात्मकता (क्लिक ध्विनहरू पाइने), श्रुतिमधुरता, प्राणीत्व र अप्राणीत्वका आधारमा लैङ्गिक व्यवस्था, वचन

परिवर्तनका पचासौं तरिका (विशेषत: बहुवचन बनाउँदा) आदि यस उपपरिवारका मुख्य विशेषता हुन् ।

## सुडानेली

सुडानेली उपपरिवार अफ्रिका महादेशको भूमध्यरेखाको उत्तर दक्षिणतर्फ पूर्वदेखि पश्चिमसम्मको पातलो भूभागमा बोलिने भाषाहरूको परिवार हो। यस उपपरिवारको नामकरण सुडान देशका आधारमा गरिएको हो। यसको मुख्य क्षेत्र आसपासमा सामेली-हामेली उपपरिवारका भाषा (उत्तरमा) र बान्टु उपपरिवारका भाषा (दिक्षिणमा) बोलिन्छन्। यसमा सेनेगल, एवेशाखा, मध्यवर्ती र निलोत्तरी गरी चार शाखा रहेका छन्। यीमध्ये सेनेगल शाखाअन्तर्गत बुलुफ, बुलोन, सेरेन, एवेशाखाअन्तर्गत अकान, फान, नुपे, इबे, मध्यवर्तीअन्तर्गत हौसा र निलोत्तरीअन्तर्गत क्वाफी बार, नुसरलगायतका भाषाहरू पर्दछन्। हौसा, इबे, सोहगईं, न्यूबियन, मानफ आदि यस उपपरिवारका प्रमुख भाषाहरू हुन्। यस उपपरिवारका भाषाहरूलाई चिनिया परिवारका भाषासँग मिल्दाजुल्दा पिन मानिन्छ। अयोगात्मकता, व्याकरणिक लिङ्ग व्यस्थाको अभाव (पुरुष र स्त्रीवाचक शब्दका आधारमा लिङ्ग बोध हुने), छोटा-छोटा सरल वाक्यको प्रयोग, स्वरभेदगत अर्थ (सुर र तानअनुसार एउटै शब्दको पिन अर्थ परिवर्तन हुने), बहुवचनका लागि 'ये', 'वे' वाचक सर्वनाम तथा 'लोग' शब्दको संयोजन आदि यस उपपरिवारका मुख्य विशेषता हुन्।

अफ्रिकाली भाषा परिवारका समग्र विशेषताहरू निम्नानुसार छन् :

#### सामेली-हामेलीसम्बद्ध

- शिलष्ट-अश्लिष्ट योगात्मकता-अयोगात्मकता
- त्रिव्यञ्जनात्मक धात् व्यवस्था, व्याकरणिक लिङ्ग व्यवस्था
- त्रिकारकको प्रयोग र समासशून्यताको अवस्था
- शब्द रचनामा उपसर्ग, मध्यसर्ग र परसर्गको प्रयोग
- कालबोधका लागि सहायक क्रियाको प्रयोग
- अन्तः स्फोटात्मकता
- प्राणीत्वका आधारमा लैङ्गिक व्यवस्था
- वचन परिवर्तनका पचासौं तरिका
- बह्वचनका लागि ये, वे सर्वनाम तथा 'लोग' शब्दको संयोजन, आदि ।

#### (ख) अमेरिकाली भाषा परिवार

अमेरिका महादेशमा बोलिने भाषाहरूको परिवारलाई अमेरिकाली भाषा परिवार भनिन्छ। शर्मा र लुइटेल (पूर्ववत्) का अनुसार "यो नाम अमेरिकाली भाषाहरूको सामूहिक नाम हो" (पृ. २४६) यस परिवारका भाषाहरूको वैज्ञानिक अध्ययन-अनुसन्धान भएको पाइँदैन त्यसैले भाषावैज्ञानिकहरूले यस परिवारभित्र अनेक परिवारका भाषाहरू रहेका हुन सक्ने सम्भावना व्यक्त गरेका छन्। अधिकारी (पूर्ववत्) का अनुसार "विद्वान्हरू अमेरिकाका आदिबासीहरूले बोल्ने भाषाहरूको सङ्ख्या ४०० देखि १००० सम्म रहेको मान्दछन्" (पृ. ३८०)। उत्तर अमेरिका, मध्य अमेरिका, दक्षिण अमेरिका, ग्रिनल्यान्ड, मेक्सिको, क्यानडा र त्यस वरपरका द्वीपहरू ती भाषाका प्रयोग क्षेत्र हुन्। यसैका आधारमा त्यहाँका मूल निवासीहरूको भाषालाई उत्तर अमेरिकाली, मध्य अमेरिकाली, दक्षिण अमेरिकाली र मेक्सिकोको भाषा गरी चार शाखामा वर्गीकरण गरिएको पाइन्छ।

अमेरिकामा त्यहाँका आदिबासीहरूले बोल्ने भाषाबाहेकका अन्य थुप्रै भाषाहरू पिन प्रयोग व्यवहारमा रहेका छन्। अङ्ग्रेजी, स्पेनिस, पूर्तगाली, फ्रेन्च, जर्मन, इटालेली, पोलिस, चिनिया, ग्रिक आदि यसका उदाहरण हुन्। यी भाषा अमेरिकाबाहिरबाट अमेरिकामा गएका भाषा हुन्। अमेरिकाका विभिन्न भूभागमा फरक-फरक भाषा बोलिने र थोरै दुरीमा पिन भिन्न-भिन्न भाषाको प्रयोग गरिने भएकाले अमेरिकाली भाषाहरूको अध्ययन-वर्गीकरण निश्चित गर्न नसिकएको ठानिन्छ। फलस्वरूप अमेरिकी नामबाट सबै भाषाको पिहचान दिने प्रयत्न गरिएको छ। यस परिवारका अधिकांश भाषाहरूमा लिपि र साहित्यको समेत अभाव (प्राय: बोलीचालीमा सीमित रहेकाले) देखिन्छ। भौगोलिक दृष्टिले यसअन्तर्गतका भाषाहरूलाई निम्न तीन भागमा वर्गीकरण गरिएको पाइन्छ:

- क्यानडा र संयुक्त राज्यमा प्रचलित भाषा : अथबस्कन, अलगोनकी, होका, पुरोकवा, सिउई आदि ।
- मेक्सिको र मध्य अमेरिकामा प्रचलित भाषा : अज्टेक, मय, नहुअत्ल आदि ।
- दक्षिण अमेरिकामा प्रचलित भाषा : अरबक, चिबोचा, तुपी-गुअर्नी, चेरोकी, करिब, क्वेचुआ, नुत्का आदि ।

उपर्युक्त वर्गमा विभाजित भाषाहरूमध्ये क्यानडा र संयुक्त राज्यको अथबस्कन, मेक्सिको र मध्य अमेरिकाको नहुअत्ल, दक्षिणी अमेरिकाको अरबक, करिब, क्वेचुआ र नुत्का भाषा प्रमुख तथा प्रसिद्ध भाषा मानिन्छन् ।

अमेरिकाका कितपय ठाउँमा मिहला र पुरुषले छुट्टाछुट्टै भाषा अर्थात् मिहलाहरूले अरबक र पुरुषहरूले किरब भाषा बोल्ने गर्दछन्। एकवेला अरबक र किरब भाषीबीच लडाइ भएको, लडाइमा अरबक भाषी पुरुषहरू सबै मारिएको र तिनका मिहलालाई किरबभाषी पुरुषहरूले विवाह गरेको तर विवाहपछि पिन मिहलाहरूले आफ्नो भाषाको प्रयोग व्यवहारलाई निरन्तरता दिएका कारण भिन्न-भिन्न भाषा प्रयोग गर्ने गरेको भनाइ पाइन्छ अपितु दुबैले एकर्काको भाषा बुझ्ने र दुबैलाई महत्त्व दिने गरेका छन्।

अमेरिकी भाषा परिवारअन्तर्गतका भाषाहरू परस्परमा असम्बद्ध भएकाले तिनबाट समान अभिलक्षण निकाल्न मुस्किल पर्दछ । तथापि केही विशेषताहरू निम्नानुसार रहेका छन् :

• प्रश्लिष्ट योगात्मकता

- शब्दद्वारा वाक्यात्मक कार्य सम्पादन
- स्वतन्त्र शब्दको प्रयोगविहीनता
- अधिकांश भाषामा लिपि र साहित्यको अभाव
- विस्तृत अन्वेषणको कमी, आदि ।

#### (ग) ककेसियाली भाषा परिवार

कृष्ण (कालो) सागर (युरोप महादेशमा अवस्थित) र क्यास्पियन सागर (एसिया र युरोप महादेशका विचमा अवस्थित) का विचमा रहेको ककेसस (Caucasus) पर्वत शृङ्खलाको सेरोफेरोमा बोलिने भाषाहरूको परिवारलाई ककेसियाली भाषा परिवार भिनन्छ। गौतम र चौलागाईं (२०६७) का अनुसार "ककेसस पर्वतको छेउछाउमा बोलिने भएकाले यसको नामकरण ककेसस गिरएको छ" (पृ. ३४६) यस भाषा परिवारका वक्ताहरूको बसोबास दुर्गम पहाडी भेकमा रहेकाले यस परिवारमा धेरै भाषा, भाषिका र व्यक्तिबोलीहरू विकसित भएका छन् तदिप तिनको सम्यक अध्ययन भने हुन सकेको छैन।

ककेसियाली भाषा परिवारअन्तर्गतका भाषाहरूलाई निम्न दुई शाखामा विभाजन गरिएको पाइन्छ :

- उत्तरी ककेसियाली : चेचेन, कवार्दियन, अवर अब्खासियन, लेगी, आदि ।
- दक्षिणी ककेसियाली : जर्जियन, मिग्रेलियन, सुआनियन, आदि ।

यी शाखामा वर्गीकृत भाषाहरूमध्ये जर्जियन (जर्जियाली) भाषालाई यस परिवारको प्रमुख भाषा मानिन्छ जसमा साहित्यिक रचनासमेत भएको पाइन्छ ।

ककेसियाली परिवारका केही भाषाहरूमा पारस्परिक समानता र केहीमा असमानता रहेको देखिन्छ । भौगोलिक विकटता, दूरता, सम्पर्कको अभावजस्ता कारणले यस्तो भएको हुन सक्छ । यसअन्तर्गतका अधिकांश भाषाहरू कथ्यमा मात्र सीमित रहेका छन् । केही समयसम्म यस परिवारका भाषाहरूको प्रकृति शिलष्ट योगात्मक मानिएको भए पनि अध्ययन अनुसन्धानका आधारमा यसअन्तर्गतका भाषाहरू अश्लिष्ट प्रकृतिका देखिएका छन् । यसअन्तर्गतका कतिपय भाषामा कतै-कतै प्रश्लिष्ट योगात्मकताको लक्षण पनि पाइन्छ ।

यस परिवारका मुख्य विशेषताहरू निम्नानुसार छन् :

- मूलतः अश्लिष्ट, अंशतः प्रश्लिष्ट योगात्मकता
- शब्द रचनामा उपसर्ग र प्रत्ययको योग
- व्यञ्जन वर्णको बहुलता, स्वरको अल्पता (उत्तरी शाखाको अवर भाषामा ४३ व्यञ्जन)
- अधिक विभक्ति र लिङ्गको व्यवस्था (अवर भाषामा ३० विभक्ति, चेचेन भाषामा ६ लिङ्ग)
- मिल्दा-अमिल्दा लक्षणयुक्त भाषाको सँगेलाइ, आदि ।

#### (घ) जापानी-कोरियाली भाषा परिवार

जापान, कोरिया तथा तिनका निकटवर्ती भूभागमा बोलिने भाषाहरूको परिवारलाई जापानी-कोरियाली भाषा परिवार भनिन्छ । तिवारी (पूर्ववत्) का अनुसार "यो भाषा जापान, कोरिया तथा आसपासका केही द्वीपहरूमा फैलिएको छ" (पृ. ११४) । यो जापान र कोरिया देशका आधारमा नामकरण गरिएको भाषा परिवार हो । यसलाई कसैकसैले उत्तरपूर्वी एसियाली भाषा परिवार पनि भनेका छन् । यसको मुख्य क्षेत्र जापान र कोरिया हो भने मुख्य भाषा जापानी र कोरियाली हुन् । यी दुबै भाषा साहित्य र संस्कृतिका दृष्टिले समृद्ध मानिन्छन् । जापानी भाषालाई संसारकै सम्पन्न (विकसित) भाषासमेत मानिन्छ ।

जापानी र कोरियाली भाषालाई लामो समयसम्म बेग्लाबेग्लै परिवारमा छुट्याइएको थियो भने पछि युराल अल्टाइली भाषा परिवारमा राखिएको थियो। यी दुबैमा केही मात्रामा समानता देखिएकाले अचेल भने एकै ठाउँमा राखिएको छ तदिप यी दुबै परिवार परस्परमा असम्बद्ध भएकाले कसैले चिनिया-तिब्बती परिवारमा, कसैले युराल अल्टाइली परिवारमा त कसैले मलय पोलिनेसियाली परिवारमा समेट्नुपर्ने धारणा राख्दै आएका छन्। गम्भीर भाषावैज्ञानिक अध्ययनको अभावस्वरूप यस किसिमका धारणा देखा परेका हुन्। अनिश्चितताको यस स्थितिमा जापानी र कोरियाली भाषालाई स्वतन्त्र परिवार मान्न उपयुक्त हुन्छ।

यस परिवारका भाषामा पाइने मुख्य विशेषताहरू निम्नानुसार छन् :

- अश्लिष्ट योगात्मकता
- अनेकाक्षरी शब्द व्यवस्था
- प्रत्येक अक्षरमा समान बलसहित शब्दोच्चारण व्यवस्था
- व्याकरिणक लिङ्गको अभाव (लिङ्गबोधका लागि प्रत्यय जोङ्नुपर्ने व्यवस्था)
- वचन र पुरुषगत धारणा अस्पष्ट (बहुवचन बुक्ताउन प्रत्यय जोड्नुपर्ने, पुरुषबोधक शब्द भए पनि प्राय: प्रयोग नहुने)
- कारकीय सम्बन्धका लागि परसर्गको प्रयोग
- नामअनुसार सङ्ख्यावाचक शब्दमा परिवर्तन
- पुरुष (प्रथम, द्वितीय, तृतीय) विहीन क्रियाको प्रयोग
- स्निश्चित (नियमित) पदक्रम, आदि ।

#### (ङ) मलय पोलिनेसियाली भाषा परिवार

पश्चिम अफ्रिकाको समुद्रिकनार वा हिन्द महासागरमा अवस्थित मडागास्कर द्वीपदेखि पूर्वी द्वीपसम्म तथा उत्तरमा फारमोसादेखि दक्षिणमा न्यूजिल्यान्ड देशसम्म अनि मलाया, जावा, सुमात्रा, बोर्नियो, बाली, हवाई, ताहिती द्वीप र प्रशान्त महासागरका ज्यादै छोटाछोटा टापु (द्वीप) सम्मको भूभागमा बोलिने भाषाहरूको परिवारलाई मलय पोलिनेसियाली भाषा परिवार भनिन्छ । यस परिवारमा हजारभन्दा बढी भाषाहरू रहेका भनिए पनि ती सबै अस्तित्वमा देखिँदैनन् । कतिपय विद्वान्हरूले यस भाषा परिवारलाई विभाजन गरी मलय र पोलिनेसियन दुई छुट्टाछुट्टै भाषा परिवार बनाउने प्रयत्न गरेको पाइन्छ तर त्यसमा अधिकांश विद्वान्हरूको भने विमित रहेको छ । अधिकारी (पूर्ववत्) का अनुसार "यस परिवारका विभिन्न भाषाहरूमध्ये इन्डोनेसियामा बोलिने मलय, फिजीमा बोलिने फिजी, जावामा बोलिने जावा, न्युजिल्यान्डको माओरी, पपुआ र न्युजिल्यान्ड वरपरको मेलानेसियाली, न्युजिल्यान्ड र हवाइतिर बोलिने पोलिनेसियाली भाषाहरू बढी प्रसिद्ध छन्" (पृ.३८२) । यस परिवारका प्रमुख शाखाहरू निम्नानुसार छन् :

- हिन्दद्वीपीय (इन्डोनेसियाली) : मलाया, जावा, सुमात्रा, बोर्नियो, सिलिबिज, बाली, फिलिपिन, फारमोसा, मडागास्कर द्वीपमा बोलिने ।
- कृष्णद्वीपीय (मेलानेसियाली) : न्य् हेब्रिडिज, फिजी, सोलोमन आदि द्वीपमा बोलिने ।
- लघ्द्वीपीय (माइक्रोनेसियाली) : गिलबर्ट, मार्सल, मारियन आदि द्वीपमा बोलिने ।
- बहुद्वीपीय (पोलिनेसियाली) : समोआ, न्युजिल्यान्ड, ताहिती, हवाइ, रारोतांगा इस्टर द्वीप आदिमा बोलिने ।

यस परिवारका विभिन्न भाषाहरूमध्ये इन्डोनेसियामा बोलिने मलाया, फिजीमा बोलिने फिजियन, जावामा बोलिने जावा, न्युजिल्यान्डमा बोलिने माओरी, पपुआ, बोर्नियोमा बोलिने दयक, फिलिपिनमा बोलिने तगल, फारमासामा बोलिने फारमोसी, मडागास्करमा बोलिने मलगसी, न्युजिल्यान्ड आसपासमा बोलिने मेलानेसियाली र हवाइ आसपासमा बोलिने पोलिनेसियाली भाषा प्रसिद्ध रहेका छन्। यीमध्ये मलाया भाषा साहित्यिक दृष्टिले बढी सम्पन्न मानिन्छ।

यस परिवारका भाषामा पाइने मुख्य विशेषताहरू निम्नान्सार छन् :

- अश्लिष्ट योगात्मकता
- स्वराघातको महत्ता
- मूल शब्द वा धात्मा द्वयक्षरात्मकता
- शब्दको पहिलो अक्षरमा बलाघात
- लिङ्ग, वचन र विभिक्तको अभाव (किहले उपसर्ग त किहले प्रत्यय जोडेर विभिक्तको अनि द्वित्व गरेर बहुवचनको अर्थ व्यक्त गरिने)
- क्रियारूप निर्माणका लागि धात्मध्यमा प्रत्यययोग
- संस्कृतनिष्ठ शब्दको प्रशस्त उपयोग आदि ।

#### (च) युराल-अल्टाइली भाषा परिवार

युरोप महादेशमा अवस्थित युराल पर्वत र एसियामा अवस्थित अल्टाई पर्वतका बिचमा पर्ने टर्की रसिया, साइबेरिया, हङ्गेरी, फिनल्यान्डलगायतका देश र ती आसपासका क्षेत्रमा बोलिने भाषाहरूको परिवारलाई युराल-अल्टाइली भाषा परिवार भिनन्छ । यस परिवारको नामकरण युराल र अल्टाई पर्वतको नामबाट गरिएको हो । भाषाको फैलावट वा क्षेत्र विस्तारका दृष्टिले यो भाषा परिवार भारोपेलीपछिको दोस्रो ठुलो भाषा परिवारका रूपमा देखा पर्दछ । यसलाई कसैकसैले फिनी-उग्रीक भाषा परिवार भनेका छन् भने कसैले युराल र अल्टाइली भाषाहरूको बेग्लाबेग्लै परिवार बनाइनुपर्दछ पिन भनेका छन् । न्यौपाने र अन्य (पूर्ववत्) का अनुसार नामअनुसार नै यस परिवारका युराल र अल्टाइली गरी मुख्य दुई भेद रहेका छन्" (पृ.२२७) :

- युराल : फिनिस (दक्षिणी फिनल्यान्ड), लापी (उत्तरी फिनल्यान्ड), एस्तोनी (एस्तोनिया), हङ्गेरी (मग्यार), सामयेद (साइबेरिया) ।
- अल्टाई : तुर्की (टर्की), किरगिज (किरगिज), अजरबैजान (अजरबैजान), उजबेक (उजबेकिस्तान), मंगोल (मंगोलिया), मन्च् (मन्च्रिया)।

उल्लिखित दुई शाखामा वर्गीकृत यस परिवारका भाषाहरूमध्ये फिनिस, हङ्गेरी र तुर्की भाषा साहित्यका दृष्टिले बढी समृद्ध मानिन्छन् । (फिनिस भाषामा लेखिएका रचनाहरू १६ औं शताब्दीदेखि नै फेला परेको मानिन्छ ।) यीबाहेकका एस्तोनी, उजबेक, मङ्गोल, किरगिज, मन्चुलगायतका भाषाहरूको पनि अत्यधिक प्रयोग पाइन्छ ।

यस परिवारका भाषामा पाइने विशेषताहरू निम्नान्सार छन् :

- अश्लिष्ट योगात्मकता (मज = लेखन, मजमक = लेखनु, सेव = प्रेम, सेवमेक = प्रेम गर्नु)
- समस्वरात्मकता (मूल शब्दमा जस्तै प्रत्ययमा पिन समान स्वर आउने / मूल शब्दमा अग्र स्वर भए प्रत्ययमा पिन अग्र स्वर हुने व्यवस्था)
- व्याकरणिक लिङ्ग व्यवस्थाको अभाव
- कारकीय सङ्ख्याको अनिश्चितता (खान्ती भाषामा ३, फिनिसमा १४, हङ्गेरीमा २१ वटा कारक)
- त्रिस्वरात्मक व्यवस्था (ह्स्व, दीर्घ र प्लुत स्वर) आदि ।

#### (छ) भारोपेली भाषा परिवार

भारोपेली भाषा परिवार विश्वको सबैभन्दा ठुलो भाषा परिवार हो। "भारोपेली मूल भाषा कहिले बोलिन्थ्यो भन्ने प्रश्नको उत्तरमा के भन्न सिकन्छ भने त्यो समय मोटामोटी रूपमा ई. पू. २५००-३००० को बिच थियो होला" (बन्धु, २०४८, पृ. ११०)। भारोपेली नामका आधारमा यसले भारत र युरोपमा बोलिने भाषाहरूलाई मात्र समेटे पिन क्षेत्रविस्तार र प्रयोगका दृष्टिले संसारको ८० प्रतिशत भूभाग र आधाभन्दा बढी जनसङ्ख्यालाई समेट्दछ। भाषा-साहित्य एवम् सभ्यता-संस्कृतिका दृष्टिले यो भाषा परिवार अन्य भाषा परिवारका तुलनामा समृद्ध मानिन्छ। यस परिवारका भाषामा लेखिएका साहित्य जित प्राचीन, विविध र उत्कृष्ट छन् त्यित अन्य परिवारका भाषामा छैनन् भनिन्छ।

वैज्ञानिक साहित्य तथा भाषावैज्ञानिक दृष्टिकोणका आधारमा पनि यो भाषा परिवार समुन्नत देखिन्छ। यस परिवारका भाषाको अध्ययन अनुसन्धान जित भएको छ त्यित अन्य परिवारका भाषाको भएको पाइँदैन।

भारोपेली भाषाको मूल थलोका बारेमा विभिन्न किसिमका धारणाहरू देखा परेका छन्। आफ्ना पूर्खालाई आदिकालदेखि आफ्नै देशमा बस्दै आएको देखाउन चाहने अभिप्राय यसमा मुख्य कारण बनेको छ। युरोपेली भाषाशास्त्रीहरूले युरोपलाई यसको मूल भूमि मानेका छन् भने भारतीयहरूले भारतलाई यसको प्रमुख स्थल मानेका छन्। युरोपेलीहरूमध्ये लेथमले युरोपको क्यान्डेनेवियालाई, गाइल्जले हङ्गेरीको कारपेथियन पर्वत आसपासलाई, ब्रान्दे स्ताइनले युराल पर्वतको दक्षिण पूर्वमा पर्ने किरिगजको मैदानलाई भारोपेलीको मूल थलो भनेका छन् भने भारतीयहरूमध्ये केहीले कास्मिर क्षेत्रलाई, केहीले मुल्तान क्षेत्रलाई र केहीले तिब्बत क्षेत्रलाई यसको प्रमुख स्थल मानेका छन्। शर्मा र लुइटेल (पूर्ववत्) का अनुसार "प्राध्यापक वर्कले यस परिवारका अधिकतम भाषाहरूको क्षेत्र युरोप हो भनेका छन्" (पृ. २५०)। जसरी भाषाको उत्पत्तिका बारेमा अनेकौं अड्कल गरिएको छ र त्यसवारे निश्चित हुन सिकएको छैन, ठिक त्यसैगरी यसका बारेमा पनि निर्णयमा पुग्न सिकएको छैन, यद्यपि समयका हिसाबले आजभन्दा करिब ४५०० वर्षअघि यस समुदायका मानिसहरू एकै स्थानमा बसेका र पछि क्रमशः विभिन्न देशहरूमा गएका भन्ने अनुमान गरिएको छ। साथै तुलनात्मक पुनर्निर्माणका आधारमा यसका मूल वक्ता (प्रयोक्ता) विरोस जाति थिए भन्ने निष्कर्ष निकालिएको छ।

भारोपेली भाषा परिवारको नामकरणका सम्बन्धमा पिन भाषाशास्त्रीहरू मतभेद पाइन्छ । यसको मुख्य क्षेत्र युरोप र एसियाका विभिन्न भूभागहरू भए पिन अमेरिका, अफ्रिका, अष्ट्रेलिया महादेश र तदन्तर्गतका विभिन्न देशमा समेत यसै परिवारका भाषाहरू बोलिन्छन् । यस आधारमा भाषाशास्त्रीहरूले भारोपेली नामलाई सङ्कीर्ण भनेका छन् र त्यसका सट्टा भारत-जर्मनेली (इन्डो-जर्मिनिक), आर्य, भारत-केल्टिक, (इन्डो-केल्टिक), भारत-युरोपेली (इन्डो-युरोपियन), भारत-हित्ती (इन्डो-हिट्टाइक), जेफेटिक लगायतका नाम सुभाएका छन् । अपितु यी नाम पिन दोषरिहत, सर्वश्रेष्ठ एवम् सर्वमान्य नभएकाले सबै दृष्टिकोणबाट भारोपेली (इन्डो-युरोपियन) नामलाई उपयुक्त ठानिएको छ । तिवारी (पूर्ववत्) का अनुसार "यस भाषाका प्राचीन भाषा संस्कृत, पालि, प्राकृत, अपभ्रंश, प्राचीन फ्रांसिसी, अवेस्ता, ग्रिक र ल्याटिन हुन् भने आधुनिक भाषा अङ्ग्रेजी, रुसी, जर्मनी, स्पेनी, पूर्तगाली, फारसी, हिन्दी, बंगला, ग्जराती, मराठी आदि रहेका छन्" (पृ. १९७) ।

भारोपेली परिवारअन्तर्गतका भाषाहरूलाई 'अस्कोली' नामक भाषावैज्ञानिकले सन् १८७० मा 'सतम्' र 'केन्तुम' गरी दुई वर्गमा विभाजन गरेका छन्। उनले यसपूर्व आर्य इरानेली, बाल्टेली, स्लाभेली, आर्मेनियाली, ग्रिसेली, इटालेली, केल्टेली, जर्मनेलीलगायतका भाषाको ध्वन्यात्मक तुलना गरेका थिए। यस क्रममा उनले मूल भारोपेली भाषाको कण्ठ्य ध्विन कुनै भाषामा कण्ठ्यकै रूपमा रहेको र क्नैमा सङ्घर्षी (श, स, ज) हुन प्गेको पत्ता लगाएका थिए। पछि उनले ल्याटिन र अवेस्ता

भाषालाई प्रतिनिधि भाषाका रूपमा लिएर सङ्ख्यावाचक सय शब्दको प्रयोग गरी त्यसलाई जनाउन ल्याटिनमा केन्तुम र अवेस्तामा सतम भिनने पुनर्पृष्टि गर्दै सय जनाउन सतम भिनने इरानी स्तो भिनने स्लाभेली, जिम्तस भिनने बाल्टेलीलगायतका भाषालाई सतम र होकातोन भिनने ग्रिसेली केत् भिनने केल्टेली, कन्ध भिनने तोखोरलीलगायतका भाषालाई केन्तुम वर्गमा राखेका थिए। सतम् वर्गका भाषाहरूमध्ये अल्बानियाली शाखाका भाषाहरू अल्बानिया, युगोस्लाभिया, इटाली तथा ग्रिसका केही भागमा, आर्मेनियाली शाखाका भाषाहरू मूलतः आर्मेनियामा र अंशतः युरोप र एसियाका केही भागमा, बाल्टेली शाखाका भाषाहरू लिथुआनिया, ल्याटिभयालगायतका देशमा, स्लाभेली शाखाका भाषाहरू पोल्यान्ड, खस, युक्रेनलगायतका देशमा र आर्य इरानेली शाखाका भाषाहरू नेपाल, भारत, श्रीलङ्का, बङ्गलादेशलगायतका एसियाली मुलुक तथा अमेरिका र युरोपका विभिन्न भूभागमा बोल्ने गरिन्छ।

केन्तुम वर्गका उपर्युक्त भाषाहरूमध्ये एनाटोलियाली शाखाका भाषाहरू (हिट्टेली, पलेइक, लिसियाली आदि) र तोखारेली शाखाका भाषाहरूको लोप भइसकेको मानिन्छ भने ग्रिसेली शाखाका भाषा ग्रिस, टर्की, अमेरिका, साइप्रसलगायतका देशमा, इटालेली शाखाका भाषा इटाली, फ्रान्स, स्विजरल्यान्ड स्पेन र रुमानियामा, जर्मनेली शाखाका भाषा आइसल्यान्ड, नर्वे, डेनमार्क, जर्मन, हङ्गेरीलगायतका देशमा र केल्टेली शाखाका भाषा ब्रिटेन, फ्रान्स, स्पेन, इटालीलगायताका मुलकमा बोल्ने गरिन्छ।

भारोपेली भाषा परिवारका मुख्य विशेषताहरू निम्नानुसार छन् :

- योगात्मकता (कुनैमा प्रश्लिष्ट, कुनैमा अश्लिष्ट र कुनैमा श्लिष्ट योगात्मकता)
- प्राचीनता र स्थूलता
- शब्दरचनामा धात्, उपसर्ग, प्रत्यय र समासको योग
- वाक्यरचनामा शब्दयोग नभई पदयोग (शब्दमा विभिक्त लगाई पद र त्यसद्वारा पारस्परिक अन्वय सिद्ध गरी वाक्य निष्पत्ति गरिने)
- एकाक्षरी धात्को बहलता
- स्वर परिवर्तनअनुसार अर्थ परिवर्तन (जस्तैः कुमारबाट कौमार, Sing (गाउनु), Sang (गायो) र song (गाएको) आदि ।
- भाषा-भाषिकाको प्रच्रता
- साहित्यिक रचनाको अधिकता
- भाषावैज्ञानिक अध्ययनको व्यापकता, आदि ।

#### (ज) चिनिया-तिब्बती भाषा परिवार

मूलतः चिन-तिब्बतमा बोलिने भाषाहरूको परिवारलाई चिनिया-तिब्बती भाषा परिवार भनिन्छ। वक्ता र भौगोलिक क्षेत्रका दृष्टिले यसलाई भारोपेलीपछिको दोस्रो ठुलो भाषा परिवार मानिन्छ। यसको मुख्य क्षेत्र चिन-तिब्बत भएकाले यसको नाम चिनिया-तिब्बती रहेको हो। यसलाई चिनिया,

भोट बर्मेली तथा मङ्गोल मूलका जातिको भाषा परिवार पिन भिनन्छ । गौतम र चौलागाईं (पूर्ववत्) का अनुसार "चिनियाँ तिब्बती एकाक्षरी भाषाको परिवार हो" (पृ. ३६६) । यस परिवारको भाषा चिन-तिब्बतका अतिरिक्त नेपाल, भारत, भुटान, बर्मा, भियतनाम, लाओसजस्ता चिनिया छिमेकी म्ल्क र थाइल्यान्ड, बङ्गलादेशजस्ता निकटवर्ती म्ल्कमा समेत बोलिन्छ ।

चिनिया-तिब्बती परिवारको मुख्य भाषा चिनिया हो। यसका शब्द र धातुहरू एकाक्षरी हुन्छन्। विभिन्नत र प्रत्ययका कारण तिनको रूप परिवर्तन हुँदैन। यसमा एकै शब्दको बढी अर्थ दिनुपर्दा सुर वा तानको प्रयोग गरिन्छ भने पदहरूका विचको पारस्परिक सम्बन्धलाई वाक्यमा त्यसले लिने स्थानका आधारमा निर्देष्ट गरिन्छ। चिनिया भाषाका शब्द अयोगात्मक तथा अपरिवर्तनीय हुन्छन्। व्याकरणको आवश्यकता नै नपर्ने यस भाषामा विभाषाको प्रचुरता पाइन्छ। फलस्वरूप उत्तरबासी चिनियाको बोली दक्षिणबासीले र दक्षिणबासीको बोली उत्तरबासीले बुझ्दैनन्। चिनिया भाषिक एकताको आधार भाषा नभएर लिपि रहेको छ। उत्तर र दक्षिणमा रहेको भाषिक भेद बल्की लिपिको एकताका कारण केही हदसम्म बोधगम्य हुन्छ जसमा (बल्की लिपिमा) चित्रलिपिका धेरै विशेषताहरू पाइन्छन्।

चिनिया-तिब्बती परिवारमा भाषाहरूको सङ्ख्या अत्यधिक रहेको र त्यससम्बन्धी सूक्ष्म अध्ययन-विश्लेषण नभइसकेकाले यसका शाखा विभाजनमा एकरूपता पाइँदैन। भाषावैज्ञानिक ग्रियर्सनले यसका थाइ चिनिया र भोट बर्मेली गरी दुई शाखा देखाएका छन् भने लेहम्यानले येनेसेइ-ओत्स्याक, भोट बर्मेली र थाइ चिनिया गरी तीन शाखा देखाएका छन्। त्यस्तै सेफरले छ शाखा (चिनिया, थाइ, बोदेली-तिब्बती, तिब्बती, बारेली र करेनी) र भोगलिन र भोगलिनले यसका नौ शाखा उल्लेख गरेका छन्। नेपाली भाषाविद् बालकृष्ण पोखरेलले चाहिँ यस परिवारका भाषालाई चिनिया र भोट बर्मेली शाखामा विभाजन गरी भोट बर्मेलीमा बर्मेली, आसामी र भोट हिमाली गरी तीन उपशाखा र भोट हिमालीमा दक्षिणपूर्वी र उत्तर पश्चिमी भेद देखाएका छन्। यस परिवारका शाखा विभाजनमा यी किसिमका मतभेद देखिएका भए पनि मूलतः निम्न दुई शाखालाई अधिकांश विद्वान्हरूले स्वीकार गरेका छनः:

• थाइ चिनिया : थाइ मन्दारिन, कैटनी, फ्किनी आदि ।

• भोट बर्मेली : तिब्बती, बर्मी, स्यामी, बोडो, नागा, नेवारी आदि ।

उल्लिखित दुई शाखामा विभाजित भाषाहरूमध्ये थाइ चिनिया शाखाका भाषाहरू थाइल्यान्ड (थाइ) र चिन-तिब्बत (मन्दारिन, कैटनी, फुकुनी) मा बोलिन्छन् भने भोटबर्मेली शाखाका भाषाहरू तिब्बत (तिब्बती), बर्मा (बर्मी), थाइल्यान्ड (स्यामी), आसाम (बोडो, नागा) र नेपाल (नेवार) मा बोलिन्छन् । भाषावैज्ञानिकहरूका अनुसार चिनिया भाषामा इ. पू. दोस्रो शताब्दीका, तिब्बती भाषामा सातौं शताब्दीका, बर्मेली भाषामा नवौं शताब्दीका र नेवारी भाषामा एघारौं शताब्दीका लिखित रूप पाइन्छन् । साहित्यिक रचनाका दृष्टिले चिनिया र थाइ भाषा अग्रणी रहेका छन् भने त्यसपछि कमशः तिब्बती र बर्मेली रहेका छन् ।

नेपालमा पिन यस परिवारका अत्यिधिक भाषा बोलिन्छन् जसमध्ये नेवार, मगर, गुरुङ, तमाङ, चेपाङ, लिम्बू, राई, धिमाल, थामी, कुसन्डा, मेचे, बान्तवा, आठपरिया, किराँती, सेर्पा, थकाली, घले, जिरेल, सुनुवार, लेप्चा, हायुलगायतका भाषाहरू प्रमुख मानिन्छन् ।

यस परिवारका विशेषताहरू निम्नानुसार छन् :

- अयोगात्मकता
- एकाक्षरी शब्द व्यवस्था
- व्याकरणको अभाव (व्याकरण नलेखिएको तथा त्यसको आवश्यकता नै नरहेको)
- वाक्यीय स्थानका आधारमा शब्दार्थबोध (एउटै शब्द नाम, विशेषण वा क्रियामा परिवर्तन हन सक्ने)
- सुर र तानअनुरूप अर्थ परिवर्तन
- अर्थ प्रस्ट्याइँका लागि कहिलेकाहीँ शब्दय्गमको प्रयोग
- अनुनासिक ध्वनिको बहुलता
- विभाषाको प्रच्रता
- लिपिगत एकता आदि।

#### (भ्रा) आग्नेली भाषा परिवार

दक्षिण पूर्वी एसिया र त्यसका आसपासमा बोलिने भाषाहरूको परिवारलाई आग्नेली भाषा परिवार भिनन्छ। यसकाई अस्ट्रिक, आग्नेय वा आग्नेसियाली भाषा परिवार पिन भिनन्छ। यसको नामकरणसँग सम्बन्धित अस्ट्रिक शब्दले दक्षिणको भन्ने अर्थ दिन्छ। अधिकारी (पूर्ववत्) का अनुसार "एसियाका दक्षिणवर्ती द्वीपहरूमा बोलिने भाषाहरूलाई यस परिवारमा राखिएको छ" (पृ. ३८९) विश्व मानचित्रमा एसियाली मुलुकहरू पूर्वी ध्रुवमा पर्दछन् भने त्यसको दक्षिणपूर्वी भागमा यस परिवारका वक्ताहरू बसोबास गर्दछन्। त्यसैले दक्षिण पूर्वी एसियालाई यस परिवारको मुख्य क्षेत्र मानिएको हुनुपर्छ जहाँ म्यानमार (बर्मा), कम्बोडिया, थाइल्यान्ड, लाओस, भियतनाम, मलेसिया, भारत (बिहार, मध्य प्रदेश, तिमलनाडु, आसाम) नेपाललगायतका देशहरू पर्छन्।

यस परिवारका भाषाहरूलाई मुन्डा समूह, मोन-ख्मेर समूह, खासी-निकोबार समूह, प्रोटो मलक्काली समूह र चाम समूह गरी पाँच भागमा वर्गीकरण गरिएको भए पनि निम्न तीन शाखा प्रमुख मानिन्छन् :

- मुन्डा वा कोल : दक्षिणपूर्वी एसियाको पश्चिमी भेकमा बोलिने भाषा ।
- मोन-ख्मेर : दक्षिणपूर्वी एसियाको मध्य भेक वा केन्द्रमा बोलिने भाषा ।
- अन्नाम-मुआइ : दक्षिणपूर्वी एसियाको पूर्वी भेकमा बोलिने भाषा ।

उपर्युक्त तीन शाखाहरूमध्ये मुन्डा वा कोलका दुई वर्ग रहेका छन् : उत्तरी र दक्षिणी। भारतको बिहारदेखि सिमलासम्म उत्तरी वर्गका भाषा (धिमाल, लिम्बू, ब्नान, पाटनी, कनाबरी आदि) र

मध्यप्रदेश, उडिसा, पूर्वी बिहार, पिश्चम बङ्गाललगायतका क्षेत्रमा दिक्षणी वर्गका भाषाहरू (सन्थाल, मुन्डा, भूमिज, कोडा आदि) बोलिन्छन् । मोन-ख्मेर शाखाका भाषाहरू खासगरी बर्मा, थाइल्यान्ड, निकोबर द्वीपसमूहलगायतका देशहरूमा बोलिन्छन् । यस समूहको मुख्य भाषा मोन-ख्मेर अन्यका तुलनामा समृद्ध रहेको देखिन्छ । यसमा साहित्यिक लेखनको कार्यसमेत भएको पाइन्छ । यसपिछका प्रमुख भाषा मुन्डा र सन्थालमा भने साहित्य सिर्जना भएको पाइँदैन । यस परिवारका अधिकांश भाषा बोलीचालीमा मात्र सीमित रहेकाले यसको समुचित उन्नयन हुन सकेको देखिँदैन ।

नेपालमा आग्नेली भाषा परिवारका सतार वा सन्थाल र खंडिया भाषा बोलिन्छन् । भापा र मोरङका दक्षिणी सीमावर्ती भूभागलाई यसको मुख्य क्षेत्र मानिन्छ । नेपाली भाषामा प्रचलित कौडा (खेल्ने वस्तु), कोरी (बिस) लगायतका शब्द सन्थाल भाषाबाट आएका हुन् ।

यस भाषा परिवारका मुख्य विशेषताहरू निम्नानुसार छन् :

- अश्लिष्ट योगात्मकता
- अर्ध व्यञ्जन ध्वनिको व्यवस्था
- शब्दान्तमा संयुक्त व्यञ्जनको अभाव
- त्रिवचनको व्यवस्था
- शब्दोच्चारणमा बलाघातको प्रयोग
- पदरचनामा मध्यसर्गको समेत प्रयोग (जस्तै: मञ्भी = मुखिया, मपञ्भी = मुखियाहरू आदि)
- लिङ्ग निर्धारणका लागि मूल शब्दमा पुरुष वा स्त्रीवाचक शब्दयोगको व्यवस्था, जस्तै:
   आँडिया कूल = बाघ, एंगा कूल = बिघनी आदि)
- क्रियाभेदमा पुरुष अननुरूपता (पुरुषअनुसार क्रियाभेद नहुने)
- स्थानभेदअनुसार शब्दको अर्थ र भूमिका परिवर्तन (एउटै शब्द नाम, सर्वनाम वा क्रियामा परिवर्तन हुन सक्ने) आदि ।

#### (ञ) द्रविड भाषा परिवार

द्रविड जातिका मानिसहरूले बोल्ने भाषाहरूको परिवारलाई द्रविड भाषा परिवार भनिन्छ । कितपय विद्वान्हरूले थाइ, भियतनामी, मोन-ख्मेर आदि भाषाहरूलाई यसैमा गाभेर यसलाई द्रविडको सट्टा दिक्षण-पूर्वी एसिया परिवारका रूपमा नामकरण गर्न खोजेका भए पिन यो द्रविड भाषा परिवारकै रूपमा सुप्रसिद्ध छ । "मुख्यतः भारतको तिमलनाडु राज्य तथा मलेसिया, इन्डोनेसिया, श्रीलङ्का, बर्मालगायत पूर्वी र दिक्षणी अफ्रिका आदि क्षेत्रमा यस परिवारका भाषाहरू बोल्ने गरिन्छ" (न्यौपाने र अन्य, पूर्ववत्, पृ. २२४) । यसको क्षेत्र दिक्षण भारत (तिमलनाडु, केरला, कर्नाटक, बेड्लोर, आन्द्र प्रदेश आदि) हो । यस परिवारका केही भाषा पूर्वी भारत, बिहार, उिडसा र मध्य भारतमा पिन

बोलिन्छन् भने भारतबाहिर मलेसिया, इन्डोनेसिया, श्रीलङ्का, म्यानमार (बर्मा), पाकिस्तान (बुलुचिस्तान) नेपाललगायतका देशहरूमा पनि बोलिन्छन् ।

भारतको तिमलनाडु तथा मद्रासमा बोलिने तिमल, आन्द्र प्रदेशमा बोलिने तेलगु, केरलामा बोलिने मलयालम, कर्नाटकमा बोलिने कन्नड, बिहार, उिडसा र मध्य प्रदेशमा बोलिने उरावँ, बुलुचिस्तानमा बोलिने ब्राहुई, उिडसामा बोलिने कुई, बङ्गालमा बोलिने मल्टो, मुम्बइको सीमाक्षेत्रमा बोलिने तुलु, पिश्चम बेरारितर बोलिने कालमी यस परिवारका प्रचिलित भाषा हुन्। यीमध्ये तिमल यस परिवारको मुख्य भाषा हो। भाषा-साहित्य, सभ्यता र संस्कृतिका दृष्टिले यस भाषालाई अत्यन्त समृद्ध भाषा मानिन्छ। यसमा सातौं शताब्दीपूर्वदेखिको लिखित साहित्य पाइन्छ। तेलगु, कन्नड, मलयालम, कोलामी पिन यस परिवारका सम्पन्न भाषा हुन्। यीमध्ये कन्नडमा पाँचौं शताब्दीपूर्वका मलयालममा आठौं शताब्दीपूर्वका र तेलगुमा बाहौं शताब्दीदेखिका लिखित रूपहरू पाइन्छन्। यस दृष्टिले द्रविड भाषा परिवार समृद्ध प्राचीन भाषा परिवारका रूपमा देखा पर्छ।

नेपालमा यस परिवारको भाँगड (घाँगड) र किसान भाषा बोलिन्छ जसको मुख्य क्षेत्र पूर्वी र मध्य तराई रहेको छ । यीमध्ये भाँगड भाषीहरूको सङ्ख्या सुनसरीमा र किसान भाषीहरूको सङ्ख्या भापामा अत्यधिक (अन्य जिल्लाका तुलनामा) रहेको देखिन्छ । द्रविड भाषाको प्रभाव संस्कृतमा पनि परेको पाइन्छ । संस्कृतमा मूर्धन्य अर्थात् "ट" वर्गीय ध्वनि द्रविड भाषाकै प्रभावमा विकसित भएका हन् भन्ने भाषाशास्त्रीहरूको भनाइ छ ।

यस भाषा परिवारका विशेषताहरू निम्नान्सार छन् :

- अश्लिष्ट अन्त : (पूर्व) योगात्मकता
- मुर्धन्य ध्वनिहरूको प्रधानता
- स्वरान्त शब्दहरूको प्रच्रता
- आगन्त्क शब्दहरूको बाहुल्य
- समस्वरता (मुराल-अल्टाइली भाषा परिवारमा जस्तै)
- द्विवचन र त्रिलिङ्गको व्यवस्था
- लिङ्ग वर्गीकरणको आधार प्राणीत्व र अप्राणीत्व
- लिङ्ग निर्धारणका लागि संज्ञामा पुरुष र स्त्रीवाचक शब्दजोडको व्यवस्था
- संज्ञाअनुसार विशेषणको रूपमा अपरिवर्तन
- प्रत्ययबाट विभक्तिको कार्य सम्पादन
- कर्मवाच्यको अभाव, आदि ।

#### निष्कर्ष

समग्रतः संसारमा बोलिने हजारौं भाषाहरूको सङ्ख्या समायानुसार थपघट हुँदै गएको देखिन्छ । भाषाको पारिवारिक वर्गीकरण गर्ने सन्दर्भमा रचनातत्त्व र अर्थतत्त्वलाई महत्त्वपूर्ण आधारका रूपमा लिइएको पाइन्छ । संसारका भाषाहरूलाई पारिवारिक दृष्टिले वर्गीकरण गर्ने सन्दर्भमा विभिन्न आधार र प्रकार देखा परेका भए पिन कुल दस प्रकार : अफ्रिकाली भाषा परिवार, अमेरिकाली भाषा परिवार, ककेसियाली भाषा परिवार, जापानी-कोरियाली भाषा परिवार, मलय पोलिनेसियाली भाषा परिवार, युराल-अल्टाइली भाषा परिवार, भारोपेली भाषा परिवार, चिनिया-तिब्बती भाषा परिवार, आग्नेली भाषा परिवार र द्रविड भाषा परिवारमा भाषाविदहरूबिच मतैक्य रहेको पाउन सिकन्छ । उल्लिखित दस प्रकारका भाषा परिवारमा विभिन्न किसिमका भेद पाउन सिकन्छ । साथै तीअन्तर्गतका भाषाहरूमा आआफ्नै प्रकृतिका मौलिक विशेषताहरू रहेको देखिन्छ । भाषा, साहित्य एवम् प्रयोगव्यवहारका दृष्टिले समेत संसारमा बोलिने भाषाहरू सम्पन्न रहेको क्रा अधिगत गर्न सिकन्छ ।

## सन्दर्भ सामग्री सूची

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## 'प्रिय मौनता' कवितासङ्ग्रहमा प्रयुक्त अन्तर्पाठीयताको विश्लेषण

अमृतादेवी शर्मा \*

#### सार

प्रस्तुत लेखमा कवि नेत्र एटमको 'प्रिय मौनता' (२०७७) कवितासङ्ग्रहमा प्रयोग भएको अन्तर्पाठीयताको विश्लेषण गरिएको छ। यस कवितासङ्ग्रहका कविताहरुमा प्रयोग भएका बाह्य पाठले कवितामा ल्याएका सघनता र विशिष्टताको खोजी गर्नु प्रस्त्त लेखको उद्देश्य हो। यस सन्दर्भमा कविताहरूको विश्लेषणका लागि उत्तरआध्निक चिन्तन अन्तर्पाठीयतालाई सैद्धान्तिक ढाँचाका रूपमा उपयोग गरिएको छ । अन्तर्पाठीयताको अवधारणाले सबै साहित्यको रचना अन्य क्नै पाठको सहयोग र सहायता लिएर सिर्जित भएको हुन्छ भन्ने मान्यता राख्दछ। यस सङ्ग्रहका कविताहरुमा मानवीय जीवन र प्रेमका शाश्वत अन्भूतिका साथै मनका विभिन्न अवस्था र स्थितिलाई प्रकृति र पर्यावरणका विभिन्न सरल र सुन्दर बिम्बमार्फत सघन अभिव्यक्ति गरिएको छ । यहाँ सरल र सामान्य लाग्ने शब्दहरूमा अनुभूतिको तीव्रता र भावको सघनता भर्न नेपाली साहित्य र पाश्चात्य जगत्का विभिन्न सिर्जनाहरूमा प्रयोग भएका विषय, अन्भृति, विचार, शैली र चिन्तनलाई संशोधित, परिवर्धित र परिमार्जित गरी उपयोग गरिएको छ । यी कवितामा आत्मिक प्रेमका साथै मानवीय अस्तित्व, स्वाभिमान र स्वतन्त्रताका शाश्वत र उदात्त भावलाई जादुमयी र प्रवाहमयी त्ल्याउन अग्रज लेखक, पात्र र चिन्तनसँग गहन अन्तर्क्रिया र रचनात्मक तर्क गर्नाका साथै तिनीहरूका विषय, विचार, भाव र शैलीको रचनात्मक, सिर्जनशील र मौलिक अनुसरण गरिएको छ । यस लेखमा कवितामार्फत विश्वसाहित्यका पूर्वजहरूसँग गरिएको संवादका साथै विचार, भाव र शैलीको परिष्कृत र परिमार्जित अनुसरणले सङ्गृहित कवितालाई सरल आवरणमा गहन, विशिष्ट र शक्तिशाली तुल्याएका छन् ।

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### परिचय

किव नेत्र एटमको प्रिय मौनता (२०७७) किवतासङ्ग्रहका किवताहरुमा विभिन्न स्रोतका अन्तर्पाठहरूको प्रयोग गिरएको छ। अन्तर्पाठीयताको अवधारणाले कुनै पिन साहित्य अन्य कुनै पाठको सहयोग र सहायता लिएर सिर्जना भएको हुन्छ भन्ने मान्यता राख्दछ। लेखकले कृतिमा प्रस्तुत गरेका विषय, शिल्प, शैली र चिन्तन परम्पराको अनुसरण नै हो भन्ने मान्यताबाट अन्तर्पाठीयता सिद्धान्त प्रभावित रहेको छ। साहित्यिक कृतिहरूमा अभिव्यक्तिलाई बढी विस्तृत, प्रभावपरक, गहन, तीत्र र सम्प्रेषणीय तुल्याउन अन्य कृतिकार, कृतिगत सन्दर्भका साथै उनीहरूका विचार र शिल्पशैलीलाई ग्रहण गिरएको हुन्छ। कृतिका पाठिभित्र प्रयोग गिरएका अन्य अग्रजका विचार, विषय र शैलीले सम्बद्ध पाठलाई बढी विशिष्ट र प्रवाहमूलक बनाएका हुन्छ। यसमा घटना र सन्दर्भहरूको प्रत्यक्ष र अप्रत्यक्ष संयोजनको विशिष्टताका साथै किवको अभिव्यक्तिगत र शैलीगत भव्यताले सर्वाधिक महत्त्व राख्दछ। किवतामा रहेको यही विशिष्टताले नै यसको भाषा संवेगात्मक र गुरुत्वाकर्षक हुनाका साथै गणितीय, सूक्ष्म र बहुअर्थप्रदायक हुन्छ।

अन्तर्पाठीयताको अवधारणा सर्वप्रथम बुल्गेरियन फ्रेन्च दार्शनिक, साहित्य, समालोचक, भाषाशास्त्री र मनोविश्लेषक जुलिया क्रिस्तेभा (सन् १९६६) ले फर्डिनान्ड डि सस्युरको भाषिक सङ्केतको अर्थ सङ्केतक र साङ्केतिकको समग्र हो भन्ने मान्यताको प्रतिक्रियास्वरूप लेखिएको निबन्ध 'शब्द, संवाद र उपन्यास' मा प्रयोगमा ल्याएकी हुन्। यो कुनै पिन साहित्य अन्य कुनै पाठको सहयोग र सहायता लिएर सिर्जना भएको हुन्छ भन्ने मान्यता राख्ने उत्तरआधुनिक चिन्तन हो। यो कृतिमा रहेको अन्य पाठहरूको अवस्थितिको अध्ययन हो। अन्तर्पाठीयता कृतिमा रहेको अन्य पाठहरूको अवस्थितिको अध्ययन हो। कृतिमा, पाठमा वा कथनमा अन्तर्निहित र मुखरित रहेका पाठगत सम्बन्धहरूले अगाडिका, वर्तमानका र सम्भावित भविष्यका पाठहरू र यिनका सम्बन्धमार्फत पाठमा रहेको सङ्कथनको स्थितिलाई प्रतिनिधित्व गर्दछन्। अन्तर्पाठीय अनुसन्धान लेखकहरूले आफ्ना पाठमा कोरेका अन्य चरित्रहरूका छन् र त्यसभित्र आफूलाई कुन ठाउँमा र कसरी उभ्याएका छन् भन्नेतर्फ केन्द्रित रहेको हुन्छ। अन्तर्पाठीयता केवल अर्को पाठबाट के ल्याइएको छ भन्ने विषयको अध्ययन मात्र होइन। वरु कसरी ती पाठहरूको प्रयोग गरिएको छ, तिनलाई निर्विकल्प रूपमा किन प्रयोग गरिएको छ र लेखकले तिनीहरूका कथनलाई आफ्ना बनाउन आफैलाई कुन स्थानमा राखिरहेको छ भन्ने विषयको अध्ययन हो।

नेत्र एटम मानव जीवन र समाजका विविध विषयहरुलाई प्रकृति र पर्यावरणका सुन्दर बिम्बहरूमा उनेर गहन र तीव्र भावप्रवाहसहितका कविता सिर्जना गर्ने वर्तमानका प्रतिनिधि कवि र समालोचक हुन्। उनका कवितामा मानवीय जीवनको वास्तविक मर्म शाश्वत प्रेमको अनुभूतिमा अवस्थित रहेको हुन्छ भन्ने विचारलाई कोमल र सुन्दर शब्दहरूमा तीव्र रागात्मक अभिव्यक्ति दिइएको छ । यी कवितामा कविविचारलाई गहन, भव्य र भावप्रवाही तुल्याउन नेपाली साहित्यका अग्रज स्रष्टाहरूका चिन्तन र शैलीका साथै पाश्चात्य साहित्यकारका चिन्तन, अनुभूति र शैलीको संशोधित, सिर्जनशील र रचनात्मक अनुसरण गरिएको छ । प्रस्तुत अध्ययनमा प्रिय मौनता सङ्ग्रहका कवितामा प्रयोग भएका अन्य पाठहरूका विषय शैली र चिन्तनको अध्ययनका साथै ती पाठहरूले उनका कवितामा ल्याएका विशिष्टताहरूको विश्लेषण गरिएको छ ।

## उद्देश्य

प्रस्तुत अध्ययनको उद्देश्य नेत्र एटमको *प्रिय मौनता* कवितासङ्ग्रहका कविताहरुमा अन्य पाठहरूको प्रयोगको अवस्था र ती पूर्वपाठहरूले कवितामा पारेको प्रभावका विभिन्न आयामहरूको विश्लेषण र मूल्याङ्कन गर्नु रहेको छ। यसका लागि यी कवितामा केकस्ता स्रोतहरूको उपयोग गरिएको छ र ती स्रोतहरूलाई कसरी र केका लागि प्रयोग गरिएको छ साथै अन्य स्रोतहरूलाई आफ्ना भनाइ बनाउनका लागि कविलाई क्न ठाउँमा उभ्याइएको छ भन्ने विषयको अध्ययन गरिएको छ।

### विधि

प्रस्तुत अध्ययनमा *प्रिय मौनता* कवितासङ्ग्रहलाई प्राथमिक स्रोतसामग्रीका रूपमा र अन्तर्पाठीयतासँग सम्बद्ध सामग्रीका साथै यस कवितासङ्ग्रहको विश्लेषणसँग सम्बन्धित सामग्रीलाई द्वितीयक स्रोतसामग्रीका रूपमा उपयोग गरिएको छ। यस कृतिमा सङ्गृहीत अन्ठाउन्नवटा कवितामध्ये 'तिमीले मलाई बिस्यौं भने', 'प्रिय आविष्कार', 'कहरको क्यानभास', 'प्रिय कोपिला', 'सम्भावनाका सम्भ्याल', 'अन्धकार', 'नङ्गेली ब्लुज', 'सम्भनाको लयमा बिलिन हुँदै', 'प्रभावको चिन्ता', 'स्वतन्त्रता', 'सिल्भिया आफ्नै समाधिबाट', 'समयको खोजी' र 'आशिक्त' गरी तेह्रवटा कविताहरुमा प्रत्यक्ष रूपमा विभिन्न स्रोतका अन्तर्पाठको प्रयोग गरिएको छ। यस अध्ययनमा यी कविताहरुलाई तथ्यका रूपमा लिएर तिनको विश्लेषण गर्न पाठपरक विश्लेषण विधिको उपयोग गरी शोध्यसमस्याको प्राज्ञिक निष्कर्ष निकालिएको छ। प्रस्तुत अध्ययनमा मूल रूपमा कविताकृतिको विश्लेषण गरिएकाले यो अध्ययन विश्लेषणात्मक र गुणात्मक प्रकृतिको रहेको छ।

प्रिय मौनता कवितासङ्ग्रहमा अभिव्यक्त अन्तर्पाठीयताका विभिन्न स्वरूपको अन्वेषण गर्न बजरमानले 'इन्टरटेक्स्टुआलिटी : हाउ टेक्स्ट रिलाइ अन अदर टेक्स्ट्स' (Intertextuality : How Text Rely on Other Texts) शीर्षकको लेखमा प्रस्तुत गरेको कृतिमा प्रस्तुत अन्तर्पाठीयताको विश्लेषण गर्ने विधिलाई आधार बनाइएको छ । उनले परीक्षण गर्न चाहेका विशेष पाठहरूको पहिचान गर्ने, पाठमा तथ्यहरू कसरी प्रस्तुत भएका छन् सूची बनाउने (प्रत्यक्ष उद्धरण, अप्रत्यक्ष उद्धरण, व्याख्या, वर्णन, वाक्यांश), पाठको अवलोकन तथा तार्किक व्याख्या गर्ने, अन्तर्पाठीयताको व्याख्या गर्ने, कसरी कुन र के उद्देश्यले पाठमा अन्तर्पाठीय तत्त्वहरूलाई ल्याइएको छ विश्लेषण र टिप्पणी गर्ने, परिचित वाक्यांशहरू, विशिष्ट मानिस एवं मानिसको समूहसँग संलग्न शब्दभण्डारहरू

तथा विशेष दस्तावेजहरूको प्रयोग गर्ने, विश्लेषणको ढाँचा निर्माण गर्ने, प्रायोगिक विश्लेषण गर्ने भनी अन्तर्पाठीय अध्ययन विश्लेषणको विधि निर्माण गरेका छन् (बजरमान, सन् २००३, पृ.९४)। प्रस्तुत अध्ययनमा बजरमानले उल्लेख गरेको अन्तर्पाठीय अध्ययनको यही पद्धितलाई अध्ययनको आधार बनाइएको छ।

## सैद्धान्तिक आधार

अन्तर्पाठीयता कुनै पिन पाठमा त्यसभन्दा अगाडि स्थापित भएका पाठहरूले नै विशिष्ट अर्थ प्रदान गरेका हुन्छन् भन्ने मान्यता राख्ने उत्तरआधुनिकतावादी चिन्तन हो। अवधारणाकै रूपमा स्थापित नभए पिन अन्तर्पाठीयताका सन्दर्भमा टी. एस इलियट र डेभिड जोन जस्ता आधुनिकतावादीहरूले नै प्रशस्त अन्वेषण गरेका छन्। टी. एस इलियटको 'परम्परा र व्यक्तिप्रतिभा' ले पिन अन्तर्पाठीयताको प्रतिनिधित्व गर्दछ तर यो पूर्ण नभई अर्धअन्तर्पाठीय रहेको छ (जेन्जिन, सन् २०१६, पृ.२९९)। यसैले अन्तर्पाठीयताको अवधारणा आधुनिकतावादको निरन्तरताकै परिणित हो। यी दुईका बिचमा निर्विवाद निरन्तरता छ (हार्वर, सन् २००७, पृ.५४)। यस चिन्तनले साहित्य शून्यमा सिर्जना हुन नसक्ने र यो अगाडिका विषय, स्रष्टा, चिन्तन र शैलीकै प्रभावमा आधारित हुने मान्यता राख्दछ।

अन्तर्पाठीयताको अवधारणा प्रस्तुत गरेकी चिन्तक जुलिया क्रिस्तेभा मिखाइल बिख्तिनको 'सङ्केतहरू र पाठहरूले आवाज र दृष्टिकोणहरूको बहुलतालाई प्रतिनिधित्व गरेका हुन्छन्' भन्ने संवादात्मक सिद्धान्तबाट प्रभावित छिन् । विस्तिनले समाजमा अग्रस्थानमा रहेका वर्ग र विचारधाराहरूले अन्यसँग अन्तर्विरोधहरूका साथै अन्य श्रेणीहरू र स्तरहरूसँग संवाद गरिरहेका हुन्छन् भन्ने मान्यता प्रस्तृत गरेका छन् जसलाई उनले समाजको बहस्वरता अर्थात् आवाजहरूको विविधता मानेका छन् (हार्वर, सन् २००७, पृ.६०)। उनको यस संवादवादी सिद्धान्तले प्रत्येक पाठ अन्य पाठहरू, शैलीहरू र सङ्कथनका बहरङ्गी सन्दर्भबाट बनेका हुन्छन् भन्ने मान्यता राख्दछ। विख्तिनको समाजका विविधतासँग भाषाले संवाद गरिरहेको हुन्छ भन्ने मान्यताबाट प्रभावित भएर क्रिस्तेभाले अन्तर्पाठीयताको अवधारणा अगाडि सारेको भए तापिन व्यावहारिक रूपमा साहित्यको सिद्धान्तका रूपमा यसको गहन प्रयोग मानव इतिहासको अभिलेखीकरणसँगै र सङ्कथन र पाठहरू अस्तित्वमा आएसँगै भएको हो (जेन्जिन, सन् २०१६, पृ.२९९)। यस चिन्तनले पाठलाई साङ्केतिक प्रणालीको परिवर्तनका परिणाम मान्दछ र यिनीहरूले मान्यता प्राप्त गरी अगाडिका प्रणालीलाई संशोधित, परिष्कृत गरी कार्यरूपमा परिणत गराउँछन् भन्ने चिन्तन प्रस्त्त गर्दछ (इसरथ, सन् २०१९, प.१९)। यसले प्रत्येक पाठलाई अवशोषण र परिवर्तनको परिणाम मान्दछ। अन्तर्पाठमा अन्यत्रबाट सोभौ लिइन सक्छ, दोहोऱ्याइन सक्छ, नयाँ मन्तव्य राखिन सक्छ, अर्को रूपमा ढलान दिइन सक्छ र यसका सिधा ढलान र आवृत्तिमा कठिनाइ पर्दैन (गौतम, २०७६, पृ.१५६) । अन्तर्पाठीयताले प्रत्येक साहित्यिक पाठमा अन्य पाठहरूको अन्सरण भएको हन्छ र सर्जकले प्राना पाठलाई अन्सरण, संशोधन र परिवर्धन गर्नका साथै रचनात्मक अतिक्रमण पनि गर्दछ भन्ने चिन्तनलाई मुख्य रूपमा अगाडि सारेको छ।

बजरमानले अन्तर्पाठीयता अध्ययनमा गिरनुपर्ने छवटा तहहरूका बारेमा विस्तृत विश्लेषण गरेका छन्। यस लेखमा उनले पाठमा पिहलाका पाठहरूलाई वर्तमानको प्रकटित अर्थ प्रदान गर्ने अर्थहरूको स्रोतका रूपमा प्रयोग गिरएको हुनुपर्ने, पाठले पिहलाका पाठहरूमा अभिव्यक्त भएका सामाजिक व्यवहार र पिरघटनालाई छलफलमा सहभागी गराउनुपर्ने, पाठले स्पष्ट रूपमा अन्य कथनहरूको पृष्ठभूमि, पक्षधरता र आलोचना गर्नुपर्ने, सामान्यीकृत रूपमा सञ्चरण भएका र पाठकहरूसँग पिरचित भएका विश्वासहरू, पिरघटनाहरू, विचारहरू र कथनहरूसँग कम पिरचित पाठहरू निर्भर रहनुपर्ने, केही निश्चित स्पष्टताका लागि पिरचित प्रकारका भाषा, वाक्य र शैलीहरूले विशिष्ट सामाजिक संसारलाई चिनाउने सङ्केतका रूपमा कार्य गर्नुपर्ने र सबै समयमा प्रत्येक पाठहरू सांस्कृतिक संसारको एउटा भागका रूपमा उपलब्ध रहेको स्रोतमा अन्तर्पाठको विशिष्ट ध्यानिवना भर पर्नुपर्ने धारणा अघ सारेका छन् (बजरमान, सन् २००३, पृ.८६-८७)। प्रस्तुत अध्ययनमा अन्तर्पाठीयताका यिनै मान्यतालाई आधार बनाएर प्रिय मौनता कवितासङग्रहका कविताको विश्लेषण गिरएको छ।

## नितजा र छलफल

## प्रिय मौनता कवितासङग्रहमा अन्तर्पाठीयताको स्रोत र स्वरूप

प्रिय मौनता कवितासङ्ग्रहका कविताहरुमा मुखर र अन्तर्निहित रूपमा अन्य पाठहरूको उपयोग गिरएको छ । कवितामा प्रस्तुत भएका यी पाठहरूमा पूर्वपाठमा आएका पात्र र उनीहरूका चिन्तनका साथै पूर्वज स्रष्टाहरू र तिनीहरूका विचारलाई संशोधित र पिरमार्जित रूपमा ग्रहण गर्नुका साथै तिनीहरूसँग संवाद पिन गिरएको छ । पूर्वपाठहरूका पात्र, विचार र चिन्तनसँग गिरएका संवाद र अन्तर्कियाले प्रस्तुत सङ्ग्रहका कविताहरुलाई बढी विस्तृतता र गहनता प्रदान गरेका छन् । यी कविताहरुमा पूर्वपाठहरूमा प्रयोग गिरएका विभिन्न विषय, बिम्ब र प्रतीकहरूका साथै शैलीका माध्यमबाट प्रेम, त्याग, समर्पणका साथै क्रान्ति, शौर्य, साहस र स्वाभिमानका विविध अनुभूतिहरुको सम्प्रेषण गिरएको छ । यहाँ प्रयोग गिरएका यी अन्तर्पाठहरूले कविताहरुलाई बढी भावपरक, गहन, विस्तृत र बौद्धिक तुल्याउनुका साथै तीव्र र प्रभावकारी पिन बनाएका छन् । यी सबै कवितामा कुनै न कुनै रूपमा (अन्तर्निहित र मुखर) विविध पूर्वपाठहरूको प्रयोग भएकै छ तर यहाँ मुखर रूपमा अभिव्यक्त भएका अन्तर्पाठका स्रोत र स्वरूप यसप्रकार छन् :

अन्तर्पाठीयता मुखर भएका	अन्तर्पाठीयताको स्रोत	अन्तर्पाठीयताको स्वरूप	
कविता			
<ul><li>पित्रमीले मलाई बिस्यौ भने</li></ul>	पाब्लो नेरुदाको कविता	कविताको शीर्षक / प्रेम, त्याग र समर्पणको उच्च स्वरूप	
२) प्रिय आविष्कार !	ग्रिसेली भाषा	विस्मयसूचक शब्द	
३) कहरको क्यानभास	पारिजातको शिरीषको	उपन्यासको समर्पणलाई कवितापङ्क्तिका रूपमा ग्रहण	
	फूल उपन्यास		

४) प्रिय कोपिला	जोन किट्सको 'ओड अन	कविताको अंश / प्रत्यक्ष कथनका रूपमा ग्रहण
	अ ग्रेसिअन अर्न' कविता	
५) सम्भावनाका सन्भ्याल	ऐतिहासिक मिथक	वीर योद्धा स्पार्टाकस/शौर्य र सङ्घर्षको प्रतीक
६) अन्धकार	योहाङ गोथेको 'फाउस्ट'	काव्यनाटकका नायक र खलनायक/ सत् र असत्को
	काव्यनाटक	बिम्ब
७) नङ्गेली ब्लुज	ऐतिहासिक विषय	कविताको शीर्षक र विषय /उत्पीडित र विद्रोही पात्र
		जसले आफूमाथिको उत्पीडनको विरोध गर्दा मृत्युवरण गर्न
		विवश हुनुपरेको थियो / उत्पीडितहरूका विद्रोहको प्रतीक
८) सम्भानाको लयमा	शङ्कर लामिछानेको	निबन्धको शीर्षक / विषय र शैलीको ग्रहण
विलिन हुँदै	निबन्ध	
९) प्रभावको चिन्ता	ह्यारोल्ड ब्लुमको	प्रभावको चिन्ता सिद्धान्तबाट प्रभाव ग्रहण
	सिद्धान्त	
१०) स्वतन्त्रता	द प्रोफेट	'द फ्रिडम' शीर्षकको कविताका साथै भाव र चिन्तनको
		ग्रहण
११) सिल्भिया आफ्नै	सिल्भिया प्लाथको जीवनी	कविका नाममा कविताको शीर्षक र उनका कविताको
समाधिबाट	र कवित्व	भावग्रहण /प्रत्यक्ष उद्धरण/ 'म्याड गर्ल्ज लभ सङ्ग'
		कविताकी बहुलाही पात्र
१२) समयको खोजी	कवि र चिन्तक	वाल्ट हिवटमन, भ्लादिमिर मायोकोभ्स्की र पाब्लो नेरुदाको
		कवि व्यक्तित्वप्रतिको असीम श्रद्धा र सम्मानका साथै
		गौतम बुद्धका चिन्तनको प्रभाव
१३) आसक्ति	द प्रोफेट	'द रिजन एण्ड प्यासन' कविताको भावग्रहण

उपर्युक्त कविताका पाठगत तथ्यहरूलाई हेर्दा यस सङ्ग्रहका कविताहरुमा नेपाली साहित्यका पारिजात र शङ्कर लामिछानेदेखि पाश्चात्य साहित्यका विभिन्न अग्रज साहित्यकार र चिन्तकहरूका सिर्जना र चिन्तनलाई रचनात्मक पुनर्सिर्जन र मौलिक अनुसरण गरिएको छ । कविताका माध्यमबाट विश्वसाहित्यका अग्रजसँग गरिएको संवाद, अन्तर्किया र तर्कवितर्कले नेपाली कवितालाई विश्वसाहित्यसँग अन्वित गरिदिएको छ । साथै, पाठकहरूको ज्ञानको दायरालाई पिन विस्तृत पारिदिएको छ । ब्रिटिस कवि किट्स, अमेरिकी कविहरू प्लाथ र ह्विटमन, अरबी कवि जिब्रान, जर्मन किव गोथे र ल्याटिन अमेरिकी कवि नेरुदाका कृतिहरूलाई सम्भाँदै र तिनका केही अंशहरूसमेत आफ्ना कवितामा समावेश गर्दै एटमले एकातिर नेपाली साहित्यको परिधिविस्तार गरेका छन् भने अर्कातिर भाषा र भूगोलका अनेकन् सीमाहरूमा विभक्त ती स्रष्टाहरूलाई अँगालेर साहित्यमार्फत एउटा विश्व अर्थात् वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्को परिकत्यना पिन गरेका छन् (दमाई, २०७९, पृ.१०९) । कवितामा प्रयोग गरिएका अग्रज किव र चिन्तकहरूका रचना र चिन्तनका प्रत्यक्ष र परिमार्जित एवं संशोधित अंशहरूले त्यस समाज, संस्कृति र चिन्तनसँग वर्तमान जीवन र चिन्तनलाई प्रत्यक्ष जोड्ने र निरन्तर अन्तर्किया गर्ने काम पिन गरेका छन् । साथै, कविताका अनुभूतिगत आयामलाई सर्वव्यापी र सामान्यीकृत गर्न मद्दत पुऱ्याएका छन् ।

## प्रिय मौनता कवितासङग्रहमा अन्तर्पाठीयताको अवस्थिति

अन्तर्पाठीयताको अवधारणाले वर्तमान पाठमा पूर्व विचार, विषय, सन्दर्भ र परिघटनाका साथै भाव, भाषा र शैलीको बिम्बात्मक, प्रतीकात्मक, आलोचनात्मक, संवादात्मक र अन्तर्क्रियात्मक अवस्थिति रहेको हुन्छ भन्ने मान्यता राख्दछ। वर्तमान पाठमा आएका पूर्वपाठका विषय, भाव र शैली प्रत्यक्ष उद्धरण, अप्रत्यक्ष उद्धरण, वर्णन, चित्रण, व्याख्यालगायतका स्वरूपमा प्रस्तुत हुन्छन् र तिनले कवितालाई सुन्दर, मुखर र कलात्मक बनाएका हुन्छन्। कवितामा काव्यिक सम्बोधनको प्रकृति, भाषिक प्रयुक्तिको नियत, ऐतिहासिक, राजनीतिक, सांस्कृतिक आदि बाह्य सन्दर्भ तथा वक्ता, सचेत सम्बोध्य पात्र र पाठकका बिचको गहन सम्बन्धलाई प्रतिबिम्बन गर्ने आत्मीय निर्मितिमार्फत अनुभूतिको सम्प्रेषण (एटम, २०७७, पृ.१०८) गर्ने क्रममा कवितामा प्रयुक्त अन्तर्पाठले सम्प्रेषणीयताको परिधिविस्तार गर्नुका साथै गाम्भीर्यता र अनुभूतिगत तरलता प्रदान गरेका हुन्छन्। प्रिय मौनता कवितासङ्ग्रहका कविताहरुमा प्रयोग गरिएका पूर्वपाठहरूले नेपाली कविताको क्षेत्र र परिधिलाई ऐतिहासिक समाज, चिन्तन र शैलीसँग जोडेर यसलाई विस्तृतता प्रदान गर्नुका साथै दृष्टिकोणलाई गहन र सार्वभौम बनाउने कार्य गरेका छन्।

प्रिय मौनता सङ्ग्रहका कविताहरुमा पूर्वपाठका विषय, भाव, विचार र शैलीको रचनात्मक मौलिक अनुसरण, आलोचना, विस्तृतीकरण र नविनर्माण गरी नवीन विचारको प्रकटीकरण गरिएको छ । यी कवितामा विश्व साहित्यका साथै नेपाली साहित्यका अग्रजहरूका विचार र चिन्तनको प्रभाव ग्रहण र अनुसरणमार्फत तिनीहरूका विचारको समर्थन र विस्तृतीकरण पिन गरिएको छ । यसका लागि कविव्यक्तित्व कहीँ पूर्वविचारका अनुसरणकर्ताका रूपमा, कहीँ व्याख्याताका रूपमा र कहीँ आलोचकका रूपमा र कहीँ मौलिक अतिक्रमणकर्ताका रूपमा प्रस्तुत भएको छ । नेपाली अग्रज साहित्यकारका विचार, भाव र शैलीको रचनात्मक अनुसरण गरिएका दुई कवितामध्ये 'कहरको क्यानभास' कवितामा पारिजातको शिरीषको फूल उपन्यासको समर्पणमा प्रस्तुत भएको पहिलो भ्रमर चुम्बनमै ओइली भर्ने शिरीषको फूलका आकाशको विशालता हेरेर कितकित प्रतिरोधी जिन्दगीहरू प्रतीक्षा गर्न सक्ने (एटम, २०७७, पृ.६) प्रणले अस्तित्ववादी पात्रत्वप्रतिको आस्थालाई र 'सम्भनाको लयमा विलीन हुँदै' कविताले अग्रज निबन्धकार शङ्कर लामिछानेका निबन्धको शीर्षक ग्रहण गर्दै उनका विचार र भावको समर्थन गर्नाका साथै यी भावहरूको पुनर्सिर्जनसमेत गरेको छ । नेपाली साहित्यका अग्रजहरूका विचार र भावप्रति श्रद्धा, आस्था र समर्थन प्रकट गरिएका यी कविताहरूमा कविले आफूलाई आज्ञाकारी समर्थकका रूपमा नभएर भाव र विचारका नविनर्माताका रूपमा प्रस्तुत गरेका छन्।

प्रिय मौनता सङ्ग्रहमा विभिन्न स्वरूपमा प्रस्तुत भएका अन्तर्पाठहरूले कविज्ञानको विस्तृततालाई प्रकट गर्नाका साथै ज्ञानका वैश्विक सन्दर्भ र विषयसँग नेपाली कविताका पाठकलाई जोड्ने काम पिन गरेका छन्। यी पाठहरूमा पूर्ववर्ती लेखकहरूका रचनाहरू एक किशोरले अग्रजहरूका अगाडि नतमस्तक भई मन्त्रणा ग्रहण गरेपछिको जस्तो भिक्तभाव नदेखाई एक सबल कविका रूपमा

अग्रजका कवितालाई विस्तार गर्दै पूर्ण पुनर्लेखन गिररहेका छन् (दमाई, २०७७, पृ.१०१)। किवले मानवीय सम्बन्धका आयामहरू भावनाका गिहराइबाट निर्मित भएका हुन्छन् र ियनीहरू जीवनशिक्तका स्रोत हुन् भन्ने भावलाई व्यक्त गर्न 'तिमीले मलाई बिस्यौं भने' किवतामा गिरएको चिलीका प्रगतिवादी किव पाब्लो नेरुदाको किवता 'इफ यु फर्गेट मी' मा शीर्षकका साथै भावको अनुग्रहण र समर्थन गिरएको छ र ती भावहरूलाई विस्तृतीकरण पिन गरेका छन् भने 'प्रिय कोपिला' किवतामा जोन किट्सको 'ओड अन अ ग्रेसियन अर्न' किवताबाट प्रभाव ग्रहण गर्नाका साथै अभै यी भाव र चिन्तनको मौलिक पुनर्निर्माण पिन गरेका छन्। यहाँ प्रेम र अनुभूतिको विस्तृतता र व्यापकतालाई व्यक्त गर्न नेरुदा र किट्सका प्रवाहमयी भाव, विचार र शैलीको अनुसरण गिरएको भए तापिन ती भावहरूको संशोधित र विस्तृत नविनर्माणले त्यसलाई किवको मौलिक निजत्वमा पिरणत गिरिदिएको छ । नेरुदाको किवतामा 'तिमी'ले प्रेम गरेका अवस्थामा आफूले अभै बढी प्रेम गर्ने तर बिर्सेका अवस्थामा आफूले त्योभन्दा पिहले प्रेम गर्न छाडिदिने अभिव्यक्तिमार्फत प्रेमलाई परस्पर मेल र एकत्वले नै सिञ्चित गर्ने भाव व्यक्त गिरएकामा (नेरूदा, इफ यु फर्गेट मी) यस किवतामा प्रेम जीवनको सत्य र अर्थ भएकाले यसको सम्बन्ध प्राप्त अप्राप्तिका साँध र सीमाभन्दा पर रहने र यसका अभावमा जीवनगित धीमा भने हुने नवीन भावको निर्माण गिरएको छ जुन नेरुदाका भाव र विचारको समर्थनका साथै विस्तृतिसिहतको पुनर्लेखन नै हो :

तिम्रो सम्भनाको सघनता बोकेर धीमा हुनेछ मेरो ढुकढुकीको गति अरू त सब उस्तै उस्तै चिलरहनेछन् तिमीले मलाई बिस्यौं भने!

(एटम, २०७७, पृ. १)।

उपर्युक्त कवितांशमा आएको 'तिमीले मलाई बिस्यौं भने !' नेरुदाको उद्धरण हो भने कवितामा आएको प्रेमप्रतिको आस्थाका साथै यसको गहनता र सघनता उनका भावको प्रभावका साथै कविका पृथक् चेतना र अनुभूतिका बिम्बहरू हुन्। यहाँ नेरुदाको कविताशीर्षकको ग्रहण उनको कवित्वप्रतिको प्रभाव, आस्था र श्रद्धाको परिणित हो तर कवितामा प्रस्तुत भएको भावना कविका मौलिक र सिर्जनात्मक क्षमताको उद्बोधन हो। कवितामा प्रस्तुत भएका यी अनुभूति र भावले नेरुदाका भावको सम्मान गर्नाका साथै ती भावहरूमाथि रचनात्मक अतिक्रमण र नविनर्माणको कविसामर्थ्यलाई प्रस्तुत गरेका छन्।

प्रिय मौनता सङ्ग्रहका कविताहरुमा प्रयोग भएका अन्तर्पाठले पहिलाका पाठहरूमा अभिव्यक्त भएका सामाजिक व्यवहारहरू र परिघटनाहरूलाई वर्तमान सन्दर्भमा छलफलमा सहभागी गराएका छन्। कृतिमा प्रस्तुत भएका यी परम्परागत सामाजिक व्यवहार र परिघटनाले त्यस समाजको चिन्तन र संस्कृतिलाई वर्तमानसँग परिचित तुल्याउनाका साथै त्यसको समर्थन, प्रभावग्रहण, आलोचना र विस्तृतीकरणमार्फत ज्ञानविस्तारका साथै नवज्ञानको निर्माण पनि गरेका छन्। लोभ, लालच र

स्वार्थी आकाङ्क्षाहरू समाजिवकासका बाटामा सत्य, ज्ञान र चेतनाको अन्त्य गर्ने माध्यम र साधनका रूपमा सिक्रय थिए र वर्तमानसम्म त्यसको गित निरन्तर छ भन्ने सन्दर्भलाई पूर्वपाठमा प्रस्तुत भएका चिन्तन र चिरत्रहरूका सन्दर्भबाट संवाद प्रिक्रियामा अगािड ल्याइएको छ । सङ्ग्रहमा सङ्गृहीत 'अन्धकार', 'स्वतन्त्रता', 'आसिक्त' 'नङ्गेली व्लुज' लगायतका कवितामा यही भावको सबल अभिव्यक्तिका लािग पूर्वपाठका विभिन्न विषय, चिन्तन र प्रवृत्तिसँग रचनात्मक र सिर्जनात्मक संवादका साथै ती विचारलाई समर्थन, आलोचना र विस्तृतता प्रदान गिरएको छ । 'अन्धकार' किवतामा असत्यका पिछ लाग्नेहरूकै कारण वर्तमान ज्ञानको पिरिध विस्तृत बन्न नसकेको र अन्धकारको व्याप्ति नै वर्तमानको चिरत्र बनेको विचार प्रकट भएको छ । यस विचारको समर्थनका लािग जर्मन काव्यनाटककार गोथेको अमर कृति काउस्टका नायक फाउस्ट र खलनायक मेफिस्टोफिलिजलाई सन्दर्भका रूपमा उपयोग गिरएको छ । त्यसका लािग कविद्वारा ती पात्रहरूसँग संवाद र अन्तर्किया गर्नाका साथै तिनीहरूको आलोचना र विरोध पिन गिरएको छ । यहाँ काव्यनाटकका नायकको लालच र क्षणिक सुखप्राप्तिको स्वार्थी चाहनाले ज्ञानप्राप्तिको विराट लक्ष्यलाई निषेध गरेको सन्दर्भमार्फत लोभ, लालच र स्वार्थी प्रवृत्तिले वर्तमानमा ज्ञानको पथलाई निषेध गरेको विषयलाई प्रकट गर्दै त्यसप्रति यसप्रकार असहमित प्रस्तुत गिरएको छ :

प्रिय फाउस्ट !
तिमी मेफिस्टोफिलिजको पछि लागुन्जेल यहाँ
आँसुमा कहिल्यै लकडाउन हुँदैन
पीडामा कहिल्यै सलह लाग्दैन
त्रासको एकान्तबास हुने
कुनै लक्षण देखिएको छैन !

(एटम, २०७७, पृ. ५१)।

उपर्युक्त किवतांशमा असल, ज्ञानी, चिन्तक फाउस्ट निहित लोभ र स्वार्थमा फसेर खलनायक सैतान मेफिस्टोफिलिजको पिछ लाग्दा ज्ञानप्राप्तिको महान् लक्ष्यबाट विमुख भएको र उसको जीवनकै दुखद अन्त्य भएको सन्दर्भमार्फत वर्तमान समयका 'फाउस्ट'का निहित स्वार्थ र कृत्सित आकाङ्क्षाहरू ज्ञानको पद्धितलाई पतन गराउने कारक भएको चिन्तन प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ । यहाँ फाउस्ट र मेफिस्टोफिलिज वर्तमान समाजिवकासको पद्धितलाई निषेध गर्ने गलत प्रवृत्तिका बिम्बका रूपमा प्रस्तुत भएका छन् । यहाँ अपरिचित पूर्वपाठको परिचितीकरणको प्रिक्तयाद्वारा तिनीहरूसँग गरिएको संवाद र आलोचनामार्फत वर्तमानको विरोध गरिएको छ । किवतामा वर्तमान समाजमा जुनसुकै स्थानका नायकहरूमा रहेको यस प्रवृत्तिले समाजलाई अधोगिततर्फ धकेल्ने चिन्तनलाई प्रस्तुत गर्न ती पात्रहरूसँग अन्तिर्क्रया गर्नाका साथै तिनीहरूका गलत प्रवृत्तिको यसप्रकार आलोचना गरिएको छ :

प्रिय फाउस्ट ! देख्दादेख्दै अराजकताको क्यारीमा कसरी फस्टाइरहेछ तिम्रो अहंका थाकोमा सिरान लगाएर उभिएको अलमस्त कहरको यो क्यामेलिया! र हेर्बाहेर्दे कसरी ब्ल्याकहोलमा फसिरहेछ तिम्रो समृद्धिले ऱ्याप गरेर जित सजाइए पिन यो मुन्टो ढिलसकेको एक अँजुली जून...

(एटम, २०७७, पृ. ५२)।

उपर्युक्त किवतांशमा आएका 'थाकोमा सिरान लगाएर उभिएको क्यामेलिया' र 'मुन्टो ढिलिसकेको एक अँजुली जून' भौतिक समृद्धि र उन्नितका आवरणभित्र खोका हुँदै गएको फाउस्टआदर्श यसलाई विभग्न गर्न हरसमय उद्दत रहेको मेफिस्टोफिलिज प्रवृत्तिका परिणित हुन्। यहाँ फाउस्ट अहङ्कार र अहमताभित्र फैलाउँदै गएको स्वार्थीपना र भौतिक सुखप्राप्तिका लागि आफ्नो अस्तित्वलाई नै त्याग्न अघि सर्ने वर्तमान सामाजिक प्रवृत्तिको प्रतीक हो। किवतामा त्यस पात्रप्रति गरिएको 'प्रिय' सम्बोधनमार्फत क्षणिक र स्वार्थी आकाङ्क्षाको पिछ लाग्दा निरन्तर पतन र अन्त्यतर्फ प्रवृत्त मानवीय प्रवृत्ति र जीवनपद्धतिप्रति व्यङ्ग्य गरिएको छ। किवतामा गोथेका काव्यनाटकका यी पात्रहरूको प्रयोगमार्फत पूर्ववर्ती समाजका परिघटना र सन्दर्भसँग वर्तमानलाई जोड्ने, विश्लेषण गर्ने र त्यसमार्फत वर्तमानको आलोचना गर्ने काम भएको छ। यहाँ पूर्वपाठका पात्रहरूको प्रयोग वर्तमानका गलत प्रवृत्तिको सुन्दर र प्रभावकारी रूपमा चित्रण गर्नका साथै उनीहरूसँगको बहस र अन्तर्कियामार्फत वर्तमानको आलोचना गर्न र ती प्रवृत्तिमाथि गम्भीर प्रश्न उठाउनका लागि गरिएको छ।

प्रिय मौनता सङ्ग्रहका कविताहरुमा पहिलाका पाठहरू वर्तमानको प्रकटित अर्थ प्रदान गर्ने अर्थहरूको स्रोतका रूपमा प्रयोग गरिएका छन्। यहाँ वर्तमान पाठहरू पूर्ववर्ती पाठहरूकै अवशोषणका रूपमा आएका देखिन्छन्। कविताहरुमा प्रयोग भएका यी पाठहरूले पूर्वपाठको कथनस्रोतलाई आधिकारिक र प्रामाणिक पनि बनाएका छन्। साथै, यिनीहरू वर्तमान पाठका आधार, प्रेरणास्रोत र ज्ञाननिर्माणका माध्यम पनि बनेका छन्। कवितामा आएका पूर्ववर्ती पाठहरूले नवचेतनाको निर्मिति र विस्तृतीकरण गर्नाका साथै त्यसको मौलिक र सिर्जनात्मक अतिक्रमणसमेत गरेका छन्। यस सङ्ग्रहको 'स्वतन्त्रता' कविता खलिल जिब्रानको द प्रोफेटमा सङ्कलित 'द फ्रिडम'बाट र 'आशिक्त' कविता 'रिजन एण्ड प्यासन'बाट प्रभावित छ। 'स्वतन्त्रता' कवितामा जिब्रानले व्यक्त गरेको 'तिम्रो स्वतन्त्रता बन्धनहरू तोडेर प्राप्त भएको छ भने त्यो स्वयं पूर्ण स्वतन्त्रताप्राप्तिका लागि बाधक बन्दछ' (जिब्रान, सन् १९८६, पृ. ५६) भन्ने विचारको समर्थन गर्दै निहित स्वार्थमा आधारित सम्बन्धका बन्धनिभत्र पूर्ण र वास्तविक स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्ति नहुने र ती

सम्बन्धका लागि आफ्नो स्वतन्त्रतालाई बन्धक नराख्ने चिन्तन व्यक्त भएको छ । निस्फिक्रीसँग सास फेर्न पाउने अधिकार जीवनको प्रमुख र सत्य आधार भएको र यसलाई बन्धक राखेर कसैसँग सम्भौता नगर्ने विचारको सुन्दर र प्रवाहमयी अभिव्यक्तिका लागि जिब्रानको उपर्युक्त चिन्तनलाई नै माध्यम बनाइएको छ :

चिकियून, वा भित्कयून घरभित्र धुवाँइरहने कमजोर सम्बन्धका भित्ताहरू तर, डराउन्न कहिल्यै १वास फेर्न निस्फिकी!

(एटम, २०७७, पृ.७६)

उपर्युक्त कवितांशमा मानवीय जीवनको सबैभन्दा अमूल्य र आवश्यक प्रिक्तया 'निस्फिकी श्वास फेर्नु' भएको र यसलाई बन्धक राखेर प्राप्त हुने कुनै पिन सम्बन्ध आफूलाई स्वीकार्य नभएको किवआकाङ्क्षाद्वारा मानवीय स्वतन्त्रताको उच्च मिहमागान गाइएको छ । यहाँ स्वतन्त्र जीवनको महत्त्व र मानवीय जीवनमा यसको अनिवार्यता र आवश्यकतालाई व्यक्त गर्न जिब्रानद्वारा स्वतन्त्रताका सन्दर्भमा व्यक्त गरिएका दार्शनिक चिन्तनलाई ग्रहण गर्नाका साथै त्यसलाई विस्तृतीकरण पिन गरिएको छ । किवतामा स्वतन्त्रताका सम्बन्धमा व्यक्त भएका यी विचारहरू पूर्वपाठकै अवशोषणका उपज हुन् । विचार र शैलीमार्फत पूर्वपाठको समर्थन र तर्कको यस प्रिक्तयाले एकातर्फ विशिष्ट सामाजिक विचारलाई चिनाउने सङ्केतका रूपमा कार्य गरेको देखिन्छ भने अर्कातर्फ पूर्व विचारलाई वर्तमानसँग जोड्दै थप प्रखर तुल्याएको छ ।

प्रिय मौनता सङ्ग्रहका कविताहरुमा पाठकहरूसँग परिचित भएका विश्वास, परिघटना, विचार र कथनसँग कम परिचित पाठहरूलाई निर्भर तुल्याइएको छ। यसबाट अपरिचित पाठहरूको परिचितीकरण भई तिनीहरू संवेदित र ग्राह्य भएका छन्। 'नङ्गेली ब्लुज' कवितामा वर्तमान पाठकहरूको पूर्वज्ञानमा नभएका घटना, विश्वास र विचारलाई पाठकपरिचित विचारसँग सन्दर्भित तुल्याइएकाले नै यो कविता शक्तिशाली बन्न पुगेको हो। यस कवितामा यी कम परिचित ऐतिहासिक र सामाजिक विषय र परिघटनाहरू परिचित सन्दर्भ र विचारसँग निर्भर भएर आउँदा यसरी बेजोड बनेका देखिन्छन्:

नङ्गेली ! छैन तिम्रो नाम अट्ने ठाउँ कतै शासकको प्रशस्ती गाइएका इतिहासका पानाहरूमा काटिएका स्तनको रक्तमुछेल बिम्बको बासस्थान त समयको पर्दाले छोपिएको वर्तमान न हो खोई कहाँ छ अहिले तिम्रो मुलच्छीपुरम ? जहाँ गडेको हुनुपर्छ अभै पनि अलिखित जिन्दगीको अध्रो अवशेष !

(एटम, २०७७, पृ. ५४-५५)

उपर्युक्त किवतांशमा आएकी 'नङ्गेली' पात्र र उसको प्रताडनाको साक्षी बनेको गाउँ 'मुलच्छीपुरम' पाठकहरूसँग कम परिचित पाठहरू हुन् जुन पाठहरू किवतामा आएका 'काटिएका स्तनको रक्तमुछेल बिम्ब समयको पर्वाले छोपिएको वर्तमानमा गाडिएको' सन्दर्भमार्फत परिचित हुनाका साथै प्रखर र प्रगाढ भएका छन्। यहाँ इतिहासको कालखण्डमा बिलिन बन्न पुगेको पूर्विवचार र सन्दर्भलाई वर्तमान समाज र यसका प्रवृत्तिसँग जोडेर त्यसप्रित तीव्र असहमित प्रकट गरिएको छ। यहाँ नङ्गेलीको आवाज छैन तर यसले जातीय र लैड्गिक हिंसाको लुप्त इतिहास र समरूप वर्तमानको बर्बरताको पिन पर्दाफास गर्दछ (दमाई, २०७७, पृ. ९९)। यसले एकातर्फ वर्तमान समय अलिखित कूर इतिहासकै निरन्तरता भएको तर्क प्रस्तुत गरेको छ भने अर्कातर्फ ती अपरिचित परिघटना र सन्दर्भसँग वर्तमानलाई जोडिदिएर विगत र वर्तमानिबचका अन्तर्सम्बन्ध र निरन्तरताका कारणका साथै यसको निषेधका सन्दर्भमा खुला र आलोचनात्मक बहसको बाटो पिन खोलिदिएको छ।

समग्रमा प्रिय मौनता कवितासङ्ग्रहका कविताहरुमा अन्तर्पाठहरूको अवस्थितिले यी कविताहरुको परिधिको सीमालाई विश्वव्यापी तुल्याउनुका साथै भाषा र शैलीका माध्यमबाट वर्तमानलाई पूर्वसमाज, चिन्तन, संस्कृति र सभ्यतासन्दर्भसँग जोडिदिएको छ। वर्णन र व्याख्यात्मक स्वरूपका साथै सूत्रात्मक रूपमा अनुभूतिलाई गहन बनाउन कवितामा आएका यी पाठहरूका संशोधित, परिवर्धित र पुनर्लिखित अवस्थितिले यी कविता विशिष्ट र पृथक् पहिचानसहित उभिएका छन्।

#### निष्कर्ष

प्रिय मौनता कवितासङ्ग्रहमा प्रयोग भएका अन्तर्पाठहरूले यी कविताहरूको मूल अर्थलाई बढी सामान्यीकृत बनाउन, गूढ अर्थलाई बाहिर ल्याउन र कविताका सौन्दर्यात्मक, ऐतिहासिक र अनुभूतिगत आयामलाई फराकिलो तुल्याउन मद्दत पुऱ्याएका छन्। यी कविताहरूमा स्वच्छन्दतावादी कविका रूपमा प्रकृति, जीवन र प्रेमका विषयलाई एकान्वित गरिएको छ र स्वतन्त्रताका पक्षमा दृढ आवाज उठाइएका छन् भने विद्रोही कविका रूपमा सामाजिक विसङ्गति र अव्यवस्थाप्रति आलोचना पनि गरिएको छ। यी कविताहरूमा आएका पूर्वपाठले कविताहरूलाई बहुअर्थप्रदायक, तरल,

मर्मस्पर्शी, आवेगमय, गहन र सार्वभौम तुल्याएका छन्। यी कविताहरुमा प्रेम नै धर्तीलाई उज्यालो र नैतिकवान् बनाउने वास्तविक आधार भएको र यसबाट नै सभ्य र सुन्दर समाज निर्माण गर्न सिकन्छ भन्ने चिन्तनलाई प्रभावकारी अभिव्यक्ति दिइएको छ। सामाजिक विभेद र विसङ्गतिको आलोचना र विरोधको सशक्त प्रस्तुति गर्न पूर्वपाठमा प्रस्तुत भएका विषय, भाव र विचारलाई ग्रहण गर्नाका साथै तिनीहरूको विस्तृतीकरण, पुनर्सिर्जन र पुनर्लेखन पिन गरिएको छ।

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## 'सेतो धरती' उपन्यासमा भाषिक विचलन

## मुक्तिकला लामिछाने\*

#### सार

यो लेख अमर न्यौपानेद्वारा लिखित 'सेतो धरती' उपन्यासमा प्रयुक्त अग्रभूमिनिर्माणअन्तर्गत रहेर भाषिक विचलनमा आधारित छ। अग्रभूमिनिर्माणका प्रमुख उपकरण समानान्तरता र विचलनमध्ये यहाँ विचलनको परिचय दिई सेतो धरती उपन्यासमा रहेको भाषिक विचलनको विश्लेषण गर्नु यस लेखको प्रमुख उद्देश्य हो। पुस्तकालयीय अध्ययन विधिबाट तथ्य सङ्कलन गरी सेतो धरती उपन्यासलाई प्राथमिक स्रोत तथा सैद्धान्तिक पुस्तकहरूलाई द्वितीयक स्रोतका रूपमा लिइएको यस लेखमा वर्णनात्मक विधिको उपयोग भएको छ । विश्लेष्य उपन्यासमा मानक व्याकरणका मान्यतामा सीमित नबनी साहित्यिक कृतिलाई कलात्मक र सार्थक तुल्याउन शैलीविज्ञानमा स्थापित अग्रभूमि निर्माणका समानान्तर र विचलनअन्तर्गत विचलनको यथोचित उपयोग गरिएको पाइयो। उपन्यासमा प्रयुक्त भाषा पात्रानुकूल नै पाइन्छ । विश्लेष्य उपन्यासमा भाषिका, ध्वनि प्रिक्तयात्मक, अर्थतात्त्विक, व्याकरणिक, पदक्रम र आदर विचलनमध्ये भाषिक विचलन अधिक रहेछ भन्ने देखियो जसले उपन्यास थप कलात्मक बनेको छ। साहित्यको समालोचनामा भाषिक विचलनको यो विश्लेषण एउटा नवीन आयाम ह्न सक्ने अपेक्षा गरिएको छ।

मुख्य शब्दावली : अग्रभूमिनिर्माण, अर्थतात्विक विचलन, पदक्रम विचलन, भाषिका विचलन, समानान्तरता ।

## परिचय

साहित्य समाजको ऐना हो । साहित्यिक कृतिमा प्रयोग हुने भाषा मानक भाषाबाट पर रहेर समाज सापेक्ष भाषाको प्रयोग गरिन्छ । कृतिको ओज विशेष आकर्षण वा प्रभाव स्थापना गर्नका लागि

श्री मुक्तिकला लामिछाने आदर्श बहुमुखी क्याम्पसकी क्याम्पस प्रमुख हुनुहुन्छ। इमेल : lcsaru92@gmail.com

भाषाकै महत्ता उच्च हुने गर्दछ । सामान्य भाषाको व्याकरण भएजस्तै आख्यानको भाषाको पिन आफ्नो व्याकरण हुन्छ जसमा व्याकरिणक कोटिहरू सामान्य भाषाकै सदृशतामा काम गर्न बाध्य हुँदैनन् (नेपाल, सन् २००५, पृ. १३७) । स्रष्टाले कृतिमा विशेष प्रकारका भाषिक उपकरणको उपयोग गरी प्रस्तुतिलाई कलात्मक बनाएका हुन्छन् । भाषिक प्रस्तुतिका विशेष उपकरणमा समानान्तरता र विचलनले विशेष महत्त्व राख्छन् । अग्रभूमिनिर्माणअन्तर्गत रहने समानान्तरताले कृनै पिन साहित्यिक कृतिको भाषा प्रयोगमा गरिने नियमित आवृत्तिलाई जनाउँछ जसको प्रयोग निरुद्देश्य नभएर सोद्देश्य गरिन्छ । विचलन अनियमितता हो भने समानान्तरता नियमितता हो । त्यस्तै प्रचलित ढाँचालाई उलटपुलट पारेर सौन्दर्य प्रदान गर्ने कार्यलाई विचलन भिनन्छ । सामान्य नियमलाई भङ्ग गरी मानकको अतिक्रमण गर्नु विचलन हो । यो पिन उद्देश्यपूर्ण ढङ्गले अभिव्यक्तिको ध्यानाकर्षणको लागि प्रचलित पथ वा संरचनालाई उल्लङ्घन गर्ने गरिन्छ (भण्डारी र घिमिरे र नेपाल, २०६८) । रचनाकारले परम्परित व्याकरिणक नियमको परिपालन नगरी विचलनयुक्त भाषाका माध्यमबाट पिन आफ्नो लेखकीय पहिचान स्थापित गरेका हुन्छन् ।

सामान्यतया दैनिक आवश्यकता परिपूर्तिमा प्रयोग गरिने भाषामा सामान्य अनुभव र अभिव्यक्तिको सामर्थ्य हुन्छ भने काव्यीय भाषाले विशिष्ट अनुभव प्रदान गराउँछ । विचलनमा सामान्य भाषाको नियम, बन्धन अथवा पथ छाडेर साहित्यिक भाषाको विशिष्ट रूप प्रस्तुत भएको हुन्छ । सामान्य भाषाका दाँजोमा काव्यिक भाषामा विचलनको तीव्रता अत्यधिक हुन्छ । प्रचलित पथ वा मानक प्रयोगलाई उल्लइघन गर्ने हुँदा यसलाई विचलन भन्ने गरेको पाइन्छ । स्रष्टाले आफ्ना भावनात्मक अनुभूतिको प्रस्तुतिमा परम्परित भाषिक व्यवस्थाको उल्लइघन गरी अभिव्यक्तिलाई चामत्कारिक शिल्पद्वारा आकर्षक तुल्याउँछ । भाषिक विचलन अन्य विधाका तुलनामा कविता विधामा बढी उपयोग गरिन्छ (खनाल, २०७८) । कृतिमा सिर्जना गरिएको विशेष आकर्षण नै अग्रभूमिनिर्माण हो । कृतिको भाषिक पक्षका माध्यमबाट अभिव्यक्त सौन्दर्य नै हो । यसको सैद्धान्तिक पर्याधार संरचनावादी भाषाशास्त्र तथा शैलीवैज्ञानिक समालोचनामा आधारित छ । यो अध्ययन मूलतः अग्रभूमिनिर्माणअन्तर्गत रहेको समानान्तरता र विचलनमा विचलनलाई प्रमुख युक्ति बनाई सेतो धरती उपन्यासमा प्रयुक्त अग्रभूमिनिर्माणको विश्लेषणमा केन्द्रित छ । यस लेखका माध्यमबाट कृतिमा रहेका भाषिक सौन्दर्यको खोजी गरिएको र कृतिको प्रभावपरकताको पनि विश्लेषण गरिएको छ ।

## उद्देश्य

प्रस्तुत लेखको मूल उद्देश्य भाषिक विचलनका आधारमा *सेतो धरती* उपन्यासको विश्लेषण गर्नु रहेको छ।

## अध्ययन विधि र प्रक्रिया

प्रस्तुत लेखमा वर्णनात्मक विधिको प्रयोग गरिएको छ । पुस्तकालयीय अध्ययन प्रिक्रयाबाट सामग्री सङ्कलन गरी *सेतो धरती* उपन्यासलाई प्राथमिक सामग्री तथा सम्बन्धित सैद्धान्तिक ग्रन्थहरूलाई

द्वितीयक सामग्रीका रूपमा उपयोग गरी प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ। यस अध्ययनमा विशेषतः सैद्धान्तिक ग्रन्थहरूको अध्ययन गरी शैलीविज्ञानिभन्न पर्ने अग्रभूमिनिर्माणका प्रमुख उपकरण समानान्तरता र विचलनअन्तर्गत विचलनका प्रकारहरू भाषिका, ध्वनिप्रिक्रियात्मक, अर्थतात्त्विक, व्याकरण, पदक्रम र आदर विचलनको सैद्धान्तिक स्वरूप निरूपण गरिएको छ। त्यसपश्चात् उक्त मान्यताका आधारमा सेतो धरती उपन्यासमा प्रयोग गरिएका भाषिक विचलनको खोजी गरी तिनको तथ्यपरक विश्लेषण गरिएको छ।

## विचलन

भाषा अभिव्यक्तिको ढङ्ग, ढाँचा वा तरिका र शैली विभिन्न प्रकारको हुन्छ । स्रष्टाले पाठकको मनोभावनालाई ब्भेर भाषिक शैलीका समानान्तरता र विचलन जस्ता उपकरणको उपयोग गरेका हुन्छन् । विचलनयुक्त भाषिक अभिव्यक्तिले साहित्यलाई सुन्दर, कलात्मक र जीवन्त तुल्याइदिन्छ । त्यस्तो विशेष शैलीको विश्लेषण गर्ने काम शैलीविज्ञानले गर्छ। पूर्वीय अध्ययन परम्पराको सर्वप्राचीन ग्रन्थ ऋग्वेदमा रचनाकार, हृदय र कृतिको संरचना तीनवटै पक्षलाई प्रमुख मानेर शैलीको चर्चा गरिएको पाइन्छ। संस्कृतमा अलङ्कार, रीति, वक्रोक्ति, तथा ध्वनि आदि सिद्धान्त शैलीविज्ञानसित केही न केही मिल्न आउने सिद्धान्तहरू हुन् (गौतम, २०५९, पृ. २८४) । शैलीविज्ञान पाठमा प्रस्तुत औपचारिक तथा मानक ढाँचाको विश्लेषणमा केन्द्रित नभई पाठमा प्रस्तुत प्रकार्यात्मक सान्दर्भिकताका लागि उपयोग गरिने भाषिक चातुर्यको विश्लेषणमा केन्द्रित हुन्छ (वेल्स, सन् २००१, प्. ३७३) । प्रस्तुतिको शैली व्यक्तिको विचार, भावना तथा क्षमतामा आधारित हुन्छ । जुन लेखकको व्यक्तित्व जस्तो हुन्छ, त्यसको शैली पनि उस्तै हुन्छ (बराल, २०५६, पृ. ७२)। स्रष्टाका पद-पद र वाक्य-वाक्य उसको हृदय या मस्तिष्कको छाप बन्न जान्छ (श्रेष्ठ, २०७८, पृ. १२४) । शैलीविज्ञानले भाषाविज्ञानको भाषाशास्त्रीय अन्प्रयोगको एकोहोरो दबदबालाई ऋमश: कम गरी प्रतीकविज्ञान र अर्थविज्ञानका साथै कलाशास्त्र र साहित्यशास्त्र एवम् नवविधाचिन्तनका साहित्य शैलीविज्ञानसँग अधिकाधिक सहअस्तित्व कायम गरी आफैं स्वायत्त वैज्ञानिक समालोचना पद्धति बन्न प्गिरहेको दाबी गरिरहेको क्रा उल्लेख्य छ भने अर्कोतर्फ संरचनावादले चाहिँ संरचनावादी भाषाविज्ञानका सामान्य धरातलमा टेकेर पनि साहित्यिक विधातत्त्वका नवधर्मका उद्घाटनतर्फ पनि गिहरो चासो देखाई कृतिका भाषिक र विधागत सहसंरचनाको उत्खनन् र नवसन्धानतर्फ नितान्त नौलो सैद्धान्तिक सचेतना देखाइरहेको पाइन्छ (त्रिपाठी, २०५८, पृ. ५१५)। शैलीविज्ञानले भाषाको कलात्मक प्रकार्यका बारेमा विश्लेषण गर्छ (लिच र सर्ट, सन् १९९४, पृ. १३) । कुनै पनि भाषामा एउटा भावविशेषलाई अभिव्यक्ति दिनका लागि विभिन्न भाषिक सम्भावना र विकल्पहरू हुन्छन्। त्यस्ता विकल्पको प्रयोग सामान्य प्रयोक्ताले भन्दा साहित्यकारले अधिक चमत्कारपूर्ण र सार्थक रूपमा गरेर आफ्नो साहित्यिक शैलीको निर्माण गर्दछ (नेपाल, सन् २००९, प्. १४५)। यसर्थ शैलीविज्ञान सबै प्रकृतिका रचनामा स्रष्टाले उपयोग गरेको भाषाको विशिष्ट ढाँचा तथा शैलीको विश्लेषणमा केन्द्रित हुन्छ ।

चलनचल्ती, मानक र नमुनाबाट हट्नु नै विचलन हो। मानकको अतिक्रमण वा उल्लङ्घनलाई विचलन भिनन्छ (शर्मा, २०५९)। समानान्तरताको विपरीत उपकरणका रूपमा यसलाई स्वीकारिएको छ। विचलन भनेकै अनियमितता हो। अनियमितता भन्नाले शैली वैज्ञानिक आधारमा निर्रथक स्वरूपको भन्ने बुभनु हुँदैन किनिक सार्थक विचलनबाट नै अग्रभूमिको निर्माण हुन सक्दछ। काव्यिक तथा साहित्यिक सिर्जनाहरूमा विचलनयुक्त भाषिक प्रयोगले लक्ष्यार्थ तथा व्यङ्ग्यार्थ प्रस्तुत गर्नाका साथै त्यसमा श्रुतिमाधुर्य, आह्लादकर भावमयताको प्रभावकारी स्वरूप निष्पादन गरिएको हुन्छ (खनाल, २०६८,पृ. १३)। मानकको निक्यौंल र त्यसबाट हुने विचलनका प्रक्रियालाई निर्धारित गर्ने कार्य कठिन, अमूर्त र विवादास्पद छ। भाषाको मानक रूप स्वयम्मा नै विचलनशील र परिवर्तनशील छ। परन्तु कुनै पनि भाषाको वर्तमान स्वरूप तथा व्याकरणिक संरचनाको सूक्ष्म र वस्तुपरक अवलोकनबाट काव्य भाषाको विचलनको प्रक्रियालाई स्पष्ट ढङ्गले अनुशीलन गर्न सिकन्छ। विचलनयुक्त साहित्यिक भाषाले कृतिलाई गम्भीर, प्रभावशाली र विशिष्ट तुल्याउँछ। सामान्यतयाः ध्विन विचलन, सर्वनाम विचलन, विशेषण विचलन, क्रिया विचलन, लिङ्ग विचलन, कारक विचलन, अर्थविचलन, उखान र टुक्का विचलन आदि विचलनको उल्लेख भेटिन्छ। तापिन, कोशीय विचलन, भाषिकागत विचलन आदि भेदको पिन उत्तिकै महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थान रहेको देखिन्छ (बस्याल, २०६६, पृ. १०३-०५)।

सामान्यतया भाषाको बन्धन, चलन वा पथलाई छोडी नयाँ अनुसरण गर्नु विचलन हो । पिश्चममा 'पोयिटक लाइसेन्स' कविले पाएको छुट अथवा संस्कृतको प्रसिद्ध कथन 'निरङ्कुशः कवय' 'किव निरङ्कुश हुन्छ' ले विचलनलाई सङ्केत गरेका छन् । भारतीय काव्यशास्त्रको वकोक्ति सम्प्रदाय पिन यही हो (तिवारी, सन् १९७१, पृ. ३९-५४) । पिश्चमी सौन्दर्यशास्त्र तथा शैलीविज्ञानमा बहुप्रयुक्त फोरग्राउन्डिङ (अग्रभूमि) शब्दले पिन यसलाई सङ्केत गर्दछ । समग्रमा भन्नुपर्दा साहित्यिक सिर्जनाहरूमा भाषिक प्रयोगले लक्ष्यार्थ तथा व्यङ्ग्यार्थ प्रस्तुत गरेको हुन्छ । विचलनका केही प्रकार निम्नानसार उल्लेख गर्न सिकन्छ :

#### (क) कोशीय विचलन

शब्दकोशमा समावेश नभएका शब्दहरू स्रष्टा आफैँले निर्माण गर्ने वा परम्परामा रहेका शब्दलाई नयाँपन साथ उपस्थित गराएर आफ्नो अभिव्यक्तिलाई मूर्त र प्रभावकारी बनाउनका लागि प्रस्तुत गरिने शब्दहरू कोशीय विचलनयुक्त शब्दहरू हुन् (खनाल, २०६८, पृ.१४)। शब्द निर्माणमा मानक प्रिक्रियाहरूको अतिक्रमण गरी सोद्देश्यमूलक ढङ्गले नव शब्द बनाउने कामलाई कोशीय विचलन भिनन्छ। यस्तो विचलनले काव्य सौन्दर्यको सिर्जना गर्छ र अभिव्यक्तिगत निजत्व देखाउँछ (बस्याल, २०६६, पृ. १०४)। साहित्य रचनाका क्रममा स्रष्टाले मानक शब्दको मात्र प्रयोग नगरी सुन्दर अभिव्यक्ति प्रस्तुत गर्नका लागि नयाँ शब्दको निर्माण गर्ने गर्दछ। यस अवस्थामा शब्द विचलनको स्थिति देखा पर्दछ। यसरी नयाँ शब्दको निर्माण नै कोशीय विचलन हो (शर्मा, २०५९, पृ. २९)। अन्त कतै र कसैले प्रयोग नगरेका वा सामान्य भाषिक प्रयोगमा नआएका शब्दहरूको रचना स्रष्टा स्वयम्ले नै अभिव्यक्तिमा आउने सङ्कट टार्नका लागि गर्दछन्। उदाहरणका लागि चक्रेटो, फ्लार,

अक्तजन, नक्तजन, मान्द्रिलो, गोबरी, चिथोरेसन, युरेसिया आदि निर्मित र नवीन शब्द हुन् (ढकाल, २०६७/०६८ पृ. ५१) । यस्ता शब्दले कोशीय विचलनलाई देखाउँछन् ।

## (ख) व्याकरणिक विचलन

प्रत्येक भाषाको आफ्नै स्वरूप र संरचनाअनुसार निश्चित व्याकरणिक व्यवस्था हुन्छ । साहित्यमा प्रस्तुत हुँदा सर्जकले सदैव आफ्नो निश्चित भाषा व्याकरणिक व्यवस्थामा मात्र सीमित हुन चाहँदैन र सक्दैन । त्यसो हुनाले स्रष्टाले आफ्नो विशिष्ट भाषिक अभिव्यक्तिका क्रममा लिङ्ग, वचन, पुरुष, भाव, पक्ष, वाच्य जस्ता व्याकरणात्मक कोटी र वाक्य, उपवाक्य, पद सङ्गति, पदकम (रूपदेखि वाक्यसम्म) आदि एकाइहरूको नियमितता र नियमसम्मत् व्यवस्थामाथि अतिक्रमण गर्दछ । वास्तवमा यही अतिक्रमण नै व्याकरणिक विचलन हो (खनाल, २०६८, पृ. १४) । अभिव्यक्तिमा विशेष बल प्रदान गर्ने उद्देश्यले विभिन्न भाषिक एकाइलाई भाँचकुच, तोडमोड र जोडजाड गरी शैल्पिक चमत्कार सिर्जना गर्ने प्रयास गरिएको पिन पाइन्छ । जुनसुकै ढङ्गले गरिएको भए पिन सार्थक विचलनले साहित्यलाई विशिष्ट र जीवन्त तुल्याउँछ (लुइटेल, २०६२ पृ.८४) । अनुभूतिलाई गतिशील तुल्याउन, विभिन्न अलङ्कृत अभिव्यक्तिद्वारा सौन्दर्यबोध गराउन संरचनात्मक एवम् कथ्य ढाँचालाई निजत्व प्रदान गर्न सर्जकहरूले व्याकरणिक विचलनको व्यापक सहायता लिएको देखिन्छ ।

## (ग) अर्थतात्त्विक विचलन

अभिधा अर्थमा मात्र सीमित रहेर साहित्यले उच्चता हासिल गर्न सक्दैन। त्यसैले अभिधाभन्दा भिन्न विशिष्ट अर्थ व्यञ्जित हुनु नै अर्थतात्त्विक विचलन हो। कथनको अभिधेयार्थ वा वाच्यार्थमा देखा पर्ने विचलनलाई आर्थी विचलन भिनन्छ। काव्याभिव्यक्तिले वाच्यार्थभन्दा लक्ष्यार्थ र व्यङ्ग्यार्थलाई वरण गर्दा त्यसको अर्थतात्त्विक शिक्त निकै नै मजुबत हुन्छ (बस्याल, २०६६, पृ. १९३)। साहित्यिक भाषाका नाम विचलन, किया विचलन, विशेषण विचलन जित पिन उदाहरणहरू छुन् ती सबैमा अर्थ विचलन पिन रहन्छ (तिवारी, सन् १९७७, पृ. ६२)। दैनिक जीवनमा कोशीय अर्थको सन्दर्भबाट विभिन्न शब्दहरू प्रयुक्त हुन्छन्। कोशीय अर्थबाट मात्रै अभिव्यक्त गर्न नसिकने पिरिस्थितिमा लक्षणात्मक एवम् व्यञ्जनात्मक अभिव्यक्तिका लागि त्यही शब्दलाई भिन्न अर्थमा प्रयोग गरिन्छ। जस्तै: आज त हिमाल मुसुक्क हाँस्यो। मुदुमाथि ढुङ्गा राखी हाँस्नु पऱ्या छ। हामी दुःखीका दुःखले प्रकृति अविरल रोइरहेछ जस्ता अवचेतन वस्तु वा प्रकृतिलाई चेतना र संवेदनशील जीवनका रूपमा चित्रण गर्दा सर्जकले अर्थतात्त्विक विचलनको उपयोग गरेको देखिन्छ (ढकाल, २०६७/६८, पृ. ५२)। यसरी अर्थमा विचलन हुनु नै अर्थतात्त्विक विचलन हो जसले काव्यात्मक सौन्दर्य बढाउँछ।

#### (घ) भाषिका विचलन

भाषाको स्थानीय र सामाजिक भेदलाई भाषिका भिनन्छ । साहित्यकारले आफ्नो सिर्जनालाई विशिष्ट तथा आकर्षक बनाउन भाषिका तथा उपभाषिकाका शब्दहरू समावेश गरेको हुन्छ । त्यसलाई नै भाषिका विचलन भिनन्छ । क्षेत्रीय वा सामाजिक विभेदका अभिलक्षणाहरूलाई आवश्यकतानुसार प्रयोग गरी मानक रूपबाट विचलन पैदा गराउनुलाई भाषिकागत विचलन भिनन्छ। आख्यानात्मक विधामा पात्रलाई जीवन्त, स्वाभाविक र विश्वसनीय बनाउन उसको बोलीमा यस्तो विशेषता उत्पन्न गराइन्छ (बस्याल, २०६६, पृष्ठ १०६)। यस्तो स्थितिमा उसले भाषाको मानक शब्दलाई छोडी अमानक शब्दको शरण लिनु पर्दछ, यसैलाई लोक प्रचलित स्थानीयता तथा क्षेत्रीयता चिनाउने शब्दलाई स्थान दिई आञ्चलिक रचनामा स्थान विशेषका समस्या, परिवेश एवम् बोलीलाई जीवन्तता दिने उद्देश्यले विचलन गरेको पाइन्छ। भाषिकागत विचलनको प्रयोग उद्देश्यपूर्ण र सार्थक रूपमा गर्दा कृति विशिष्ट हुन पुग्दछ। जस्तै : ओलन-दुध, खाजा-अर्नी, नाङ्लो, सुपो आदि जस्ता भाषिक विचलनले स्थानीयता, क्षेत्रीयता वा आञ्चलिकताको सिर्जनामा विशेष महत्त्व राख्दछ।

## (ङ) प्रयुक्ति विचलन

काव्यात्मक अभिव्यक्तिका क्रममा स्रष्टाहरूले आफ्नो रुचि, सन्दर्भ, परिवेश, विषय आदिका लागि उपयुक्त हुने विभिन्न विषय क्षेत्रका शब्द र अभिव्यक्ति ढाँचाहरूको प्रयोग गर्दछन् । कुनै खास विषय क्षेत्रको भाषालाई अन्य क्षेत्रमा लगी त्यसको युक्तिपूर्ण र प्रभावकारी प्रयोगलाई प्रयुक्ति विचलन भिनन्छ (बस्याल, २०६६, पृ. १०७) ।

## (च) लेख्यप्रक्रियात्मक विचलन

स्रष्टाले आफ्नो भावाभिव्यक्तिलाई विशिष्ट ढङ्गबाट प्रस्तुत गर्न शब्दबाट मात्र सम्भव नदेखी विशेष प्रकारका चिह्नहरूको प्रयोग अथवा मानक लेखाइभन्दा फरक ढाँचामा लेखेको स्थितिलाई लेख्यप्रिक्तियात्मक विचलन भिनन्छ । नेपाली भाषाको लेख्यप्रिक्तियामा देवनागरी लिपिको माध्यमबाट शब्द र वाक्यको सुनिश्चित आलेख गरिन्छ तर यस नियमको अतिक्रमण गरी शब्द र वाक्यको अनियमित विन्यासद्वारा भाँचेर तोडमोड गरेर टुकाएर भाषिक कलाको अनौठो रुप प्रस्तुत गरिन्छ । यो डिको तलमाथि गरी प्रस्तुत गर्छ भने त्यो पिन लेख्यप्रिक्तयात्मक विचलन हो । जस्तै :

घ
$$_{\hat{H}}^{\tau}$$
भएर  $_{\hat{n}_{1}^{\prime}}^{\hat{a}}$  वारमा $_{\hat{H}}^{\eta}$  ता  $_{\hat{H}}^{\tau}$  छी।

## परिणाम र विश्लेषण

नेपाली उपन्यास क्षेत्रलाई थप उचाइमा पुऱ्याउने उपन्यासकार अमर न्यौपानेले आफ्नो उपन्यासमा प्रायः कथानक तथा प्रस्तुतिमा विविधता ल्याएको पाइन्छ । उनका उपन्यासले समाजका विविध पक्षहरूलाई कलात्मक किसिमले समेटेको पाइन्छ । यहाँ न्यौपानेको वि.सं. २०६८ सालमा मदन पुरस्कार प्राप्त 'सेतो धरती' उपन्यासमा प्रयुक्त भाषिक विचलनको खोजी गरी देहायका उपशीर्षकअन्तर्गत विश्लेषण गरिएको छ ।

#### भाषिका विचलन

कुनै पनि स्रष्टाले आफ्ना उपन्यासलाई सार्थक तुल्याउनका लागि भाषिका विचलन गराउँछन्। मानक शब्दलाई छाडेर लोक प्रचलित स्थानीयता तथा क्षेत्रीयता चिनाउने शब्दलाई स्थान दिई आञ्चलिक रचनामा स्थान विशेषका समस्या, परिवेश एवम् बोलीलाई जीवन्तता दिने उद्देश्यले विचलन गरेको पाइन्छ। रचनाकारले आफ्नो रचनामा भाषिकागत विचलनको प्रयोग उद्देश्यपूर्ण र सार्थक रूपमा गर्दा कृति विशिष्ट हुन पुग्दछ। सेतो धरती उपन्यासमा प्रयुक्त शब्दगत, कथ्यगत भाषिक विचलनलाई यसरी विश्लेषण गरिएको छ, जस्तै :

- छोरीहरूबाट कत्तिको सन्तोक हुन्च त पन्नि्तजी (पृ. ११) ?
- बिआअर्नि बेला भच नि यस्को त ! **अर्दिन** परो अब (प. १७)
- दिदी हामरा **घराँ** क्यार्न लाका (पृ. २६) ।
- भगमान् किस्नको त मेरी आमाले पूजा अर्नुउन्च । इनी त कि किस्न अस्ता छैनन् । के मेरी आमाले इनकै पूजा अर्न्उन्च (पृ. ५६) ?
- पछिपछि अरू दुई आइमाई र फुपूसासू बाल्टी, ओम्खरा, सोता कपडा पिन लिएर आउँदै छन्
   (पृ. ८८)।
- आआफ्नो प्रारब्धाँ जो लेख्यो छ, तो **भोउनै पर्च** सप्पैले बाबै (पृ. १०२)
- हाँस्ता आवाज निकाली हाँसेस् । किनभने, तेरो हाँसो सारे मयावी छ लोउनी मुन्छेलाई मुहुनी लाउनी खाल्की छ (पृ. १४१) ।
- म जआजाँ चढ्दा त जआजको नि साइत बिउरिन्च कि भन्नी डर लाम्च मलाई त (पृ. २२७)!
- कसैले **सम्जार** कोइ सम्जिन सौतैन । तिन्ले आफ्नो मन आफै सम्जाम्चन् (पृ. २९३) ।
- काँ सिकिन् होलाई **बेबारका** कुरा ? अइले त यस्ती छन् **उमेराँ** अभाई कस्ती थिइन होला (पृ.३१७)
- अपवित्र काम गरेर ल्याएको रुपैयाँ पवित्र आश्रमलाई दिएर आश्रम नै बिदुलो बनाइदिई (पृ. ३४६)।
- आफै रित्तिएर, **खुइलिएर** उमेर र समयको ताप र राफले उडाएर लैजाने जीवनका रङहरूलाई उनले कित कुशलतापूर्वक उपयोग जानेकी (पृ.३५२)।

सेतो धरती उपन्यासमा प्रयुक्त भाषा कास्की जिल्लाको स्थानीय भाषिक भेदमा केन्द्रित भएर लेखिएको छ। माथि प्रयुक्त गाढा अक्षरमा लेखिएका शब्दको मानक उच्चारण सन्तोष हुनुपर्नेमा सन्तोक पण्डित जी हुनुपर्नेमा पन्नितजी, विवाह गर्ने हुनुपर्नेमा बिआअर्मि, भएछ हुनुपर्नेमा भच गर्दिन हुनुपर्नेमा अर्दिन, घरमा हुनुपर्नेमा घराँ, गर्नुहुन्छ हुनुपर्नेमा अर्नुउन्च बनाएर भाषिका विचलन गराइएको छ। त्यस्तै गरी भोग्नै पर्छ हुनुपर्नेमा भोउनै पर्च, सबैले हुनुपर्नेमा सप्पेले, लोग्ने मानिस हुनुपर्नेमा लोउनी मुन्छे, मोहोनी हुनुपर्नेमा मुहुनी, बिग्रिन्छ हुनुपर्नेमा बिउरिन्च, सम्भाएर हुनुपर्नेमा सम्जार, व्यवहारका हुनुपर्नेमा बेबारका, उमेरमा हुनुपर्नेमा उमेराँ, जुठो हुनुपर्नेमा बिटुलो शब्दको प्रयोग गरी उपन्यासको भाषामा मौलिकता सृजना गरेको देखिन्छ। साथै रङ उडेको हुनपर्नेमा खुइलिएर जस्ता भाषिक विचलनको प्रयोग गरेको देखिन्छ।

यसरी हेर्दा उपर्युक्त उदाहरणद्वारा उपन्यासमा रहेको भाषिक विचलनलाई सङ्क्षिप्त रूपमा दिग्दर्शन गर्न सिकन्छ । मूलतः पश्चिमाञ्चल क्षेत्रको पहाडी भूभागमा बोलिने भाषिका, उपभाषिका र सामाजिक भेदका आंशिक विशेषताहरूको उपयोग उपन्यासमा गरिएको पाइन्छ । भाषिका विचलनमार्फत स्थानीय मौलिक कथ्य भाषाको प्रयोगले पात्रहरूलाई उच्चारणमा सहज बनाएर सुरम्य बनाएको छ भने यसले उपन्यासलाई प्रभावकारी र स्वाभाविक तुल्याएको छ । संवादलाई अनौपचारिक र प्रभावशाली पनि बनाएको देखिन्छ ।

## ध्वनि प्रक्रियात्मक विचलन

स्रष्टाले आफ्नो साहित्यमा पारदर्शिता र रोचकता ल्याउनका लागि भाषाका विभिन्न पक्षमा विचलनको सिर्जना गर्दछ । भाषाको खास एकाइ उच्चारण गर्दा ध्विनको आगम र लोप मानक रूपबाट स्पष्ट रूपमा छुट्याउन सिकने भिन्नता ध्विन प्रिक्रियात्मक विचलनमा पाइन्छ । सेतो धरती उपन्यासमा रहेका केही ध्विन प्रिक्रियात्मक विचलनको प्रितिनिधि नमुनाहरूलाई निम्नानुसार प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ :

- कित कराउन पर्दो रच यल्लाई! तैँले पकाको पो खाछ (पृ. १४) ।
- वाँ तिम्री सासू आमा हुनुउन्च । यो रुपिआँ राखेर ढोग (पृ. ४७) ।
- पर्तेक पाइलाँ लिन्चन् नि नानी (पृ. १६०) ।
- परिच्छा त सदैँ लिइरहन्छन् नि, बाँच्न्जेलसम्म (पृ. १६१)।
- दिदीलाई तेसो नअर्नुस । उनलाई नि तपैंले पिरिम अर्नुपर्छ (पृ. १८७) ।
- स्यानो भाइलाई जाउलो पकार ख्वाम्न्होला है (पृ. २१५)।
- हेरिरिस आफैँ चिनिन्चन अच्छेर, एकपटक देखेको म्न्छे फेरि देख्दा चिने अस्तै (पृ. १३०) ।

यस उपन्यासिभत्र ध्विन प्रिक्तियात्मक विचलनलाई नियाल्ने क्रममा केही स्वाभाविक तथा केही अनौठा किसिमको दृष्टान्तहरू प्रशस्त मात्रामा रहेका देखिन्छन् । पकाको, रुपिआँ, पर्तेक, परिच्छा, पिरिम, खुवाम्नु, अच्छेर आदि जस्ता शब्दमा ध्विन प्रिक्तियात्मक विचलन पाइन्छ । जुन तथ्यको स्पष्टीकरण निम्नानुसार गर्न सिकन्छ :

ऋ.सं.	ध्वनि	प्रिक्रयात्मक	विचलन

- १. पकाको (प्+अ+क्+आ+क्+ओ)
- २. रुपिआँ (र्+उ+प्+इ+आँ)
- ३. पर्तेक (प्+अ+र्+त्+ए+क्)
- ४. परिच्छा (प्+अ+र्+इ+च्+छ्+आ)
- प्र. पिरिम (प्+इ+र्+इ+म्)
- ६. ख्वाम्न् (ख्+उ+व्+आ+म्+न्+उ)
- ७. अच्छेर (अ+च्+छ्+ए+र्)

#### मानक स्वरूप (ध्वनि)

पकाएको (प्+अ+क्+आ+ए+क्+ओ) रुपैयाँ (र्+उ+प्+अ+इ+य्+आँ) प्रत्येक (प्+र्+अ+त्+य्+ए+क्) परीक्षा (प्+अ+र्+इ+क्+स्+य्+आ)

प्रेम (प्+र+ए+म्)

ख्वाउन (ख्+उ+व्+आ+उ+न्+अ)

अक्षर (अ+क्+ष्+अ+र्)

उपर्युक्त तथ्यानुसार कतै स्वाभाविक र कतै अनौठा प्रकारका ध्वनि प्रिक्तियात्मक विचलन देखिन्छ । अकारीभवन, उकारीभवन, इकारीभवन, ध्वनिआगम, ध्वनिलोप आदि विविध ध्वनि प्रिक्तियात्मक विचलनको अवस्थाले *सेतो धरती* उपन्यासमा अभिव्यक्तिगत सौन्दर्य, आकर्षण र परिवेशीय स्वाभाविकता सिर्जना भएको छ ।

### व्याकरणिक विचलन

स्रष्टाले कुनै पिन साहित्यिक कृति सिर्जना गर्ने क्रममा भाषाको व्याकरणिक नियमलाई भाँचभुँच, तोडमोड र जोडजाड गरी नयाँ सिल्प संरचनाको चमत्कारपूर्ण भाषाको प्रयोग गर्छन्। व्याकरणिक विचलनअन्तर्गत पदक्रम र आदर विचलन पिन पर्दछ।

## पदक्रम विचलन

भाषामा रहेका पदहरूको अनुक्रम (कर्ता + कर्म + क्रियापद) व्याकरिणक नियमानुसार निमलेर रहनु नै पदक्रम विचलन हो। नेपाली व्याकरणमा पदक्रमको आफ्नै व्यवस्था रहेको छ। कर्ता + कर्म+क्रिया, विशेषण र विशेष्य, क्रियाविशेषण र क्रिया आदि यसको केही उदाहरणहरू हुन्। सेतो धरती उपन्यासमा रहेका केही पदक्रम विचलनको नमुनालाई प्रतिनिधिमूलक रूपमा निम्नानुसार प्रस्तुत गिरएको छ:

#### क्र.सं. सन्दर्भ र स्रोतहरू

- थाह छैन मलाई म जिन्मएको बाटो (पृ, २)
- २. एउटा सेतो फूल फुलिरेको छ भन्ने चाहिँ थाहा थिएन आमालाई (पृ. ३)
- ३. मध्यरातमा रोएर मैले कत्तिलाई व्यूँभाएछ (पृ. ६)
- ४. आमाबाट धेरै कुरा थाहा पाएँ मैले आफ्नो बारेमा (पृ. ९)
- प्र. बिहेको भोलिपल्ट म देवघाट फर्किन तयारिएँ, उनीहरूले आउनै दिँनन् (प्. ३१८) ।
- ६. यसरी म फिल्म हेर्न ती दिदीको लुगा लगाएर धेरै पटक गए (पृ. ३३०)।
- ७. पुरुषको स्पर्शसँग सधैँ डराइरहेँ, भागिरहेँ म (पृ. ३४७)।

## रूपान्तरिक मानक अन्क्रम

म जिन्मएको बाटो मलाई थाहा छैन । आमालाई एउटा सेतो फूल फुलिरहेको छ भन्ने थाहा थिएन ।

मैले मध्यरातमा रोएर कित्तलाई ब्युँकाएँछु। मैले आफ्नो बारेमा आमाबाट धेरै कुरा थाहा पाएँ।

म बिहेको भोलिपल्ट देवघाट फर्किन तयारिएँ, उनीहरूले आउनै दिएनन् ।

म यसरी ती दिदीको लुगा लगाएर धेरै पटक फिल्म हेर्न गएँ।

म पुरुषको स्पर्शसँग सधैभरि डराइरहेँ, भागिरहेँ

#### आदर विचलन

आफूसमान, आफूभन्दा ठुला, मान्यजन आदिलाई गर्ने सद्भावलाई आदर भिनन्छ । आदर वा सम्मान प्रकट गर्ने पद वा वाक्यलाई आदरार्थी भिनन्छ । यो मुलतः नाम, सर्वनाम, क्रियापदबाट अभिव्यक्त

हुन्छ । नाम वा सर्वनामको कर्तानुसार क्रियापदको उचित प्रयोग नभएको अवस्थामा आदर विचलन पैदा हुने गर्दछ । सर्जकले साहित्यलाई उत्कृष्टता दिन यस प्रकारको आदरमा विचलन ल्याउँछन् । उपन्यासकार अमर न्यौपानेको *सेतो धरती* उपन्यासमा रहेका केही आदर विचलनका नमुनाहरू निम्नानुसार रहेका छन् :

- तयही बेलामा सासू आइन् । उनको कुरा सुनेकी रिहछन् क्यारे (पृ. १७९) ।
   यहाँ 'सासू' उच्च आदरार्थी शब्दका लागि 'सासू आइन्' मध्यम अनादरवाची कियापदको प्रयोग गरी आदर विचलन गरिएको छ ।
- २. म अभावको लिष्ट बनाइदिन्थेँ । उनी दिक्क मान्दै भन्थे 'अस्ति भख्खर ल्याको चिनी यति चाँडै सिकन्च त' (पृ. २४१) ? यहाँ आफ्ना (श्रीमान्) उहाँ आदरार्थी शब्दका लागि उनी, भन्थे जस्ता अनादरवाची क्रियापदको प्रयोग गरेर आदर विचलन गरिएको छ ।
- 3. 'आज तैंले खाममा पैसा होइन, प्रेम हालेकी रहिछेस् ! तेसैले आज म तँसँग सबैभन्दा बढी खुसी छु' (पृ. २९९) यहाँ आज तिमीले खाममा पैसा होइन, प्रेम हालेकी रहिछौ भन्ने कुरा बनाउन खोजिएको भए तापिन तैंले, तँ जस्ता अनादरवाची क्रियापदको प्रयोग गरेर आदर विचलन पैदा गरिएको छ ।
- ४ 'आमाले पैसा द्या छ !' (पृ.१२५) ।' 'यहाँ आमाले पैसा दिनुभएको छ' भन्नु पर्नेमा यहाँ आमा उच्च आदरार्थी शब्दसँग 'द्या छ' अनादरवाची क्रियापदको प्रयोग गरिएको छ ।

## अर्थतात्विक विचलन

सेतो धरती उपन्यासभित्र रहेका अर्थतात्त्विक विचलनका प्रतिनिधिमूलक उदाहरणहरूलाई निम्नानुसार निरूपण गर्न सिकन्छ :

## अर्थगत भूमिका

सन्दर्भ र स्रोत सबैभन्दा सजिलो नै गाह्रो भइदिन्छ । हरियो रुख सुक्छ । फुलिरहेको फूल भर्छ । सास फेराइको लामो अनुभवले पनि धोका दिन्छ (पृ. १)

अर्थगत भूमिका मानिसको जीवन एउटा यस्तो चक्र हो, जुन पुनः फर्किएर त्यही स्थानमा रहन सक्दैन। आज प्राप्त गरेको कुरा भोलि गुम्न सक्छ। आजको खुसी भोलिको पीडा र आजको पीडा भोलिको दिनमा अप्रिय पिन हुन सक्छ। त्यसैले जीवनको यो चक्रमा सबैभन्दा सिजलो नै सबैभन्दा गाह्नो भइदिन्छ भन्ने कुरा अर्थतात्त्विक रूपमा व्यक्त गरिएको छ। सन्दर्भ र स्रोत

गाईले लात्तो हानेको र सौतेनी सासूले हातले हानेको बराबर हुन्छ तर, सौतेनी सासूले हानेको पछिसम्म दुख्छ (पृ. १२२)।

अर्थगत भूमिका

जीवनमा कतिपय नाता सम्बन्ध तिता र खल्ला लाग्छन्, जसको व्यवहारसँग तुलना गरेर हेर्न मन लाग्छ तर पनि आफ्नैबाट पाएको पीडा अभ बढी दर्दनाक र भयानक हुन्छ भन्ने भावार्थ अभिव्यञ्जित गरिएको छ ।

सन्दर्भ र स्रोत

म आगोको फिलिङ्गो भएर बाहिर निस्किएँ (पृ. १८४)

अर्थगत भूमिका

प्रेम यस्तो कुरा हो जसमा अदृश्य शक्ति लुकेर रहेको हुन्छ । जसले हिउँलाई पगाल्न र आगोलाई पिन निभाउन सक्छ । त्यसैले प्रेमपूर्ण सम्बन्धलाई जीवन्तता दिनका लागि आउने आवेगले कुनै पिन व्यक्तिलाई आगोको फिलिइगो बनाउँन सक्छ भन्ने भाव अभिव्यक्त गर्न खोजिएको छ ।

सन्दर्भ र स्रोत

म दु:खहरूकी आमा हुँ (पृ. २२५) !

अर्थगत भूमिका

यहाँ जसको जीवनमा दु:खबाहेक सुखको कुनै कल्पना हुन सक्दैन, त्यहाँ दु:खलाई नै जीवन साथी बनाएर बसेकी महिलाले सुखी सन्तानको जन्म दिन सिक्दिन। त्यसकारण दु:ख उसको श्रीमान् अनि दु:ख नै उसका सन्तानहरू हुन्छन्। यी उपन्यासकी पात्र तारालाई दु:खीहरूकी आमाको रूपमा प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ।

सन्दर्भ र स्रोत

लाग्छ सबैभन्दा महान् तपस्वी, ज्ञानी भनेका यिनै रुखहरू हुन्। रुखहरूको ध्यान कसैले भङ्ग गर्न सक्दैन (पृ. २४९)।

अर्थगत भूमिका

संसारमा जितसुकै महान् तपस्वी र ज्ञानी भनेर चिनाएका योगीहरू पिन काम क्रोध, लोभ, मोहबाट विञ्चित हुन सकेका छैनन्। जसको कारण उनीहरूको ध्यान क्षणभरमा नै भङ्ग भएर गएको छ तर प्रकृति भनेको त्यस्तो महान् तपस्वी हो जसको ध्यान सँसारको जुनसुकै शक्तिले पिन भङ्ग गर्न सकेको छैन। त्यसैले यहाँ मानिसको धैर्यतालाई रुखसँग तुलना गरी व्यञ्जनार्थ सङकेत गरिएको छ।

यसरी हेर्दा यस उपन्यासमा उपन्यासकार अमर न्यौपानेले अर्थतात्त्विक विचलनका माध्यमबाट मरुभूमि जस्तो निरस तथा अनुत्पादक विम्ब बोकरे बाँचेको एउटा जीवनलाई गार्हस्थ र आश्रमिक जीवनको तुलनात्मक अध्ययन गर्दै जीवनलाई जीवनबाट पन्छाएर होइन भोग गरेर नै राम्ररी बुभनुपर्छ र सिकन्छ पनि भन्ने लक्ष्यार्थ तथा व्यङ्ग्यार्थको रूपमा विभिन्न विषय प्रसङ्ग जोडेर आर्थी विचलन गरेको देखिन्छ ।

## निष्कर्ष

यसरी हेर्दा सेतो धरती उपन्यासमा देखिएको भाषिक विचलनभित्रका भाषिका विचलन, ध्विन प्रिक्रियात्मक विचलन, अर्थतात्त्रिक विचलन, व्याकरणिक विचलनभित्र पदक्रम विचलन र आदर विचलनहरूलाई एक एक गरी केलाउने जमकों गरिएको छ । प्रस्तुत उपन्यासको भाषामा गरिएका यस्ता विचलनहरूले उपन्यासको भाषालाई सार्थक र जीवन्त तुल्याएको पाइन्छ । अर्थात् 'सेतो धरती' उपन्यासको भाषिक संरचना र अर्थ सङ्गतिमा सार्थक र उद्देश्यपूर्ण विचलनहरू प्रशस्त रहेको पाइन्छ । यस उपन्यासमा प्रभावकारी अभिव्यञ्जनाको दृष्टिकोणबाट अर्थतात्त्रिक विचलन, भाषिका विचलन र व्याकरणिक पदक्रमको विचलन नै बढी शक्तिशाली अवस्थामा रहेको देखिन्छ । भाषिक सौन्दर्यमा देखा परेका गुणस्तरलाई विचलनका यिनै पद्धितले सुन्दर र सार्थक ढङ्गबाट प्रतिनिधित्व गरेका छन् । यसका अतिरिक्त अन्य विचलनको कम प्रयोग भए तापिन भाषिक कलाका नवीनतम आयामहरूलाई सरल र आकर्षक ढङ्गले उद्घाटन गर्न प्रयत्न गरिएको छ ।

भाषिकागत विचलनको अत्यधिक प्रयोग भएको यस उपन्यासमा भाषिकागत विचलनको प्रभावले अभिव्यक्तिगत नवीनता र प्रभावकारिता पिन सिर्जना गरेको पाइन्छ । मूलतः गण्डकी प्रदेशको पहाडी भूभागमा प्रयोग हुने पश्चिमा भाषा अभौ भनौँ बढी पर्वती उपभाषिकाको अत्यधिक प्रयोग भएको पाइन्छ । भाषिका विचलनले पहाडी क्षेत्रमा प्रयोग हुने भाषिका र भाषिक भेदलाई पच्छ्याउनुका साथै स्थानीय रङ्ग, संस्कृति र पर्यावरणको भभ्भिल्कोलाई जीवन्त बनाएको पाइन्छ जुन उपन्यासकार अमर न्यौपानेको वैशिष्टय पिन हो । यसले न्यौपानेलाई सफल बनाएको देखिन्छ ।

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# आधारभूत तह (कक्षा १-३) मा नेपाली पठन सिप विकासका प्रभावकहरू

## रमेश भट्टराई\*

सार

प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढ़ाइ कार्यक्रमले सम्पूर्ण सिकाइको जगका रूपमा पठन सिपको महत्त्वलाई निर्देश गरेको छ । बालबालिका नै सिकाइ र शिक्षाको गुणस्तर निर्धारणका मूल आधार हुन् । तिनको शैक्षिक गुणस्तरलाई जन्मपूर्व आमाको कोखमा रहँदा पाएको वातावरणदेखि आमाको कोखबाहिर आएपछि पाएको वातावरणले प्रभाव पारेको हुन्छ । सन्तुलित साक्षरता र पठनबोध दक्षताको अभिवृद्धिका लागि बालस्वास्थ्य, बालसुरक्षा र उसले पाएको अवसरका साथै जैविकीय प्रभावले समेत काम गरेको हुन्छ। यसर्थ प्रस्तुत अध्ययन आधारभूत तह (कक्षा १-३) को नेपाली पठन सिप विकासका प्रभावकहरूको खोजीमा केन्द्रित छ । यो अध्ययन गुणात्मक अनुसन्धान विधिमा आधारित छ । यसमा प्राथमिक स्रोत सामग्रीका रूपमा सर्लाही जिल्लाको एउटा सामुदायिक विद्यालयलाई छनोट गरी कक्षा 9, २ र ३ को अवलोकन तथा कुराकानीलाई समेत टिपोट गरिएको छ । उक्त कक्षामा अध्यापनरत दुई जना शिक्षिकासँग लिइएको अन्तर्वार्तालाई पठन कार्यकलाप सम्बद्ध सन्दर्भमा उपयोग गरिएको छ भने थप चार जना शिक्षकसँगको अनौपचारिक कुराकानीको टिपोटलाई सन्दर्भगत पुस्ट्याइँका लागि उपयोग गरिएको छ । द्वितीयक स्रोत सामग्रीका रूपमा नेपाल सरकारका दस्ताबेजलगायतका अन्य शोधपरक सामग्रीलाई उपयोग गरिएको छ। अध्ययनबाट जैविक तथा मनोवैज्ञानिक प्रभावअन्तर्गत बालमस्तिष्कीय प्रभावले पठन सिप विकासमा आन्तरिक तवरले प्रभाव पार्ने देखियो । त्यस्तै विद्यालय र समुदायले दिएको परिवेशले पठन सिप विकासमा बाह्य रूपमा प्रभाव पारेको देखियो । यसर्थ बालपठन सिप विकासमा यिनै आन्तरिक र बाह्य कारकहरूको प्रभाव रहने निष्कर्ष प्राप्त भयो ।

श्री रमेश भट्टराई जनज्योति बहुमुखी क्याम्पस सर्लाहीका शिक्षाशास्त्र सङ्काय तथा अनुसन्धान व्यवस्थापन एकाइ प्रमुख हुनुहुन्छ । इमेल : bhattarairamesh353@gmail.com

मुख्य शब्दावली : पठनतत्त्व, पठनबोध, बालमनोविज्ञान, बालविकास, सर्वाङ्गीण विकास, साक्षरता ।

## पृष्ठभूमि

बालबालिकाको शैक्षिक विकासको मूल आधार पठनबोध हो। भाषा सिकाइमा सुनाइ, बोलाइ, पढाइ र लेखाइ सिपलाई मूल आधार मानिए पनि बालपठनको अवधारणा बोधसँग जोडिएको हुन्छ। भाषामा बोध र अभिव्यक्ति अर्थात् आदनात्मक (ग्रहण) र प्रदानात्मक प्रिक्तया समावेश हुन्छ। ग्रहण सिपभित्र श्रुति र पठन तथा अभिव्यक्ति सिपभित्र वाक् र लेखन सिप पर्छन् (शर्मा र पौडेल, २०७४, पृ. १)। बालबालिकामा लिप्यात्मक अर्थात् पाठ्य सामग्रीको स्पष्ट अर्थबोध भएमा मात्रै सिकाइको अवधारणा स्पष्ट हुन्छ। सामान्य अर्थमा आधारभूत तहको शिक्षाबाटै बालबालिकाले आधारभूत भाषिक ज्ञान हासिल गरेका हुन्छन्। यही भाषिक ज्ञानले अङ्कगणित, बौद्धिक सिप, विज्ञान, वातावरण, सूचना सञ्चारलगायतका अन्य क्षेत्रमा दक्षता विकास गर्ने मूल आधार प्रदान गरेको हुन्छ। यसर्थ भाषिक सिपमध्ये पठनबोध सम्बद्ध सिकाइलाई प्रभावकारी बनाउन सकेमा बालबालिकाको सिकाइको जग बलियो हुने भए तापिन नेपालमा नेपाली पठन सिप विकासलाई प्रभावकारी बनाउन सकेको पाइँदैन।

पढ्न नसक्ने विद्यार्थीलाई लेखाइ सिपका कार्यकलापमा सिक्रय बनाउन सिकँदैन। पढाइ सिप परीक्षणको नितजालाई विश्लेषण गर्दा समग्र दक्षिण एसियालगायत विश्वका अन्य विकासशील म्ल्कहरूमा प्रारम्भिक कक्षाका विद्यार्थीहरू अपेक्षाभन्दा धेरै कमजोर देखिएका छन् (शिक्षा मन्त्रालय, २०७०)। यसर्थ विकासशील म्लुकले पठन सिप विकासका लागि बालबालिकाको आर्थिक, सामाजिक, पारिवारिक समस्याहरूलाई पनि एकसाथ जोडेर हेरेको देखिँदैन । नेपालमा विद्यालय क्षेत्र स्धार योजना (२०६६-२०७२) ले ग्णस्तरीय शिक्षा विकासमा आधारभूत शिक्षालाई अब्बल बनाउने ध्येयले बालविकास सेवा विस्तारमा जोड दिएको पाइन्छ। बालविकासमा शिक्षा र समृद्धिको जनचेतना अपरिहार्य हुन्छ । शिक्षासँग जोडिने सचेतना विकासको जग पनि पठन सिप नै हो । विद्यालय क्षेत्र स्धार योजनाको क्रमिक सन्दर्भमा विद्यालय क्षेत्र विकास योजना (२०७३/०७४-२०७९/०८०) ले चाहिँ नेपालमा स्तरीकृत प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ मूल्याङ्कनमा जोड दियो। आधारभूत तहको सिकाइलाई गुणस्तर सुधारको जगका रूपमा बोध गरेर यस योजनाले पठनबोध, पठनप्रवाह र पठनमूल्यलाई समेट्ने कार्य गऱ्यो । आजको सन्दर्भमा पनि सम्पूर्ण सिकाइको जग नै बालपठनबोध हो तर यसलाई शैक्षिक योजनाहरूमा सम्बोधन गरे पनि अभ्यासमा जोड दिन सकेको देखिँदैन । त्यसमा पनि हाम्रो देशमा सिकाइका लागि भाषिक, सामाजिक, आर्थिक र भौगोलिक हिसाबले समान वातावरण छैन। यो विविधताले पठन सिप विकासलाई के-कसरी प्रभाव पारेको हुन्छ भन्ने सन्दर्भमा पर्याप्त ध्यान पुगेको देखिँदैन ।

दिगो विकासको लक्ष्य (सन् २०१६-२०३०) मा पूर्वप्राथमिक, आधारभूत र माध्यमिक शिक्षाको व्यवस्थापकीय सुधार, साक्षरता र जीवनपर्यन्त शिक्षाका विषयहरू समावेश छन्। नेपालले यो लक्ष्य

पूर्तिका लागि आधारभूत तहका विद्यार्थीहरूमा अर्थपूर्ण पठन सिप अर्थात् पठनबोधको विकासमा जोड दिएको पाइँदैन ।

सबैका लागि शिक्षा कार्यक्रमले सन् २०१२ मा प्रकाशन गरेको विश्व अनुगमन प्रतिवेदनअनुसार एसिया प्रशान्त क्षेत्रमा हाल विद्यालय गइरहेका बालबालिकाहरूमध्ये चार वर्ष विद्यालय धाएर पिन २० करोड बालबालिकाहरू न्यूनतम सिकाइ उपलब्धिभन्दा तल छन् अर्थात् साक्षर बन्न सकेका छैनन्। नेपालको परिवेशमा पिन सन् २००९-२०११ को अध्ययनअनुसार नेपाली स्वर वर्णलाई कक्षा ३ का विद्यार्थीले उच्चारण नै गर्न नसकेको तथा कक्षा २ का बालबालिकाले अक्षर नै निचनेको तथ्य पेस गरिएको छ। (धिमिरे र अन्य, २०७३, पृ. ३)

नेपालमा प्रभावकारी बालिशक्षा विकासको सन्दर्भमा सहस्राब्दी विकासको लक्ष्यबमोजिम आधारभूत तथा प्राथमिक शिक्षा सम्बन्धी नीति र योजना बनाइएको पाइन्छ । यद्यपि, आधारभूत तहको शैक्षिक गुणस्तरमा सन्तोषजनक प्रगित नहुनुका विभिन्न कारणमध्ये प्राथमिक कक्षाका विद्यार्थीहरूको पढाइ सिप तथा पढ्ने बानीको अपेक्षित विकास नभएको देखिएको छ (शिक्षा विभाग, २०७४, पृ. १) । राष्ट्रिय योजना आयोगको सन् २०१० को दस्ताबेजले सहस्राब्दी विकासको लक्ष्यभित्र रहेको 'सबैका लागि प्राथमिक शिक्षा' का विषयअन्तर्गत बालसाक्षरतामा जोड दिएको थियो । यद्यपि यसमा साक्षरताको जग पनि पठन सिपगत विकास नै हो । यसर्थ बालपठन सिप नै बालिशक्षालाई अब्बल बनाउने प्रत्यक्ष तथा अप्रत्यक्ष आधार रहेको तथ्य पुष्टि हुन्छ । वस्तुतः शैक्षिक गुणस्तरको जगको रूपमा प्रारम्भिक तह (कक्षा १-३) मा पठन सिप विकास अपरिहार्य देखिएको हो ।

शिक्षा मन्त्रालयले नेपालमा आधारभूत तहअन्तर्गत कक्षा १-३ मा पठन सिप विकास गर्ने अभिप्रायले राष्ट्रिय प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रम (सन् २०१४/१५-२०१९/२०) को दस्ताबेज (२०७०) प्रकाशन गऱ्यो। यसकै पृष्ठभूमिमा नेपाल सरकारले राष्ट्रिय पाठ्यक्रम प्रारूप (२०७६) तयार गरी कक्षा १-३ मा एकीकृत पाठ्यक्रमको ढाँचा निर्माण गरेको देखिन्छ। यो पढाइ कार्यक्रमले भाषिक सिपअन्तर्गत पढाइ सिपभित्रको सस्वर र मौन पठनभन्दा बढी पठनबोध र पठनप्रवाहलाई प्रश्रय दिएको छ। एकीकृत पाठ्यक्रमको ढाँचामा पिन पठनतत्त्वका दृष्टिले अन्य विषयमा भन्दा नेपाली भाषाको पाठ्यक्रममा पठन सिपलाई विशेष ग्राह्यता दिएको देखिन्छ। कक्षा १, २ र ३ को शिक्षक निर्देशिकामा चारओटा भाषिक सिप (सुनाइ, बोलाइ, पढाइ र लेखाइ) तथा आठओटा भाषिक तत्त्व (ध्विन सचेतीकरण, श्रव्यदृश्य बोध, लेख्य वर्ण सचेतीकरण, श्रव्यभण्डार, पठन प्रवाह, बोध, लेखाइ र कार्यमूलक व्याकरण) को सन्तुलित समायोजनबाट सिकाइ सहजीकरण गर्नुपर्ने मान्यता प्रस्तुत भएको छ (पाठ्यक्रम विकास केन्द्र, २०७८, पृ. १)। यसर्थ बालपठनमैत्री सिकाइ प्रिक्रया नै बढी वैज्ञानिक, व्यवस्थित र नवीन देखिने हुनाले यसका प्रभावकलाई केलाउनु सान्दर्भिक हुन्छ। उिल्लिखत सन्दर्भहरूका आधारमा यस अध्ययनभित्र आधारभूत तह (कक्षा १-३) को नेपाली पठन सिप विकासमा प्रभाव पार्ने पक्षहरूलाई निक्योंल गरिएको छ।

## अध्ययनको उद्देश्य

यो अध्ययन आधारभूत तह (कक्षा १-३) का विद्यार्थीहरूको नेपाली पठन सिप विकाससँग केन्द्रित छ। यो विषय प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमको मूल अवधारणा र पठन सिप विकासको आधारभूत सिद्धान्तमा आधारित छ। अत: आधारभूत तह (कक्षा १-३) का विद्यार्थीहरूको नेपाली पठन सिप विकासका प्रभावहरूलाई निक्योंल गर्नु नै यस लेखको मुख्य उद्देश्य हो।

#### अध्ययनको अवधारणा

नेपाल सरकारले युएसएआईडीको प्राविधिक सहयोगमा २०७० सालमा राष्ट्रिय प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमको प्रारम्भ गऱ्यो । यस कार्यक्रमले कक्षा १ देखि ३ सम्मका बालबालिकाको पढाइ सिप विकासमा जोड दियो। यसअघि पठन सिपलाई भाषाका चारओटा सिपमा सीमित गरिएको थियो। यही दस्ताबेजले नेपालमा पनि आधारभूत तहको पठन सिपलाई सिकाइको जग मानेर पठन सिप विकासलाई मूल केन्द्रमा राख्न्पर्ने अवधारणालाई विकसित तुल्याएको हो । यसको पृष्ठभूमिलाई हेर्दा वि.सं. २०६९ पौष ४ गते शिक्षा मन्त्रालयको निर्णयबमोजिम यस कार्यक्रमलाई विद्यालय क्षेत्र सुधार कार्यक्रमको एउटा सहयोगी कार्यक्रमका रूपमा राखियो। मूलतः विद्यार्थी सिकाइमा केन्द्रित रही शिक्षाको गुणस्तर सुधार गर्ने मूल लक्ष्य तथा कक्षा १-३ सम्मका सबै विद्यार्थीहरूको पठन सिप सुधार गर्ने उद्देश्य (अधिकारी र अन्य, २०७५, पृ. ६) बमोजिम राष्ट्रिय प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमको तर्जुमा भएको देखिन्छ। यो कार्यक्रमले नेपालको बालपठन सिप विकासका लागि प्रशासिनक, शैक्षिक तथा प्रयोगात्मक आधारलाई पूर्ण संरचनाभित्र समेट्न प्रयत्न गरेको देखिन्छ । यसमा ध्वनि सचेतीकरण, लेख्य वर्ण सचेतीकरण, पठन प्रवाह, शब्दभण्डार, पठनबोध र लेखाइ सिपलाई पठन सिप विकासमा मुख्य पठनतत्त्व मानिएको छ (पूर्ववत, पृ. ५२-११३)। यी पठनतत्त्वलाई पठन सिपगत सिद्धान्त र मान्यताबमोजिम निर्क्योल गरिएको छ। निर्दिष्ट तत्त्वका आधारमा बालपठन सिपलाई व्यावहारिक, प्रयोगापेक्षी, विद्यार्थीमैत्री तथा बालमनोविज्ञानमा आधारित त्ल्याउने गरी पठन सिपका विश्वव्यापी सिद्धान्तको तर्ज्मा गरिएको देखिन्छ । अतः यो अध्ययन देहायबमोजिमको पढाइ सम्बन्धी विश्वव्यापी सिद्धान्त (राई र अन्य, २०७३, पृ. १-२) मा आधारित छ :

- पढाइ सिप विकास, विषयवस्तु र पढाइ प्रवाह विकासका लागि बालबालिकाको पहिलो भाषा/मातृभाषामा सिकाइ सहजीकरण सम्बद्ध क्रियाकलाप सञ्चालन गर्दा सिकाइ सजिलो र छिटो हुन्छ ।
- भाषिक सिपका आधारभूत पक्षहरूको विकास अपिरचित भाषाबाट असिजलो र कठिन हुन्छ ।
- २ देखि ३ वर्षपछि पहिलो भाषाका सिप अन्य भाषामा स्थानान्तरण गर्न सजिलो हुन्छ ।
- भयरिहत तथा बालमैत्री तिरकाबाट सिकाइ सहजीकरण सम्बद्ध क्रियाकलाप सञ्चालन गरिएमा बालबालिकाहरूले प्रारम्भिक तहमा नै पहिलो, दोस्रो र अन्य भाषा एकै साथ सिक्न सक्छन्।
- कम्तीमा ५ वर्षदेखि ८ वर्षसम्म मातृभाषाको माध्यमबाट शिक्षा दिन् उपयुक्त हुन्छ ।

- एकदेखि दुई वर्षको पूर्व-प्राथमिक शिक्षाले सामान्यतया कथ्य/मौखिक भाषा विकासमा सहयोग गर्दछ ।
- प्रारम्भिक कक्षाको पढाइलाई विषयकै रूपमा स्थापना गर्न सके पछिल्ला कक्षामा सिकाइ उपलब्धि हासिल गर्ने दरमा वृद्धि हुन सहयोग पुग्छ ।

उल्लिखित सिद्धान्तका साथमा प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमले तर्ज्मा गरेको आधारभूत सिद्धान्तलाई पनि यस अध्ययनको केन्द्रमा राखिएको छ। यसभित्र समतामूलक गुणस्तरीय शिक्षा, विद्यार्थी सिकाइ समयमा वृद्धि, विद्यार्थीको सिकाइ, विद्यार्थी सिकाइप्रतिको जवाफदेहिता, शिक्षकको पेसागत विकासमा निरन्तरता, कमजोर विद्यार्थीका लागि थप अभ्यास र निरन्तर विद्यार्थी सिकाइ मल्याङकन पर्दछन । यो कार्यक्रमले नीतिगत, संरचनागत तथा कार्यक्रमगत क्रियाकलाप र गतिविधिहरूलाई तर्जुमा गरी आवश्यक कार्यान्वयन, अनुगमन एवम् मुल्याङ्कनमा समन्वय (शिक्षा विभाग, २०७४, पृ. ३) गरेर नेपालमा बालपठन सिप विकासको नवीन चिन्तनलाई प्रयोगापेक्षी बनाउने अभ्यास गरेको छ। नेपालले २०७० मा यस कार्यक्रमको मुख्य दस्ताबेज बनाएर पहिलो चरणमा २०७१ देखि १६ जिल्लामा, २०७२ देखि २४ जिल्लामा र २०७४ देखि बाँकी ३५ जिल्लासम्म यो कार्यक्रमलाई लागु गर्ने (शिक्षा मन्त्रालय, २०७०, प्. ४८) भनेको भए पनि उक्त योजनाम्ताबिक कार्यक्रम सञ्चालन हुन सकेन । यसपश्चात् विद्यालय शिक्षाको पाठ्यक्रम प्रारूप २०७६ ले कक्षा १-३ मा एकीकृत पाठ्यक्रम र कक्षा ९-१२ मा एकलपथीय पाठ्यक्रम भनेर लागु गऱ्यो। अर्को प्रसङ्गमा २०७३ बाट प्रारम्भ भएको सात वर्षे विद्यालय क्षेत्र विकास योजना (२०७३-२०८०) को अवधि समाप्त भई पन्धौँ योजना (२०७६/७७-२०८०/८१) को उत्तरार्धमा पनि आधारभत तहको शिक्षाको पठन सिपगत जग निर्माणमा समस्या देखिइरहेकाले यो अध्ययनमार्फत नेपाली पठन सिपगत प्रभावकलाई केलाउन् सान्दर्भिक देखिएको हो।

#### अध्ययन विधि

प्रस्तुत अध्ययन गुणात्मक अनुसन्धान विधिअन्तर्गत समीक्षात्मक तथा व्याख्यात्मक विश्लेषणमा केन्द्रित छ। यहाँ प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमले तय गरेको विधि, प्रिक्रया र पठन सिपगत सिद्धान्तलाई नेपाली पठन सिपसँग जोडेर हेरिएको छ। अध्ययनमा मधेश प्रदेशअन्तर्गत लालबन्दी, सर्लाही स्थित नमुना मा.वि.को रूपमा रहेको एउटा सामुदायिक विद्यालयबाट कक्षा अवलोकन तथा शिक्षक अन्तर्वार्तामार्फत प्राथमिक स्रोत सामग्रीलाई उपयोग गरिएको छ। यस क्रममा कक्षा १, २ र ३ को नेपाली पठन सिपको कक्षा कार्यकलापबाट प्राप्त तथ्याङ्कलाई प्राथमिक स्रोत सामग्रीका रूपमा उपयोग गरिएको छ। यहाँ अध्यापनरत दुई जना शिक्षिकाको अन्तर्वार्तालाई पनि अध्ययनमा समेटिएको छ। यसबाहेक अवलोकन टिपोटका क्रममा अन्य थप चार जना शिक्षकको अनौपचारिक कुराकानीलाई पनि तथ्यका रूपमा समावेश गरी समीक्षा गरिएको छ। यसका साथै नेपालका पठन सिप र शैक्षिक विषय क्षेत्र सम्बद्ध रहेका सरकारी दस्ताबेज, पठन सिप सम्बद्ध अनुसन्धेय सामग्री, प्रतिवेदन, नीति र योजना तथा सन्दर्भ पुस्तक आदिलाई द्वितीयक स्रोत सामग्रीका रूपमा उपयोग गरिएको छ।

#### नतिजा र छलफल

सिकाइ मनोवैज्ञानिक विषय हो । यसमा संवेग, उमेर, चेतनाको पुस्तान्तरण, जैविक परिवेशजस्ता आन्तरिक प्रभावदेखि सिकारुले पाउने भौतिक परिवेश, समय, हावापानीसमेतको प्रभाव रहन्छ। बालबालिकाले आमाको कोखमा रहँदादेखि पाएको परिवेश र जन्मपश्चात पाएको बाह्य परिवेश द्वैले उसको सिकाइलाई प्रभाव पारेको हुन्छ । बाह्य संरचनाभित्र आर्थिक, सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक, वातावरणीय पक्ष जोडिन्छन् । युद्ध, होहल्ला, भोकमरी, गरिबी, अशान्ति, अभावगत पीडा आदिले सिकारुको सिकाइमा प्रत्यक्ष प्रभाव पारेको हुन्छ । यसर्थ दिगो विकासले सन् २०३० भित्रमा सबै ठाउँमा गरिबी र भोकमरीको अन्त्य गर्ने तथा महिला र बालबालिकाको सशक्तिकरण गर्दै लैङ्गिक समानता प्रवर्द्धन गर्ने बाचा गरेको छ (गैसस महासंघ नेपाल, २०७४, प. ११)। उक्त संरचनागत पूर्णताका नजिकमा पुगेर प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमले प्रशासनिक, शैक्षिक र पारिवारिक सह-सम्बन्धलाई जोड्ने प्रयत्न गरेको देखिन्छ। यसर्थ बालपठन सिपगत विकासमा बालकले पाएको जैविक र भौतिक द्वै प्रभावको भूमिका रहन्छ । रेनो मेयर (सन् २०१९, पृ. ६) का अन्सार नेपालले सहस्राब्दी विकास लक्ष्यअन्सार स्वास्थ्य र शिक्षामा धेरै राम्रो प्रगति त गरेको थियो तर यो सफलता क्षेत्र र सामाजिक समूहअनुसार असन्तुलित छ। यसका साथै विकासमा पछि परेका मुलुकहरू स्वास्थ्य र सरसफाइको पहुँचमा पिन धेरै पछाडि छन् । यसर्थ नेपालको दुर्गम क्षेत्रमा भएको कमजोर व्यवस्थापन तथा स्गम क्षेत्रको महङ्गीमैत्री शिक्षा र स्वास्थ्यले विकासको बहुआयामिक पक्षमा प्रभाव पारेको हुन्छ । परिणामत: महङ्गा निजी शैक्षिक संस्था र प्रभावकारी रूपमा पढाउने व्यवस्था नभएका शैक्षिक संस्थाका कारण नेपालको शिक्षामा असमानताको जग निर्माण भएको छ। यो प्रिक्रिया तल्लो तहबाटै हुनुले सिकाइ परिवेशमा समानता देखिँदैन । मन्टेस्वरी पद्धित, किन्डरगार्डेन पद्धतिलगायतका अवधारणाको अवसर पाउने पहँचवाला बालबालिका र राम्रोसँग पढाइ नै नहने विद्यालयका बालबालिकाहरूलाई एकै ठाउँमा राखेर समान गुणस्तरको अपेक्षा गर्न सिकँदैन। वास्तवमा नेपालमा सबै सिकारुले समान रूपमा सिक्ने अवसर पाएका छैनन्। त्यस्तै गरिबी र अभावका कारण आमाको स्वास्थ्य र शिशस्याहारमा पनि तीव्र असमानता छ। राष्ट्रिय योजना आयोग (२०७७) को दस्ताबेज प्रारम्भिक बालिवकास राष्ट्रिय रणनीति २०७७-२०८८ ले निक्यील गरेको ढाँचाअनुसार बालविकासका लागि पर्याप्त पोषण, संवेदनशील स्याहार, सरक्षा र संरक्षण, उत्प्रेरणा र सिकाइ तथा राम्रो स्वास्थ्यसिहतको सर्वाङ्गीण विकास (समयाविधसिहतको गर्भावस्था) आवश्यक हुन्छ । तथापि, नेपालमा सन्तुलित विकासको पहुँच विस्तार भइसकेको छैन । यसरी वृद्धि र विकासको असमान परिवेश तथा सिकाइको असमान परिवेशमा हर्केका बालबालिकाबाट समान शैक्षिक ग्णस्तरको अपेक्षा गर्न् नेपालको शैक्षिक प्रणालीभित्रको ठूलो कमजोरी हो ।

सन् २०३० सम्ममा हासिल गर्ने भिनएको लक्ष्यका सन्दर्भमा बहुआयामिक प्रभावकहरूलाई ध्यान दिनु अपरिहार्य देखिन्छ । यसर्थ नेपालमा भौगोलिक तथा सामाजिक संरचना र विविधतालाई समेत एकीकृत विकासको ढाँचामा आबद्ध गर्ने रणनीति आवश्यक छ । यस सन्दर्भमा स्थानीय तहमा प्रारम्भिक बालविकासका लागि स्रोत प्रितका (२०७५) ले प्रारम्भिक बालविकासको अवधारणालाई

प्रस्ट्याएको छ । यहाँ बताइएअन्सार प्रारम्भिक बालविकासले गर्भावस्थादेखि ८ वर्ष उमेर समूहका बालबालिकाहरूको सर्वाङ्गीण (शारीरिक, सामाजिक, संवेगात्मक, भाषिक र बौद्धिक) विकास प्रिक्रियालाई बुभाउँछ (श्रेष्ठ र दाहाल, २०७५, पृ. १) । यो दस्ताबेजले समेटेका सन्दर्भ र सिकाइ प्रिक्रयाको सम्बन्धले प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइले समेटेको प्रशासनिक, शैक्षिक तथा अभिभावकीय संरचना जसरी नै पूर्णतालाई अवलम्बन गरेको देखिन्छ। यसरी हेर्दा नेपालको सन्दर्भमा नियम निर्माण र सोको कार्यान्वयनसँगै नियमन पनि आवश्यक हुन्छ । उपभोक्ता अर्थात् सिकारुले प्रत्यक्ष अन्भूत गर्ने बहुआयामिक विषय क्षेत्रले सिकाइमा प्रभाव पार्छ । मूलतः आमाको स्वास्थ्य, बच्चाको स्वास्थ्य, पोषण, सुरक्षा र सिकाइ सम्बद्ध विषय क्षेत्रको एकीकृत सेवा वा व्यवस्थापनले समेत बालिसकाइलाई प्रभावकारी बनाउन मद्दत पुऱ्याएको हुन्छ। त्यसो त प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमको प्रभावकारितालाई नेपालको सामाजिक समस्या, आर्थिक अभाव र जनचेतनाले समेत प्रभाव पारेको देखिन्छ । वास्तवमा ग्रामीण स्तरमा अभिभावक र बालबालिकालाई एकसाथ रमाएर पढ्ने परियोजना र प्रेरणाप्रद कार्यक्रमको तर्ज्मा गर्दै साङ्गठनिक सुधार गरिन् आवश्यक हुन्छ। यसर्थ गरिबी निवारण र आधारभूत शिक्षाको विकासलाई विद्यार्थीका पक्षबाट मात्रै नभएर अभिभावकको आयस्तरको तहबाटै योजनाबद्ध त्ल्याइन् विकासोन्मुख म्लुकको आवश्यकता हो (भट्टराई, सन् २०२१, पृ. १४३)। यसका लागि राजनैतिक सन्दर्भमा नेपालमा विकेन्द्रीकृत सत्ताको संरचना विकसित भइसकेका कारण यसभित्रका समस्या समाधानका लागि स्थानीयकरण, जनजागरण र प्रभावकारी सहभागिता आवश्यक देखिन्छ।

उल्लिखित सन्दर्भ, विषय क्षेत्र र विश्लेषणका आधारमा आधारभूत तह (कक्षा १-३) मा नेपाली पठन सिपका प्रभावकहरूलाई जैविक तथा मनोवैज्ञानिक प्रभाव र बाह्य परिवेशगत प्रभावका आधारमा निक्योंल गर्न् सान्दर्भिक देखिन्छ :

## जैविक तथा मनोवैज्ञानिक अर्थात् आन्तरिक प्रभाव

भाषा सिकाइमा पठनबोधको अर्थ लेखिएका कुरालाई पढेर बुभने प्रिक्रिया भन्ने हुन्छ। बुभाइको सन्दर्भले विशेषतः मनोवैज्ञानिक पक्षलाई समेट्छ। यसरी हेर्दा बालमनोविज्ञानलाई बालकको जैविक संरचना र परिवेशले पनि प्रभाव पार्छ। स्वस्थ र स्वच्छ परिवेशमा जन्मेहुर्केको बालबच्चा अर्थात् जन्मपूर्व र जन्मपश्चात् उसले पाएको प्राकृतिक, पारिवारिक र सामाजिक परिवेशले बालकको सिकाइ मनोविज्ञानमा प्रभाव पार्छ। बालसिकाइको गुणस्तरमा बालस्वास्थ्य पनि एक आधार हो। बालसिकाइको जगका रूपमा रहेको पठनबोध हुन शब्दपिहचानको खाँचो पर्छ। यसका लागि विसङ्केतन आवश्यक हुन्छ र बोधका लागि पठनबोध आवश्यक हुन्छ। यसर्थ बोधसिहतको द्रुतपठन क्षमता अर्थात् सिपयुक्त पढाइ (खनाल, सन् २०१७) ले विद्यार्थी सिकाइलाई सबल बनाउँछ। वास्तवमा सकारात्मक बाह्य परिवेशले विद्यार्थी सिकाइलाई सबल बनाउने विषयहरू मापनीय र दृश्यात्मक अर्थात् प्रत्यक्षीकरण गर्न लायक हुन्छन्। जैविक तथा मनोवैज्ञानिक पक्षले बालबालिकाको सिकाइमा पार्ने प्रभावहरू दृश्यात्मक र प्रत्यक्ष देखिने प्रकृतिका हुँदैनन्। बाह्य वातावरणमा पनि बालबालिकाले सोच्ने, स्मरण गर्ने, सिकाइमा रुचि राख्ने, लगनशील हुने वा नहुने भन्ने विषयहरू

मनोवैज्ञानिक परिवेशमा आधारित हुन्छ । यसर्थ विद्यार्थीको मन र उसले पाएको समाजले बाह्य र आन्तिरिक दुवै रूपमा प्रभाव पारेको हुन्छ । यस सन्दर्भलाई सन् २०११ मा मनोवेत्ताहरूको राष्ट्रिय संघ (NASP) ले विद्यार्थीमा बहुतहगत समस्या अर्थात् प्राज्ञिक, व्यावहारिक, सामाजिक, संवेगात्मक आवश्यकता पहिचान गर्ने र मद्दत गर्ने ढाँचालाई सुभाएका छन् । यसका साथै उनीहरूले बहुआयामिक पृष्ठभूमिबाट आएका विद्यार्थीहरूलाई सिकाइका लागि समतामूलक अवसरहरू प्रदान गर्नुपर्ने तर्क पेस गरेका छन् (टोम्किन्सन, सन् २०१६) । यसर्थ बालसंवेगात्मक पक्षलाई उसको जैविक अवस्थासँग जोड्नुपर्ने देखिन्छ । यस कुरालाई नेपालका सबै विद्यालयले समान तवरमा समेटेको पाइँदैन ।

बालिसकाइ परिवेश, समग्र पारिवारिक स्वस्थता, समाजले भन्ने र प्रदान गर्ने भाषाशैली, चिन्तन आदिबाट बालमनोविज्ञानमा प्रभाव पर्छ। बालिसकाइको जग निर्माणमा विद्यालयको परिवेश र व्यवहार पिन एउटा मुख्य कारक हो। बालबालिकाको सिकाइमा उनीहरूको गरिबी, बाध्यता, स्वस्थता, उसप्रति विद्यालयभित्र र बाहिरको समाजले हेर्ने सङ्कीर्ण र नकारात्मक दृष्टिकोणसिहतको भाषाले समेत प्रभाव पार्छ। यी बहुआयामगत समस्याका सन्दर्भमा ग्रामीण भेगको शिक्षा सबैभन्दा बढी प्रभावित देखिन्छ:

#### विद्यालयीय घटना १

(कक्षा १, २ र ३ का विद्यार्थीहरूलाई शिक्षिकाहरूद्वारा विद्यालयको खेलमैदानमा राखेर शारीरिक व्यायाम गराइने ऋममा शिक्षकहरूबिचमा कुराकानी भयो। उक्त कुराका सन्दर्भमा नम्ना विद्यालयमा विद्यार्थीको चाप राम्रै रहेको प्रसङ्ग चलेको थियो।)

शिक्षक १ : सामुदायिक विद्यालयमा धनीमानीका विद्यार्थी पह्न आउने होइनन् । सरकारीमा पढाउँदा पछि छात्रवृत्ति पाइएला भन्ने चाहना हुन्छ ।

शिक्षक २ : यहाँ जित धेरै विद्यार्थीको चाप भए पिन टेक्निकल विषयको लोभले यहाँ विद्यार्थी भर्ना हुन्छन् ।

## विद्यालयीय घटना २

(एक जना विद्यार्थी बेहोस भएर ढलिछन् । त्यहाँ यस कुरालाई खासै ठूलो विषयका रूपमा लिइएन किनभने पन्ध्र सय हाराहारीमा विद्यार्थीहरू भएका कारण उहाँहरूले यस्ता घटनालाई दोहोरिरहने प्रक्रिया मानेको बृभियो ।)

शिक्षक ३ : हैन यी विद्यार्थीहरूले डाइटिङ गर्छन् कि क्या हो । यो (बेहोस हुने विद्यार्थीलाई सङ्केत गर्दै) त हिजो पनि ढलेकी थिई ।

शिक्षक ४ : हाम्रो विद्यालयमा कमसेकम एक जना नर्स चाहिन्छ भनेर नगरपालिकालाई

अनुरोध गरेको त हो । खाली राजनीति मात्रै हुन्छ । केटाकेटी दिनदिनै बिरामी हुन्छन् । गाह्रो छ, स्कूल चलाउनलाई । (अवलोकन/क्राकानी टिपोट : २०८०/०३/२४)

माथि प्रस्तुत सूक्ष्म विचारहरूले बालिसकाइमा बहुआयामिक समस्यालाई इङ्गित गरेको देखिन्छ । शिक्षक १ ले समाजका विपन्न विद्यार्थीको बाध्यतालाई उजागर गरे । यसमा उनले नेपाली समाजमा धनी र गरिबका लागि पढ्ने विद्यालय फरक भइरहेको अघोषित सन्दर्भलाई सङ्केत गरे । शिक्षक २ ले समाजमनोविज्ञानलाई प्रस्तुत गरे भने शिक्षक ३ ले व्यक्तिमनोविज्ञानका रूपमा बेहोस हुने विद्यार्थीको बाध्यतालाई नसोचेरै आफ्नो किल्पत मनोविज्ञानलाई जोडे । शिक्षक ४ ले राजनीतिका कारण बालस्वास्थ्यमा समस्या भई शिक्षण सिकाइ प्रभावित भइरहेको प्रसङ्ग जोडे । यी विषयमा व्यक्तिगत चिन्तन, पारिवारिक अवस्था र स्वास्थ्य, समाजको परिवेश र चाहनाले प्रभाव पारेको देखिन्छ । यसर्थ जैविक आवश्यकता परिपूर्ति नगरीकन शैक्षिक गुणस्तरको अपेक्षा गर्न सिकँदैन । जैविक आवश्यकताभित्र पर्ने मानवीय आवश्यकतालाई भौतिक, सामाजिक, आर्थिक र राजनीतिक कोणबाटसमेत ख्याल गरिनुपर्छ ।

विद्यार्थीका बहुआयामिक समस्यालाई सम्बोधन गर्ने उद्देश्यले राष्ट्रिय प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमले पढाइ सिप सुधारका लागि प्रारम्भिक बालिशक्षा तथा बालिवकासलाई जोड्ने प्रयास गरेको देखिन्छ । बालबालिकाको सिकाइ सुधारका लागि अभिभावक तथा समुदायसँग सहकार्य गर्ने र तिनको पठन सिप विकासलाई सिकाइको जगका रूपमा प्रवर्द्धन गर्ने अभिप्रायले अभिभावक र समुदायको भूमिका, कक्षाकोठाबाहिर शिक्षकको भूमिका, सामाजिक तथा सामुदायिक परिचालन र पढाइमा पारिवारिक वा घरायसी परिवेश (अधिकारी र अन्य, २०७४, पृ. १४४-१५९) आदिलाई समावेश गरिएको छ । यसर्थ प्रारम्भिक कक्षामा सिकाइको जगको रूपमा पठन सिपलाई विकास गर्नका लागि प्रारम्भिक बालिवकासका आयामहरूलाई एकसाथ समावेश गर्न् सान्दर्भिक देखिन्छ ।

#### बालमस्तिष्कीय अवस्था र पठन सिप

टोम्किन्सन (सन् २०१६) ले प्रारम्भिक पठन सिप विकासका सन्दर्भमा बालमस्तिष्कको संरचना र भाषा सिकाइको सन्दर्भलाई एकसाथ जोड्नुपर्ने मान्यता अघि सारे। मस्तिष्कको देब्रे भाग बोली, भाषा प्रिक्रया र पठनसँग सम्बन्धित छ। देब्रे मस्तिष्कको अगाडिको भागले बोली, संवेग नियन्त्रण, तर्कशीलता, चेतना र योजनालाई नियन्त्रण गर्छ। पेराइटल लोब (Parietal lobe) ले बोल्ने र लेख्ने भाषालाई जोड्ने काम गर्छ। टेम्पोरल लोब (Temporal lobe) शाब्दिक स्मरणसँग सम्बन्धित हुन्छ र वर्णको पहिचानको कार्य ओक्सिपटल लोब (Occipital lobe) ले गर्छ। त्यसकारण वर्ण र ध्विन शिक्षणचाहिँ बच्चाको मस्तिष्कको स्नायु प्रणालीसँग सम्बन्धित हुन्छ। यसरी हेर्दा एउटा व्यक्तिले पढ्ने क्रममा उसको दिमागको अगाडि पट्टिको र पछाडि पट्टिको दुईटा भागमा हुने गतिविधिले प्रभाव पार्छ। यसको अर्थ बालसिकाइमा उसको जैविकीय संरचनाको प्रत्यक्ष प्रभाव रहन्छ। उनका अनुसार ब्रोकाज एरिया (Broca's Area), पेराइटल टेम्पोरल लोब (Parietal-Temporal lobe) र ओक्सिपटल टेम्पोरल एरिया (Occipital-Temporal Area) हरू मस्तिष्कको पछाडिपट्टि हन्छन्। ब्रोकाज एरिया

(Broca's Area) ले भाषा र बोली तथा व्याकरण र वाक्यगठनलाई सङ्गठित तुल्याई भाषा उत्पादन र परिचालन गर्छ। मूलतः मस्तिष्कको दायाँ भाग भाषाको प्रिक्रयासँग सम्बन्धित हुन्छ। उनीहरूले आफ्नो शब्दको भण्डारलाईचाहिँ ओक्सिपिटल टेम्पोरल एरिया (Occipital-Temporal Area) मा राखेका हुन्छन्। यो क्षेत्र स्वचालित हुन्छ त्यसकारण शब्दहरूलाई पह्न सिकन्छ। उनका अनुसार राम्रो पह्ने विद्यार्थीको मस्तिष्क सिक्रय हुने हुनाले उनीहरूले वर्णहरूलाई एकदमै ठीक ढङ्गले पहिचान र विश्लेषण गर्न सक्छन्।

मस्तिष्क विकास र सिकाइ गुणस्तरसँगको सम्बन्धलाई बालस्वास्थ्य सुधार तथा अभिभावकीय दायित्वमा समेत जोड्नु सान्दर्भिक देखिन्छ। प्रारम्भिक बालविकास तथा अभिभावकको भूमिका (२०७९) को दस्ताबेजले पनि मस्तिष्क संरचना र सिकाइको सान्दर्भिकतालाई जोडेको देखिन्छ:

पिंहलो दुई वर्षमा बालबालिकाहरूको मिस्तिष्कका स्नायुहरूको विकास ८० प्रतिशत हुन्छ भने ५ वर्षमा ९० प्रतिशत विकास हुन्छ । अध्ययनअनुसार ६ वर्षमा उनीहरूको मिस्तिष्कको तौल वयस्कभन्दा ९५ प्रतिशतले वृद्धि भएको हुन्छ । पोषणहरूले मिस्तिष्कका स्नायुहरूलाई वृद्धि गराउन सहयोग गर्छन् । इन्द्रियहरूमार्फत प्राप्त अनुभव र अवसरहरूले स्नायुहरूलाई उत्प्रेरित गरी मिस्तिष्कमा सञ्जालहरू तयार गर्छन् । यो क्रम उमेरअनुसार बढ्दै जाने हुनाले यी सञ्जाल बनेका कोषहरूले मात्रै जीवनभर काम गर्छन् । करिब २० देखि ८० प्रतिशत कोषहरू उत्प्रेरणा नपाएर मर्दै जान्छन् । यसर्थ सानो उमेरमा अनुभव नगरेका वा अवसर नपाएका तथा कम अनुभव गरेका कुरामा ठूलो हुँदा पिन कमजोर हुने सम्भावना बढी हुन्छ ।

(शिक्षा तथा मानव स्रोत विकास केन्द्र, २०७९, पृ. १२-१३)

यी तथ्यअनुसार सन्तुलित साक्षरता र पठनबोध दक्षताको गुणस्तर अभिवृद्धिका लागि बालस्वास्थ्य, बालसुरक्षा र अवसरले जैविकीय प्रभाव पार्ने देखिन्छ । बाल्यावस्थामा विकास हुने मिस्तिष्क नै सिङ्गो जीवनको आधार बन्ने भएकाले यो समयमा बालबालिकालाई पोषणयुक्त खाना, स्वास्थ्य, सरसफाइ, अन्तरिक्रयात्मक वातावरण तथा वात्सल्यमय व्यवहारजस्ता तत्त्वहरूको आवश्यकता पर्दछ । बालबालिकाको यो उमेर जीवन विकासको पूर्वाधार र भविष्यको शैक्षिक सफलताको आधार हो (श्रेष्ठ र अन्य, २०७६, पृ. १) । भाषा सिकाइमा पिन प्रारम्भिक बालविकासको चरणमा भाषिक क्षमता तीव्र रूपमा विकसित हुन्छ । उनीहरूले यस उमेरमा बोल्ने, सुन्ने र विभिन्न चित्र तथा सङ्केत हेर्ने अवसर पाए भने २ देखि ६ वर्षको उमेरसम्ममा २,००० देखि १०,००० शब्दभण्डार बढाउन सक्छन् । सिक्रय बालबालिकाले हप्तामा १० देखि २० ओटा शब्द सिक्न सक्छन् (शिक्षा तथा मानव स्रोत विकास केन्द्र, २०७९, पृ. १४) । यसर्थ बालपठन सिप विकास र बालकको मिस्तिष्कीय विकासिबचमा सह-सम्बन्ध रहन्छ ।

स्नायु विज्ञान सम्बन्धी अनुसन्धानहरूले जीवनको सुरुवाती वर्षमा बालमस्तिष्कको विकास तीब्र हुने हुँदा वृद्धि र विकासको प्रारम्भिक बाल्यावस्था बढी महत्त्वपूर्ण हुने तर्क पेस गरेका छन्। युनिसेफ (२०१६) ले प्रकाशित गरेको प्रतिवेदनअनुसार तीन वर्षको उमेरमा एउटा शिशुको मस्तिष्क वयस्कको मस्तिष्कभन्दा दुई गुणा बढी क्रियाशील हुन्छ भने न्युरोनहरूले ७०० देखि १००० प्रति सेकेन्डका दरमा नयाँ सम्पर्क स्थापित गरिरहेका हुन्छन् । यसले बालबालिकाको शारीरिक र मानसिक स्वास्थ्य, उनीहरूको जीवनभरिको सिकाइ र परिवर्तन अनुकूल हुने क्षमताका साथै मनोवैज्ञानिक प्रतिरोध क्षमता निर्धारण गर्दछ (राष्ट्रिय योजना आयोग, २०७७, पृ. २) । यसर्थ प्रारम्भिक बालशिक्षा र प्रारम्भिक बालविकास नितान्त जैविकीय संरचनाभित्र समावेश हुन्छन् । विशेषतः जीविवकासको क्रम, जन्मपूर्वको अवस्थाले बालस्वास्थ्यमा पार्ने असर तथा जन्मपश्चात् उसले पाउने सबैखाले स्वस्थताको वातावरण तथा सिकाइ वातावरणका आधारमा शैक्षिक गुणस्तर निर्धारण गर्न सकिन्छ । फलतः आधारभूत तहमा पठनबोध क्षमता विकास गर्नका लागि प्रारम्भिक स्वस्थता र समाज पनि एउटा प्रमुख कारक बनेको हुन्छ ।

मानिसको बौद्धिक विकासको तहलाई उसको समुदायगत उद्विकाससँग जोडेर हेर्न सिकन्छ । रिचार्ड डिकन्स (सन् २०१०) ले आफ्नो प्स्तक द ग्रेटेस्ट सो अन अर्थ : द एभिडेन्स फर इभोल्सनमा बताएअनुसार पृथ्वीमा मानिसको उत्पत्ति क्नै आश्चर्यजनक घटना वा अलौकिक शक्तिले नभई जीवविकासको चरणमा हासिल भएको अवस्था हो। यहाँ वंशाण्को रासायनिक संरचनाले जीव विकासमा प्रभाव पारेको उनको तर्क छ। यसरी हेर्दा मानिसको समुदायगत चेतना पनि उसको पुर्ख्यौली वंशज र तिनले गर्ने गरेको व्यवहारबाट अनुसरित भएको हुन्छ भन्न सिकन्छ । डार्विनद्वारा प्रस्त्त जीववैज्ञानिक सन्दर्भअन्सार प्रजातिहरू सधैं स्थिर नभएर फेरिइरहने प्रसङ्गमा डिकन्सले पनि समर्थन जनाएका छन्। यसकारण मानव मस्तिष्कको विकासमा उसका पूर्वजहरूको क्रियाकलाप, पेसा, आनीबानी, वंशज गुणदेखि ल्प्त गुणसम्मको प्रभुत्व रहन सक्ने देखिन्छ। परिणामतः बालसिकाइमा समुदायगत प्रभुत्व वा प्रभाव रहनु स्वाभाविक देखिन पुग्छ। अर्कोतर्फ कमजोर देखिएका सम्दायभित्र पनि अब्बल बालबालिका हुन्मा केही ल्प्त गुण वा बाह्य ज्ञानको सङ्गठित संरचनागत प्रभुत्व रहेको मान्न सिकन्छ। किनभने, हरेक बालकले अग्रजबाट सिक्न सक्नुको अर्थ समाजबाट सिक्नु हो। यस विपरीत हरेक शिक्षित परिवारका बालबालिका अब्बल नै हुन्छन् भन्न पनि सिकन्न । खाली चेतना र ज्ञानको तहगत विकासमा चाहिँ उसको अग्रज पुस्तागत प्रभाव रहने तर्क पेस गर्न सिकन्छ तथापि यो प्रभावलाई ठोस अङ्कमा देखाउन सिकन्न । यी सबै सन्दर्भलाई बालिसकाइसँग जोडेर हेर्दा बालकले पाउने अवसर, उसको समाज र परिवारले पाएको अवसर तथा उसको पर्खाले पाएको अवसरिबचको ऋमिकताले पनि उसको चेतनास्तर र सिकाइ क्षमतागत उद्विकासमा प्रभाव पार्न सक्ने क्रालाई स्वीकार गर्न सिकन्छ।

## बाह्य परिवेशगत प्रभाव

आधारभूत तह (कक्षा १-३) का विद्यार्थीहरूको मनोविज्ञान, रुचि र चाहनालाई ध्यानमा राखेर सिकाइ सहजीकरणका लागि तय गर्नुपर्ने प्रभावगत आधारलाई यस उप-शीर्षकभित्र समेट्न सिकन्छ। घरपरिवार र समाजको वातावरण, भौगोलिक दूरता, सञ्चार र सञ्जालको सामीप्यता, संस्कृतिगत प्रभाव आदिलाई अनौपचारिक सिकाइको वातावरण मान्न सिकन्छ। विद्यालयीय वातावरण

औपचारिक तथा मूल आधार हो। बालपठन सिप शिक्षण सिकाइलाई अक्षर चिनारी, गीती लयको परिवेश, विद्यार्थीमैत्री सिकाइ वातावरण, कक्षाकोठा व्यवस्थापन, शिक्षकको शिक्षण कौशल, पाठ्यपुस्तकलगायतका शैक्षिक सामग्रीको उपयुक्तता र पर्याप्तता आदिले बालपठन सिपमा प्रभाव पारेको हुन्छ। टोम्किन्सन (सन् २०१६) का अनुसार सन्तुलित साक्षरता कार्यक्रमलाई कक्षा ३ मा सफल रूपमा प्रयोग गर्नका लागि ध्विन शिक्षण, निर्देशित पठन, सस्वर पठन, सहपठन, अन्तिर्क्रयात्मक लेखन र अन्य अवधारणालाई अपनाउनुपर्छ। यसका लागि पठन पाठ्यक्रम आवश्यक हुन्छ। यसले सिप शिक्षण र समग्र साक्षरता विकासको अवसरलाई सन्तुलनमा राख्छ। अतः यहाँ प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमले निर्देश गरेका ६ ओटा तत्त्वभित्र रहेर निक्योंल गरिएका विषयलाई बाह्य परिवेशगत प्रभाव मान्नु सान्दर्भिक देखिन्छ। सिकाइ वातावरण निर्माण गर्न आवश्यक पर्ने भौतिक, शैक्षिक र प्रशासनिक व्यवस्थापनका क्षेत्रहरू बाह्य परिवेशगत प्रभावअन्तर्गत पर्दछन् किनभने यी सबै प्रक्रियालाई मानिसले चाहेका खण्डमा योजनाबद्ध रूपमा व्यवस्थापन गर्न सम्भव हुन्छ।

## विद्यालयीय अर्थात् औपचारिक परिवेश

प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमले आधारभूत तहका बालबालिकामा पठन सिपको प्रभावकारी विकासका निम्ति विद्यालयीय परिवेशलाई प्रभावकारी तुल्याउने प्रयत्न गरेको देखिन्छ। यसभित्र कक्षाकोठाको भौतिक, शैक्षणिक व्यवस्थापन, सिकाइ वातावरण निर्माण, शिक्षणमा विविधता व्यवस्थापन, कक्षा पुस्तकालय व्यवस्थापनदेखि शिक्षण विधिको छनोट, क्रमिक सिकाइ प्रक्रिया, शैक्षणिक सन्दर्भ सामग्री (अतिरिक्त सामग्री) को उपयोगजस्ता शिक्षणीय सन्दर्भलाई समावेश गरिन्छ। पठन सिपका क्षेत्रमा विशेषतः विद्यार्थीले विद्यालयभित्र पाउनुपर्ने वातावरण मुख्य प्रभावक हो। यस सन्दर्भमा बालमनोवैज्ञानिक ज्ञान हासिल गर्नुपर्ने भएकाले प्रभावकारी शिक्षणको विधि र प्रक्रिया, नवीन प्रविधिको उपयोग, उपयुक्त विषय क्षेत्रको छनोट गरी अध्यापन गर्ने सन्दर्भमा तालिमप्राप्त शिक्षकको आवश्यकता अपरिहार्य हुन्छ। यसभित्रका प्रभावकहरूलाई पनि तीन आधारमा तय गर्न् सान्दर्भक देखिन्छ:

#### • प्रशासनिक परिवेश

बालिसकाइ प्रभावकारी बनाउनका लागि शिक्षक र विद्यार्थी दुवैलाई प्रशासिनक सहयोग आवश्यक हुन्छ । असल शिक्षक र असल विद्यार्थीको परिवेश निर्माण गर्न असल प्रशासिनक व्यवहारकुशल परिवेश चाहिन्छ । विद्यालयभित्र रहँदा शिक्षकलाई प्रशासिनक क्षेत्रबाट चाहिएका शैक्षिक सामग्री उपलब्ध गराइनु आवश्यक हुन्छ । पढाइ सिप विकासमा छओटा तत्त्वलाई प्रभावकारी कार्यान्वयन गरी प्रभावकारी शिक्षण गर्न आवश्यक पाठ्यक्रम, अभ्यास पुस्तिका, शिक्षक मार्गदर्शन, अन्य सहायक पाठ्यसामग्री, सन्दर्भ सामग्री आदिको व्यवस्थापन गर्नुपर्दछ । सिकाइ सहजीकरणका लागि शिक्षकले बालमैत्री, समावेशी तथा प्रभावकारी वातावरणको तर्जुमा गरी छापामय कक्षा निर्माण गर्नुपर्ने हुन्छ । कक्षाकोठाभित्रको शैक्षिक, भौतिक, मानवीय स्रोत, सामग्री, सिकारको

बसाइलगायतको व्यवस्थापनमा समय, स्रोतसाधन, सिकारुको व्यवहार आदिको व्यवस्थापन आवश्यक पर्दछ (शिक्षा विभाग, २०७४, पृ. ७)। यसर्थ शिक्षकलाई तालिम दिने, प्रभावकारी शिक्षणका लागि वातावरण तय गरिदिने, अतिरिक्त सामग्रीसहित आवश्यक प्रबन्ध मिलाइदिने काम प्रशासनिक दायित्वभित्र पर्छ । यसका साथै अभिभावक र विद्यार्थीविचको समन्वयकारी भूमिकामा, सम्दायसँग सहकार्य गर्ने सन्दर्भमा, पठनसंस्कृति विकासार्थ जनचेतना विकास गराउने सवालमा समेत प्रशासनिक सहायता चाहिन्छ। यस सन्दर्भमा शिक्षा मन्त्रालय (२०७०) ले निर्देश गरेको दस्ताबेज अन्रूप पाठ्यक्रम विकास केन्द्रले पाठ्यक्रम व्यवस्थापन गर्ने, शैक्षिक जनशक्ति विकास केन्द्रले शिक्षकको पेसागत विकासमा जोड दिनेदेखि शैक्षिक गुणस्तर परीक्षण केन्द्र, शिक्षा विभाग, शिक्षा मन्त्रालय (नीति निर्धारणार्थ) सम्मको समन्वय हुनु आवश्यक हुन्छ । पठन संस्कृति विकासार्थ विद्यालयमा प्रत्यक्ष उपयोग गर्न सिकने सहज समन्वयका लागि राष्ट्रिय भूमिका, जिल्लागत भूमिका तथा स्थानीय भूमिकाको समन्वय हुन्पर्छ । यसमा वित्तीय व्यवस्थापन, शैक्षणिक प्रक्रिया व्यवस्थापन, अन्गमन, तालिम, मूल्याङ्कन, अन्सन्धान, समीक्षा, स्धार, नियमितताजस्ता बह्ल विषय समावेश हुन्छन् । नेपालमा प्रारम्भिक तहको पठन सिप विकासार्थ शैक्षणिक ढाँचा तथा सामग्री विकास, सामुदायिक विकास र सहयोग, शिक्षकको पेसागत विकास र शैक्षणिक सहयोग, विद्यार्थी मुल्याङ्कन; अन्सन्धान, अन्गमन र मूल्याङ्कन तथा क्षमता विकाससम्मको समन्वयात्मक निरन्तरता आवश्यक देखिन्छ ।

#### • भौतिक परिवेश

हाम्रो देशको भूगोलको संरचनाअनुसार हिमाल, पहाड र तराईमा एकैनास शिक्षण परिवेश छैन । भूगोलअनुसार कक्षाकोठाको बसाइ व्यवस्थापन असमान छ । पहाडी क्षेत्रमा टाढासम्म हिँडेर विद्यालय जानुपर्ने बाध्यता छन् । विद्यार्थीहरूको शिक्षाको पहुँच र राज्यको लगानीबिचमा अनुसन्धानात्मक निकास पिन देखिँदैन । यसर्थ भौगोलिक अवस्थाका आधारमा विद्यार्थीहरूलाई पढाइ कार्यक्रमको ढाँचा तर्जुमा गर्नुपर्ने देखिन्छ । घुम्ती विद्यालय, घुम्ती वाचनालय, पठन अभियान (रिडिड क्याम्पेन) जस्ता नवीन अवधारणालाई अभियानका रूपमा ग्रामीण क्षेत्रसम्म पुऱ्याउनुपर्ने देखिन्छ ।

भौतिक व्यवस्थापनिभन्न कक्षाकोठाको व्यवस्थापन समावेश हुन्छ । प्रभावकारी कक्षाकोठा व्यवस्थापनार्थ विद्यालयको भौतिक वातावरण पनि उत्तिकै प्रभावकारी हुनुपर्छ । सिकाइ सहजीकरण कियाकलापलाई बढी उपयोगी, समावेशी, लैङ्गिक परिवेशमैत्री तथा प्रभावकारी बनाउन कक्षाकोठाको उचित व्यवस्थापन आवश्यक हुन्छ । पढाइ सिप सम्बद्ध कियाकलापलाई निश्चित परिधिभित्र सीमित नगरी स्तरअनुकूलको पढाइका अवसर प्रदान गर्दे पुस्तकालय एवम् पुस्तक कुनासम्मको कार्यमा विविध सामग्रीको उपलब्धता आवश्यक हुन्छ (राई र अन्य, २०७३, पृ. ३८) । यी सबै व्यवस्थापकीय आधारका लागि उपयुक्त भौतिक व्यवस्थापनअन्तर्गत बसाइ व्यवस्थापन, हावा प्रवाह, भोला राख्ने स्थान, पढन र लेख्नका लागि डेक्सबेन्चको व्यवस्थापन, शौचालय,

कक्षाकोठाको सरसफाइ, खेलमैदान, श्रव्य-दृश्य-पाठ्य सामग्रीको उपलब्धता र प्रयोग, जाडो वा गर्मीको अवस्था अनुकूलको व्यवस्थापन आदि बहुल विषयमा ध्यान पुऱ्याउनु आवश्यक हुन्छ । यी मिसनाजस्ता देखिएका विषयमा ध्यान नपुऱ्याइकन प्रभावकारी बालपठनको अपेक्षा गर्न सिकँदैन । भौतिक परिवेशले शिक्षकलाई पढाउन उत्साह जगाउने अनि विद्यार्थीलाई पढ्न उत्साहित तुल्याउने हुनाले सम्पूर्ण भौतिक सामग्रीको व्यवस्थापनले मात्रै शैक्षिक वातावरण निर्माण सम्भव हुन्छ ।

## • शैक्षिक परिवेश

## (क) शिक्षकको भूमिका

बालपठन सिप विकासमा शैक्षिक परिवेश निर्माणार्थ प्रशासनिक तथा भौतिक परिवेश पिन समावेश हुन्छ । त्यसैले सिकाइका लागि शैक्षिक परिवेश नै मुख्य परिवेश हो । बालबालिकाका लागि शिक्षक नै सबैथोक हो । कष्टमाइज्ड पुनर्ताजगी तालिम (२०७६) मा बताइएअनुसार गतिशील समय अनुरूप शिक्षण सिकाइमा आइरहेका शिक्षण विधि, नवीनतम प्रविधि, उपाय एवम् तरिका अनुरूप शिक्षण गर्ने दायित्व शिक्षकको हो । प्रारम्भिक तहमा पढाइ सिपको विकासले विद्यार्थीको समग्र सिकाइ उपलब्धिमा प्रभाव पार्ने कुरा प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ सिप परीक्षण प्रतिवेदन (२०१४) लगायतका विभिन्न अध्ययनहरूले देखाएका छन् (पृ. ३) । वस्तुतः बालपठन सिप विकासमा शैक्षणिक गतिविधिसँग जोडिने शिक्षण प्रक्रिया, विद्यार्थी सहभागिता, क्रमिक सिकाइ प्रक्रिया, मातृभाषिक वातावरण निर्माण, निरन्तर मूल्याङ्कन प्रक्रिया, निराकरणात्मक तथा निदानात्मक मूल्याङ्कन प्रक्रिया, पृष्ठपोषण तथा पुनर्बल आदिले पठन सिपलाई प्रभाव पारेको हुन्छ । एउटै विद्यालयमा समान रूपमा प्रशासनिक तथा भौतिक परिवेश भए पिन शैक्षिक परिवेश व्यवस्थित भएन भने बालपठन सिप विकासलाई प्रभावकारी बनाउन सिकैंदैन ।

बालबालिका चुलबुले हुन्छन् । उनीहरूमा एउटा छुट्टै चञ्चलपना हुन्छ । यस विषयमा शिक्षकले तिनलाई दबाउने भन्दा सिक्रय तुल्याउने तरिका खोज्नुपर्छ । यहाँ कक्षा एकमा भएको एउटा घटनालाई हेरौँ :

(शिक्षिकाद्वारा विद्यार्थीलाई वर्ण चिनारीको अभ्यास गराइने क्रम थियो । सबैलाई पुस्तक निकाल्न लगाइयो । विद्यार्थीहरूले चित्र हेर्दै थिए । कक्षामा भएका २७ जना विद्यार्थीमध्ये ३ जनाचाहिँ निदाइरहेका थिए । बाँकीचाहिँ कक्षामा विभिन्न धुनमा देखिन्थे ।)

शिक्षिका : कित जनाले ऐना हेर्न्भएको छ ?

विद्यार्थी 9 : (हात उठाएर) मेम, मेम मैले ऐना देखेको छु।

(शिक्षिकाद्वारा 'ठ' वर्ण चिनाउने अभ्यास गराइँदै थियो । कतिपय विद्यार्थीहरू साथीसँग चिलरहेका थिए । अनि, पोल सुनाउन सुरु भयो ।)

विद्यार्थी २: मेम मलाई राजुले हान्यो।....

विद्यार्थी ३ : 'मेम मेरा पेन्सिल ना है ।' (मेरो पेन्सिल छैन अर्थात् हरायो ।)

विद्यार्थी ४ : मेम मे आइ ड्रिङ्क वाटर ? (के म पानी पिउन सक्छु ?)

शिक्षिका : ल, सबैले दराज 'द' हेर त।

विद्यार्थी ४ : (दुई हात जोडेर नमस्कारको भावमा) मेम, मे आई गो टु ट्वाइलेट ? (के म शौचालय जान सक्छ ?)

विद्यार्थी ६ : मेम, आसिकले होमवर्क गरेको छैन ।

विद्यार्थी ७ : मेम, मेरो पेन्सिल हरायो ।

शिक्षिका : ए, आरतीको पेन्सिल कोसँग छ ? हात उठाऊ त ।.... भन त ।....

विद्यार्थी ८ : मेम, मैले त लगेको छैन ।

विद्यार्थी ९ : मेम, आसिकले लगेजस्तो लाग्यो । (कक्षा अवलोकन : २०८०/०३/२०)

कक्षाकोठामा बहुआयामिक समस्या हुन्छन् । यसर्थ पठन सिप विकासमा शिक्षक /शिक्षिकाको भूमिका सबैभन्दा बढी हुन्छ । बालबालिकाहरू चञ्चले हुनु उनीहरूको स्वभाव हो । यो चञ्चलपनलाई दबाएर भन्दा त्यसमै सिक्रयता थपेर सिकाइलाई अघि बढाउनु बढी प्रभावकारी हुन सक्छ । विद्यार्थीका दैनिक क्रियाकलापमा शिक्षकको भूमिका प्रमुख रहन्छ ।

बालबालिकालाई सिकाउने शिक्षकलाई अद्यावधिक, भाषामैत्री, बालमैत्री सिपगत ज्ञानले भिरपूर्ण तुल्याउनु अत्यावश्यक हुन्छ । अर्को सन्दर्भमा कमसेकम आधारभूत तहअन्तर्गत कक्षा ३ सम्मका बालबालिकालाई पुरुष शिक्षकले भन्दा महिला शिक्षिकाले नै पढाउनु बढी व्यावहारिक देखियो । कक्षा अवलोकनका सन्दर्भमा शिक्षिकाहरूसँग विद्यार्थी घुलमिल हुने, उहाँहरूको मायालु स्वभावमा रमाउने र बढी भुम्मिने गरेको पाइयो । यसर्थ बालबालिका भर्खरै आमाको काखबाट विद्यालयमा आउने हुनाले उनीहरूले पुरुष शिक्षकसँग भन्दा बढी महिला शिक्षिकालाई रुचाउने मनोविज्ञानलाई निक्योंल गर्न सिकन्छ ।

## (ख) भाषिक पृष्ठभूमिको पहिचान र प्रयोग

पठन सिपगत आधारलाई भाषागत पृष्ठभूमिले प्रभाव पारेको हुन्छ । शिक्षकले नेपालको बहुभाषिक परिवेशका मिश्रित भाषाभाषीलाई भाषा कुना निर्माण गरेर शिक्षण गर्नुपर्ने हुन्छ । राष्ट्रिय तथ्याङ्क कार्यालयको दस्ताबेजमा प्रस्तुत २०७८ को जनगणनाअनुसार नेपालमा १२४ ओटा मातृभाषा रहेकामा नेपाली मातृभाषीको सङ्ख्या १,३०,८४,४५७ जना अर्थात् कुल जनसङ्ख्याको ४४.८६ प्रतिशत रहेको छ (नेसनल स्टाटिक्सिस अफिस, सन् २०२१) । यसरी हेर्दा नेपालमा नेपाली भाषालाई ५५.१४ प्रतिशतले दोस्रो भाषाका रूपमा प्रयोग गर्छन् । भाषिक समुदायका सन्दर्भमा ५५.१४ प्रतिशत बालबालिकाले मातृभाषामै सिक्ने अवसर पाउनुपर्छ । आधारभूत तहमा मातृभाषामा शिक्षा

दिनुपर्ने मान्यतालाई शिक्षकले प्रयोग गर्नुपर्ने भएकाले सकेसम्म विद्यार्थीको मातृभाषा जान्ने शिक्षकलाई नै अध्यापन गर्न लगाउनु सबैभन्दा राम्रो हुने देखिन्छ । यस कार्यमा सबै शिक्षक र सबै विद्यालयले उही रूपमा अवलम्बन गरिरहेका हुँदैनन् :

शिक्षिका १ : विद्यार्थीलाई म त अङ्ग्रेजी अनि नेपालीमा बोल्न लगाउँछु । मसँग कुरा गर्दा उनीहरूलाई आफ्नो मातृभाषामा बोल्न दिन्न । मैथिली, बाजिका त घरमै बोलिहाल्छन् नि । उनीहरूलाई यहाँ (विद्यालयमा) भोलि जागिर पाउने भाषा बोल्न लगाउनुपऱ्यो नि । (यत्तिकैमा एक जना मैथिली भाषी विद्यार्थीले आफ्नो कक्षाकार्य सकेपछि भन्छन् : आइ ह्याब रिटन मेम (मैले लेखिसकेँ गुरुमा) ।

शिक्षिका २ : हाम्रोमा स्थानीय पाठ्यक्रमका ठाउँमा अङ्ग्रेजी नै राखेका छौँ। ..... मासिक रूपमा अभिलेख तयार पारेर वार्षिक मूल्याङ्कन गछौँ। निरन्तर मूल्याङ्कन गछौँ तर अङ्ग्रेजीमा नै जोड दिन्छौँ। अहिले गार्जेन्टहरू (अभिभावकहरू) को चाहना पिन त्यही नै छ। साम्दायिक विद्यालय भए पिन अङ्ग्रेजी नै पढाउन्पऱ्यो नि।

(अन्तर्वार्ता : २०८०/०३/२४)

भाषिक सन्दर्भ र मातृभाषालाई माध्यम बनाउनुपर्ने सवालमा नेपालमा प्रयोगापेक्षी स्पष्ट नीति देखिँदैन । अहिलेको समाजले रोजगार र भोलिको आयस्रोतको बाटोलाई हेरेर अङ्ग्रेजी शिक्षाप्रित बढी मोह राखेको देखिन्छ । अभिभावक र समाजले नै अङ्ग्रेजी भाषाप्रित रुचि जगाएका कारण सामुदायिक विद्यालयहरूले स्थानीय पाठ्यक्रमको मर्मलाई ध्यान दिन सकेको देखिँदैन । नेपालमा मातृभाषा शिक्षणका विषयमा निर्माण भएका पाठ्यक्रम र पाठ्यपुस्तकलाई मातृभाषा विद्यालय स्थापना गरी कार्यान्वयनमा ल्याउँदा त्यित प्रभावकारी रहेको पाइएको छैन । 'मातृभाषामा शिक्षा ग्रहण गरेर के गर्नु, प्रारम्भिक कक्षादेखि नै प्रयोजनपरक भाषामा शिक्षा लिनुपर्छ' भन्ने मनोविज्ञानका कारण मातृभाषा विद्यालयका विद्यार्थीहरूलाई बहुभाषिक कक्षाका विद्यालयितरै पढ्न पठाइएको हुन्छ (पौडेल र भट्टराई, २०७७, पृ. १६९-१७०) । यसरी हेर्दा भाषा र रोजगारका सन्दर्भमा सरकारले मातृभाषा सिकेर जागिर पाउने आधार तय गरिदिन्पर्ने देखिन्छ ।

शिक्षा मन्त्रालयले पेस गरेको सबैका लागि शिक्षाको राष्ट्रिय शिक्षा प्रतिवेदन (सन् २००१-२०१४) मा उल्लेख भएअनुसार अन्तरिक संविधान र विद्यालय क्षेत्र सुधार योजना दुवैले आधारभूत शिक्षालाई मानव अधिका रूपमा आत्मसात गरी प्राथिमक तहका प्रारिम्भक कक्षाहरूमा मातृभाषालाई माध्यमको रूपमा प्रयोग गर्न जोड दिइएको भन्ने प्रसङ्गलाई उल्लेख गरेको छ (पृ. १०) । प्रारिम्भक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमको पढाइ सम्बन्धी विश्वव्यापी सिद्धान्त र नेपालको संविधान २०७२ को भाषा र संस्कृतिको हकले समेटेका सन्दर्भलाई मध्यनजर गर्ने हो भने पिन नेपालमा आधारभूत तहसम्मको शिक्षालाई व्यावहारिक रूपमा मातृभाषाका माध्यमबाट दिनु आवश्यक छ । अर्को सन्दर्भमा नेपाली भाषालाई पिन एकसाथ सिकाउनुपर्ने बाध्यता हुन्छ । यस परिस्थितिमा कक्षामा दोस्रो भाषी विद्यार्थी रहेको अवस्थामा उनीहरूलाई चित्र, चित्रकथा तथा मौखिक भाषाको सहयोग र विकासका माध्यमले

सिकाइ सहजीकरण गर्नुपर्छ । दोस्रो भाषाका विद्यार्थीलाई धेरैभन्दा धेरै अवसर एवम् सहयोग उपलब्ध गराउँदै लक्षित भाषा प्रयोगका लागि उत्प्रेरित गर्नुपर्ने हुन्छ (शिक्षा विभाग, २०७४, पृ. ६) । यसका साथै शिक्षा मन्त्रालय (२०७०, पृ. २१-२२) ले पिन पढाइ र भाषा सम्बन्धी सिद्धान्तमा विद्यार्थीको पिहलो भाषा बोल्न जान्ने द्विभाषिक शिक्षक हुनुपर्ने, साक्षरताको शिक्षणपूर्व मौखिक सिप र आधारभूत शब्दभण्डारको विकासमा जोड दिनुपर्ने, दोस्रो भाषामा तयार पारिएका सामग्रीहरू विद्यार्थीका लागि बोधगम्य हुनुपर्ने तथा विद्यार्थीको पिहलो भाषाको प्रयोगलाई दुरुत्साहन गर्नुनहुने भनी उल्लेख गरेको छ । यसर्थ नेपालको पृष्ठभूमिमा समुदायका आधारमा बालपठन सिप सम्बन्धी तालिमसहितको द्विभाषिक शिक्षक /शिक्षकाले अध्यापन गर्न बढी सान्दर्भिक देखिन्छ ।

नेपालको भौगोलिक तथा सामाजिक⁄सांस्कृतिक परिवेशमा राष्ट्रिय प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमका लागि यएसएआईडीले सन् २०१३/१४ मा गरेको अध्ययनअनुसार नेपाली दोस्रो भाषा भएका बालबालिका नेपाली पहिलो भाषा बोल्ने बालबालिकाभन्दा नेपाली भाषा सिकाइमा तुलनात्मक रूपमा कमजोर देखिएका छन्। यस्तै रा.प्रा.क.प.का.को सन् २०१७/२०१८ को मध्याविध मूल्याङ्कनले पनि नेपाली पहिलो भाषा भएका बालबालिकाको त्लनामा नेपाली दोस्रो भाषा भएका बालबालिकाहरूको नेपाली पठन सिपमा उल्लेखनीय स्धार नभएको जनाएको छ (पाठ्यक्रम विकास केन्द्र, २०७७, पृ. ७)। मातृभाषासँग बालकको भाव्कता पनि गाँसिने भएकाले उसले सिक्नुपर्ने कुरालाई मनदेखि नै स्वतःस्फूर्त रूपमा सिकिरहेको हुन्छ। यसर्थ उसले नयाँ भाषामा भन्दा आफ्नै मातुभाषामा सिक्ने अवसर पाउँदा स्वभावतः चाँडै सिक्छ (पौडेल र भट्टराई, २०७७, पृ. १७०) । बालपठन सिप विकासमा गाँसिएर आउने मातृभाषा, भाषापाठ्यक्रम र सिकाइ सहजीकरणलाई मनोविज्ञानसँग पनि जोड्न् आवश्यक छ। अनुसन्धानले बालबालिकाको आफ्नो मातृभाषा नै प्राथमिक कक्षासम्मको अध्ययनका लागि सबैभन्दा उत्तम र प्रभावकारी माध्यमका रूपमा प्रमाणित गरेका छन् (श्रेष्ठ र दाहाल, २०७५, पृ. १५) । यस आधारलाई हेर्दा बालिसकाइको गुणस्तर सुधारका निमित्त बालविकास सम्बन्धी अभ्यासलाई मुख्य पूर्वाधारका रूपमा विकास गर्नु आवश्यक छ। हाम्रोजस्तो मिश्रित सम्दायको बसोबास रहेको, बहुभाषिक परिवेशयुक्त तथा विकासोन्म्ख देशले सिकाइको पूर्वाधारका लागि पठन सिप विकासमा ध्यान दिई प्रारम्भिक बालिवकासलाई एकसाथ समेट्न्पर्ने देखिन्छ । नेपालमा सबैभन्दा धेरै वक्ताले बोल्ने नेपाली भाषालाई माध्यम भाषाका रूपमा सिकाउन्पर्ने तथा नेपालीइतरभाषीका वक्तालाई मातृभाषाकै सन्दर्भमा पठन सिपगत दक्षता बढाउन्पर्ने हुनाले भाषासँग जानकार शिक्षक बढी बहुआयामिक हुन्पर्छ । वस्त्त: भाषिक विकासको मनोविज्ञानअनुसार मातृभाषालाई माध्यम भाषा बनाई समानस्तरको शिक्षा दिन् हाम्रो देशको आवश्यकता हो।

# समुदायगत अर्थात् अनौपचारिक परिवेश

बालबालिकालाई विद्यालयबाहिर समाजले सिकाउने पठन संस्कृतिले पिन सिकाइमा उत्प्रेरणाको भूमिका खेलेको हुन्छ। विद्यालय समयभन्दा बढी परिवार र समाजमा रहने सिकारुले समाजबाट अनौपचारिक रूपमा सिक्दछ। राष्ट्रिय प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमले विद्यार्थी, शिक्षक,

अभिभावक र समुदायका सदस्यिवचमा समन्वय गर्ने रणनीति तय गरेको पाइन्छ। स्थानीय स्तरमा यो पढाइ कार्यक्रमका कार्यकलापलाई कार्यान्वयन गराउने अभिप्रायले समुदायलाई सिक्रय तुल्याउने अपेक्षा गरेको देखिन्छ। संघीय संस्था, नगर शिक्षा सिमिति, गाउँ शिक्षा सिमिति, विद्यालय व्यवस्थापन सिमिति र अभिभावक संघको दायित्व भनेकै समुदायका तहमा आइपर्ने समस्या पिहचान गरी स्थानीय तहमै समाधान गर्नु हो (युएसएआईडी र शिक्षा मन्त्रालय, सन् २०१७, पृ. २)। समुदायलाई पठन सिपगत महत्त्वका बारेमा पैरवी र जनचेतना विकास गरी सामुदायिक बैठक सञ्चालन गर्दे एउटा नवीन अभ्यास सञ्चालन गर्नु आवश्यक हुन्छ। विद्यालय बाहिरको अनौपचारिक सन्दर्भमा पठन सिपको संस्कार विकास गर्ने अभियानलाई पिन सञ्चालन गर्न सिकन्छ। ग्रामीण वाचनालय, पठन अभियान, हिज्जे खेलजस्ता कार्यलाई ग्रामीण क्षेत्रमा सञ्चालन गरिरहने हो भने बालसाक्षरता विकासमा नयाँ परिणाम आउन सक्छ।

विद्यार्थीले समुदायमा सिकेको पूर्वअनुभवलाई विद्यालयमा प्रस्तुत गरेको हुन्छ। पठन प्राप्ति र त्यसको सुधारमा समुदायको व्यवहारले प्रभाव पारेको हुन्छ। बालकले भोगेको समाज, पाएको संस्कार, सिकेको संस्कृति, परिवारका सदस्यको चिन्तन र चेतनादेखि उसले आँखाले देखेको र कानले सनेका विषयले सिकाइमा, पठन सिप विकासमा प्रत्यक्ष प्रभाव परिरहेको हुन्छ। यसर्थ शिक्षकले बालबालिकाको घर र पूर्वअनुभवलाई बुभेर शिक्षण गर्ने प्रयत्न गर्नुपर्छ। डुबेक र गोभ (सन् २०१४) ले कक्षाकोठामैत्री प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ मूल्याङ्कनले बालबालिकाको वातावरण (भाषा र पारिवारिक सहयोग) काबारेमा सूचना सङ्कलन गर्ने तर्क अघि सारेका छन्। लेखकद्वयका अनुसार घरको वातावरण र विद्यार्थीको पूर्वअनुभवले विद्यार्थीको पठन प्राप्ति र त्यसको सुधारमा योगदान दिन्छ। तर, घर र पूर्वअनुभव बुभनु नै प्राथमिक उद्देश्य होइन। यसले बच्चालाई अन्तर्वार्ता लिने, घरमा जाने, भेटने नभएर यसबाहेक कक्षाको अभ्यासमा नै जोड दिएको देखिन्छ। विशेषतः पठन सिपका तत्त्व र यसका क्षेत्रहरूलाई शैक्षिक, प्रशासनिक र भौतिक संरचना निर्माणका आधारमा प्रभावकारी कार्यान्वयन गर्न् आवश्यक छ।

पठन सिप विकासको सिद्धान्तअनुसार यसका लागि विषयवस्तुको चिनारी र बोधलाई पढाइका आधारभूत तत्त्व मानिन्छ। लेखिएको अक्षरलाई ध्वनिमा रूपान्तरण वा विसङ्केतन गर्नु चिनारी हो भने लेखिएको वा छापिएको कुरा पढेर अर्थ बुभनु बोध हो (राई र अन्य, २०७३, पृ. १०)। तथापि, शैक्षिक सुधारको जग आधारभूत तह र आधारभूत तहको जग पढाइ सिप हो भन्ने चिन्तनमा समुदायले पिन अपनत्व लिएको देखिँदैन। नेपाल सरकारले शैक्षिक क्षति न्यूनीकरण गरी शिक्षामा गुणस्तर विकास गर्ने, विद्यार्थीलाई सिकाइमैत्री वातावरण प्रदान गर्ने, सिकाइ अभिवृद्धि गर्ने भिनरहँदा विद्यार्थीलाई विद्यालयमा किन जानुपर्छ भन्ने सवालमा अभिभावकीय सचेतनाको विकास गराउनु आवश्यक छ। मानिसले दौडनुपूर्व हिँड्न सक्ने हुनु आवश्यक भए जसरी पढाइ सिपको विकास नगरी शिक्षाको गुणस्तरलाई विकास गर्न सिकँदैन। लिखित सामग्रीलाई अर्थबोध हुने गरी पढ्ने कार्यले सिकाइको पूर्वाधार विकास गर्दछ (भट्टराई, सन् २०२१, पृ. १३७) भन्नेबारेमा समुदायका जनप्रतिनिधि र सरोकारवालाहरू जानकार हुन्पर्ने देखिन्छ।

नेपालमा विद्यालय शिक्षा सुधारका सन्दर्भमा आएका विभिन्न योजना, परियोजना तथा कार्यक्रमभित्र विशेषतः संस्थागत सुधार, प्रशासनिक सुधार, पेसागत विकास, पाठ्यक्रम सुधार, परीक्षा पद्धित सुधारका सवालसँगै बालपठनको सन्दर्भलाई राष्ट्रिय प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रममार्फत व्यवस्थित तुल्याउने हरप्रयास गरेको देखिन्छ। यद्यपि यस कार्यलाई कार्यान्वयन गर्ने र आवश्यक नियमन गर्ने प्रणालीलाई प्रभावकारी बनाउन सकेको खण्डमा मात्रै सिकाइको जग बलियो हुन सक्छ। प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमले सामुदायिक सहभागिता, पेसागत विकास, क्रमिक सिकाइ प्रक्रिया, सिकाइमा आधारित शैक्षिक गुणस्तर विकासजस्ता बहुआयामिक संरचनालाई प्रयोग गरेकाले यी विषयमा जानकारहरूको कार्यकारी सञ्जाल निर्माण र तिनलाई प्रभावकारी रूपमा कार्यान्वयन गर्नु अत्यावश्यक देखिन्छ। यसका लागि आधारभूत तहको पठन सिप सम्बन्धी कार्यक्रमका सवालमा सरकारले निरन्तर प्रयोग र सुधार सम्बन्धी गहन योजनालाई अघि सार्नुपर्ने देखिन्छ। यसर्थ प्रभावकारी बालपठन सिप विकास गरी सिकाइको जग निर्माण गर्न विद्यालयभित्रको परिवेश र बाह्य परिवेश दुवै सन्दर्भमा ख्याल गरिन् आवश्यक छ।

#### निष्कर्ष

बालपठनबोध जैविक र भौतिक अर्थात् आन्तरिक र बाह्य प्रभावमा आधारित हुन्छ । बालकले कक्षाकोठामा पाउने परिवेश र घरपरिवार तथा साथीसङ्गीसँग पाउने परिवेशबाट मात्रै प्रभावकारी सिकाइको अपेक्षा राख्न सिकँदैन। बालबालिकाले आमाले कोखदेखि पाएको परिवेश, पारिवारिक अवस्था र खानपान, जन्मपूर्व र जन्मपश्चात् बालबालिकाले पाउने सरसङ्गतजस्ता अदृश्य पक्षले पनि सिकाइको स्तर निर्धारणमा प्रभाव पारेको हुन्छ । यसर्थ जैविक तथा मनोवैज्ञानिक परिवेशभित्रको बालमस्तिष्कीय अवस्था र बाह्य परिवेशअन्तर्गतको विद्यालयीय (औपचारिक) तथा समदायगत (अनौपचारिक) प्रभावकहरूले बालपठन सिप विकासमा मुख्य प्रभाव पारेको देखिन्छ। बाह्य परिवेशमा आएपछि बालकले जैविक र शारीरिक विकासका निम्ति पाएको परिवेश, प्रकृति र हावापानीबाटसमेत प्रभाव ग्रहण गरेको हुन्छ । एउटा सबल र निरोगी बालकको चिन्तनगत सिकाइ तथा उसले पाएको परिवेशले चाहिँ उसको व्यक्तिगत चिन्तनमा प्रभाव पारेको हुन्छ । यसर्थ भाषा सिकाइ, पठनबोध, पठनप्रतिको चाहनालाई आन्तरिक र बाह्य दुवै परिवेशले प्रभाव पारेको हुन्छ । यसै कारण एउटै शिक्षकले एकै कक्षामा उही तरिकाले अध्यापन गर्दा उक्त कक्षाका सबै विद्यार्थीले समान रूपमा सिक्न सक्दैनन् । यसो भनिरहँदा सबै बालबालिकाले समान बालस्रक्षा, विकास र समान सिकाइको अवसर पाउँदा पनि तिनको सिकाइगत स्तर समान रहन्छ भन्न सिकँदैन किनभने बालबालिकाले उसको वंशजका साथै वृद्धि र विकासमा समान सक्षमता ग्रहण गर्न सक्दैन। यो सन्दर्भलाई चम्स्केली आन्तरिक संरचना (आर्थी घटक), रूपान्तरण नियम र बाह्य संरचना (वार्णी घटक) (बन्ध, २०७०, प. १५८) को सहसम्बन्ध जसरी नै आन्तरिक र बाह्य प्रभावकका आधारमा बोध गर्न सिकन्छ । उदाहरणका रूपमा एउटा बसको इन्जिन र अर्को बसको इन्जिन समान छन् अनि उही समयमा, एकै स्थानमा उत्ति नै गुडाइन्छ भने ती दुवै बसमा समान समयमा उस्तै खराबी आउँछ भन्ने सम्भावना रहँदैन। यसरी नै बालिसकाइमा उस्तै र उही समस्या तथा सम्भावनाले काम गर्ने नभए पनि गुणस्तरीय सिकाइको परिवेशमा चाहिँ बाह्य र आन्तरिक प्रभाव रहेको हुन्छ।

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(विद्यावारिधिका क्रममा आवश्यक तथ्याङ्कसँग सम्बन्धित रहेर यो अध्ययन गरिएको छ । यस कार्यमा आर्थिक सहयोग प्रदान गर्ने विश्वविद्यालय अनुदान आयोग, सानोठिमी, भक्तपुरप्रति हार्दिक आभार व्यक्त गर्दछ ।)