ISSN 2676-1149

RESUNGA JOURNAL

रेसुङ्गा जर्नल

2023
February Vol. 2

A research Journal
(Peer reviewed)

Published by:
Research Management Cell (RMC)
Resunga Multiple Campus
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www.resungacampus.edu.np

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Published by	: **RESUNGA MULTIPLE CAMPUS** Resunga Municipality-1, Gulmi
© (Copyright)	: Resunga Multiple Campus
Published @	: Feb. 2023
Price	: NRs.500/- US $10/- (outside Nepal)
ISSN	: ISSN 2676-1149 9 772676 114008
Published copy	: 500 pieces

सम्पादकीय

सृजनशीलता र अन्वेषणको बाटोमा

हरेक विषय सन्दर्भमा जिज्ञासु बन्दै त्यसको सत्यतथ्य खोजी गर्ने मानवीय स्वभावले नै मान्छे पाषाणयुगबाट वर्तमानसम्म आइपुगेको हो । सामान्य व्यक्तिले जिज्ञासाको सामाधान अरूबाट खोज्छ, समाधानपछि शान्त हुन्छ । बौद्धिक वर्गले जिज्ञासा राख्ने आफैं त्यसका सन्दर्भहरू खोतल्दै समाधानको मार्गसम्म पुग्छ । नौला सत्यतथ्यको खोजीका लागि क्रियाशील हुन्छ । समाजलाई केही दिने प्रयास गर्दछ । यस्तै जिज्ञासालाई शान्त पार्ने क्रममा नै प्रस्तुत रेसुङ्गा जर्नलको दास्रो अङ्क जन्मेको हो ।

पहिलो अङ्क हामीले मार्च, २०१९ मा प्रकाशित गर्‍यौं । त्यसभित्र आधिकारिक लेख रचनाहरू भएपनि त्यसको Peer Review गरेर प्रामाणिक बनाउन सकेका थिएनौं । यसपटक सो प्रयास पनि पूरा गरेर प्रस्तुत अनुसन्धानमूलक पत्रिकाका लागि थप आधिकारिक र प्रामाणिक बनाएका छौं । मूल्याङ्कन समितिभित्र रहनुहुने विद्वान् अग्रजहरूद्वारा Review गराएर सम्बद्ध लेखहरूलाई गुणस्तरीय बनाउने प्रयत्नमा हामी जुटेका छौं । विविध कारणले हामीलाई प्राप्त भएका सबै लेखहरूलाई स्थान दिन सकेका छैनौं । प्राप्त लेखहरूलाई आगामी अङ्कमा स्थान दिंदै जानेछौं ।

रेसुङ्गा जर्नलको पहिलो अङ्क प्रकाशित गरेको तुरुन्तैपछि हामीले दोस्रो अङ्क प्रकाशित गर्न सकेनौं । यसका पछाडि विश्वभरि फैलिएको कोभिड महामारी र अर्थाभाव हाम्राअगाडि अजङ्ग पहाड बनेर खडा भयो, तैपनि हाम्रा अन्वेषण जारी थिए । प्रकाशनको चाँजोपाजो मिलेको थिएन । यसपटक सबै परिस्थितिसँग सिंगौरी खेल्दै थप आधिकारिक र प्रामाणिक बनाएर प्रस्तुत गर्ने जमर्को गरेका छौं । यसभित्र पनि अझै कसरमसर बाँकी होलान् । विद्वान्वर्गको उचित समीक्षाको समेत अपेक्षा गरेका छौं । आगामी अङ्कहरूमा थप परिष्कार गर्दै निरन्तर प्रकाशित गर्ने प्रयासमा रहनेछौं । ।

सम्पादक मण्डल

फेब्रुअरी, २०२३

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NON ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHERS’ PERSPECTIVES ON EMI: A NARRATIVE INQUIRY

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Abstract

Increasingly, non-English speaking countries in the colossal world use English as the medium of instruction (EMI) to teach academic subjects. English as medium of Instruction (EMI) has been a great issue of discussion in today’s pedagogical field among the concerned stake-holders . This qualitative research aimed to investigate on – English teachers' perspectives on language shifting in classroom teaching practice (from Nepali to English and again from English to Nepali in 12 years' time span) in terms of their practice , motivation , challenges and results of the shifting in a secondary school located in a rural setting of Gulmi. For this, three secondary level English teachers were selected purposively and data were collected using in-depth interviews. The results of the study revealed that teachers of the public schools were found aware of the basic concept of the notion of English as a medium of instruction. They were found positive in implementing EMI in conducting their daily teaching and learning activities. The study also showed that teachers of secondary level have been facing different challenges in adopting EMI in the classroom like students' weak exposure to English, mother tongue interference, un-resourceful schools and government policy interference. The study recommended that there should be a favourable and encouraging environment in the public schools for the teachers for adopting EMI in the class. In spite of some challenges of the medium of instruction, they were found to be in favour of the continuation of EMI .

***Keywords* :** EMI , non-English teachers, perspectives, policy, language

Introduction

Because of the growing need for developing communicative competence in English that will fulfill the increasing demand for English language in order for social economic and social political development many non-native English speaking countries have taken on English as a medium of instruction. Rise of English as a global lingua franca seems to be further forcing non-native speakers to learn English and many countries are trying to drastically overhaul this education system in favour of English in order to meet the challenge of global integration . Rapid change to English as medium instruction in developing countries for example Ghana and Yuganda unprepared for such a vast change is causing havoc in some educational systems EMI therefore has become much hyped issue today and it attracts a wide range of studies globally (Sah, 2015)

Nepal has not yet been able to sustain a single educational policy with full effects was implementing EMI education in public schools for teaching academic subjects .The decision of introducing this huge change was made with no proper plans ; however, some mere studies are on track .It has been evident that some countries such as Ghana ,Turkey and Rwanda have failed to continue EMI education because of the lack of education infrastructures, teachers proficiency in English ,proper teacher education programs and in service professional development (Tylor ,2010) . If we have a close look at the present

Nepalese situations the ministry of education does not seem to be well prepared to meet the basic requirements for the successful implementation of EMI. Questions would thereby arise as to why the the MOE has opted for EMI education over mother tongue based multilingual education.

EMI policy has also benefited many countries like India , Pakistan and Spain, with suitable outcomes .They ,however, used appropriate plans and principles (Marsh, 2006) . Some countries initially failed to receive the set objectives and further developed plans that could lead to a successful implementation of EMI education .One of such contexts is the Ghanaian context where they introduced bilingual transitional literacy program and Bridge to English in order to build up suitable situations for the implementation of EMI education.(Sah,2015)

EMI is therefore an interesting topic to discuss and is consequently receiving a huge attention from language policy researchers . This article explores the views of the school principal and two teachers regarding the need and use of English as a medium of instruction and the classroom practices of using English in a public school in Nepal. This paradigm shift from Nepali as a medium of instruction (NMI) to English as a medium of instruction (EMI) and again from English as a medium of instruction (EMI) to Nepali as a medium of instruction(NMI) has raised controversy in the education system of Nepal. As this study found, there has been a growing demand of teachers for EMI viewing English as linguistic capital in the global socio-economic market and they have taken it as an economic investment in education. However, there seems a noticeable gap between the true spirit of EMI policy and actual classroom practice in public school education. Public schools in Nepal need to adopt EMI only after a thorough study on its effects in the implementation of the policy.

The choice of language as a medium of instruction has been an issue of policy concern in the education system of a country. Generally, the national language becomes the medium of instruction in a country. However, even the international language can be the medium of instruction in the global context. Being an international language, English language has been enjoying preferences as the medium of instruction in the world, especially in "non-native English speaking countries" (Bradford, 2016, p.2). Due to the global spread of English, there has been a paradigm shift from teaching English as a foreign language to adopting English as a medium of instruction (EMI) in many non-native English speaking countries including Nepal.

In fact, English has been used as a medium of instruction and as a subject around the world. EMI is "the use of the English language to teach academic subjects in countries or jurisdictions where the first language (L1) of the majority of the population is not English" (Dearden, 2014, p.2). Thus, EMI is teaching all the academic subjects in English rather than teaching the English language. Like in many non-native English speaking countries around the world, Nepal has been shifting the status from English as a subject to as a medium of instruction in public schools.

Considering this context, this study explores the views of the school principal and teachers, regarding the paradigm shift from NMI to EMI and again EMI to NMI for teaching the subjects , Social Studies , Economics and Education in the secondary schools in Nepal. To fulfil this objective, this study answers the following question:

1. What are the perceptions of the non-English teachers on paradigm shift from NMI to EMI and again from EMI to NMI ?

Literature Review

Under the literature review, I discuss a range of language related policy issues, empirical studies, and theoretical framework along with practical implications relevant to this study. I start with language policy and English Education in Nepal followed by empirical and theoretical issues relevant to this study.

Language Policy and English Education in Nepal

Nepal has been declared as the 'Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal' with seven provinces (The Constitution of Nepal, 2015). Despite its small geographical landscape, Nepal is a multilingual, multi-ethnic and multicultural country with 123 ethnic languages spoken as mother tongues by 125 ethnic groups as stated by Central Bureau of Statistics (2012). Nepal's linguistic diversity can be seen with cultural diversity closely linked to biodiversity of the country. Nepali, with its official status, has been used as a lingua franca in Nepal used for communication among speakers of different ethnic groups in the country. The education policy of Nepal has been guided by political motives rather than academic needs and foundations from the very beginning of formal education.

The formal education in Nepal began in English medium with the establishment of Durbar High School in 1854, to provide education only to the elite Rana families. Education became formally available to the public only after the establishment of democracy in 1951. Later, Nepal National Education Planning Commission (NNEPC, 1956) proposed Nepali, being the national language, as the medium of instruction in schools to strengthen the national integrity in the linguistically and culturally diverse country Nepal.

All Round National Education Committee (ARNEC, 1962) and National Education System Plan (NESP, 1971) followed the same path. Moreover, NESP (1971) made the provision of both public (government-aided) and private schools. After the restoration of multiparty democracy in 1990, the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal (1990) stated that "Each community shall have the right to operate schools up to the primary level in its own mother tongue for imparting education to its children" (Article 18, Clause 2).

National Education Commission (NEC, 1992) reflected this spirit of the constitution. Thus, the post 1990 period moved towards pluralistic language policy (Weinberg, 2013) accepting multilingual education. As the literature shows, the development of English education in Nepal can be discussed in three phases: during the Rana regime (1846-1950/1), during the Panchayat system (1950/1-1990), and after the restoration of multi-party democracy (from 1990 onwards) (Awasthi, 2004, 2011;Eagle, 2000; Giri, 2011; Phyak, 2011; 2000; Sonntag, 1995, Weinberg, 2013).The Rana period was the period of opposition to education as only a few elites, especially the Rana families, received education. The Panchayat period followed the "one-nation-one-language ideology" (Phyak & Ojha, 2019, p.344) in the education system of Nepal.

The Democratic period (1990-2007) was the period of multilingualism in education allowing mother tongues in schools. Political interest in each shift seems to be the sole cause in the revision of the education system in Nepal. However, in Federal Republic Nepal, the history of Nepal's language policy, planning and practices can be divided into four periods: Rana period, Panchayat period, Democratic period and Republican period.

The Republic Nepal, from 2007 with the introduction of the Interim Constitution of Nepal (2007) onwards, has now embraced the neoliberal language ideology in education allowing mother tongues, Nepali and English as mediums of instruction in schools as per the local needs and demands of the learners and parents. EMI in public schools is the result of this neoliberal language policy which has taken English language as a commodity or as capital. In this regard, School Sector Development Plan (SSDP, 2016-2023) mentions "most private schools use English as the medium of instruction and a number of community schools have also started using English as the medium" (p.29). Now, EMI has become a demanding phenomenon in the Nepalese public school education system. The adoption of neoliberal economic ideology after 1990 encouraged privatization in education and in other sectors. English medium private schools started establishing throughout the country since then. These English-medium private schools have developed the ideology in people that teaching and learning through English medium brings so-called high quality in education. The Ministry of Education (MoE) has also encouraged the public schools to introduce English medium policy in their schools as stated in the document of NCF (2007) that I have mentioned above. NCF (2007) further mentions that the medium of education will generally be in mother tongue up to grade 3. Likewise, the Constitution of Nepal (2015) mentions, "Every Nepali community living in Nepal shall have the right to acquire education in its mother tongue" (Article 31, Clause 5), but in practice we see EMI from the elementary level in public schools. Thus, seems a mismatch between policy and practice regarding the use of language education policy in Nepal. This is what Phyak (2016) calls "local-global tension in the ideological construction of English language education policy in Nepal"p.199). SSRP (2009) asserts, "English will be taught as a subject from grade one onwards" (p.81). However, it mentions that the choice of medium of instruction in school can be determined by the SMC at the micro-level. This assertion encouraged the public schools to adopt EMI in their schools. Because of this policy, public schools in Nepal are adopting EMI to fulfil the demands of the parents and communities.

Now, English is being taught as a foreign language from Grade one onwards as a compulsory subject. However, it is being used as a medium of education in private schools, and even in public schools. Giving power to the schools and communities through decentralization, public schools are managed by School Management Committees (SMCs). "Any community (government) school can decide to change from Nepali to English as its medium of instruction" (Chiluwal,Ranabhat, & Thompson, 2018, p.83).The right of deciding the language of instruction is with the CMC.

Thus, the English language has been getting increasing space in the Nepalese education system from general social discourse to micro-level educational policies and practices due to the demands of the parents as social capital along with the influence of globalization and neo-liberalism in education. Though EMI has been a debatable topic in the Nepalese education system, it has been being adopted in public schools around the country.

Though Nepal is a multilingual country with diverse ethnic groups, EMI has become a demanding need in public schools all over the country due to the influence of neoliberalism in education. As a result, many public schools have adopted EMI in their schools to fulfill the needs and demands of the public and to address the "crisis in education"(Tollefson, 2014, p.1) that they have been facing.That crisis is the decrease of students in public schools. As Dearden (2014) reports, "there is more EMI in private than public education" (p.8) and the situation of Nepal is also the same. Almost all private schools have been conducting medium of instruction exclusively in English since the establishment of their schools, but just a few public schools have adopted EMI fully or partially and some are in the process of adopting it. EMI, therefore, has become a global issue and the area of interest to be researched especially in multilingual public school contexts of Nepal.

English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI): An Overview

English language is viewed as the global language. It is taken as the most widely used means of communication. In this line, Pennycook (2001, p. 81) is of the opinion that English taking up such an important position in many educational systems around the world, it has become one of the most powerful means of inclusion into, or exclusion from further education, employment, or social positions. Moreover, English has been playing the role of global lingua franca to facilitate the process of communication between the people from diverse linguistic background. Along with the global importance of English, the notion of English as medium of instruction (EMI) has become a growing global phenomenon in the present day academia. Simply,the notion English as a medium of instruction (EMI) refers to the use of the English language in the classroom instruction where contents of various subjects are taught and delivered in English. In addition to this, the idea can be interpreted in terms of its practice in relation to different dimensions. For example, EMI means teaching all subjects as prescribed in the curriculum in English. Moreover, EMI is the use of English where professional courses are taught in English. In addition, EMI may mean giving lectures in English while assisting the students to learn the contents and matters of different subjects as offered in the schools or university curriculum. Dearden (2014, p.1) defines EMI as "The use of the English language to teach academic subjects in countries or jurisdictions where the first language (L1) of the majority of the population is not English". He further states that there is a fast-moving worldwide shift towards using English as a medium of instruction (EMI) for academic subjects such as science, mathematics, geography and medicine. EMI is increasingly being used in universities, secondary schools and even primary schools. This phenomenon has very important implications for the education of young people and policy decisions in non-Anglophone countries (Dearden, 2014). Thus, the medium of instruction has always been a key issue among educational institutions across the world especially in those nations who were once British colonies. Even though those nations have gained independence from the British rule yet its legacy still exists in one form or to the other. English language is one of the most prominent legacies left behind by the British Empire. Despite the unceasing global debate on English as the international lingua franca or as 'killer language' (Coleman, 2006), the adoption of English as a medium of

Instruction (EMI) has been sweeping across the higher education landscape worldwide (Crystal, 2004). In this context, Nepal cannot remain in exception. Thus, the global spread of EMI has led the schools and universities of Nepal to adopt English as a medium of instruction. Since English is used to serve different functions in different settings. Among the various functions that we perform with English, EMI is one of the important uses of the English language in the academic context. Many non-native English speaking countries have taken the notion (EMI) owing to the growing need for developing communicative competence in English that may fulfill the increasing demand for English language development. In the same way, the rise of English as a global lingua franca seems to be further forcing non-native speakers to learn and use the English language and many countries are trying to drastically overhaul their education system in favor of English in order to meet the challenge of global integration. In this very situation, Nepal, one of the developing countries, however it has not yet been able to sustain with the full effects of implementing EMI in the public schools and higher education institutions. The decision of introducing this huge change is made with no proper plans; however, some mere studies are on track (Sah, 2015). In the similar vein, as the instances of international practice of EMI, the countries, such as Ghana, Turkey and Rwanda have failed to continue EMI education because of the lack of educational infrastructure, teachers' proficiency in English, proper teacher education programs, and in-service professional development (Tylor, 2010). Nonetheless, EMI policy has also benefited many contexts, namely India, Pakistan and Spain, with suitable outcomes. They, however, used appropriate plans and principles (Marsh, 2006). Moreover, some countries initially failed to receive the set objectives and further developed plans that could lead to a successful implementation of EMI education. One of such contexts is a Ghanaian context where they introduced 'bilingual transitional literacy program' and 'Bridge to English' in order to build up suitable situations for the implementation of EMI education. EMI is therefore an interesting topic to discuss and is consequently receiving a huge attention from language policy researchers. Similarly, Dearden (2014) reported some issues regarding the EMI practice globally include, the lack of EMI-qualified teachers and teaching resources, questions as to which subjects are to be taught through English medium, the age at which EMI starts, the lack of a standard level of English for EMI teachers, the role of the teacher, and the role of language centers and professional development. Since these are the global issues for implementing EMI, they seem to be identical in the Nepalese context. Thus, these very issues have paved the way to make an attempt to investigate this area in the context of Nepal. Moreover, the choice and adoption of language of instruction in the multicultural and multilingual setting like Nepal is not a new phenomenon but it is a very difficult task. With reference to multilingual setting of various countries, Tsui and Tollefson (2003) put forward their view that choosing a language as a medium of instruction, which is part of the language-in-education policy, is not a novel issue as it has been discussed and studied worldwide, especially in the countries where multilingualism exists with diverse people and multi-ethnic groups such as Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, India, Canada, Hong Kong, etc. Thus, the selection of medium of instruction is sensitive in these countries because it profoundly impacts on political, economic, and sociolinguistic aspects of a country and may "lead to war and bloodshed" if ill-managed (Tsui & Tollefson, 2003). So, the concerned authority should be very much careful in selecting and implementing the medium of instruction at any level.

Previous research on EMI

Many developing countries have policies promoting EMI in schools. Though the spread of English is taken as "linguistic imperialism" (Phillipson, 1992), the demand for EMI has been seen throughout the world, including Europe (Aguilar, 2015; Dearden & Macaro,2016), Africa (Viriri & Viriri, 2013) and Asia (Chapple, 2015; Lei & Hu, 2014 .The British Council conducted a survey in 2014 involving 55 countries across the globe and discovered that 62% of these countries use EMI (Dearden, 2014). EMI originated from Europe in the late 1990s (Brown & Bradford, 2017) and now it has been a "growing global phenomenon" (Deardon, 2014, p.2) at present and has been growing rapidly in Asia (Walkinshaw, Fenton-Smith & Humphreys, 2017). Despite the fact that EMI is a new phenomenon, several studies have been conducted about the perceptions (Al-Qahtani & Al Zumor,2016;Nguyen, 2017 ;Sorrell & Forlin, 2015),outcomes (Williams, 2014; James & Woodhead, 2014),challenges (Uwambayinema, 2013; Ibrahim, Shafaatu, & Yabo, 2017) and classroom practices (Annamalai, 2013; Nguyen, 2017) of EMI in various countries including Nepal. However, most of the studies have been carried out in higher education on EMI and EMI related issues (e.g. Vu & Burns, 2014; Hu &Lei, 2014; Huang, 2015). To take a few, Paulsrud's (2016) study found that "EMI is offered for prestige, an international profile, marketing potential and personal interest". Similarly, Wijayatunga (2018) found that teachers teaching in English medium in urban schools were enthusiastic but majority of them were not proficient enough in the language to teach in English. Regarding the use of EMI in Nepal, Sah and Li (2018) found that "parents, students, and teachers regarded EMI as a privileged form of linguistic capital for developing advanced English skills, enhancing educational achievements and access to higher education, and increasing the chance of upward social and economic mobility." Similarly, Ojha's (2018) study found that EMI has been adopted in public schools in Nepal without careful planning and the necessary preparation to make it a success. He further states that schools are shifting to EMI mostly because of demand and pressure from parents.

Notwithstanding its extensive application around the world including Nepal, the EMI policy is not still an indisputable issue. In this regard, Saud (2019) views "EMI policy seems to be against linguistic and cultural diversity in multilingual English classrooms in Nepal" (p.78). Much research and reports on EMI show that "the use of English for delivering contents encounters various pedagogical challenges and difficulties" (Floris, 2014; Erling, Adinolfi & Hultgren, 2017; Ibrahim, Shafaatu, & Yabo, 2017; Simpson, 2017; Wijayatunga, 2018). While research into EMI is growing, only a few studies have been conducted in school education in Asia, particularly in Nepal. Therefore, this study explores the non English teachers' perspectives on EMI and again its shifting to NMI , practices on the use of EMI in the school context ,

Theoretical framework

For this study, I have employed language attitudes, language ideology (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994), linguistic capitalism (Bourdieu, 1993), diglossia (Ferguson, 1959), and English-medium paradigm (Schmidt-Unterberger, 2018) as the main theoretical frameworks for the analysis of information. Language attitudes are the feelings people have about their own language and the languages of others. Ryan and Giles (1982) define language attitudes as "any affective, cognitive or behavioural index of evaluative reactions toward different language varieties or speakers" (p.7). As Obiols (2002) writes, the study of language attitudes "can predict a given linguistic behaviour: the choice of a particular language in multilingual communities, language loyalty,language prestige..." (p.1). People's attitudes show their behaviour towards a certain language.

EMI is rooted in the ideology of monolingualism (Blommaert, 2006; Heller, 2007), "English as a global language" (Crystal, 2003) and "English as a lingua franca" (Seidlhofer, 2005) ideology and the ideology of neoliberalism in education. English language is taken as a capital to get jobs and other opportunities in the society with high prestige and social status. Diglossia is a situation in which high prestige language or language variety is used in certain situations like formal education and the low prestige language or language variety is used in community's everyday communication – this is what Ricento (2000) calls "stable diglossia" (p.198). English medium paradigm "characterises the various instructional types in English-medium teaching contexts" (Schmidt- Unterberger, 2018, p.4).

The theories I have discussed here are the theoretical lenses that guide the thematic findings. Moreover, English medium paradigm is guiding the study throughout this article.

Method

This research project is based on an analysis of preexisting literature and qualitative data that was gathered through interviews with three participants. This approach to inquiry is strictly qualitative, focusing on the literature and participant's perspectives and experiences (Creswell, 2007). To further explore the main research question, research based literature including books and peer-reviewed journals were reviewed. Upon reading the literature, several themes became apparent regarding the use of EMI in the classroom. This method of data collection provided an in depth understanding of the different frameworks, methods, and pedagogy regarding this topic. Two face-to- face interviews were conducted and one interview was conducted through messanger correspondence. All three participants were asked the same questions, which were a mixture of open and closed ended questions. The interviews ranged between 30 and 40 minutes in length, and occurred in the participant's natural setting in their own residence by strictly following health protocal. The interviews were very informal, and encouraged the participant to voice their experiences and share their stories. This was done to minimize the power relationship between the researcher and the participant (Creswell, 2007), which is an important aspect of qualitative research. The data collected through participant interviews was transcribed, coded and categorized. This process allowed for themes to emerge that formed the major findings of this research project.

Participants

Purposeful selection was used to select participants to contribute to this research study. Participants were chosen based on their understanding of the research problem and their ability to contribute to the study (Creswell, 2007). Three participants were chosen, all with very different experiences of teaching different subjects.

Participant A was Social Studies' teacher .Participant B would teach Science and EPH and participant C , the Principal , taught Economics. They had a very long experience of teaching in the Secondary level.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data analysis occurred once participant interviews were complete. The two audio files and message correspondence were transcribed and coded. An in-depth analysis began by transcribing the interview to create a rough draft of codes. The codes were compared and a process of elimination occurred to create codes that best represented the data. Once a set of codes was created they were applied to the transcriptions by inserting them in bold lettering and underling the sections of the interview that the codes applied to. This allowed for the researcher to read through the transcription and seamlessly incorporate the codes. After all interviews were transcribed and coded, the data from all three participants was amalgamated together under each code. This created one large data file of information separated into 5 codes, allowing for the main themes of the findings to emerge. The codes were then analyzed to decide how the findings were to be presented. Some codes were deleted and others were further sub categorized to create precise findings. This method of data analysis allowed for a comparison between the participants data to occur, which made the process of finding themes and discovering key findings easier. The data from all three participants in each code was analyzed and sorted allowing for strategies, experiences and important quotes to emerge to be used to support the findings of the research.

Ethical Review Procedures

All participants were originally contacted through phone calls, where a brief description of the research and the interview process was given. Once the participants agreed an interview was set up. A Letter of Consent was provided that detailed the research study, the data collection process, how the data will be used and the importance of confidentiality. Each participant signed the letter and a copy was provided. The participant who was interviewed through messaging was given an electronic copy of the consent letter. All interviews were professionally conducted and any questions asked by the participant were answered. Transparency was important to make sure all participants felt comfortable. Participants were offered a copy of the transcript and a final copy of the research project for them to read upon completion. There was one instance when a reminder was given that students could not be interviewed for the research project..

Limitations

A limitation of this research study is the small sample size, which is due to time constraints, lack of funding and ethical procedures. This limitation is due to the nature of the type of research that is being conducted and is not in control of the researchers. A more specific limitation regarding the participants is the resources available to them .The participants have little control over resource allocation, which can impact their pedagogy and lived experiences in the classroom. A final limitation of this research study is how quickly the medium of instruction changes . This research study focuses on EMI, impacting the experiences of the participants and the validity of the data collected

Results and Discussion

After the transcription and analysis of the data, four themes have been emerged.

EMI practice in the school

Public schools in Nepal have been adopting EMI as a new linguistic market in education in recent years. This trend is due to globalisation and socio-economic power of English language, viewing English as a linguistic capital (Bourdieu,1993) for better "socioeconomic mobility" (Khubchandani, 1978, as cited in Bhattacharya, 2013, p.165) in the globalised socio-economic market. When the Constitution of Nepal (1990) followed the economic liberation policies (Phyak, 2016), private English medium schools have been mushroomed in Nepal. National Curriculum Framework (NCF, 2007) stated, "The medium of school level education can be in Nepali or English language or both of them" (p.34). Since then, public schools have been free to choose either English or Nepali language as medium of instruction in their schools. As a result, a large number of public schools have adopted EMI in Nepal since 2010 (Sah & Li, 2018). However, the shift from Nepali as a medium of instruction (NMI) to EMI has been a controversial issue in Nepal. The Constitution of Nepal (2015) clearly states that "Every Nepali community living in Nepal shall have the right to acquire education in its mother tongue, and the right to open and run schools and educational institutions as provided for by law" (Article 31, Clause 5). The constitution has recognised mother tongue based multilingual education (MTB-MLE) at school level. However, EMI has been adopted by private schools and this trend has been growing even in the government aided public schools. EMI has become a demanding phenomenon in public schools at present in Nepal and this issue is challenging the MTB-MLE policy of the government. Formalising in 1990 and implementing in 2007, Nepal has been following a 'trilingual' policy (learners' first language, Nepali and English) at school level education as stated in School Sector Reform Plan (SSRP) report (2009). However, it has not been fully implemented until now. Most of the schools are adopting NMI from the early grades; some schools have fully adopted EMI while others both EMI and NMI. In this regard, Nepal's language-in-education policy seems to be controversial. Written policy documents recommend using trilingual policy but most of the public schools are using bilingual policy, both Nepali and English. The school I visited started EMI in 2057 to teach a few subjects in a section in Grade 6 . After the experiment in the section and the guardians' positive responses, it implemented EMI from Nursery class to teach all the subjects in English except Nepali. After almost 20 years the school has again shifted the medium into Nepali to teach the subjects Social Studies , Economics , Moral Science and the Vocational subjects . The study showed that the EMI policies in Nepal are not consistent. Inconsistency in EMI policies resulted in confusion in school administrators and subject teachers.

Motivational side of EMI

First of all, English is the International Common Tongue. English is the most well-known unknown dialect. This implies that two individuals who come from various nations (for instance, a Mexican and a Sri Lankan) generally utilise English as an ordinary language to convey. That is the reason everybody needs to get familiar with the language to connect on an international level. Talking it will assist you with speaking with individuals from nations everywhere in the world. Learning English is significant as it empowers you to communicate effectively with your kindred worldwide residents. (Nishanthi, 2018) The emergence of English as a World language is now indisputable. Crystal (2000) and Nunan (2001), as well as British Council (2013), argued that the spread of English provided unlimited access to the modern world of science, information and communications technology (ICT), money, power, international communication, and intercultural understanding as well as entertainment and many more fields. The participants of my research were also of opinion that the school was the 22nd secondary school of Gulmi and it was popular in the district because of its good achievements in the academic arena . They maintained that due to mushrooming of the institutional schools in the country and the increased globalization and rapid migration from the villages to the towns in pursuit of the quality education ,the survival of the public schools was in question and the medium shifting was felt an urgent need of the time. 'Especially ,to get entries in the world recognized national and international institutions and to get good job opportunites in the job market EMI was felt necessary and the school was motivated to implement EMI' , said the principal. And also English makes it easier for us to understand technology so that we can continue our education to a higher level easily.

Challenges of EMI

Despite its benefits, EMI has many challenges in terms of language and instructional concerns as the studies suggested above. Still then, Alptekin (2003, cited in Sert, 2008) takes a more positive position stating the benefits of EMI on cross-cultural and mental development of the learners. Kırkgöz (2005) reported that the students had difficulty in acquiring the academic content which is very similar to Sert's study (2008). In accordance with the other studies, Dalkız (2002, cited in Sert, 2008) also emphasized the language related problems in EMI including difficulties in grasping the questions, giving appropriate answers. Notably, it can be said that without considering its benefits, EMI is not without its challenges in other contexts as well. Building on this argument, the workload of students and instructors, the decrease in the quality of education are noted by Gao in Chinese settings (2008, cited in Gökmenoğlu & GelmezBurakgazi, 2013). In line with this argument, Smith also highlighted "lack of interest of non-native speaking students toward EMI courses, loss of confidence and failure of students in EMI courses" are among the cited challenges, but a few (2004, cited in Gökmenoğlu & Gelmez-Burakgazi, 2013). Similarly, in a Hong Kong university "the risks of traditional language attrition and culture loss" were the central arguments in terms of EMI policy reported by Poyung and Hang- Yue (2014). The language-related challenges in EMI at a Hong Kong

University were also investigated in a longitudinal study carried by Evans and Morrison (2011). 3 000 students completed a questionnaire in which the challenges were detailed as skills ‘‘planning written assignments’’, ‘‘following a discussion’’, ‘‘using appropriate academic style’’, ‘‘expressing ideas in correct English’’, ‘‘understanding specialist vocabulary’’, ‘‘understanding key vocabulary’’ ‘‘taking brief, clear notes’’ in an EMI classroom. When it comes to the second research question dealing with the instructional challenges teachers encounter, Sert (2008) highlighted the lack of humour and colourless classroom environment. Surprisingly in her study the teachers did not mention any language or instructional related problems they faced. On the contrary, Kılıçkaya (2006) indicated that covering the materials faster and deeper was challenging in EMI in accordance with the Gökmenoğlu and Gelmez-Burakgazi's study (2013) .

My investigation under this theme has come out with the following challenges the teachers faced while implementing EMI

In the first few years they had financial problem . They had to hire some more teachers to teach in both media , that is Nepali and English; specially in the lower secondary because the students from the neighbouring Nepali medium schools would join the school. Since the books by good publications would cost more all guardians were not able to afford them. They also added that since it had heterogeneous type of teaching practice it was very difficult for them to implement EMI. And ,what's more , the school administration was afraid of the erosion in the quality of education while teaching the subjects like social studies , economics ,etc. through English. They had the challenge too that they had to impart quality education in under-resourced situation. And in the beginning they were discouraged by the DEO and the office would set questions especially for grade 8 in Nepali medium only . Though the school collected extra fund as fees in agreement with the guardians some political parties interfered with it.

Paradigm Shifts and its Results

When the Constitution of Nepal (1990) followed the economic liberation policies (Phyak, 2016), private English medium schools have been mushroomed in Nepal. National Curriculum Framework (NCF, 2007) stated, "The medium of school level education can be in Nepali or English language or both of them" (p.34). Since then, public schools have been free to choose either English or Nepali language as medium of instruction in their schools. As a result, a large number of public schools have adopted EMI in Nepal since 2010 (Sah & Li, 2018). However, the shift from Nepali as a medium of instruction (NMI) to EMI has been a controversial issue in Nepal. The Constitution of Nepal (2015) clearly states that "Every Nepali community living in Nepal shall have the right to acquire education in its mother tongue, and the right to open and run schools and educational institutions as provided for by law" (Article 31, Clause 5). Formalising in 1990 and implementing in 2007, Nepal has been following a 'trilingual' policy (learners' first language, Nepali and English) at school level education as stated in School Sector Reform Plan (SSRP) report (2009). However, it has not been fully implemented until now. Most of the schools are adopting NMI from the early grades; some schools have fully adopted EMI while others both EMI and NMI. In this regard, Nepal's language-in-education policy seems to be controversial. Written policy documents recommend using trilingual policy but most of the public schools are using bilingual policy, both Nepali and English. The school I visited started EMI in 2057 to teach a few subjects in a section in Grade 6 . After the experiment in the section and the guardians' positive responses, it implemented EMI from Nursery class to teach all the subjects in English except Nepali. About two decades' interval it has again gone back to NMI for teaching Social Studies , Economics Moral Science , Vocational Subjects as per the Nepal Government's policy to preserve culture , values and assumptions ,nationality , religion ,morality etc. The Ministry of Education circulated a direction to teach some subjects in Nepali so as to develop the sense of ownness and national character and to address dissatisfaction due to the financial burden upon the guardians. The participants stated that although the school was almost accustomed to EMI the government of Nepal again changed its policy and the teachers ,guardians and students are at loss. Participant B suspected whether the Nepal Government is again letting the private schools the opportunity of making money again.

Conclusion

The school I visited started EMI in 2057 to teach a few subjects in a section in Grade 6 . After the experiment in the section and the guardians' positive responses, it implemented EMI from Nursery class to teach all the subjects in English except Nepali. After almost 20 years the school has again shifted the medium into Nepali to teach the subjects Social Studies , Economics , Moral Science and the Vocational subjects . The participants of my research were also of opinion that the school was the 22nd secondary school of Gulmi and it was popular in the district because of its good achievements in the academic arena . They maintained that due to mushrooming of the institutional schools in the country and the increased globalization and rapid migration from the villages to the towns in pursuit of the quality education ,the survival of the public schools was in question and the medium shifting was felt an urgent need of the time. 'Especially ,to get entries in the world recognized national and international institutions and to get good job opportunites in the job market EMI was felt necessary and the school was motivated to implement EMI' , said the principal. And also English makes it easier for us to understand technology so that we can continue our education to a higher level easily. My investigation under this theme has come out with the following challenges the teachers faced while implementing EMI. The school I visited started EMI in 2057 to teach a few subjects in a section in Grade 6 . After the experiment in the section and the guardians' positive responses, it implemented EMI from Nursery class to teach all the subjects in English except Nepali. About two decades' interval it has again gone back to NMI for teaching Social Studies , Economics Moral Science , Vocational Subjects as per the Nepal

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शाकुन्तल महाकाव्यभित्र भाषिक प्रयोग

भुवन अर्याल

उपप्राध्यापक

रेसुङ्गा बहुमुखी क्याम्पस, तम्घास, गुल्मी

सार :
शाकुन्तल महाकाव्य नेपाली साहित्यमा महाकाव्यको अभावलाई पूरा गर्दै लेखिएको उत्कृष्ट महाकाव्य हो । यो महाकवि देवकोटाका महाकाव्यहरूमध्येकै बेजोड महाकाव्य पनि हो । यस महाकाव्यमा प्रयुक्त भाषाले देवकोटाको भाव गाङ्गेयलाई साथ दिएको छ । शाकुन्तल महाकाव्यका पाठकहरु यसको भाषा शैलीबाट डराउने हुँदा पस्तकालय र अन्तकृति विधिको माध्यमबाट यसको भाषिक प्रयोग खोतल्ने काम भएको छ । भाषालाई भावका पछिपछि दौडाउने महाकविले संस्कृत, तत्सम, तद्भाव र आगन्तुक स्रोतका शब्दका साथै आवश्यक पर्दा आफ्नै व्याकरण तयार गरेर नौला शब्दद्वारा पनि भावलाई उचित निकास दिएका छन् । व्यङ्ग्यार्थ र ध्वन्यार्थका तहमा भावाभिव्यक्ति सुहाउँदो भाषिक प्रयोग यसभित्र पाउन सकिन्छ ।

शब्दावली : खुराक, ग्रयाजुयट, गाङ्गेय, ज्वारभाटा, तर्कुल्या, प्रभावोत्पादक, भावावेगी, स्फुरणशील

१. पृष्ठभूमि

महाकाव्य साहित्यको प्राचीनतम विधा हो । प्राचीन समयमा यसले पूर्वीय र पाश्चात्य दुबै साहित्यमा एकछत्र अधिकार जमाएको थियो । संस्कृत साहित्यमा महान विशारद बोकेको महाकाव्य विधा आज अतीतको साहित्यिक उपलब्धि हुनुका साथै यो महानिद्रामा परेको पनि शताब्दीऔं भैसक्यो । संस्कृतबाहेक विश्वका अन्य भाषाहरूमा महाकाव्य लेख्ने परम्परा जारी छ । संस्कृतमा छिटफुट महाकाव्य लेख्ने प्रयासहरू भए पनि अतीतको उपलब्धि इतिहासका पानामा मात्र सीमित छ । पश्चिमाहरूले पनि ‘द ग्रेट स्टिल बुक्स’ भनेर थन्काएको पनि लामो समय भै सक्यो । यिनै विषम परिस्थिति महाकाव्यको अस्तित्त्व झिनो बनेको छ ।

पूर्वमा ‘काव्य’ वा ‘साहित्यले व्यापक अर्थ बोकेजस्तै पश्चिममा पनि ‘लिटरेचर’ ले समस्त वाङ्मयलाई द्योतन गरेको पाइन्छ । सीमित अर्थलाई लिएर हेर्ने हो भने साहित्य अतर्गत गद्य, पद्य र चम्पू पर्दछन् । यी मध्ये पद्यलाई मात्र लिएर हेर्ने हो भने मुक्त काव्य र प्रबन्ध काव्य गरी दुई भेद पाउन सकिन्छ । यही प्रबन्ध काव्यको बृहत, बृहत्तर वा बृहत्तम् रूप नै महाकाव्य हो ।

महाकाव्यसम्बन्धी चिन्तनको ऐतिहासिक परम्परा पूर्वबाट नै भएको पाइन्छ । पूर्वमा महाकाव्य सम्बन्धी चिन्तन बाल्मीकीय, रामायण, महाभारतजस्ता आदर्श ग्रन्थबाट प्रभावित भएको पाइन्छ । यिनी आदर्श महाकाव्य ग्रन्थहरूको सापेक्षतामा महाकाव्यको परिभाषा तथा चिन्तनहरू विकास भएको पाइन्छ । पश्चिममा पनि महाकाव्य सम्बन्धी चिन्तन तथा परिभाषाहरू होमरका इलियट र ओडेसीकै सापेक्षतामा विकास भएका देखिन्छन् । पूर्वका बाल्मीकि र ब्यास महाकाव्यको इतिहासका आदर्श पुरुष मानिन्छन् भने पश्चिममा होमर आदर्श पुरुष हुन् । यिनैको आदर्शतालाई दृष्टिगत गरी दिइएको पूर्व र पश्चिमका महाकाव्य सम्बन्धी चिन्तनमा महाकाव्यका आवश्यक तङ्खवहरू अन्तर्गत भाषाशैलीको चर्चा भएको पाइन्छ । पूर्वमा महाकाव्यको भाषाशैलीका सन्दर्भमा संक्षेपमा अभिष्ट अर्थ व्यक्त गर्ने, दोषमुक्त, रसयुक्त आलङ्कारिक पदावलीलाई महाकाव्यको भाषिक संरचनाभित्र समावेश गरिएको पाइन्छ । त्यस्तै पश्चिमी विद्वानहरूको चिन्तनअनुसार महाकाव्यको परिभाषाभित्र यसको भाषिक सुगठित एवं आलङ्कारिक पदयुक्त कृतिका रूपमा हेरेको पाइन्छ । पूर्व र पश्चिममा व्यक्त भएका महाकाव्य सम्बन्धी भाषिक प्रयोग सापेक्षतामा शाकुन्तल महाकाव्यको भाषिक प्रयोगलाई केलाउने प्रयास गरिएको छ ।

२. अध्ययन विधि र प्रक्रिया :

शाकुन्तल महाकाव्यको भूमिका खण्डमा देवकोटा स्वयम्ले उल्लेख गरेका छन् - तीन महिनाको लेखाइ तीन वर्षको पढाइ होला । बुझ्रेर पढिदिने एक हातको औंलामा भए काफी छ ...... (पूर्ववत् भूमिका) यसैले महाकाव्यभित्रको भाषिक प्रयोग सन्दर्भमा अध्ययन गर्नका लागि निम्न लिखित विधि र प्रक्रिया अपनाइएको छ :

- पुस्तकालयीय विधि
- अन्तरकृति अध्ययन विधि

यी विधि र समीक्षा प्रक्रियाको माध्यमबाट देवकोटा कसरी आफ्ना भाव व्यक्त गर्न भाषालाई खेलाएका छन् भन्ने पक्षमा केन्द्रित रहिएको छ ।

३. सैद्धान्तिक पूर्वाधार

नेपाली महाकाव्यको इतिहासमा शाकुन्तल महाकाव्य पहिलो मौलिक महाकाव्य हो । महाकाव्य स्रष्टा देवकोटाले वि.सं.२००० सालमा 'सुषमालोचन' लेख्ने जमर्को गरेको कुरा शारदा पत्रिकाको आठौं अङ्कबाट बुझ्न सकिन्छ । सुषमालोचनको केही अङ्कमा नै तिरोहित भएको देवकोटाको प्रतिभा वि.सं.२००२ सालमा 'शाकुन्तल' महाकाव्यका रूपमा ज्वारभाटा नै मच्चाउने गरी आशुकवित्व प्रकट भएको पाउन सकिन्छ । यस महाकाव्यमा पूर्वीय र पाश्चात्य साहित्य समीक्षामा उल्लेख भएका अधिकांश आवश्यक तङ्खवहरू तथा विशेषताहरू मिल्दाजुल्दा छन् तर वस्तुसंगठनका दृष्टिले महाकाव्य केही खुकुलो छ । नेपाली साहित्यमा मौलिक महाकाव्यको अभाव भएका बेला देवकोटाले तीनै महिनाको छोटो अवधिमा उच्चस्तरीय महाकाव्य रचना गर्न सक्नु असाधारण प्रतिभाकै उपज हो भन्न सकिन्छ । महाकाव्य युगजीवनको समग्र ढुकढुकी बोकेको कविताको बृहतम एवं महिमामय स्वरूप हो । कथानक, इतिहास, पुराण आदिमा ख्यात सन्दर्भलाई आधार बनाई समसामयिक सन्दर्भलाई समेत समेटेर तत्कालीन सत्तासीन व्यक्तिहरूप्रति पनि कटाक्ष गर्न सक्नु देवकोटाको विशिष्ट प्रतिभा हो । कथानक, नायक, परिवेश, छन्द, अलङ्कार आदिको प्रयोगका दृष्टिले नेपाली महाकाव्यकै इतिहासमा शाकुन्तल महाकाव्य अद्वितीय बन्न पुगेको छ । देवकोटाको प्रतिभा ख्यात महाकाव्य विषयवस्तुको संगठनमा कसरी भाषाको लगाम पक्रेर अगाडि बढेको छ त ? भाषिक दृष्टिबाट शाकुन्तल महाकाव्यको स्तर कहाँनिर छ त ? सोको निरूपणतर्फ प्रस्तुत अन्वेषण मोडिएको छ । वि.सं. २००० सालमा लक्ष्मीप्रसाद देवकोटा सुषमालोचन महाकाव्य लेख्न बसे तर केही श्लोकमै पूर्णबिराम लागेको तथ्य पूर्व प्रसङ्गमा आइसकेको छ । त्यसपछि कविताको मझौला रूपमै रमाएका देवकोटा वि.सं. २००२ सालमा महाकाव्यमा बेजोडका साथ प्रस्तुत भए । पौराणिक कथावस्तुलाई नेपालीकरण गरेर तीन महिनाको छोटो अवधिमा तयार पारिएको यस महाकाव्यको भाषिक संरचना असामान्य भएको यथार्थ देवकोटा स्वयंले यसै महाकाव्यको भूमिकामा व्यक्त गरेको निम्नलिखित अभिव्यक्तिबाट बुझ्न सकिन्छ । "पण्डितहरूलाई ठाउँठाउँमा आधुनिकताले तर्साउँछ, ग्रयाजुयटलाई संस्कृतले, साधारण पाठकलाई विचार र शब्दको क्लिष्ट नवीनताले ।" (शाकुन्त महाकाव्यः भूमिका) देवकोटाको यही अभिव्यक्तिबाट पनि देवकोटाले शाकुन्तल महाकाव्यभित्र चानचुने भाषा प्रयोग गरेका छैनन् । क्लिष्ट भाषा र

भाषागत बनोट पनि जटिल बनाएका छन् भन्ने यथार्थ बुझ्न सकिन्छ । आफ्नो भावाभिव्यक्तिका लागि भाषा प्रर्याप्त नठान्ने देवकोटाका सन्दर्भमा बालकृष्ण समले वि.सं. २०२५को भानु विशेषाङ्कमा संस्मरण (सरस्वतीप्रसाद) देवकोटा शीर्षकमा लेखेका छन् "मेरो अभिव्यक्तिका निम्ति भाषा प्रर्याप्त छैन ।" हुन पनि भावको धाराप्रवाह अभिव्यक्तिलाई सहज रूपमा थेग्ने गरी भाषा प्रर्याप्त नहुँदा आफ्ना काव्यकृतिहरूभित्र संस्कृत, अंग्रेजी, हिन्दी लगायतका भाषाहरू शब्दहरू प्रयोग भएका छन् । विलक्षण प्रतिभाका धनी देवकोटामा काव्यको मूल फुट्दा त्यसलाई थेग्न सक्ने भाषा सहज नहुनु स्वाभाविक पनि हो । महाकाव्यभित्र भाषिक प्रयोगमा देवकोटा के कसरी प्रस्तुत भएका छन् त ? यही तथ्यलाई अन्वेषण गर्नेतर्फ प्रस्तुत अन्वेषण क्रियाशील छ ।

४. शाकुन्तल महाकाव्यमा भाषिक प्रयोग :

कवितामै घण्टौं फतफताउन सक्ने, अविछिन्न कुरा कवितामै गर्न सक्ने देवकोटाको लागि भाषा प्रर्याप्त थिएन । भावलाई धाराप्रवाह ओकेल्ने क्रममा देवकोटाले अन्य भाषाका शब्दहरू पनि त्यत्तिकै आफ्नै व्याकरण र निर्माण प्रक्रियाद्वारा तयार गरेर प्रयोग गर्थे भन्ने सन्दर्भमा उनको एफ्रो-एसियाली युवक संगठनको तासकन्दमा भाषण गरेको प्रसङ्गबाट पनि बुझ्न सकिन्छ । काव्य रचना गर्दा त झन देवकोटा संसारिक जीवनबाट नितान्त टाढा रहेर भावना काव्य संसार डुबुल्की मार्थे यसैले उनलाई शब्दभण्डार, व्याकरणका नियम लगायतका कुराहरू यथेष्ठ हुँदैनथे । यस सन्दर्भमा उनले नै शाकुन्तल महाकाव्यको प्रथम सर्ग अन्तर्गत व्यक्त गरेको निम्न लिखित अभिव्याक्तिबाट पनि बुझ्न सकिन्छ :-

भाषा भासिन जान्छ भासहरूमा दौडेर चाँडो अलि

अड्दै टिप्न सिपालु छैन रसिला बास्ना भएका कलि

बत्ती फूल समान शब्दहरूका जान्नन् धपक्कै बली

होली कान्तकला कपोल कलिला लञ्जावती लालीमा । *(शाकुन्तल १:१७)*

भावना छिटो दौडिएमा भावनाकै भासमा भाषा भासिन पुग्छ । भन्ने धारणा व्यक्त गर्ने कविका लागि भाषा यथेष्ठ हुन नसक्ने तथ्य यसबाट बुझ्न सकिन्छ । कविको भावनाको ज्वारभाटा थेग्न भाषा र व्याकरणका नियममात्र काफी छैनन् । यसै सन्दर्भमा यसै महाकाव्यकै अर्का ठाउँ कवि भन्दछन् :-

भाषा सागर रत्न हो भिलीमिली छाती छचल्काउँदै

स्वर्गलाई समाउने सुनहला सौन्दर्यका छालमा

यो ढुङ्गे तटमा सिपी सजल नै फ्याँक्दो छ रिस्ता सब

पारवारध्वनि प्रगूढ यसमा गुँच्छन् भने तुष्ट छु । *(१:१८)*

प्रस्तुत अभिव्यक्तिमा देवकोटाले भाषालाई सागर रत्न मान्दै स्वर्गलाई समाउन सक्ने स्वर्णीम आभास भाषाबाट आफूले गरेको व्यक्त गर्दै ढुङ्गामा सिपी सजल बनाएर फ्याँकेकोले सुमधुर ध्वनि प्रकट हुन सकेमा आफू सन्तुष्ट हुने आशय कविको छ । भाषा र भावको तारतम्यबाट सत्काव्य सिर्जना हुने संकेत गरेका कविले आफ्नो भावावेग दौडाउन सकेसम्म भाषिक शिल्प संरचनामा सचेतना अपनाएकै छन् तर आफूबाट व्यक्त भएको आवाज पाठक वा श्रोता समक्ष सहज रूपमा पुग्न सकेमा आफ्नो त्यसैमा सन्तुष्टि हुने धारणा पनि कविको छ । देवकोटाको भाषिक प्रयोग सन्दर्भमा शब्दार्थ, वाच्यार्थ या लक्ष्यार्थका तहमा नभई व्यङ्ग्यार्थ र ध्वन्यार्थका तहमा हुने गर्दछ । यसै सन्दर्भमा प्रा.डा. रामनाथ ओझा लेख्दछन : “देवकोटा भाषा माथि असाधारण क्षमता वा हौसियत राख्ने व्यक्ति हुन् । उनी विशिष्ट भाषिक योजनामा रमाउने कवि भए पनि यिनी भाषाद्वारा नियन्त्रित तथा निर्देशित बन्ने कवि होइनन् । देवकोटा भाषिक नियम तथा पद्धतिभित्र अट्ने कवि पनि होइनन् ।” (कविता काव्यःपृ.२८५)

भावनाको अभिव्यक्तिका लागि भाषिक नियम तथा पद्धति देवकोटाका लागि प्रर्याप्त छैनन् । उनी आफ्ना खुशीले भाषिक योजना तयार गर्छन् । उनका लागि भाषिक पद्धति तथा नियमहरू प्रर्याप्त पनि हुँदैनन् । देवकोटा भावको ज्वारभाटालाई जेजस्ता भाषिक स्रोत वा पदावलीले थेग्छ त्यसैतर्फ बहकिन सक्छन् भन्ने आकल गर्न सकिन्छ । कतिपय सन्दर्भमा कवि लामालामा पंक्तिहरू नै पूर्ण संस्कृत तत्सम शब्दको प्रयोगतर्फ समेत गरेका देखिन्छन् :-

सुन मिष्टकथासुभाषिणी

मुदुमार्ध्रूविलासमोहिनी

वनशीलतवारिबाहिनी

शिवसतसुन्दरतानिनादिनी *(१:४)*

भाषालाई सागररत्न सम्झने देवकोटाका भावलहरीले संयोजन गरेका शब्दहरूलाई निम्न लिखित समूहमा राखेर चर्चा गर्न सकिन्छ :-

(अ) संस्कृत शब्दहरूको अत्यधिक प्रयोग

यस महाकाव्यमा संस्कृत शब्दहरू अत्यधिक मात्र प्रयोग भएको यथार्थ देवकोटा स्वयं लेख्दछन्:- "...... ग्रयाजुयटलाई संस्कृतले तर्साउँछ.........।" (भूमिका) हुन पनि महाकाव्यभित्र प्रयोग भएका कतिपय पदावली वा पंक्तिहरू पूर्णरूपमा संस्कृत तत्सम समस्त शब्दयुक्त छन् । संस्कृतका पर्यायवाची र अनेकार्थी शब्दले सामान्य पाठलाई तर्साउँछन् पनि अरु संस्कृत भाषाको बलियो जग नहुनेहरूलाई दुरुह लाग्नु स्वाभाविक पनि हो । कतिपय पंक्ति/श्लोक त संस्कृतकै हुन जस्तो लाग्छ

युगनाम मिलिन्द गुञ्जिनी *(१:४३)*

त्यस्तै हृदयब्योम सुवर्ण विहारिणी

मधुमादक पङ्ख प्रसारिणी *(३:३३)*

यी श्लोकांशहरू हेर्दा कतै संस्कृत महाकाव्यकै श्लोक पो हुन् कि भन्ने भान पाठकलाई पर्न सक्दछ । यसैले देवकोटाले भूमिका खण्डमा उल्लेख गरे जस्तै ग्रयाजुयट संस्कृतबाट तर्सिन्छन् नै चानचुने संस्कृतका विद्यार्थीहरूसमेत शब्दकोश पल्टाउनुपर्ने स्थितिमा पुग्दछन् । त्यस्तै अर्को श्लोकांशमा पनि त्यही अवस्था देखिन्छ :

कलिकल्मषहीन कालिनी

कनककाभा छ उषाचिरन्तनी *(१:४६)*

धेरै तत्सम शब्दहरू मिलाएर एउटै तत्सम समस्त शब्द तयार गर्नु देवकोटाका लागि सामान्य जस्तै लागेको देखिन्छ । आफ्ना प्रबल भावना थेग्नका लागि तत्सम समस्त शब्दहरू नै देवकोटाका लागि सहज थिए भन्ने अनुमान शाकुन्तल महाकाव्यका प्रथमदेखि तृतीय सर्गसम्मका अधिकांश श्लोकहरूबाट गर्न सकिन्छ ।

विशेष गरी महाकाव्यको आरम्भमा कतै पूरै श्लोकमा त कतै पंक्तिमा पूरै संस्कृत शब्दहरू प्रयोग भएका छन् । भावावेगमा बहिएका कविले धारा प्रवाह रूपमा बगेका शब्दलाई

महाकाव्यको भाव अभिव्यक्तिमा प्रयोग गरेका छन् । धेरै शब्दहरू मिलाएर एउटै समस्त तत्सम निर्माण गर्नु देवकोटाका लागि सामान्य जस्तै लागेको देखिन्छ :

हृदयव्योमसुवर्ण विहारिणी

मधुरमादक पङ्ख प्रसारिणी *(३:३३)*

त्यस्तैः **मिष्टभावप्रतिनादकन्दरा**

मोहिनी मृदुल-भार-मन्दिरा *(३:४६)*

देवकोटा संस्कृत तत्सम शब्द यसरी धाराप्रवाह रूपमा चलाउँछन् कि पाठकले उनका श्लोक पढ्दा संस्कृत पढ्दैछु कि नेपाली श्लोक पढ्दैछु ? यकिन गर्नै सक्दैनन् । यसैले कविको वक्तव्यमा भएकै भनाइ ग्रयाजुयटलाई संस्कृतले तर्साउँछ ।" भन्ने प्रमाणित भएभ्रै लाग्छ ।

(आ) नौला शब्दहरूको प्रयोग

भावको अथाह गहिराइबाट बाहिरिनका लागि महाकवि लक्ष्मीप्रसाद देवकोटाले आफ्नै ढाँचाका शब्दहरूको प्रयोग गरेका छन् । भावप्रवाह गर्ने सन्दर्भमा शब्दकोश र व्याकरणका नियमहरूको प्रवाह नगर्ने लक्ष्मीप्रसाद देवकोटाले शाकुन्तल महाकाव्यभित्र पनि भावअनुसारका शब्द व्युत्पादन गरेर एउटा छुट्टै विशिष्टता थपेका छन् । "यी शब्दहरूले दुरुहताको विशेषण बोक्नु स्वाभाविकै हो तैपनि यी शब्दहरू नेपाली भाषा साहित्यको भण्डारमा स्वागत योग्य छन् ।" (अर्यालः शाकुन्त शोधग्रन्थ महाकाव्यको अध्ययन अप्रकाशित)

शब्द	सर्ग	श्लोक	अर्थ
पहेंली चुच्चे	६	२	पहेंलो चुच्चो भएको
अधखिल अधरा	७	५५	आँखा ओंठ खुलेकी
चित्र-चङ्गी	७	५३	हलुका स्वच्छ हृदय भएकी
पूँजीदो	९	१५	थुप्रिंदो
मनहरा	९	२१	मनलाई हरण गर्ने

शब्द	सर्ग	श्लोक	अर्थ
माथपोष	११	२५	शिरपोष, टोपी
पयरकष्ट	११	६७	पाउ कष्ट
केकिंदा	१२	३७	मयुरको आवाज जस्तो
पानी आँखे	१३	५३	पानीद्वार आँखा भएकी
दुब्लिदा	१३	६७	दुब्लो भएका
तहालु	१३	४७	तह-तह परेका
झलाइने	१४	३०	झल्काइने
मुहारको दिल्यो	१४	४८	दिमाग भित्र पस्यो
चित्रियो	१४	४३	चित्रजस्तो भयो
राज्यछिन्	१४	६५	राजगर्दछिन्, विराजमान हुन्छिन् ।
निदालु	१५	६०	निद्रालु, निदमा मस्त
नरमिन्छ	१६	१५	नरम हुन्छ
विचर्थी	१९	२२	विचरण गर्थी
इच्छा प्रकम्पी	२१	१२०	इच्छाहरू चटपटाउने
प्रातः समयी	२१	१२६	प्रातकालीन
पूर्वगगनी	२१	१६५	पूर्वी आकाशजस्ती
दूररेखा	२२	३	टाढाबाट देखिने
कापेली	२३	३	हात छिराउने काप भएकी

शब्द	सर्ग	श्लोक	अर्थ
तुँवाले	२३	४५	मलिन तुँवालो जस्तो
अर्मठ जुंघे	२३	५५	लठारिएका जुँगा भएको आरिमोठे
यानका हाँक	२३	१५	रथ हाँक्ने
निर्मलाएर	२३	१६५	निर्मल भएर, सफा भएर
पल्वन्छिन्	२३	१३६	पाउलिन्छन्, पालुवा हाल्छन्
मृदुकुने	२३	१९५	कमला, चिल्ला चुच्चा भएका, चिल्ला कोण भएका
चुर्बुरिने	२४	४	चुरबुर आवाजले भरिने

महाकाव्यभित्र खोज्दै जाँदा यस्ता तमाम व्युत्पन्न शब्दहरू प्रयोग भएका छन् । यिनीहरूको व्युत्पादन प्रक्रियामा देवकोटा स्वयम्को शब्दकोश छ । निर्माण प्रक्रिया आफ्नै छ । प्रत्यय आफ्नै ढाँचाबाट प्रयोग गरेका छन् । शब्दकोश र व्याकरणका नियमको दायरामा बाँधिदा आफूलाई भाषाले अवरोध गर्ने हुँदा सोको विकाश नौला शब्दबाट गर्न खोजेको देखिन्छ ।

(इ) हिन्दी शब्दको प्रयोग

भावको बेरोकटोक अभिव्यक्तिका लागि देवकोटाको कलमी जादूले तत्सम शब्दमात्र होइन आगन्तुक शब्द अन्तर्गत हिन्दी शब्दहरूलाई पनि मनगगे प्रयोग गरेका छन् । भावनाको गाङ्गेय प्रवाहमा कुनै पनि भाषामा भएका शब्दहरू सँधै पर्याप्त हुन्छन् भन्न सकिँदैन । यसैले देवकोटाले यसरी हिन्दी शब्दहरू प्रयोग गरेका छन् :

शब्द	सर्ग	श्लोक	अर्थ
सुनहला	१	१८	सुनौला
चिडिया	१	४५	चरा

शब्द	सर्ग	श्लोक	अर्थ
सुनहला	१	१८	सुनौला
उछलिई	२	२२	उफ्रेर
उखदी	२	४०	टुटेर, उखोलिएर
चाँद	४	१३	चन्द्रमा
बुझ्यो	४	७१	निभ्यो
बुँद	४	७	थोपा
राह	५	३०	बाटो, मार्ग
सुनौला	६	४७	कोक्रो, झोलुङ्गो
अज्मेर	७	१९	आफैले सोचेर
हिलाई	७	३९	हल्लाएर
विस्तरा	९	२२	विछ्यौना
बग्ल्मा	१०	३७	काखीमा
नोक	११	२२	टुप्पो
जुदा	१२	१९	भिन्नै, अर्की
धूप	१२	५५	गर्मी
धड्कन	१५	३७	मुटुको ढुकढुकी
मिटी	१४	४८	मेटिएर
खाक	१५	५८	खरानी
शोर	१५	२०	ठूलो शब्द हल्ली खल्ली

शब्द	सर्ग	श्लोक	अर्थ
सुनहला	१	१८	सुनौला
सबाल	१५	१५७	प्रश्न
देरी	१९	११	अबेर, ढिलो
दुधारु	२०	४१	दुधालु, धेरै दूध दिने
नाराज	२०	४७	बेखुशी, रिसाएकी
हुँडार	२१	७६	ब्वाँसो
उपर	२	२५	माथि
पथर	२	२५	पाउ / खुट्टा

यसरी देवकोटाले महाकाव्यका विभिन्न स्थानमा भावाभिव्यक्तिका लागि हिन्दी स्रोतका शब्दहरू प्रयोग गरेको पाइन्छ । यसका साथै उर्दू र अङ्ग्रेजी मूलका शब्दलाई पनि आफ्नो अभिव्यक्तिका निम्ति रोज्न परेको उल्लेख गर्दै कविले पण्डितलाई आधुनिकताले तर्साने सङ्केत गर्नु यसको साक्ष्य हो । त्यस्तै उनका भाषाशैलीमा टिप्न सकिने अर्को विशेषता पनि पाउन सकिन्छ त्यो हो ।

(उ) व्याकरणका नियमहरूमाथिको उलङ्घन

महाकवि देवकोटाले एकातिर प्रबल भाव अभिव्यक्तिका लागि शब्दहरूलाई भावको इशारामा चलाएका छन् भने अर्कोतिर छन्दको प्रवाहमा व्याकरणिक पदक्रमबाट पनि विचलित देखिन्छन् । यस सन्दर्भमा संस्कृत साहित्यका छन्दवादीहरूको उक्ति यहाँ समीचीन देखिन्छ- "अपिमासं मसं कुर्यात छन्दो भङ्गं नकारयेत" देवकोटाले पनि यही अभिव्यक्तिमा सहमति जनाएका छन् । यस सन्दर्भमा उनको भनाइ पनि छ । व्याकरणले तर्कुल्या र बर्धन्याको दाँया-बाँया घुम्टो ठाउँठाउँमा मिलोन भनेर नाक चेप्राउने अवकाश कहीं पाउला तर रसिक......" (पूर्ववत्: शाकुन्तल वक्तव्य)

व्याकरणका नियमको उलङ्घन महाकाव्यभित्र निम्न अवस्थामा देखिन्छ :-

- पदक्रममा विचलन :

यो प्रक्रिया महाकाव्यका अधिकांश श्लोकहरूमा पाउन सकिन्छ । अलङ्कार र छन्द संयोजनमा पदक्रममा विचलनको स्थिति पाइनु स्वाभाविक पनि हो । यस सन्दर्भमा कविले प्रयोग गरेको पदक्रम विचलनको स्थितिलाई निम्नानुसार प्रस्तुत गर्न सकिन्छ :-

बहुल विपिनबल्ली नाच्छन् दिव्य हल्ली

पिक नव-रव बोल्छन् मञ्जरीभित्र चिल्ली (२:३)

यस श्लोकांशमा कविले बहुलविपिनवल्ली दिव्य हल्ली नाच्छन्' लाई पदक्रम भङ्ग गरेर प्रस्तु गरेका छन् । त्यस्तै अर्को पंक्तिमा 'पिक मञ्जरीभित्र चिल्ली नव-रव बोल्छन्' लाई पदक्रम भङ्ग गरेर प्रस्तुत गरेका छन् ।

त्यस्तै प्रस्तुत महाकाव्यको प्रथम सर्गको निम्न श्लोकांश हेरौं :

दाडीबाट सफेद व्यास ऋषिको... (१:१९)

यस श्लोकांशमा पनि 'सफेद' विशेषण शब्द 'दाडी' नामका अगाडि आई सफेद दाडी' हुनु पर्नेमा 'सफेद व्यास' बनाएका छन् । ऋषिको दाडी सफेद हुनुपर्ने अर्थ बताउन श्लोकले खोजेको छ तर अर्थ व्यास नै सफेद भन्ने आशय बताउनतर्फ श्लोक भएको छ ।

यस्ता प्रसङ्गहरू कोट्याउँदै जाँदा यस महाकाव्यका अधिकांश स्थानमा पदक्रमका नियमहरू भङ्ग भएको पाउन सकिन्छ । काव्यात्मक भाषालाई आलङ्कारिक र प्रभावोत्पादक बनाउन देवकोटाको यो भाषिक प्रयोग स्वाभाविक देखिन्छ ।

- वर्णविन्यासका नियमहरू भङ्ग

देवकोटाले यस महाकाव्यलाई छन्दको फूलबारी नै बनाएका छन् । संस्कृत काव्यपारखीहरू भन्दछन्-अपि मासं मसं कुर्यात् छन्द भङ्गं नकारयेत ।" देवकोटा पनि छन्द संयोजनको क्रममा यही अभिव्यक्तिको नजिक छन् । समीक्ष्य महाकाव्यको भूमिका खण्डमा पूर्व स्वीकारोशक्ति व्यक्त गरेका छन् । यस अभिव्यक्तिबाट महाकाव्यभित्र वर्णविन्यास सम्बन्धी धेरै कसरमसर थाती राखेर रमणीय अर्थ प्रतिपादन गर्न महाकवि क्रियाशील रहेको बुझ्न सकिन्छ । वर्णविन्यासका नियमहरू भङ्गका सन्दर्भहरू खोज्दै जाने हो भने त्यस्ता शब्दहरूको सूची लामै हुने देखिन्छ तैपनि यहाँ केही दृटान्तहरू संकलन गर्ने प्रयास गरिएको छः

नियम, भङ्ग, शब्द	सर्ग	श्लोक
धूलि	१	९
दी	१	११
लाई	१	१५
सजीलो	१	१६
पहीलो	४	८५
झीना	४	९०

नियम, भङ्ग, शब्द	सर्ग	श्लोक
लीइकन	६	४७
आलि	७	३
हँसीलो	८	३४
घुति	९	५
शवल	९	१३
शशी	१०	८

यसरी हेर्दा शाकुन्तल महाकाव्यभित्र कविले वर्णविन्यासका नियमहरूमा सचेत हुनभन्दा पनि छन्द संयोजनतर्फ क्रियाशील भएका छन् । छन्द संयोजनसँगै पाठकले भाव बुझ्न सकून तर वर्णविन्यासका दृष्टिले शब्दशब्द वा पदावलीको विश्लेषण नगरुन् भन्ने अभिप्राय कविको देखिन्छ । कवि व्याकरणगत पक्षतिरभन्दा पनि भावगत शिल्पसौन्दर्यतर्फ बढी केन्द्रित भएका छन् ।

व्याकरणविद्हरूले नाक चेप्राए पनि रसिकहरूले पोषिलो खुराक प्राप्त गर्न सकून भन्ने चाहना राख्ने महाकवि व्याकरणगत भाषिक प्रयोगभन्दा भावगत सरलता, छन्दगत सन्तुलन, शैलीगत परिष्कारलाई बढी ध्यान दिएको पाउन सकिन्छ ।

निष्कर्ष

शाकुन्तल महाकाव्य नेपाली महाकाव्यको इतिहासमा अभावको पूरा गर्दै वि.सं. २००२ सालमा प्रकाशित महाकाव्य हो । यो भानुभक्तीय रामायणपछिको दोस्रो महत्त्वपूर्ण एवं प्रथम मौलिक महाकाव्य हो । विश्वका विकसित भाषाहरूमा महाकाव्य लेखन परम्परा झण्डै स्थगित भैसकेपछि भगीरथ गङ्गा अवतरण गराउने देवकोटाको महाकाव्यीय प्रयासमा सर्वोत्तम निधिका

रूपमा यस महाकाव्यलाई लिन सकिन्छ । यस महाकाव्यको स्तरका सन्दर्भमा भनिएको छ । "यो जत्तिको उच्च कोटिको महाकाव्य नेपालीमा लेखिएकै छैन । अरुको त के कुरा स्वयं देवकोटाकै पनि यो जोडाको महाकाव्य छैन ।" (जोशी कुमारबहादुर पृ. ६१) यसबाट नेपाली महाकाव्यको इतिहासमा शाकुन्तल महाकाव्यको स्थान बुझ्न सकिन्छ ।

त्यस्तै यस महाकाव्यको काव्यगत मूल्यका सन्दर्भमा अर्का वरिष्ठ समालोचक लेख्दछन् :- शाकुन्तल प्रकृति लोकको उन्मुक्तवि चरण हो भनूँ शाकुन्तल प्रकृति चेतनाका दृष्टिले भव्यतर र गरिमामय छ । साथ-साथ प्रकृति केन्द्री भावलोकको दृष्टिले पनि शाकुन्तल धनाढ्य छ । (त्रिपाठी, वासुदेव, महाकाव्य बूढो पूरानो साहित्यिक विधा पृ.१०६) । यी विभिन्न अभिव्यक्तिहरूका आधारमा शाकुन्तल महाकाव्य नेपाली महाकाव्यको इतिहासमा अतुलनीय महाकाव्य देखिन्छ ।

यस महाकाव्यको भाषाशैली पनि बेजोड छ । देवकोटा भाषामा असाधारण क्षमता राख्ने व्यक्तित्व हुन् । भाषिक नियम वा पद्धतिभित्र अट्ने व्यक्तित्व पनि होइनन । भाववेगी कवि उच्च कवित्वको बेरोकटोक उडानले जुनसुकै भाषाका शब्दहरू पनि सहज रूपमा भावाभिव्यक्तिमा स्वीकार गर्नुका साथै भिन्न स्रोतका शब्दहरूमा समेत उपसर्ग र प्रत्ययको प्रयोग गरी नयाँ प्रकृतिका शब्दहरूको निर्माण गर्न पुगेका छन् । भावव्यक्त गर्ने क्रममा जुन भाषाका शब्दहरू भावसँग बगेर आउन सक्दछन् । तिनलाई सहज रूपमा स्वीकार गरेर भाषिक संयोजन गरिएको छ । कविले तत्सम, तद्भव र आगन्तुक शब्दहरूलाई पनि उचित स्थान दिएर भाव संयोजन गरेका छन् भने महाकाव्यभित्र तत्सम तथा संस्कृत शब्दहरूकै बाहुल्यता देखिन्छ । लामा-लामा तत्सम पदावलीले पंक्ति वा श्लोकको रचना हुँदा भाषिक क्लिष्टता त्यत्तिकै देखिन्छ । स्वतस्फूर्त रूपमा आएका शब्दहरूले भावनाका कुबेर देवकोटाका भावलहरीको तीव्रतालाई निकास दिन सफल भएका छन् । आफ्नो भावअनुसार शब्दलाई नचाउन सक्ने खुबी भएका देवकोटाले भावअनुसार शब्द नबगेका स्थानमा नयाँ शब्दहरू आफ्नै ढङ्गबाट निर्माण गरेर भए पनि यस काव्यमा आफ्नो भावनालाई उचित निकास दिन सफल भएका छन् । भाषा प्रयोग नियोजित छैन । भावनाको भेलसँगै भाषा बग्न सफल भएको छ । महाकाव्यलाई छन्द, अलङ्कार र रसको उचित संयोजनले प्राकृत एवं मौलिक महाकाव्य बनाउन सफल भएको छ । यस महाकाव्यमा भाषाले भावलाई होइन भावले भाषालाई रोजेको छ । स्फुरणशील कवि व्यक्तित्वको महत्तर मनोहारी माधूर्य अभिव्यक्तिलाई भाषाले उचित साथ दिएको अनुभव हुन्छ ।

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ध्वनि परिवर्तनको प्रभावमा 'व' वर्ण

रमाकान्त पौडेल

उपप्राध्यापक

रेसुङ्गा बहुमुखी क्याम्पस, तम्घास, गुल्मी

शोधसार

मूल भारोपेली भाषामा परिवेशअनुसार कतै स्वर र कतै अर्धस्वरको ढाँचमा उच्चारण हुने अन्तस्थः वर्णहरू आर्यभाषाको प्राचीन कालमा व्यवस्थित भएका छन् । ई.सं.१५०० देखि ५०० का बीचमा मध्यकालमा परिवर्तम हुने क्रममा रहेको देखिन्छ । तत्कालीन अवस्थामा य'लाई ज' वा 'ओ' का रूपमा उच्चारण गर्न थालिएको देखिन्छ । यो प्रवृत्ति निरन्तर जारी छ । । अन्तस्थः वर्णहरू (य, व) परिवेशअनुसार क्रमशः ए, ज र ओ, ब'मा वितरण भई स्वतन्त्रता गुमाउने अवस्थामा पुगेका छन् तर समाप्त भएका छैनन् ।

मुख्य शब्दावली : उत्पादन, घोषीभवन, नासिक्यभवन, प्रयत्नलाघव, मतैक्यता, वैयाकरण, विषमीभवन, समीभवन ।

विषय प्रवेश

सांसारिक तङ्ववहरू परिवर्ततनशील छन् । संसारको शाब्दिक अर्थ परिवर्तन हो (आप्टे : १९६९ पृ. १०५०) परिवर्तन संसारको गुण, धर्म वा नियम हो । जगत्का अनेकौं तङ्ववमध्ये भाषा पनि एक हो । यसकारण भाषामा पनि नियमित फेरबदल भइरहन्छन् । यथास्थितिमा बानी परेका भाषिक समुदायका विज्ञ सदस्यहरू भाषामा हुने भिन्न प्रयोगलाई अस्वीकार गर्छन् । उनीहरू परिवर्तनलाई नियमको उल्लङ्घन मान्दछन् । विभिन्न कारणले भाषिक व्यवस्था र उपव्यवस्थामा परिवर्तन हुन्छ । यस्ता भिन्न प्रयोगलाई तात्कालिक अवस्थामा त्रुटि मानिए पनि कालान्तरमा स्वीकृत हुँदै जान्छन् । वैयाकरणहरू मानक प्रयोगमा जोड दिन्छन् तर लोक व्यबहार तदनुकूल हुँदैन । भाषाको परिवर्तनशील स्वभावले मूलतः लोप र उत्पादनको स्थिति पैदा हुन्छ । अन्य सांसारिक रीति, स्थिति र नीतिअनुसार भाषा पनि अगाडि बढ्छ ।

१. अध्ययन विधि र प्रक्रिया

यो अनुसन्धानमा वर्णनात्मक र सर्वेक्षण विधिको चयन गरिएको छ । व'ध्वनिको ध्वनितात्विक परिवर्तनले अर्थ तात्विक स्वरूपमा समेत प्रभाव पारेको समस्यालाई पहिचान गरिएको छ। पूर्वेली भाषिकाको पर्वती उपभाषिकाको प्रयोग क्षेत्र गुल्मी, पाल्पा, अर्घाखाँची, स्याङ्गजा र पर्वतमा बोलिने नेपाली भाषाको कथ्य रूपमा 'व' ध्वनिको स्वरूप कस्तो भनी खोजतलास गर्ने काम भएको छ । सर्वेक्षण विधिबाट सङ्कलित सामग्रीलाई लेख्य श्रोतले समर्थन गर्छन् वा गर्दैनन् भन्ने थाहा पाउन पुस्कालयीय विधिको सहयोग लिइएको छ । यसका लागि किरण पुस्तकालय तम्घास, गुल्मी र रेसुङ्गा बहुमुखी क्याम्पस तम्घास गुल्मीको उपयोग गरिएको छ ।

सङ्कलित कथ्य, लेख्य लेख्य सामग्रीमा प्राप्त विवरणलाई प्रशोधन गर्दा व'ध्वनि सीमित सन्दर्भमा प्रयोग भइरहेको देखियो । नेपाली भाषाको सिङ्गो स्वरूपमा यसको अवस्थिति के छ ? भन्ने सामान्य अनुमान गर्न सकिए पनि यहाँ पूर्वेली भाषिकाको पर्वती उपभेदलाई केन्द्रीकृत गरिएको छ । नेपाली भाषाको यो प्रयोग क्षेत्रमा व'ध्वनि सीमित सन्दर्भमा प्रयोगमा भइरहेको देखिएको छ ।

२. सैद्धान्तिक पूर्वाधार

भाषाका व्यवस्था र उपव्यवस्थामा हुने क्रमभङ्गता नै भाषिक परिवर्तन हो । संरचनाका आधारमा भाषालाई केन्द्रीय र परिधीय गरी दुई क्षेत्रमा बाँडिन्छ । वर्ण, व्याकरण र शब्दभण्डार केन्द्रीय र ध्वनि र अर्थ परिधीय क्षेत्रभित्र पर्दछन् (ढकाल :२०६६ पृ. १९) । ध्वनि र वर्ण उच्चारण व्यवस्थाका उपव्यवस्था हुन् । यी दुवै क्षेत्रमा फेरबदल भएमा भाषिक परिवर्तन भनिन्छ । परिवर्तनका लागि सबै भाषामा समान किसिमका कारणले भूमिका खेलेका हुँदैनन् । भाषाविद्हरू परिवर्तनका कारणको बारेमा एकमत छैनन् । यति हुँदाहुँदै पनि स्थूल रूपमा बाह्य र आन्तरिक कारणले भाषामा परिवर्तन हुन्छ भन्ने बारेमा सबैको मतैक्यता पाइन्छ । बाह्य कारणमा भूगोल, राजनीति, इतिहास, सँस्कृति, ब्यक्ति, सादृश्यजस्ता विषय पर्छन् (तिवारी, १९८८ पृ. ६६१) । आन्तरिक कारणमा प्रयत्नलाघव, अनुकरणको अपूर्णता, लिपि सादृश्य, अन्य भाषाको प्रभाव, नवीकरणको प्रवृत्ति, भ्रामक व्युत्पत्ति, अनिश्चतता, परिवेश, प्रयोगाधिक्य, शारीरिक विभिन्नता, शिक्षा, जातीय मनोवृत्ति आदि कारण पर्दछन् (न्यौपाने, २०५१पृ.६१-६५) । भाषा परिवर्तनका यी कारणलाई प्रायः सबैले स्वीकार गरेका छन् ।

भाषा परिवर्तनमा खास किसिमको आन्तरिक नियमितता रहनुपर्छ भन्ने छैन । सकारण वा अकारण भाषिक परिवर्तनका अवस्था देखिन्छन् । यदि अकारण परिवर्तन देखिएको छ भने त्यसलाई यादृच्छिकता भनिन्छ । ध्वनि परिवर्तनका केही उदाहरण हेरौं :

संस्कृत भाषा	**नेपाली भाषा**	**परिवर्तन**
चट :	चरो	ट > र
वट :	वर	ट > र
कीट :	कीरो	
शवट :	छाउरो	
निकट	नेर	

यसरी नेपाली भाषा विकसित हुँदा 'ट' ध्वनि 'र' मा परिवर्तन भएका प्रशस्त उदाहरण पाइन्छन् । तर जुनसुकै शब्दमा यसो हुँदैन । केही उदाहरण निम्न अनुसार छन् ।

सँस्कृत भाषा	**नेपाली भाषा**
चेट :	चेलो
घट :	घडो

यसरी भाषा परिवर्तनमा नियमितता मात्र हुँदैन ।

भिन्न वस्तुको संयोग वा वियोगबाट उत्पन्न हुने कम्पन नै ध्वनि हो । भौतिक विज्ञानमा ध्वनिलाई एक प्रकारको शक्ति मानिन्छ । भाषिक ध्वनि उच्चारण अवयवको सक्रियतामा उत्पन्न हुन्छन् । ध्वनि अवयवद्वारा उच्चरित मानवीय अभिव्यक्ति नै भाषा हो (शर्मा, २०६० पृ. १) । उच्चारण व्यवस्थाको उपव्यवस्था ध्वनि हो । भाषिक ध्वनि प्रतीकात्मक हुन्छन् । यी प्रतीकहरू माथिल्ला संरचनामा सोपानक्रमले उनिँदै जाँदा अर्थगत स्पष्टता बढ्दै जान्छ ।

भाषिक ध्वनिलाई सामान्य रूपमा स्वर र व्यञ्जन गरी दुई वर्गमा बाँडिन्छ । यी दुवै भेदमा हुने फेरबदललाई ध्वनि परिवर्तन भनिन्छ । यी दुईमा पनि ब्यञ्जनको तुलनामा स्वर

ध्वनिमा परिवर्तनको तीव्रता र घनत्व कम हुन्छ । स्वरध्वनिहरू कम परिवर्तनशील र सार्वभौम हुन्छन् । व्यञ्जन ध्वनिहरू सापेक्ष र तीव्र परिवर्तनशील हुन्छन् । भाषिक ध्वनिहरूको समान परिवर्तनशील अवस्था हुँदैन । अर्धस्वरहरूको परिवर्तन व्यञ्जनको तुलनामा कम र स्वरको दाँजोमा बढी हुने स्थिति हुनुपर्ने देखिन्छ । तर आधुनिक भारतीय आर्यभाषाको सदस्य भाषा नेपालीमा स्वर र व्यञ्जन ध्वनिको पृथकपृथक विश्लेषण हुनु आवश्यक भएपनि यहाँ 'व' ध्वनिको उपस्थिति कस्तो छ र कुन दिशातिर उन्मुख देखिन्छ ? भन्ने विषयमा यो अनुसन्धान केन्द्रित छ ।

ध्वनि परिवर्तनका स्वरूपमा लोप, आदेश, आगम, विर्पयास, समीभवन, विषमीभवन, घोषीभवन, अघोषीभवन, अल्प्राणीभवन र महाप्राणीभवनजस्ता ध्वनितात्विक विशेषता पर्छन् । भाषिक ध्वनि शाब्दिक तहमा परस्परको प्रभावमा आई आफ्नो विशेषता छोडेर अर्को स्वरूप ग्रहण गर्नु नै ध्वनि परिवर्तन हो । लोप भनेको हराउनु हो । शब्दको आदि, मध्य र अन्त्य परिवेशमा आएका स्वर वा ब्यञ्जन ध्वनिहरू उच्चारण हुन छोड्नु नै लोप हो । विपर्यास भनेको शब्दमा वितरित ध्वनिहरूको परिवेश साटासाट हुनु हो । यस्तो प्रक्रियामा उनै ध्वनिहरू मात्र साटफेर हुनु पर्दैन । कुनै ध्वनिको सट्टामा आउने अर्को ध्वनि पनि साटफेर हुन सक्छ । समीभवन भनेको समान हुनु हो । शब्दका विभिन्न परिवेशमा वितरित ध्वनिहरू परस्परको प्रभावमा आउँदा समान उच्चारण हुने स्थिति देखिन्छ । समीभवनको उल्टो प्रक्रियालाई विषमीभवन भनिन्छ । समान ध्वनिहरू परस्परको प्रभावले विषम हुने अवस्था देखिन्छ । सघोष ध्वनिहरू अघोषमा बदलिनु अघोषीभवन हो भने अघोष ध्वनिहरू सघोषमा बदलिनु सघोषीभवन हो । यस्तै अल्पप्राण ध्वनिहरू महाप्राणमा बदलिनु महाप्राणीभवन र महाप्राण ध्वनिहरू अल्पप्राणमा बदलिनु अल्पप्राणीभवन हो । ध्वनि परिवर्तनमा अनेक स्वरूप देखिन्छन् । मौखिक ध्वनिहरू अनुनासिकमा फेरिनु नासिक्यीभवन हो । कुनै ध्वनि 'ह' मा फेरिनु हकारीभवन, अन्य ध्वनि मूर्धन्यमा बदलिनु मूर्धन्यीभवन, अनुष्म ध्वनिहरू उष्म (श, ष, स, ह) मा फेरिनु उष्मीभवन, अन्य ध्वनिहरू तालव्य ध्वनि (इ, ई, च, छ, ज, झ, ज, य, श) मा परिवर्तन हुनु तालव्यीभवन हो । कुनै ध्वनि 'र' मा बदलिनुलाई रकारीभवन भनिन्छ । ध्वनिको पुनरावृत्तिलाई द्वित्वीभवन भनिन्छ । यस्ता ध्वनिगत परिवर्तनका अनेकौं स्वरूप हुन्छन् । स्वर र ब्यञ्जनका परिवेशगत आधारमा परिवर्तन हुँदा अनेकौं भेद देखिन्छन् ।

आर्य भाषामा ध्वनिको क्रमिक विकास

हालसम्मको खोज अनुसन्धानले नेपाली भाषाको पुर्ख्यौली नाता भारोपेली भाषा परिवारसँग रहेको तथ्य प्रमाणित भएको छ (ढकाल :२०६६ पृ. ३३९) । भारोपेली शब्द भारत र युरोप दुई शब्दको एकीकृत रूप हो । भारतीय उपमहाद्वीप र युरोपमा बोलिने कतिपय भाषाको सम्बन्ध यही भाषापरिवारसँग रहेको छ । यो परिवारका प्राचीन, मध्यकालीन र आधुनिक भाषाका शब्दलाई आधार मानी पुनर्निर्माण प्रक्रियाबाट भारापेली भाषाका ध्वनिहरूको परिकल्पना गरिएको छ । पुनर्निर्माण गर्दा संस्कृत, अवेस्ता, ग्रीक, ल्याटिन आदि प्राचीन भाषाहरूको आधार लिइएको छ । यो भाषा परिवारको नाम र यसका ध्वनिहरू पूर्णतया आनुमानिक एवं काल्पनिक हुन् (द्विवेदी, १९९८ पृ.३८१) ।

मूल भारोपेली भाषामा कतिवटा ध्वनि थिए ? भन्ने बारेमा खोजकर्ताका बीच मतैक्यता छैन । डा. चूडामणि बन्धु भारोपेली भाषामा स्वर र व्यञ्जन गरी तेत्तीस भएको औंल्याउँछन् (बन्धु, २०५२ पृ.१०) । कपिलदेव द्विवेदी यिनको संख्या चालिस रहेको उल्लेख गर्दछन् (द्विवेदी, १९९८ पृ.३८१) । भोलानाथ तिवारी यिनको संख्या चौंतीस रहेको बताउँछन् (तिवारी, १९८८ पृ.१२०-१२१) । कुनै पनि विद्वान्ले दिएका ध्वनिसूचीमा संख्यात्मक एकरूपता छैन । यस विषयमा अन्तिम निर्णय दिनु असम्भव रहेको देखिन्छ (द्विवेदी, १९९८ पृ.३८१) ।

वैदिक संस्कृतमा भाषिक ध्वनिको संख्या बढेको देखिन्छ (बन्धु, २०५२ पृ.२५) । वैदिक संस्कृतमा जम्मा ५२ भाषिक ध्वनि थिए । ती निम्नानुसार देखिन्छन् ।

क्रम संख्या	स्वरूप	स्थान	ध्वनिहरू
१.	मूल स्वर		अ, आ, इ ई, उ, ऊ, ऋ, ॠ, ऌ
२.	संयुक्त स्वर		ए, ऐ, ओ, औ
३.	स्पर्शी	कण्ठ्य	क, ख, ग, घ, ङ
		तालव्य	च, छ, ज, झ, ञ
		मूर्धन्य	ट, ठ, ड, ळ, ढ, ळ्ह, ण
		दन्त्य	त, थ, द, ध, न
		ओष्ठ्य	प, फ, ब, भ, म
४.	अन्तस्थः		य, र, ल, व

५.	उष्म	संघर्षी	श, ष, स, ह, :
		जिह्वामूलीय	≍
		उपध्मानीय	≍
६.	अनुनासिक	अनुस्वर	

मूल भारोपेली भाषाका केही ध्वनिहरू प्राचीन आर्यभाषामा परिवर्तन भएका छन् । केही थपिएका छन् भने केही केही लोप भएका छन् । यस कालमा आइपुग्दा अन्तस्थः ध्वनिहरूको संख्यामा कमी आएको छ भने चवर्ग र टवर्गका ध्वनिहरूको विकास भएको छ (द्विवेदी, १९९८ पृ.४२६) । यस कालमा भारोपेली भाषाको कण्ठ्योष्ठ्य 'क्व' बाट 'ब' भएको छ (बन्धु, २०५२ पृ.२५) ।

लौकिक सँस्कृत (प्राचीन आर्यभाषाको दोस्रो चरण) मा आइपुग्दा केही परिवर्तनहरू भएका छन् । यस समयमा प्रचलित भाषिक ध्वनिहरू निम्नानुसार थिए ।

स्वर ध्वनिहरू : अ, आ, इ, ई, उ, ऊ, ऋ, लृ, ए, ऐ, ओ, औ

व्यञ्जन ध्वनिहरू : क, ख, ग, घ, ङ, च, छ, ज, झ, ञ, ट, ठ, ड, ढ, ण,

त, थ, द, ध, न, प, फ, ब, भ, म, य, र, ल, व, ह, :

आर्यभाषा विकासको तेस्रो चरणमा आइपुग्दा भाषिक ध्वनिमा थप परिवर्तन भएको देखिन्छ । तत्कालीन अवस्थामा आर्यहरू भारतीय उपमहाद्वीपका विभिन्न भूगोलमा फैलिएको थिए । त्यसको परिणाममा यो भाषाको ध्वनिव्यवस्थामा पनि प्रभाव परेको देखिन्छ । यसचरणमा प्रयोग भएका ध्वनिहरू निम्नानुसार थिए (बन्धु, २०५२ पृ.४३) ।

स्वर ध्वनिहरू : अ, आ, इ, ई, उ, ऊ, ए, ॆ, ओ, (ह्रस्व र दीर्घ)

व्यञ्जन ध्वनिहरू : क, ख, ग, घ, ङ, च, छ, ज, झ, ञ, ट, ठ, ड, ढ, ण

त, थ, द, ध, न, न, ह्न, ह्म, व्ह, प, फ, ब, भ, म, य, र, ल, व,

ल्ह, ड़, स, ह ।

भारोपेली भाषादेखि तेस्रो चरणसम्म नियमित विकास हुँदा ध्वनि पविर्तनका विभिन्न अवस्था देखिन्छन् ।

अन्तस्थः ध्वनिहरू स्वर र व्यञ्जन दुवैका साझा विशेषता पाइने भाषिक ध्वनिलाई अन्तस्थः भनिन्छ (तिवारी, ऐ) यी ध्वनिलाई अर्धस्वर, अर्धव्यञ्जन, अन्तस्थ :स्वर, अन्तस्थ व्यञ्जन भन्न सकिन्छ । भारोपेली भाषामा अन्तस्थ ध्वनिहरू दुई किसिमका थिए भन्ने अनुमान गरिएको छ । ती यसप्रकार छन् ।

य (इ), व (उ), ल (लृ) र (ऋ) न (न्) म (म्)

यी ध्वनिहरू कुनै अवस्थामा स्वर र कुनै अवस्थामा व्यञ्जन विशेषता लिई उच्चारण हुन्थे । माथि प्रस्तुत गरिएका ध्वनिहरूमा कोष्ठकभित्रका स्वर र बाहिरका व्यञ्जनको विशेषता लिने अन्तस्थः ध्वनि हुन् (तिवारी, ऐ) कतिपय भाषाशास्त्रीले यिनैलाई स्वर र व्यञ्जनका भेदले दुई प्रकारमा बाँडेका छन् (द्विवेदी, ऐ) चूडामणि बन्धुले यिनलाई दुई प्रकारमा देखाएका छन् । उनका अनुसार य (इ), व (उ) मात्र रहेका छन् (बन्धु, २०५०पृ.१०) । मूल भारोपेली भाषाका अन्तस्थः ध्वनि (न, म) हरू वैदिक सँस्कृतमा आइपुग्दा व्यञ्जनमा परिणत भएका छन् । लौकिक सँस्कृतमा यिनको संख्या झन् घटेको देखिन्छ । यस चरणमा य, व मात्र अन्तस्थः ध्वनि बाँकी रहे ।

आर्यभाषा विकासको तेस्रो चरणमा अन्तस्थः ध्वनिहरू झन् सङ्कटमा परेको देखिन्छ । य, को ज, व, को ब, मा परिवर्तन सामान्य प्रक्रिया भयो (बन्धु, २०५०पृ.४३) । यसबाट के प्रमाणित हुन्छ भने आजभन्दा एक हजार वर्षअगाडि नै अन्तस्थः ध्वनिले आफ्नो मौलिकता गुमाउँदै थिए । तर यी ध्वनि पूर्ण रूपमा समाप्त भएका छैनन्, बरु लोपोन्मुख अवस्थामा थिए । यी अन्तस्थःध्वनिमध्ये व ध्वनिको अस्तित्त्वलाई कुनै खोजले स्पष्ट पारेका छैनन् ।

वर्तमान अवस्था

आधुनिक आर्यभाषा काल विक्रमको एघारौ शताब्दीबाट प्रारम्भ भएको हो । यो चरणमा आइपुग्दासम्म मध्यकालीन आर्यभाषाको ध्वनिव्यवस्थामा प्रशस्त भिन्नता आएको देखिन्छ । यद्यपि तत्कालीन अवस्थामा भाषाको वर्णनात्मक अध्ययन भएको छैन । हाल उपलब्ध तत्कालीन सामग्रीमा आर्यभाषाको प्राचीन स्वरूपको वर्णविन्यासको प्रभाव पाइन्छ । कतिपय अवस्थामा वर्तमानसम्म पनि त्यो प्रभाव कायम रहेको छ । लेख्य भाषामा प्रयोग हुने लिपि सङ्केतले कथ्य

स्वरूपलाई हुबहु प्रतिनिधित्व गर्दैन । यसै पनि लिखित भाषा कथ्य भाषाभन्दा सय होइन हजार वर्षपछाडि हुन सक्छ । तसर्थ लिपि सङ्केत (वर्ण)ले ध्वनितात्विक विशेषतालाई यथार्थ ढङ्गले प्रतिनिधित्व गर्दैन । कुनै भाषामा प्रचलित वर्णसूची अर्थतात्विक दृष्टिले पनि विभेदक हुनुपर्दछ । भाषाको तत्कालीन मौलिकतालाई विचार गरी वर्णसूचीमा हेरफेर गरिन्छ ।

नेपाली भाषाको वर्तमान स्वरूपमा स्वर र व्यञ्जनको संख्या जम्मा ३५ रहेको देखिन्छ, जसमा २९ व्यञ्जन र ६ मूल स्वर छन् । वर्तमान नेपाली भाषाको वर्णसूची यसप्रकार छ,

व्यञ्जन वर्णहरू :–

क	ख	ग	घ	ङ	य	ह
च	छ	ज	झ		र	
ट	ठ	ड	ढ		ल	
त	थ	द	ध	न	व	
प	फ	ब	भ	म	स	

मूल स्वरहरू : –

अ, आ, इ, उ, ए, ओ

द्विस्वरहरू :–

अइ, आइ, उइ, एइ, ओइ

अउ, आउ, इउ, एउ, ओउ (भुसाल, २०५पृ.८५)

आर्यभाषा विकाशको तेस्रो चरणमा नै अन्तस्थः ध्वनि कथ्य प्रयोगबाट विस्थापित हुन थालेको कुरा भाषाविद्ले औंल्याएपनि तत्सम शब्दमा मात्र होइन मौलिक र आगन्तुक शब्दमा समेत लेख्य प्रयोगमा भने हालसम्म कायम रहेको देखिन्छ । यति मात्र होइन औच्चार्य स्वरूपमा पनि विद्यमान छ । यद्यपि अन्तस्थः ध्वनिहरूको स्थान अन्य ध्वनिहरूले लिन थालेका छन् । तत्सम शब्दको वर्णविन्यास सँस्कृतअनुसार हुने र आगन्तुक शब्द उच्चारणअनुसार लेख्ने झर्रोवादी मान्यताको प्रभावले पनि अन्तस्थः ध्वनिहरू लेख्य सँङ्केतका रूपमा पनि कम प्रचलनमा

छन् । 'य' लाई उच्चारण स्थानका आधारमा तालव्य, प्राणत्वका आधारमा अल्पप्राण, र घोषत्वका आधारमा सघोष ध्वनि मानिन्छ । यसको उच्चारण कतिपय अवस्थामा 'ए' समान हुन्छ ।

'व' नेपाली भाषाको दोश्रो अन्तस्थः ध्वनि हो । यो उच्चारण स्थानका आधारमा ओष्ठ्य, प्राणत्वका आधारमा अल्पप्राण, घोषत्वका आधारमा सघोष ध्वनि हो । यसको स्वरूपगत परिवर्तन आर्यभाषा विकासको तेश्रो चरणमा देखिइसकेको थियो । तत्कालीन समयमा यो 'ब'को रूपमा परिवर्तन हुन थाल्यो (बन्धु, ऐ) । ध्वनिपरिवर्तन परिवेशका आधारमा हुन्छ । सबै परिवेशमा समान रूपमा फेरबदल हुँदैन, एक परिवेशमा फेरिन थालेपछि त्यसको परिवर्तन यात्रा सुरु हुन्छ । यही प्रक्रियाअन्र्तगत 'व' ध्वनि ब'रूपका उच्चारण हुन थाल्यो । हाल (आर्यभाषा विकासको तेश्रो चरणमा) यो ध्वनि ओ'को रूपमा पनि हुन्छ । यस्तो परिवर्तन पनि ध्वनि वितरणको परिवेशअनुसार हुन्छ । त्यसैले 'व' कतै ब र कतै ओ' उच्चारण हुन्छ ।

यसको तात्पर्य के हो भने व'ध्वनिको अर्थभेदक क्षमता पनि यिनै दुई (ब, ओ) ध्वनिमा वितरण भएको देखिन्छ अर्थात् यदि व'ध्वनिलाई अर्थभिन्नताको सिद्धान्तका आधारमा विश्लेषण गर्ने हो भने यी तीन (व, ब, ओ) ध्वनिलाई तुलना गर्नुपर्छ । लघुत्तम अर्थयुक्त युग्मका समान परिवेशमा वितरण भएका ध्वनिहरूमध्ये जसले अर्थगत भिन्नताको काम गर्दछन् ती वर्ण हुन् भन्ने संरचनावादी मान्यताअनुसार नेपाली भाषाको वर्तमान स्वरूपमा व'ध्वनिले वर्णको स्थान गुमाइसकेको स्थिति देखिन्न । व' अन्तस्थः ध्वनि भएकोले यसको उच्चारण प्रक्रियामा स्वरध्वनिको सहयोग चाहिन्छ किनभने यसमा ब्यञ्जनको विशेषता पनि रहेको छ । यति हुँदाहुँदै पनि केही खास परिवेशमा यसको उच्चारण भइरहेको देखिन्छ । वस्ती' (एक थर) र बस्ती (बसोबास गरेको स्थान) बुझाउँदा व्यतिरेकी ध्वनि प्रतीत भएपनि वस्ती उच्चारण गर्दा व' वा ओ' सुनिन्छ ।

वर्तमान नेपाली भाषाको स्वरूपमा व' एक्लै उच्चारण हुन सकेको देखिंदैन । यसले आर्य भाषा विकाशको दोस्रो चरणमा नै अस्तित्व गुमाउन थालेको हो । अर्थतात्विक रूपमा भिन्न नभए पनि ध्वनितात्विक रूपमा यसको उच्चारण हुन्छ तर त्यो परिवेश सीमित भएको छ । लोप हुने प्रवृत्ति अझ सबल भएको छ । अधिकांश ठाउँमा ब'का रूपमा र केही परिवेशमा ओ'का रूपमा यसको उच्चारण हुन्छ । यदि आ' ध्वनि पश्च परिवेशमा छ भने व' अन्तस्थः ध्वनिका रूपमा उच्चारण हुन्छ अन्यथा ब र ओ'का रूपमा हुछ । केही उदाहरण हेरौं ।

अरुवा	खुवाइ	ग्वाला	च्वाप्प	जनस्वास्थ्य	ट्वाक्क	न्वाइन्वाइ	प्वाल
अलुवा	खुवाउनु	ग्वाली	च्वाम्म	जवान	ट्वार्र	नेवारी	बिजुवा
आश्वासन	खेवा	ग्वाल्ल	च्वास्स	ज्वार	ठ्वाक्क	पटुवा	स्वामी
आस्वाद	खोसुवा	घेरुवा	छनुवा	ज्वाला	तलुवा	पुवा	भ्वार्र
कछुवा	ग्वाँक	घ्वाइँ	छुवाछुत	झ्वाप्प	त्वार्र	पेवा	मनुवा
कुवा	ग्वाक्क	घ्वाच्च	छ्वाम्म	झ्वास्स	थुनुवा	पेसेवार	मेवा
कौवा	ग्वाङ्ग्रे	घ्वार्र	छ्वाल्ल	टौवा	द्वापर	पौवा	मौवा
खुवा	ग्वार्र	चवालीस	छ्वाली	ट्वाल्ल	न्वारन	प्वाक्क	ल्वातल्वात

यी उदाहणमा व'ध्वनि स्वर वा व्यञ्जनको मध्य परिवेशमा आएको छ ।

निष्कर्ष

तत्सम शब्दको वर्णविन्यासमा व' वर्णको प्रयोग ब'भन्दा बढी हुन्छ । ध्वनिपरिवर्तनको दबाब व'ध्वनिमा परेको हुँदा यो लोपोन्मुख अवस्थामा देखिन्छ । नेपाली भाषालाई मातृभाषाका रूपमा प्रयोग गर्ने जिब्रोले प, फ, ब, भ, म, ट, ठ, ड, ढ भन्दा त, थ, द, ध, केही निक्रिय अवस्थामा उच्चारण गर्छ । यी ध्वनि मात्र होइन अन्य पनि परिवर्तन भइरहन्छन् । जहाँसम्म व'ध्वनि उच्चारणको विषय छ । यो मध्य परिवेशमा आउँदा प्रायःजसो व' नै उच्चारण हुन्छ । व्यक्तिगत वा अन्य भाषिक प्रभावले यदाकदा ब'को रूपमा पनि उच्चारण हुन सक्छ । स्वास्थ्य'मा जति स्पष्टसँग उच्चारण हुन्छ त्यति जवान'मा हुन्न, यसमा ब' उच्चारण हुने गरेको पाइन्छ । नेपाली भाषामा व ध्वनिको अस्तित्वमाथि मध्यकालमा नै प्रश्न उठेको भएपनि वास्तविकता यस्तो होइन । यो ध्वनितात्विक र अर्थतात्विक रूपमा जीवित छ । नेपाली भाषाको मानकीकरण हुँदा शिक्षित वर्गले यसलाई अझ सबल बनाउँदै छ । मानक नेपालीमा मात्र होइन यसका भौगोलिक भाषिकामा समेत 'व' ध्वनिको जीवन सुरक्षित छ ।

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Capital Market in Nepal: Integration, Advantages, and challenges

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Abstract

The Nepalese capital market has been groingthese days recently. However, investors and potential investors have been disappointed by the lack of financial tools, low market diversification, and fewer investment opportunities. Low-level market participation in real estate is a consideration in the Nepalese context participants hold. Companies in the real sector account for only around 20% of all listed companies. Because banks dominate the secondary market, the Nepalese capital market does not truly represent the economy. In the secondary market, public sentiment is vital. Internet, trade reporting, and credit rating activities have supported the capital market's expansion. The government and regulator must collaborate to solve current capital market difficulties.

Key Words : Primary market, Secondary market, Financialintegration, Financial instruments securities.

Background of the Study

A stock market is a marketplace for securities exchange between buyers and sellers (Sylvester &Enabulu, 2011), Whichtransfers financial resources from high-income to low-income industries. The stock market's speculative character allows both long-term and short-term investors to profit. A well-functioning stock market may provide liquidity in the financial system, thus boosting the country's economic growth (Levine, R; Zervos, S, 1998; Levine, R 1996). Also, it is said that the stock market's growth helps with the efficient use of resources and has a long-term positive effect on economic growth. The stock market is a better example of the capital market. The stock market is also a way to raise money for economic growth. As a result, the capital market is seen as the economy's mirror. (Chalise, 2020). Several marketplaces are analogous to the stock market—many attempts to profit from the stock market by purchasing and selling equities. People may also purchase and sell bonds, debentures, and mutual fund shares on the stock exchange.(Ritter & Silber, 2012).

Nepalese stock markets began in 1937 A.D. when shares in Nepal Bank Ltd. and Biratnagar Jute Mills fluctuated. For decades, the government did not prioritize capital market development. The structural adjustment plan (SAP) began in 1980. Following that, the private sector was allowed to invest in the economy. In 1984, the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) was set up to control and run the primary and secondary markets. In 1993, the Nepal Stock Exchange renamed the Nepal Stock Exchange. The same year, the government formed the Security Board of Nepal to oversee and promote the Nepalese securities market under the Securities Exchange Act of 1993.

People could cry out for help at the Nepal Stock Exchange from January 13, 1994, until August 24, 2007. It switched to a completely automated, screen-based trading system from the technology it had before (Devkota, 2019). In the beginning, NEPSE had 62 businesses. NEPSE now has 50 stockbrokers and 79 depository participants, one central depository system, more than one million investors, and 4828 million shares in 212 companies. As a result of a new online system in the capital market, people who live in rural areas are more interested in the market. Youth, women, and even students and low-wage workers are investing their small savings in the stock market in the hope that they will earn more money than they would in a bank account. Every day, more and more Demat accounts are opened, showing that people are excited about the stock market. There are many ways for public companies in Nepal to get money from people all over the country and from other groups. These are called initial public offerings (IPOs).

Capital markets and financial integration

The financial system helps to grow the economy, possibly through a well-developed " financial infrastructure system," which allows people to provide money to people who can use it more effectively in the economy and the capital market. Money can be spent, invested in, or moved between different types of businesses, and they let people and businesses pool, price, and trade risk (Paudel, 2021). The financial system helps investors and savers stay balanced by addressing knowledge gaps. In a more democratic society, the capital market can help close the wealth gap, and this can lead to a more socialist system, but one that is also democratic.

Figure1:

Capital Market Development

Source: Strategic Plan 2021-2024

Neighboring, regional, and global economies all have a lot in common. Some examples of real financial integration include: firms borrowing and raising money directly from international capital markets, investors directly investing in international capital markets; and new financial products being invented and made in the United States. Financial integration is said to be good for two things. It can make capital allocation more efficient and help spread the risks. The recent global financial crisis, which manythink was worse than anything since the Great Depression, has cast doubt on the benefits and shown that financial integration can come at a high price. When it comes to financial integration, the last two decades have seen a significant change. This growing financial integration leads to much money moving across borders between industrialized and developing countries. Increasing financial integration also brings the world's financial markets closer together and makes foreign financial institutions more visible worldwide. It was impossible not to have currency and financial crises in the late 1980s and the early 1990s because of global capital flows, making it impossible to avoid them.

People are generally afraid of taking risks and want to use financial markets to stabilize their income. Thus, the effect of short-term exogenous risk on income growth can be hidden. Financial integration allows money to move from rich countries with much money to developing countries with little money. They can lower the cost of capital and encourage more investment in countries that do not have much capital.

The benefit of financial integration and capital markets

Financial integration is said to have two positive effects on people. It can be more efficient at allocating money and help spread the risks. Even so, the recent global financial crisis, which many people think was worse than anything since the Great Depression, has cast doubt on the benefits and shown that financial integration can come at a high price. Financial integration has grown a lot over the last two decades, and developing, and industrialized countries send much money across borders because of this growing integration of the financial markets. Another benefit of more financial integration is that it brings the world's financial markets closer together and makes foreign financial institutions more visible worldwide. Because of global capital flows, it was impossible not to have currency and financial crises in the late 1980s and early 1990s, making it impossible to avoid them.

General people fear risk and want to use financial markets to protect their income. Thus, the effect of short-term exogenous risk on income growth can be masked by this method. It is easier for money to move from rich countries to poorer countries that do not have much money, and these capital inflows can lower the cost of capital and encourage more investment in developing countries for investment.

The Current Situation of the Nepalese Capital Market

There are two types of capital markets: primary markets and secondary markets. The present situations of these two types of markets are examined to determine the current scenario of the Nepalese capital market.

Primary Market

According to Mishkin and Eakins (2012), a primary market is a market in which a firm or government agency sells newproduct issues, such as a bond or stock, to first buyers. In Nepal, primary market activities are conducted by the Securities Board of Nepal (SEBON) and the Nepal Stock Exchange (NEPSE).

In the primary market, money is raised through initial public issues (IPOs), rights offerings, Further public offerings (FPOs), debentures, and mutual funds (M.F.s). Capital mobilization via primary markets has been on an upward trend over the previous five years, as seen in Table 1 below. The most extensive capital mobilization in the previous five years occurred in F.Y. 2016/17, with a total of NPR 59.39 billion and 101 issues, respectively. Banks and financial institutions have recently issued a record number of rights shares to fulfil the minimum paid-up capital requirement. Table 1 contains Primary market statistics for the previous five years.

Table 1:

Primary Market (Amount NPR in billion)

Public issue	Fiscal Year									
	2015/16		2016/17		2017/218		2018/19		2019/20	
	No	Amount	No	Amount	No	Amount	No	Amount	No	Amount
IPO	14	2.76	17	451.51	21	8.3	28	7.35	9	3.99
Right Share	37	9.4	76	45.64	55	25.7	19	5.88	11	4.41
FPO	3	5.83	4	7.99	6	11.5	0	0	0	0
Debenture	0	0	0	0	1	3	12	29.98	12	23.45
Mutual Fund	1	1	4	4.25	4	4.8	6	6.55	2	1.8
Total	55	19	101	59.39	87	53.3	65	49.76	34	33.66

Source: Strategic Plan 2021-2024

Secondary Market

It has several benefits for the fresh issue market. It enables investors to track the value of their shares and sell them when the time is right. It is a market in which existing securities are continuously exchanged daily. It is a market for previously issued securities. It includes exchanges and over-the-counter marketplaces where securities are purchased and sold following their initial public offering in the primary market (Mishkin and Eakins, 2012, p. 8).

The secondary markets remained satisfactory in F.Y. 2019/20, with positive trends in the majority of market indicators such as the number of listed securities, their paid-up capital, annual transaction volume, total traded securities and transactions, market capitalization, the NEPSE Index, and turnover ratios, among others. As a result of mergers and acquisitions, the number of publicly traded companies has shrunk a little, and this is especially true for BFIs.

The secondary market's overall performance is positive regarding turnover, market capitalization, and paid-up value, even though the NEPSE index has seen a few ups and downs during the previous five years. NEPSE began trading on the secondary market in January 1994 with 100 points and hit a high of 1,881.45 points on July 27, 2016. Table 2 exhibits secondary market statistics over the previous five years.

Table 2:

Secondary Market

S.N	Indicators	2015/16	2016/17	2017/18	2018/19	1019/20
1	Number of listed companies	229	208	196	215	212
2	Number of listed securities(in billion)	2.1	2.97	3.6	4.21	4.82
3	Paid-up capital of listed securities(in billion)	204.02	289.6	352.1	412.28	473.39
4	Amount turnover (NPR in ten million)	164.65	205.02	121.39	110.07	150.03
5	Total Traded Securities (NPR in ten million)	30.36	39.29	29.38	38.75	42.85
6	Number of Transactions (Number in Million)	0.84	1.36	1.31	1.42	1.85
7	Market Capitalization of Listed Securitas (NPR in billion)	1890.13	1856.82	1435.14	1567.5	1792.8
8	Float Market Capitalization of Listed Securities (NPR in billion)	632.66	641.89	483.9	585.25	638.09

S.N	Indicators	2015/16	2016/17	2017/18	2018/19	1019/20
9	Market Capitalization to GDP (percentage)	84.1	71.44	47.7	45.25	40.9
10	NEPSE index (Point)	1718.15	1582.67	1212.36	1259.02	1362.7
11	NEPSE Float index (Point)	125.41	116.14	87.15	92.43	95.37
12	Turnover to Market Capitalization (Percent)	8.71	11.04	8.46	7.02	8.37

Source: Strategic Plan 2021-2024

Importance of Capital Market

As long as there is no secondary market where investors can turn their investments in new issues into cash whenever they want, many investors might not buy new issues in the first place. A secondary market for common stock alone is not enough for investors who want to put their money into a company for a long time. Second, money flow into the new issue market is very important for the economy. In this way, the economy can invest in real capital for a long time. It is best shown by thinking about what would happen if people and businesses could not trade their financial claims in the secondary market.

The secondary market allows people who want to invest for the long term to buy the money of people who do not want to invest for the long term.As a result, they let the economy think about new ways to build capital (Josiah et al., 2012, p. 10).

Securities and market instruments

The equity share is the primary instrument utilized to raise funds in Nepal's securities markets. Debentures, bonds, mutual funds, and preference shares are used in practice. The preference share is relatively tiny. Specialized investment funds (mainly private equity and venture capital), as well as local currency-denominated bonds, stocks, and index derivatives, are now operational. Table 4 shows the paid-up value of securities market instruments.

Table 3: :

Status of Security Market Instruments paid-up value (As of November 10, 2020)

Instruments	Issue Approved and Paid-up Value I Listed securities (NPR in Million)	Percentage
Equity	472048	65
Preference Share	640	0
Corporate Bond	33269	5
Government Bond	202140	28
Mutual fund	15953	2
Total	724050	100

Source: Nepal Stock exchange Ltd.

Table 4:

Overall Scenario of Nepalese Securities Markets

S.N.	Institution	Mid-July 2019	Mid-July 2020
1	No. of Stick Exchange	1	1
2	No of Central Securities Depository	1	1
3	Clearing Banks	4	4
4	No of Stockholders	50	50
5	No of Listed Companies	215	212
6	Credit Rating Agencies	2	2
7	No of ASBA/ C-ASBA	59	52
8	Merchant Bankers	32	30
9	Mutual Funds	15	16
10	Depository Participants	66	79
11	No of D-Mat A/cs	1571000	1753000

S.N.	Institution	Mid-July 2019	Mid-July 2020
12	No Active Traders	159212	245474
13	No Qualified Instrumental Buyers (QIBs)	0	88
14	investors Using Online Services	11703	35159
15	IPO Issued Amount (Rs.in Billion)	49.76	33.65
16	Paid-up Value of Listed Securities (Rs in Billion)	412.3	473.39
17	Market Capitalization (Rs.in Billion)	1567.5	1792.8
18	Securities Transaction (Yearly in Millions)	1.42	1.85
19	Annually Securities Turnovers (Rs, In Billions)	110.07	150.03
20	Average Daly Turnover (Rs, in Billions)	447.5	824.4
21	Market Index (NEPSE in Points)	1259.02	1362.35
22	No of listed Securities (in Millions)	4207	4828
23	Traded Securities (In Millions)	387.5	428.5
24	No of Meroshare A/s (for IPO subscription)	564.4	742.58
25	Capital Gain Tax (Rs in Millions)	641.4	984.8
26	Outstanding Mutual Funds (Rs in Billion)	18.2	16.81
27	Market Capitalization to GDP (%)	42.1	48

Source: Strategic Plan 2021-2024

The Challenges of the Nepalese Stock Market

Despite four decades of development, Nepal's capital market is relatively young. Many investors and potential investors are disappointed with the stock market. Most capital-raising alternatives in Nepal are stock, indicating low financial instrument diversity and investment possibilities for investors. The bond market is relatively young and limited to corporate bonds, and the state has not issued municipal bonds. Many BFIs now issue debentures to raise funds (Sigdel, 2021).

Any country's stock market performance is regarded as an economic indicator.. Since stock prices represent profitability expectations, and profitability is directly tied to economic activity, stock price variations are considered to predict economic direction. If the economy is expected to shrink, the stock market will lower the prices of stocks in order to make money. However, in Nepal, the stock market is not seen as an accurate measure of the economy. In part, it's because real-world businesses do not have much involvement in the secondary market. Real sector sectors comprise roughly 20% of all listed firms, mostly hydropower, hotels, and manufacturing. Their market cap share is negligible, and their stock market trading is similarly restricted.

Banks dominate the secondary market. As a result, the stock market cannot be considered an accurate economic mirror because it does not reflect all industries.In the private sector, there are many reasons why they do not want to get into the real-estate business. These include extra compliance work like setting up a separate share department, holding an AGM where the promoters are likely to be grilled by public shareholders, and publishing quarterly, half-yearly, and annual reports.

Moreover, many real estate companies are family-owned and do not want to relinquish control by going public. However, new premium pricing rules and existing tax refunds have provided some incentives for actual sectors to come forward. They should be encouraged by highlighting the advantages of becoming a public limited company, such as cheaper capital costs, excellent corporate governance and openness in commercial transactions, professionalism, more vital risk-taking ability, and public trust. They should also be told how they might help the economy by distributing money to more significant shareholders.

Investor illiteracy is another hindrance to Nepal's capital market growth. While most investors now have access to information, just a few can analyze it thoroughly. Besides the introductory study of the security's performance, most investors rely on their investment decisions and actions on market rumours, trading patterns, and sometimes insider information. The market's top participants might easily mislead these investors by collectively manipulating the prices of select stocks to climb or decline. Tiny investors always get into fights because they do not all know the same things about the market. They have to leave sooner or later.

Thus, regulators should play a vital role in the overall growth of the capital market. SEBON must aggressively promote a friendly environment for capital generation and mobilization in the country. Since it advises the government on capital market issues, it should provide creative and investor-friendly policy recommendations based on thorough research. To restore public trust in the capital market, the government should lead efforts to stop insider trading and poor corporate governance among intermediaries, brokers, and other people who work in the market. All of these things should be a top priority for SEBON. They should also work on diversifying financial products, making the capital market more modern with technology, and encouraging all businesses to list.

Conclusion

The capital market is very safe for businesses, whether they are new or old. There is a lack of money, so it fills that gap. It also encourages entrepreneurship and local industry, ensures that investors can make transactions at any time, and relieves the government of extra costs through PPPs. As a result, the capital market is not useless because it gives money to businesses in the real world, like agriculture, tourism, manufacturing, and services. Improve public trust and sentiment toward the capital market in order to grow the market. This is because public trust and sentiment are essential factors in this market. Dematerialization, online trading, reporting requirements, and credit ratings are recent changes in the capital market that deserve praise. Nonetheless, the government and regulators must devise ways to deal with many problems.

Opening up local marketplaces to foreigners will assist Nepal. Liberalization raises P/E ratios and the breadth and liquidity of domestic capital markets. Domestic capital expenses are reduced as a result. Workers in developing economies may benefit from improved accounting and transparency policies. This entails decreasing transaction costs while enhancing market appeal. Integration of financial systems may increase volatility. Foreign investors' agency costs are further increased by volatility and information asymmetry. Economic policy improvements and diversification lessen sensitivity to fundamental shocks. Capital market reforms and enhancements must address excessive volatility caused by information gaps and faults.Reliant on foreign assistance, emerging countries were more vulnerable than developed nations. We all know these rising economies were hammered hard. Financial integration has been debated recently due to recent financial crises. As Nepal's leading capital market regulator, SEBON must encourage financial integration through cross-border commerce and FDI.

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Nepal’s Foreign Trade: Prospects and Problems

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Abstract

The aim of this article is to explore the situation of Nepal’s foreign trade, its significance, prospects of foreign trade expansion and problems with regard to international trade. The study is based on secondary data, collected from library and internet of last 11 years. Efforts have been made to detect the prospects as well as problems of Nepal’s foreign trade. This study keeps value in promoting foreign trade by finding the various possibilities and problems of Nepal’s foreign trade. It is found that Nepal’s foreign trade suffers from many problems such as open border, landlocked country, lack of trade diversification, high cost of production etc. causing trade deficit and has good prospects in different sectors such as hydro-electric, forest, mineral resources, tourism, etc. to develop and promote foreign trade. Among the various alternatives, diversification of trade in terms of countries and goods is one way to overcome the problems of trade deficit.

***Key words**:* Foreign /international trade, Import, export, prospect, problem and trade deficit.

Introduction

In the early stage of economic development, people had independent life. They used to fulfill their needs with their own available resources. However it could not continue for long time. The development of means of transport and communication facilitated exchange relationship between the people and organization of different countries to fulfill their wants. Economies are not self sufficient to fulfill their needs

(Ghimire, 2010). It implies that one country needs to depend upon another country to fulfill their requirement by means of foreign trade. Every country is not enriched with all the resources (Pandey, 2022). Foreign trade is inevitable in modern days since all economies cannot produce all goods and services efficiently as per their requirements due to the lack of resources. Foreign trade acted as “engine of growth” in bringing rapid economic growth and development (Oke 2007, Rodrik, 2001). Many countries are involved in the production of goods in large quantities with a view to take the advantage of foreign trade. It helps in increasing the volume of production, earning foreign currencies, creating employment opportunities, economies of large scale, established better international relationship, etc. The developed countries import natural resources from developing and least developed countries and export finished goods, machinery and equipment to them. A country cannot fulfill the domestic requirement of the people without importing from international market. Foreign trade or international trade refers to the trade link between two or more than two countries. According to Wasserman and Haltman**,** “International trade consists of transaction between residents of different countries” (Rajarajan & Sivakumar, 2015, p. 180). It is the exchange of capital, goods and services across the international boundaries. According to D.G. Luchet, "The purchase of goods and services by the citizen of one country form the citizen of another country is called international trade."

A country needs to import those goods which are demanded in the domestic market but not available in own country or are available in less quantities than required send another country needs to export those goods which have surplus production and highly demanded outside. Foreign trade plays a vital role in accelerating the pace of economic development. Therefore, it is considered as the vehicle of economic development (Silwal, 2008). But being a landlocked and least developed country, the pace of industrial development is very slow that made us more dependent on foreign trade. . Economies are unable to meet their own demands by producing all of their necessary goods and services (Meier, 1990). A country imports commodities that are not available and costly to produce in the nation and exports items that are oversupplied and have lower cost of the production in the country (Kafle, 2017).

Nepal is an agro based and landlocked country which is surrounded by India and China. The pace of industrial development is very slow. Agriculture, hydro-power, forest resources, tourism, mineral resources, etc. are some of the important sectors which have greater possibility to promote foreign trade of Nepal. Researchers have conducted various studies in the field of Nepalese foreign trade: growth, composition and direction (Acharya, 2019) and direction and problems of foreign trade in Nepal (Sharma, 2020). Still, there is a gap to discuss the prospects of Nepal's foreign trade. This study will be very much fruitful to learners, potential traders and government as a whole to know about the problems causing the trade deficit and various prospects to promote foreign trade in Nepal.

Research Objectives

To know the growth and composition of foreign trade.

To know the significance of foreign trade.

To identify the prospects and problems of Nepal’s foreign trade.

Research Question

What are the prospects and problems of Nepal’s foreign trade?

Research Method

Research Methodology, a systematic and in-depth study of any particular topic, subject or area of investigation backed by the collection, compliance, presentation and interpretation of relevant data. It is the arrangement of condition for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to research purpose with economic in procedure (Selltitz and et al,1796). This study is based on secondary data from library and internet. The data collected are consulted form various books, published reports, surveys conducted by different departments of government of Nepal, journals and websites. The last 11 years (i,e 2009/10-2019/20) data are incorporated for the in-depth study. The researcher made the use of descriptive technique to infer the meanings from the obtained data. The study is based on the three processes of presentation, description and analysis of the data.

Growth and Trend of Foreign Trade in Nepal

In the past, the trade relation of Nepal was confined only to India and Tibet of China (Devkota, 2004). Trade relation with overseas countries of Asia, America, Europe and Australia was started only after 1956 A.D. In 1982, Nepal adopted liberal trade policy with a view to diversify its trade relationship with rest of the world. Since then, the volume of foreign trade in Nepal has increased significantly.

Table-1

Growth and Trend of Foreign Trade in Nepal (NPR in Crore)

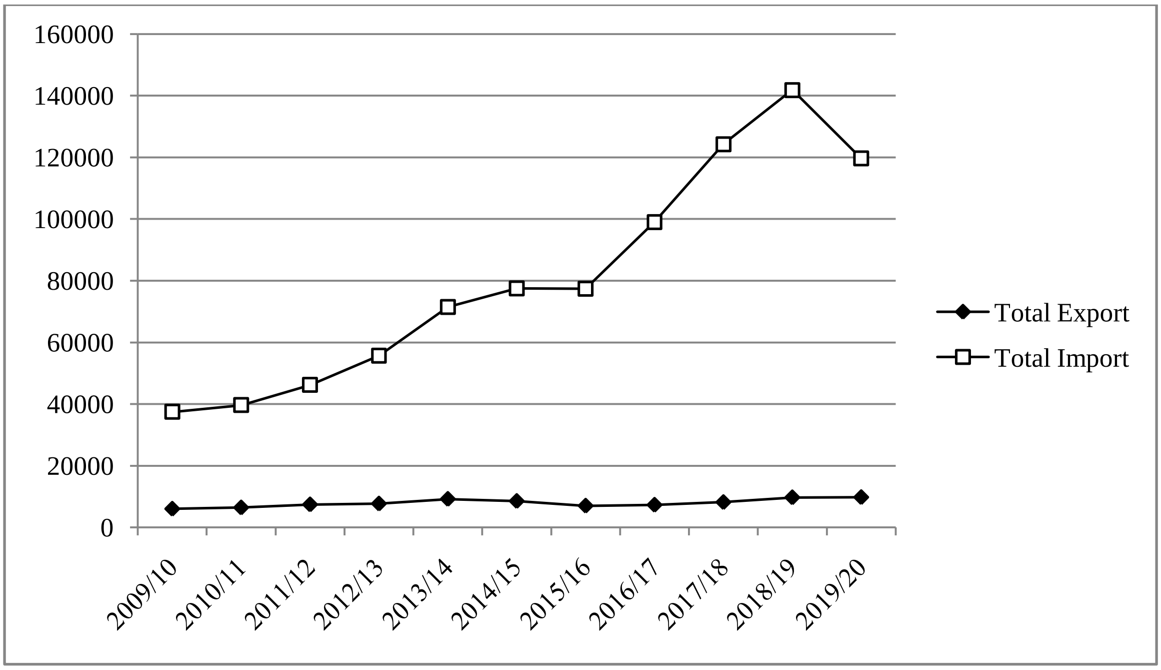
Fiscal Year	Total Export	Total Import	Total Trade volume	Trade Balance
2009/10	6028.4	37433.52	43461.92	31351.12
2010/11	6433.85	39617.55	46051.4	-33183.7
2011/12	7426.1	46166.8	53592.9	-38740.7
2012/13	7691.7	55674.0	63365.7	-47982.3
2013/14	9199.13	71436.59	80635.72	-62236.46
2014/15	8531.91	77468.42	86000.33	-68936.51
2015/16	7011.71	77359.91	84371.62	-70348.2
2016/17	7304.91	99011.32	106316.23	-91706.41
2017/18	8163.33	124282.68	132446.01	-116119.35
2018/19	9710.95	141,853.53	1515644.8	-132142.58
2019/20	9770.91	119679.91	129450.82	-109,909.0

Source:-Economic Survey 2019/2020 Ministry of Finance

The table shows that the volume of foreign is increasing over last four years. Both import and export of Nepal are increasing while trade deficit has been observed to be increasing due to excess of imports over exports. Total volume of foreign trade has increased from Rs 43461.92 crores in 2009/10 to Rs 129450.82 crores in 2019/20. While during the same year trade deficit has increased from Rs 31351.12 to Rs 109,909.0 in 2019/20. This is happening due to the excess of import over export of goods from Nepal.

Figure-1

Export and Import of Nepal



Nepal’s total foreign trade in goods shows a growing trend since the last four years. Total export receipts slightly increased by 0.62 percent from NPR 9710.95 crores in fiscal year 2018/19 to NPR 9770.91 crores in fiscal year 2019/20. Improvement in export value was mainly due to newly introduced export commodities in Nepal’s export basket, i.e. refined palm oil and soybean oil. In this year, Nepal’s import has decreased by 15.63 percent to NPR 119679.91 crores from NPR 141853.53 crores in fiscal year 2018/19. Import trade shows decreasing trend and it is due the effect of COVID-19 pandemic which began in Nepal since the end of March 2020. In this year, Nepal’s trade deficit has dropped by 16.83 percent to NPR 109909 crores. The value had reached to NPR 132142.58 crores in fiscal year 2018/19. However, an unfavorable balance of trade in goods persisted in this fiscal year too.

Composition of Foreign Trade

Composition of foreign trade consists of import and export of goods and services. The purchase of goods from other country is known as import trade and sale of goods to foreign country is known as export trade. But when the goods are imported from one country with the objective of exporting them to some other country, it is known as entreport trade. Composition of foreign trade gives a real picture of the economy particularly on trade.

Nepal’s Import Trade

Nepal's economy is one of the most liberalized and trade-dependent in South Asia (SWATEE, 2007). Major items imported by Nepal are petroleum, chemical fertilizer, pesticides, medicine, transport vehicles and spare parts, machinery, equipment and spare parts, electrical equipment, synthetic thread, readymade garments, petroleum product, electronic computer and peripherals, crude soybean oil, etc.

Nepal’s Export Trade

Major export items of Nepal are cereals, pulses, oilseeds, tea, ginger, jute products, textiles, GI sheet, GI pipes, thread, juice, wool, woolen carpet pashmina products readymade garments, catechu, cardamom, noodles, shoes and sandals, dairy products, live animals, hides vegetables ghee, medicinal herbs, etc.

Benefits of Foreign Trade

Foreign trade offers the following benefits:

Better use of Resources.

Foreign trade facilitates international division of labor and specialization. It permits different countries of the world to manufacture those goods which they can manufacture economically and has comparative advantage. It reduces waste of resources in the production of uneconomical goods.

Economies of Large Scale.

Because of specialization brought about by the foreign trade, economies of large scale can be achieved. Foreign trade helps in carrying production in large scale not only to fulfill the demand of domestic market but also produces goods for international market. This generates several economics of large scale production.

Economic Growth.

Foreign trade acted as "engine of growth" in bringing rapid economic growth and development (Oke 2007), Rodrik (2001: 23). It helps in the growth of under-developed or developing countries. Such countries can import machines and equipments, technical know-how etc. from the developed countries and utilize them in the production of goods to exploit the available resources.

Generation of Employment opportunities.

Foreign trade facilitates the growth of industrial sectors engaged in the production of goods for export purpose. The newly established industries create additional jobs opportunities for the growing population. This helps to solve the unemployment problems.

Established Better International Relationship.

Foreign trade helps in the exchange of goods and services among the trading partners. Dependent of one country upon another country can be fulfilled with the help of foreign trade. So, the regular exchange of goods and services among themselves helps to establish better international relationship.

Improve Living Standard.

Most of the countries either do not have resources or technology to produce the required goods. In the absence of foreign trade, the citizens of a country would not be able to consume those goods which are not produced in domestic country. Foreign trade provides such goods and increases the living standard of people.

Prospects of Foreign Trade in Nepal

There are many areas or sectors which are not well developed and commercised in Nepal. Utilization and development of these areas for commercial purpose reflect that Nepal has high prospects of foreign trade. Nepal is a resourceful country and has plenty of natural resources such water resources, forest, agriculture, mineral, etc. but due to the lack of capital, technological backwardness, lack of skilled manpower and lack of strong government policies these resource are not properly explored (Poudel, 2008; DMG, 2011; Khanal, 2017). So efforts should be made to utilize these resources for production purpose. The surplus production can be exported to the foreign country with a view to reduce trade deficit by increasing the volume of export. Some of the main possibilities of Nepal foreign trade area are presented below

Hydro-electricity

Nepal is the second richest country in world in water resource after Brazil. The major sources of water resources in Nepal are rivers, lakes, and underground water. There are about 6000 rivers and rivulets in Nepal. Most of the rivers in Nepal are originated from mountains. They reach the terai region vai hilly region with high speed. Therefore, electricity may be produced easily by erecting dams in these rivers.

The potentiality of hydroelectricity in Nepal is 83000 MW, which is 2.27% of the total hydroelectricity potential of the world. However, only 44370 MW of the potential capacity is techno-economically viable. It is expressed in the table.

Table-2

Rivers with Theoretical and Techno-economic Potentiality

Sl.No.	Rivers	Theoretical potentiality	Techno-economic potentiality
1	Koshi	22350	10860
2	Gandaki	20650	5270
3	Karnali and Mahakali	36000	27360
4	Sourthern Rivers	4000	880
	Total	83000	44370

Source: Ministry of Energy, Water, Resources and irrigation (MOEWRI-2022)

By the mid of 2022 AD, a total of 2191 MW hydroelectricity has been generated from the various hydropower projects (MOEWRI-2022) which is 2.639 percentage of the total potentiality. It shows that Nepal still have high potentiality in the generation of hydroelectricity. The surplus generation can be exported to the foreign country to earn foreign currency and correct the trade deficit problem.

Extraction and use of Mineral Resources

Preliminary geological surveys show that varieties of mineral resources are available in different places of Nepal. The deposit of mineral resources like iron ore, copper, Mica, limestone, lead, coal etc are available in different parts of Nepal which is shown in the table below.

Table-3

List of Mineral Resources with Place of Deposit

Mineral Resources	Places of Mineral Deposit
Copper	Bhothkhola, Gyaji, Arkhaule, Nangre, Wapsa,Siddhakhani etc.
Iron ore	Fulchoki, Labdikhola, Thoshe, Jirwang, Kulekhani, Godawari, Bhaise, Pyuthan, Bhandipur etc
Coal	Dang, Salyan, Rasuwa, katnmandu valley, Thakkhola, Chitwan, Kailali, Kanchanpur, etc.
Limestone	Chovar, Jogimara, Bhaise, Rasuwa, Baglung, Pulchowki, Baitadi, Tipling, Salmorvalley, etc.
Lead	Arkhaule, Durling, Rasuwa, Baglung, Pulchowki, Baitadi, Tipling, Salmor valley, etc.
Mica	Bajhang, Chainpur, Doti, Bhojpur, Lamjung, Gosaithan, Nuwakot, Dhankuta, etc.

Source: Department of Mines and Geology, 2015

The above table shows that Nepal has the deposit of varieties of mineral resources in different parts of Nepal. However, the proper exploration of these resources is not yet started due to the lack of capital, technological backwardness and lack of skilled manpower (Poudel, 2008; Khanal, 2017)**.** So, govt. should make attempt for extraction and commercial utilization of these resources for the benefit of nation.

Forest Resource.

Forest resources are essential for the development of agriculture, industry, water resources, environment, and bio-diversity. Forest resources enhance the natural beauty of the country. Forest management can preserve rare lives like elephant, tiger, rhinos, musk dear, panda, etc which have been the source of tourists attraction in the various wild life conservation in Nepal. The raw material for the forest based industries like paper, matches, paints, medicinal herb and vanish and turpentine processing are available from forest resources. This resources help in the establishment of forest based industries for the production of various types of goods based on forest resources. The preservation of forest resources helps to attract the tourist and increase export of forest related products such as paper, timber, medicinal herbs, etc. This will helps to earn foreign currency and reduce trade deficit.

Agriculture

Agriculture is an economic activities that involves in the production of foods grain, animal husbandry, horticulture, floriculture, etc. About 66% of active population of Nepal depends upon agriculture for the daily livelihood and about 35% of the total GDP is obtained from this sector (Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Department, 2020). Nepal internal as well as external trades depend upon agriculture sector. Carpet, garments handicraft, woolen products, leather, animal ghee, live animals, food product, traditional handicraft articles and different manufactured articles are the major export items of Nepal. The agriculture products like pulses, seeds, tea and coffee, ginger, cardamom, vegetable seeds, flower, silk, mushroom, saffron, fruits, herbs and medicinal plants have the greater prospect for exports. Nepalese Industrial products such as carpet, woolen and ready-made garments have high demand in foreign trade. More emphasis should be given for modernization and commercial of this sector so, that surplus production can be generated and exported to foreign country that will help to increase the volume of export and correct the problems of unfavorable balance of trade.

Tourism Sector

Nepal has high prospect of developing tourism industry. The basic requirement for its development is geographic attractions. Switzerland in Europe and Kashmir in south Asia are highly developed in the sphere of tourism industry. Nepal’s geographic environments are almost identical to those existing in Kashmir and Switzerland (Kharel, Upadhayay & Pandey, 2065). So from the comparative points of view, Nepal also possesses the possibilities of developing tourism industry. The development of tourism industry helps to attract large numbers of tourists which is the main source of earning foreign currencies. The fundamental bases for developing this industry in Nepal are as outlined below:

Natural Beauty

The picturesque Himalayan ranges on the northern part of Nepal provide numerous charming scenes and scenery. The snowcapped peaks, the gliding glaciers, the foaming waterfalls, the glittering lakes and shrines, the forested ranges and the fascination landscaped existing in great abundance in the mountainous sectors of Nepal exert propound influence on all visitors and viewers. The highest peak of the world “Mount Everest” is the well known place for tourist’s attraction in Nepal (Turner, Rochelle. 2015)

Store-house of Antiques Arts

Nepal is also endowed with a storehouse of antique arts and cultural heritage. There are several renowned temples like Chagunarayan, Swayambhu, Pashupatinath, Janakpurdham, Krishna temple of Lalitpur, Hanumandhoke, the five stored temple of Bhaktpur and Giant Stupas of Swayambhu and Bauddha, Gosainkunda, and the birth place of Buddha “Lumbini’ etc. are the notable religious centers and holy places of Nepal depicting various images pertaining to ancient arts, crafts, and religious beliefs. These antique arts and cultural heritage contribute a lot in promoting and developing tourism sector.

Wildlife

Nepal offers plenty of scope for wildlife conservation. The wildlife conservation areas are located in different parts of the country where one can see and enjoy with different kinds of animals, birds, and plants. Tourists can visit different places throughout Nepal because there is no seasonal obstacle on visiting different areas in Nepal. Maps, tourist booklet, poster and information centers are very much essential to attract tourists and promote tourism industry.

Development of Handloom and Handicraft industries

There are skilled craftsmen and artisan who produces artistic, handloom and handicraft items. Thanka painting, metal crafts, wood crafts, idols and statues, Dhaka fabrics, pashmina etc. are important handloom and handicraft items produced in Nepal which have great demand in national and international market. Nepal has potential in export of these items.

Cheap Labor

There is gap between the growth of population and generation of employment opportunities to absorb growing population which creates the problem of unemployment. The involvement of labor in agriculture sector is more than requirement which crates disguised unemployment. Due to unemployment, labors are compelled to work at low wage. The cheap and surplus labor from agriculture sector should be diverted to manufacturing sector for the production of consumer as well as industrial goods. This will help to increase the industrial output and surplus can be exported to earn foreign currencies.

Problems of Nepal’s Foreign Trade

Despite of many opportunities and prospects of Nepal foreign trade, its achievement in the field of import and export is goods is not seen satisfactory (Economic Survey 2019/2020 MoF). It shows that there is some problems associated with it that hinder its progress. As a result of it, Nepal’s foreign is facing the problems of ever increasing trade deficit. The major problems of Nepal’s foreign trade with suggested remedial measures are explained below:

Geographical structures

Nepal is a landlocked country which is surrounded by India on three sides and by China one side. The transit facilities for Nepal depend on Indian will. This creates problems for Nepal in dealing with international trade. Structural bottlenecks and landlockedness (Devkota n.d., Shaakha 2008).

As a landlocked country, Nepal has to make claims for facilities on behalf of landlocked country as on international law. It will help to give relief to deal with international trade.

Open Boarder with India

Nepal has opened boarder with India. Due to long opened boarder between Nepal and India various types of illegal activities are happening. There is large flow of Indian goods into Nepal through unofficial road at cheaper price. It encourages black-marketing, hampers the trade of domestic industries and reduces the tax base of country.

Nepal has to take initiation to build wall in the open boarder area and establish armed check points in different area as per requirement to control the illegal entering of Indian goods into domestic market. For this, if necessary, talk with the Indian government should be started.

Lack of consistent trade policy:

Due to unstable government, the foreign trade policy of Nepal’s keeps on changing from time to time. Foreign trade policy gets affected after the change of government which also creates problems for smooth functioning of it.

Nepal is required to make the trade policy stable which remains unaffected due the frequent change of government. Traders need safety and security of their investment Without stable trade policy, traders who are involved in foreign trade feel unsecured and desire result cannot acheived.

Lack of trade diversification

Nepal’s foreign trade is concentrated with only few goods with few countries like India, USA, Germany, UK etc. for exports and Asian countries for import. So, there is lack of trade diversification which directly affects the volume of foreign trade.

Diversification of trade is seen very much essential to cope with this problem. Nepal's should starts diversifying its trade in large quantities to many countries of the world. It will provide opportunity to Nepal to increase their status in international market, helps in earning foreign currencies and increase the volume of export to rectify the unfavorable balance of trade. Similarly, import of goods with few countries must be diversified because heavy dependency with few countries cannot increase the volume the volume of trade.

High cost of production

Nepalese products are high in price but low in quality. High in price is due to the use of primitive technology I,e. labor intensive technology and low in quality is due to the use of child and unskilled labor in the production system. So, Nepalese products cannot compete with foreign goods in terms of price, quality and quantity.

Nepal should introduce modern technology in the industrial sector for the production of goods. Capital intensive technology supports to produce of goods in large quantities who can economise the cost per unit of product that will help to reduce high price. So, far as quality is concerned, the use of child labour should be prohibited.

Tough Competition with Foreign Goods

“Free trade” implies trade without tariffs and other barriers to trade. It is act of opening the economics and allows foreign goods to enter into domestic market without any restrictions. Due to the free trade policy adopted by government, Nepalese products are highly dominated by the foreign goods in terms of price, quality, quantity and competitiveness (Bhatt, 2005, Poudyal, 2007, Shaakha, 2008), As a result, Nepalese products are losing their position in national as well as international market.

Free trade and liberal policy is the main cause for tough competition. Nepal should give emphasis for proctectionism to some extend so that we can protect the infant industries.

Lack of Research and Publicity

Research and publicity play an important role for the exploration and expansion to promote export. Research helps to design new product based on customers taste and preference and publicity helps to make the product popular in national and international market. But there is lack of sufficient research and publicity of Nepalese goods in international market.

To cope with problem, Nepal should provide adequate space for research in order to investigate the customers taste and preference to design the product and more publicity is to be made with a view to aware the customers about the availability of product in national and international level.

Dependence on Primary goods

Nepal export raw materials and agriculture products at lower price and import finished goods at higher price. It makes the value of import more than the value of export which creates the problems of trade deficit.

Nepal should adopt the strategies to export finished goods and import less luxuries goods.

Low Capital Formation

Nepalese production system is mostly based on labor intensive technology due to low capital formation. Majority of the labor is unskilled which leads to high price and low quality.

Nepal is required to give due care for the development of infrastructures such as road and communication. Good network of road and communication will help to attract the industrialists to invest their capital in productive sectors. Training, subsidy and encouragement will also help to increase the level of capital formation.

Conclusion

Foreign trade is a trade in goods and services between two or more than two countries across the boundary of a country. Goods are produced at a particular place but used by the people living in and outside the country. Foreign trade helps to bring goods from the place of production to the place of consumption. Although foreign trade is helpful to fulfill the mutual needs, utilize the available resources, improve the living standard of people and establish better international relationship, it also suffers a lot due to increasing trend of trade deficit. The reasons behind it is that Nepal foreign trade has lots of problems such land locked country with an open boarder, increasing import and decreasing export, lack of trade diversification, high cost of production, lack of capital, excessive import of luxury goods, tough competition with foreign goods, economic liberalization and free trade. Nepal’s foreign trade not only has problems but also have good prospect and potential to expand and promote foreign trade to solve the problems of trade deficit. The expansion and promotion of foreign trade depends upon the role of government. Government should make efforts to solve the open boarder issue, demand facilities on behalf of land-locked country as per international law, makes policies to grant subsidies, declare tax holiday and reduce tax rate to encourage domestic industries for increasing their production capacity, trade diversification etc. help to increase export and reduce import. Similarly, government should make plan to extract the mineral resources, develop and commercial various sectors such as hydro-electricity, forest, agriculture, tourism, etc. which have high prospects in foreign trade

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नेपालमा प्रजातान्त्रिक आन्दोलन र परिवर्तनहरू

(Based on Historical Linkage and World Opportunity Structure)

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Abstract

प्रत्येक सामाजिक आन्दोलनहरू सामाजिक संरचना अन्तर्गतका विशिष्ट वर्ग, जातीय, लिंगीय, क्षेत्रीय आदिको पहिचान, मुक्ति तथा यथाअवस्थामा परिवर्तनका लागि भएका हुन्छन् । सबैको अन्तरवस्तु र अन्तरसम्बन्ध राजनीतिक सत्तासँग जोडिएको हुन्छ । J.R. Gusfield (1970) ले भने जस्तै विशिष्ट मुद्दाहरूमा व्यक्ति तथा समुदायको एक हिस्साले आफ्ना साझा मागहरू, आपसी आस्था वा विश्वासका आधारमा सामूहिक रूपमा उठाएका हुन्छन् । त्यसको समाधान राजनीतिक सत्ताद्वारा खोजिन्छ । Craig Calhoun (1993) को विश्लेषणमा उन्नाइसौं शताब्लदीको पूर्वाद्ध देखि 1960's अर्थात् 1970's को दशक सम्म नवीन सामाजिक आन्दोलन (New Social Movement) का रूपमा उठेका कार्ल मार्क्सको वर्ग द्वन्द्व तथा मजदूरको सवाल, युरोप तथा अमेरिकामा उठेका महिलावादी-आन्दोलनले समाजको परिवर्तनका लागि राजनीतिक रूपान्तरणको माग गरे । नेपालमा 1990 तथा 2006/07 को जनआन्दोलन पनि New Social Movement को विश्वप्रणालीको पृष्ठभूमिको आडमा विकसित आन्दोलन थिए । किनभने संघीय गणतन्त्रको माग भित्र आदिवासी जनजाति, मधेसी, महिला, दलित, पिछडिएको वर्ग र क्षेत्रको पहिचान र संरक्षणका लागि पनि प्रजातन्त्रको लागि भएको राजनीतिक आन्दोलनलाई व्यापक जनसमर्थन रहन गयो । निरन्तर सामाजिक परिवर्तन र रूपान्तरणसँग जोडिएको लामो इतिहासलाई यस लेखमा देखाउन खोजिएको छ । तर प्रत्येक सामाजिक आन्दोलनहरू, राजनीतिक ध्रुवीकरणको प्रभावमा पर्दा विशिष्ट एजेण्डाहरू छायाँमा परेका छन् कि भन्ने यो लेखमा प्रश्न उठान भएको छ ।

Key-words : Social movement, revolution or movement, identity politics, comparative historical analysis, structure of democracy

प्रजातन्त्रसँग जोडिएको इतिहास

नेपालका शासन प्रणालीहरू धेरै आरोह अवरोहहरूका ऐतिहासिक परिघटनाहरू हुन् । आधुनिक नेपालको एकीकरण हुनु पूर्वको नेपालको इतिहास केही एकता र केही विभाजित कालखण्डको रूपमा गुज्रेको देखिन्छ । इतिहासलाई अध्ययन गर्दा ८८० भन्दा अगाडि विभिन्न प्राचीन राजतन्त्रका वंशहरूले शासन संचालन गरे । जसमा गोपाल वंश, महिषपाल वंश, किराँत वंश, लिच्छवि वंश, ठकुरी आदिको शासन काल रहन गयो । इतिहासको माध्यमिक कालखण्ड भने विभाजनयुक्त राज्य प्रणाली तर्फ अभिमुख भएको छ । राज्य रजौटाहरूको जन्मले (Princely sates) राज्यको सिंगो सार्वभौमिकता तहसनहस भएको अवस्था थियो । एकीकरणको लागि कर्णाली, पाल्पा, गोर्खा, काठमाडौं उपत्यकाका राजाहरूले प्रयास गरे पनि असफल रहे । ऐतिहासिक युगको एक कालखण्डमा गोर्खाका राजा पृथ्वीनाराण्ण शाहले पूरानो अनुभवलाई ग्रहण गर्दै 1742 पछि सफल बने । महारानी राजेन्द्र लक्ष्मी, बहादुर शाह र भीसमेन थापाले पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको एकीकरण अभियानलाई साथ दिँदै नेपाल राष्ट्र निर्माणमा महत्वपूर्ण योगदान दिए (Chettri, & Raymajhi, 2060) एकीकरणकै दौरानमा राज्य शासकीय संरचनामा मजबूत नभैसकेको अवस्थामा यसले बेलायती साम्राज्यवाद जो भारतमा उपनिवेश कायम गरेर बसेको थियो, त्यसको समेत नेपालले सामना गर्नु पर्‍यो । (Husain, 1970) नेपालले आन्तरिक र बाह्य सार्वभौमिकताका लागि राज्य स्वयं आन्दोलन वा युद्धको दौरानमा रहेको सन्दर्भमा शासकीय परिवर्तन तथा सामाजिक रूपान्तरणका हिसाबले आधुनिक एकीकृत नेपालको शुरुवात सँगैको आन्दोलनलाई हामी जोड्न सक्दछौं । वर्गको आधारमा राणा कालमा भएको शोषण उत्पीडन विरुद्ध र नागरिक अधिकारका लागि भएको क्रान्तिसम्म सामाजिक आन्दोलनको इतिहास स्तब्ध र सुसुप्त देखिन्छ । शासनका हर्ताकर्ता साहसिक नेतृत्वहरू तथा कुलीन वर्गको नेतृत्व र उनीहरूको फ्रेमवर्क भित्र समाज परिवर्तन र रूपान्तरण हुँदै गयो । 1950 को प्रजातान्त्रिक आन्दोलनमा आइपुग्दा यो केही सिद्धान्तीकृत गर्ने संघारमा आएको देखिन्छ । नेपाली समाजको विकास क्रम र राजनीतिक परिवर्तनलाई जोडेर हेर्नु पर्ने हुन्छ । यसबाट 2006/07 को दोस्रो जनआन्दोलन, संघीय गणतन्त्रको निर्माण सम्म आइपुग्दा धेरै एजेण्डाहरू इतिहासबाट जोडिँदै, दक्षिण एशियाको आन्दोलनको प्रभावसँगै यो विकास हुँदै गयो । आन्दोलनको अवसरवादी संरचना (Opportunity structure) भित्र रहेर पनि सिँगो नेपालको राजनीतिक परिवर्तनको आन्दोलन पनि अगाडि बढ्यो भने विभिन्न दलित, महिला,

जनजाति, मधेशी आदिको पहिचानको आन्दोलनमा समेत अवसरवादी संरचनाको प्रभाव देखियो ।

प्रजातन्त्रको अर्थ र अभ्यास

> The establishment of a viable democracy in a nation is no longer seen at the product of higher levels of modernization, bourgeois class structure, tolerant cultural values and economic independence from external actors. Instead, it is seen more as a product of strategic interactions and arrangements among political elites, conscious choices among various types of democratic constitutions, and electoral and party system. (Shin, 1994-p. 138-9)

विद्वान् Shin को भनाइलाई केन्द्रमा राखेर अहिलेको र इतिहासमा अभ्यास हुँदै आएको प्रजातन्त्रको बारेमा चर्चा गरौं । वास्तविक प्रजातन्त्र भनेको इतिहासमा अभ्यास हुन सक्यो वा सकेन ? विभिन्न क्रान्ति, आन्दोलन, बहसका रूपमा स्थापना गरिएको वास्तविक प्रजातन्त्र अथवा साध्यपूर्ण प्रजातन्त्र (viable democracy) विश्व प्रणाली भित्र देखियो या देखिएन ? प्रजातन्त्रको उपजको रूपमा उच्च तहको आधुनिकीकरणको अनुभूति, मध्यम वर्गीय संरचनाको प्रतिनिधित्व, सबै सामाजिक-सांस्कृतिक मूल्यको उत्थान, स्वतन्त्र आर्थिक उन्नति जस्ता कुराहरू देखिएनन् जो वास्तविक प्रजातन्त्रलाई उन्नत बनाउने कुराहरू हुन् । बरु यो उच्च कूलीन राजनीतिक वर्ग, विभिन्न वर्गीय प्रजातान्त्रिक संघ संस्थाहरू, मतदाता तथा निर्दिष्ट राजनैतिक दलहरूको रणनीतिक तथा प्रबन्धयुक्त अनुकूलतामा प्रजातन्त्रको स्थापना अभिमुखीकरण भएको देखियो ।

आजभन्दा पच्चीस सय वर्ष पहिले अर्थात् ईशा पूर्व पाँचौ शताब्दीमै Greek हरूले वास्तविक प्रजातन्त्रको अभ्यास गरे । Athens, Sparta, Thebes, Troy आदि जस्ता साना-साना नगर राज्यहरूमा (City states) भूगोल, जनसंख्याको हिसाबले, राजनीतिक, आर्थिक, प्रशासनिक हिसाबले अनुकूल र सहज बनाइएको हुनाले राज्यमा नागरिकको सहभागिता देखिन्थ्यो । कतै सैनिकतन्त्र, कतै अनुदारवादी व्यवस्था भएतापनि प्रजातन्त्रको अभ्यास गर्ने प्रतिनिधि राज्यको रूपमा Athens लाई लिइन्छ । ती राज्यहरूमा नागरिकको परिभाषा भने संकुचित थियो । राज्यमा विदेशी, केटा-केटीहरू, वृद्ध-वृद्धाहरू, दासहरू, महिलाहरूलाई

क्रियाशील नागरिक वर्गमा नपरेपछि नागरिकहरूको संख्या सीमित भयो । नागरिकहरूलाई राजनीतिक, आर्थिक, प्रशासनिक अधिकारहरू थियो । नगर राज्यको भेलामा सबै सहभागी हुन पाउँथे । खुलेर छलफल गर्थे । सार्वजनिक नीति माथि छलफल गर्ने, सार्वजनिक पदाधिकारी नियुक्ति गर्ने, प्रमुख छान्ने, कर उठाउने आदि शासन प्रणालीका नीति निर्माण तथा कार्यान्वयनका क्षेत्रमा प्रत्यक्ष सहभागी हुने वातावरणले वास्तविक प्रजातन्त्रको अभ्यास जस्तो देखिएको हो । Plato, Aristotle हरूका आदर्श राज्य, आदर्श प्रजातन्त्र भित्र तत्कालीन सामाजिक संरचनाको प्रतिबिम्ब छर्लङ्ग देखिन्छ ।

सामाजिक संरचना र प्रजातन्त्र (Social Structure and Democracy)

कहिलेकाहीँ अनुसन्धानकर्ता विद्वानहरूमा प्रजातन्त्रले सामाजिक परिवर्तन सम्भव तुल्याएको हुन्छ कि सामाजिक संरचनाले प्रजातन्त्रको स्वरूपलाई निर्माण गर्दै लैजान्छ भन्ने कुरा भिन्न मत (Dichotomy) को रूपमा देखिन्छ । निगमनात्मक विधि (Deductive method) प्रयोगकर्ताहरूले प्रजातान्त्रिक राज्य स्वरूपको निर्माण पछि इकाइहरूको विकास र परिवर्तन हुने कुरा गर्दछन् । Plato ले आदर्श प्रजातन्त्रको नेतृत्व दार्शनिक वर्गलाई दिएपछि शिक्षा, न्याय, समाज परिवर्तनको साध्यहरू प्राप्त हुँदै जाने कुरा राखे । उनको विचार तत्कालीन सामाजिक संरचनाबाट निर्माण भयो । प्रजातन्त्रको अभ्यास सीमित सामाजिक वर्गद्वारा संचालन गर्ने प्रयास भयो । अरस्तुले गुरुकै पद्धति जस्तो अनुसरण गरे । यद्यपि विचारमा केही भिन्नता देखाउन खोजिएको छ । शासनको वर्गीकरण र संविधानको निर्माणमा Aristotle ले ऐतिहासिक र तुलनात्मक विधिको प्रयोग गरे ।

मुगल साम्राज्यको लामो संघर्षमा नन्द वंशको वागडोर चन्द्र गुप्त मौर्यको शासनमा रूपान्तरण हुनु, नेपालको इतिहासमा शाह वंशको हातबाट राणाहरूले वागडोर खोसेर शासन गरेको कुरा सामाजिक प्रजातान्त्रिक आन्दोलनमा धेरै ठूलो महत्व नराख्न सक्दछ । कानूनी सत्ता तथा शासन प्रणालीको संरचना परिवर्तन हुँदा त्यसले महत्व राख्दछ । प्रजातान्त्रिक परिवर्तनहरूमा जनसहभागिता महत्वपूर्ण कुरा हो । प्रजातन्त्रका लागि गरिएका सामाजिक आन्दोलनहरूले कुन खालको प्रजातन्त्रको स्थापना गर्‍यो र त्यसले के सामाजिक संरचनामा परिवर्तन ल्यायो वा ल्याएन भन्ने हो । राणा शासन विरुद्ध क्रान्ति भयो । जनताले समर्थन दिए । प्रजातन्त्र स्थापना भयो । जनताले स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्त गरे । शिक्षा, संचारमा विकास हुन लाग्यो । संघ संस्थाहरू खुले । राजनीतिक, आर्थिक, सामाजिक गतिविधिहरू बढे । बन्द समाजबाट खुल्ला समाज निर्माण भयो । परिवर्तन देखा परेको सबैले महसुस गरे । तर वास्तविक प्रजातन्त्रमा

(Viable democracy) सामाजिक संरचनाको प्रभाव उस्तै देखिन्थ्यो । Elite group अर्थात् उच्च राजनीतिक शील्पकारको फ्रेमवर्क भित्र प्रजातन्त्रको बागडोर केन्द्रित हुन पुगेको थियो । तीसवर्षे पंचायती प्रजातन्त्रको निरंकुशताको विरुद्ध नागरिक स्वतन्त्रता र न्यायका लागि प्रथम जनआन्दोलन भयो । प्रजातन्त्र पुनस्थापना भयो । 2062/063 को जनआन्दोलनले नेपालमा गणतन्त्रको स्थापना गऱ्यो । राजनैतिक दलहरू जन्मे । राजनैतिक दलहरू भित्र पनि पुन Elite समूहहरू जन्मे । शील्पकारहरूको फ्रेमवर्क भित्र आन्दोलन/जनयुद्ध उठान भए, समन भए र संघीय गणतन्त्रको नेतृत्व त्यही वर्गमा केन्द्रित रह्यो । मधेशीहरू न्याय र मुक्तिका लागि आन्दोलित थिए, दलित, महिला, जनजाति सबैले आफ्ना एजेण्डाहरू अगाडि सारे । आन्दोलनलाई उचाइमा पुऱ्याए । राजनीतिक अभियान मार्फत राजनैतिक दलहरूले ति सबै समाधान गर्ने वाचा पनि गरे । राजनीतिक ध्रविकरण भयो । परिणामतः पछि परेका वा पछाडि पारिएका वर्ग, समुदायहरूको पहिचानको राजनीतिमा सीमित भएको छ । एजेण्डाहरू यथावत् छन्, आरक्षणबाट ती समुदाय भित्रका शील्पकारहरू शासकीय हिस्सेदारीमा केन्द्र देखि स्थानीय तहसम्म समेटिएपछि सामाजिक परिवर्तनका एजेण्डाहरू ओझेलमा परेका छन् । राजनैतिक दलहरू, शासन सत्तामा नव भष्तिभ हरूको प्रवेश भैरहेको छ । साध्यपूर्ण (Viable democracy) प्रजातन्त्र भन्दा अनुकूलता बमोजिम प्रजातन्त्र विकास भैरहेको देखिन्छ । 1950 सालको प्रजातन्त्रमा सामाजिक संरचना भित्र पहिचान तथा समुदायको एजेण्डाको राजनीति स्पष्ट थिएन । वर्तमान सामाजिक संरचनाका राजनैतिक तथा गैर राजनीतिक तत्वहरू (political / non-political components) को उपस्थिति प्रजातान्त्रिक सत्ता भित्र समेटिएका छन् । वर्गीय, जातीय, लिंगीय (gender) मुद्दाहरू अगुवाहरूको शासकीय हिस्सेदारी आरक्षणसँगै कमजोर बनेका छन् ।

युरोप तथा अमेरिकी गोलार्द्धमा प्रजातन्त्रको विकासलाई स्वतन्त्र एवम् निरपेक्ष मानिन्छ । यद्यपी क्रिश्चियानिटी भित्र यसको गति निर्धारण गर्ने प्रयत्न हुन सक्छ । भारत, श्रीलंका, नेपाल लगायत दक्षिण एशियाको प्रजातन्त्रको विकास क्रममा विविधतापूर्ण सामाजिक संरचनाको ठूलो प्रभाव छ । यसमा धर्म, संस्कृति, वर्णव्यवस्था, जाति व्यवस्था, क्षेत्रीयता, वर्ग, लिंग सबै विशिष्ट प्रकृतिका भएका र सबैले प्रजातन्त्रको स्थापनामा योगदान पुऱ्याएको सन्दर्भमा पहिचानबाट या हिस्सेदारीबाट मूल्य खोजिरहेका हुन्छन् । भारतीय स्वतन्त्रता र अम्वेडकरको मुद्दा होस् वा वर्तमान भाजपाका मुद्दाहरू हुन्, नेपालका मधेसी, दलित, आदिवासी, महिला, कर्णाली आदिका मुद्दाहरू सामाजिक संरचनाकै उपज हुन् । यसको सोझो प्रभाव प्रजातन्त्रमा पर्छ । निरपेक्ष प्रजातन्त्रको विकास सम्भव छैन । वृहद दृष्टिकोण (Macro perspective) तथा दीर्घकालीन

ऐतिहासिक उपागम (Long term historical perspective) बाट हेर्दा अथवा विश्व प्रणाली (world system approach) बाट हेर्दा स्थानीय घटना र संरचनाहरूले विश्व प्रजातन्त्र (world/universal democracy) को विकासमा प्रभाव पारिरहेको देखिन्छ । यहाँ हरेक देशका प्रजातन्त्रलाई सामाजिक संरचनाले निर्दिष्ट गरेका हुन्छन् । Global Democracy लाई Anti-theoretical perspective बाट हेर्नुपर्ने देखिन्छ । प्रजातन्त्रको परिभाषा विश्वव्यापीबाट shifting भएर स्थानीय करण (Localization of democracy) भएको मान्न सकिन्छ ।

प्रजातन्त्रको अभ्यास र अनुभव (Empirics of Democracy)

नेपालमा प्राचीन शासन प्रणालीका स्वरूपहरू प्राग् विश्वमा छरिएका राज्य रजौटा जस्तै परम्परागत र अनुदारवादी नै रहेका देखिन्छन् । प्राचीन राज्य व्यवस्थाहरू मध्ये लिच्छवि शासन संरचनालाई समृद्धिका दृष्टिले स्वर्णीम काल खण्ड मानेता पनि प्रजातान्त्रिकरणको अभ्यास तथा अनुभव भने धेरै पछि नै विकास भयो । यद्यपी शाणा शासनको उत्तरार्द्ध 1930 को दशमा राणा विरोधी अभियानको रूपमा शहर तथा शिक्षित राजनीतिक वर्गको सानो इकाइमा प्रजातन्त्रको आवाजको विजारोपण भएता पनि यसको सानो अभ्यासको शुरुवात भने राणा शासनको अन्त्यसँगै 1950 मा प्रजातन्त्रको उदयसँगै हुन पुग्यो । दोस्रो विश्वयुद्ध पछि विकास भएको दक्षिण एशिया र विश्वको राजनीतिक विकास क्रममा देखिएको नवीन धारहरूको तरंगले नेपाललाई पनि प्रभावित गर्दै थियो । दक्षिण एशियाका छिमेकी शक्तिशाली राज्यहरू भारत तथा चीनमा उपनिवेश विरुद्ध तथा जनमुक्तिका लागि भएका आन्दोलनहरू सफल भएपछि राणाहरू कमजोर बनेका र त्रिभुवन नेतृत्वको शाह परिवार र प्रजातन्त्रवादी शक्तिहरू बीचमा उर्जा प्राप्त भएको हुँदा 1950 को प्रजातन्त्र स्थापना सफल भएको देखिन्छ । राणाहरू बीचमा अन्तर विभाजन र कलह एवम् भारतीय स्वाधीनता आन्दोलनको मुख्य पृष्ठभूमिमा नै सय वर्ष भन्दा बढी लामो राणा शासनको अन्त्य भएको हो । राणा शासनको वैधानिकता, शक्ति र विशेषाधिकारको शासकीय संरचना भारतकालीन ब्रिटिश सत्ता नै प्रमुख रहेकोमा उपनिवेशको अनुपस्थितिबाट प्रजातन्त्रको लागि अनुकूल परिणाम उत्पन्न भयो ।

Huntington (1992) ले भने जस्तै प्रजातन्त्रको तेस्रो धारको विजारोपण 1970 को दशकपछि भएको भनिए पनि उन्नाइसौं शताब्दीको उत्तरार्द्धमा विकास भएको पहिलो र दोस्रो विश्वयुद्धसँगै विकसित दोस्रो धारमा विश्व प्रणालीको प्रजातन्त्रको विकासक्रमलाई बनाइएको छ । दोस्रो धारको प्रभावको रूपमा 1950 को प्रजातन्त्रको स्थापनालाई लिन सकिन्छ । यद्यपि नेपालको प्रजातान्त्रिक अभ्यासलाई न शून्यवादबाट (Nihilism) न त कुनै सैद्धान्तिक आधारमा

परिभाषित गर्न सकिन्छ । दोस्रो विश्वयुद्धको अन्त्यसँगै विकास भएको प्रजातन्त्रको Macro-level structure का रूपमा हेर्न सकिन्छ । तत्कालीन प्रजातन्त्रको अभ्यासमा कुनै जाति, लिंग, जनसांख्यिक, भौगोलिक, इकाइहरूको भूमिका वा प्रतिनिधित्व देखिएन । प्रजातन्त्रले लामो इतिहास (Long history) र समकालीन राजनीतिक हर्ताकर्ता (political fixer)बाट यसको निरूपण भयो ।

राजा त्रिभुवनको घोषणामा संविधान सभाको निर्वाचन तथा गणतन्त्रको गन्ध देखिए पनि विश्व प्रणाली (World perspective) बाट हेर्दा अमेरिका, बेलायत, भारतले नेपालमा गणतन्त्र भन्दा उदार तथा लचिलो राजतन्त्र अन्तर्गतको प्रजातन्त्र स्थापित गराउन चाहान्थे र त्यस्तै भयो । चिनियाँ क्रान्तिले (Chinese revolution) ले 1949 मा जनवादी गणतन्त्रको स्थापना गरिसकेको थियो । बेलायतले दक्षिण एशिया (भारत) बाट हात झिकेको परिस्थितिमा शक्ति शून्यता (power vacuum) को चिन्ता भएको अवस्थामा चीनमा साम्यवादी सरकारको आगमन हुनुले राजनीतिक शक्ति संरचनाहरू सशंकित बन्न पुगे । प्रजातन्त्रको अनुदार संरचनालाई स्वीकार गरियो । नेपालको सन् ज्ञढछढ को आम निर्वाचनले पश्चिमी प्रजातान्त्रिक अभ्यासको अनुकरण गर्ने अवसर प्रदान गऱ्यो । संसदीय प्रजातन्त्रको निर्वाचनमा ग्रामीण किसान वर्ग देखि लिएर शहरिया कुलीन वर्गहरू समेतको सहभागिता रह्यो । राणा विरुद्धको आन्दोलनमा सशक्त खटिएको नेपाली कांग्रेसले कूल ज्ञण्ढ सीट मध्ये 74 सीटको व्यापक जीत हाँसिल गऱ्यो । नेपाली कांग्रेसको दुइतिहाइको प्रथम निर्वाचित प्रजातान्त्रिक सरकारले प्रजातान्त्रिक अधिकारहरूलाई संस्थागत गर्दै भूमि तथा सामाजिक न्याय सम्बन्धी केही लोकप्रिय कार्यक्रमहरू घोषणा गऱ्यो । तत्कालीन प्रधानमन्त्री विश्वेश्वरप्रसाद कोइराला र राजा महेन्द्रका बीचमा असहज सम्बन्धका कारण महेन्द्रले शाही विद्रोह (Royal Coup) गरी संविधानको संकटकालीन धाराको प्रयोग गरेर सरकार विघटन गरे, राजनैतिक दलहरू माथि प्रतिबन्ध लगाए र निरंकुश शैलिद्वारा सत्ताको वागडोर हातमा लिए । तत्कालीन भारतीय प्रधानमन्त्री नेहरूले असन्तुष्टि प्रकट गर्दै राजाको कदमलाई setback of democracy को रूपमा उद्घोष गरेका थिए । सन् 1960-61 देखि 1990 सम्म करिब तीस वर्ष कुलीन वर्गीय निरंकुश पंचायत शासन प्रणाली (Autocratic panchayat system) चल्यो । राजाको कदमले Macro-level democratic structure लाई तहसनहस पाऱ्यो । महेन्द्रकालीन कुटनैतिक सम्बन्धहरू जनवादी गणतन्त्रसँग नजिक रहेकोमा भारत समेत पश्चिमाहरू असन्तुष्ट देखिए । राजा विरेन्द्रको आगमन अर्थात् 1980 को दशकपछि पंचायती प्रजातन्त्रमा केही लचकता र दक्षिण, पश्चिमसँगको उदार कुटनैतिक सम्बन्धको शुरुवात भएको देखिन्छ ।

प्रजातन्त्रको तेस्रो धारको प्रभाव स्वरूप हुन सक्छ । पंचायती निरंकुशता भित्र शासकीय उदारता स्वरूप Micro level मा केही प्रजातान्त्रिक संस्थाहरूमा नयाँ अभ्यास गरियो । जनमत संग्रह (Referendum) को परिदृष्यमा विद्यार्थी संघ, संगठनहरू (स्व.वि.यु.) लाई क्रियाशील हुन दिइयो । वर्गीय संगठनको आधारमा राजनैतिक अभ्यास (जस्तै प्रजातान्त्रिक र जनपक्षीय उम्मेदवार), निर्वाचन अभ्यासहरूले विस्तारै अनुमति पाएको देखियो । व्यापक दृष्टिकोणबाट (Macro perspective) अवलोकन गर्दा 1990 को जनआन्दोलन र प्रजातन्त्रको पुनस्थापना आन्तरिक आर्थिक सामाजिक, राजनैतिक नैतिक कारणहरू भए पनि विश्व प्रणालीमा देखिएको धारको समेत पूर्ण प्रभाव देखिन्छ । जनआन्दोलनले पुनस्थापित गरेको प्रजातन्त्रको अभ्यासमा ठूला राजनैतिक दलहरूको रूपमा नेपाली कांग्रेस, ने.क.पा. एमाले, रा.प्र.पा., नेपाल सद्भावना पार्टी लगायत मधेशवादी दलहरू क्रियाशील भए । गैर सरकारी संस्थाहरूको उपस्थिति ह्वात्तै बढ्यो । विकास दृष्टिकोणसँग जोडिएर समुदाय केन्द्रित कार्यक्रमहरू बढेर गए । दक्षिण एशियाका राज्यहरू समेत युरोप-अमेरिकी देशहरू पनि यस परिवर्तनलाई मान्यता दिँदै गए । किन कि यो राजनीतिक-सामाजिक परिवर्तन पश्चिमी उपरवादी पुँजीवादी प्रजातन्त्रीकरणको, प्रतिबिम्ब थियो । उत्तरी छिमेकी मित्र चीनको नेपालको परिवर्तनप्रति कुनै प्रतिक्रिया रहेन, बरु, समर्थन र सहयोग रहँदै गयो । सन् 1991 को प्रजातान्त्रिक निर्वाचनपछि नेपाली कांग्रेसले बहुमत प्राप्त गऱ्यो भने दोस्रो ठूलो राजनैतिक दल प्रतिपक्षको रूपमा नेपाल कम्युनिष्ट पार्टी (एमाले) रहन गयो । कांग्रेसले आन्तरिक गुटबन्दीलाई व्यवस्थापन गर्न सकेन । पूरा अवधि शासन नगर्दै मध्यावधि निर्वाचनमा गयो । मध्यावधि पछि कुनै राजनैतिक दलहरूले पूर्ण बहुमत ल्याउन नसकेपछि प्रजातन्त्रको अभ्यास माथि त्रिशंकु संसदको (Hung parliament) अवस्था लामो समयसम्म रह्यो । आफ्ना मागहरूको सम्बोधन नभएको भन्दै प्रजातन्त्रको उदयसँगै क्रियाशील भएका क्रान्तिकारी धारका नेता कार्यकर्ताहरूले ने.क.पा. माओवादी पार्टी स्थापना गरी जनविद्रोह/जनयुद्धको उद्घोष गरेर जंगल पसे पछि नेपालको प्रजातान्त्रिक आन्दोलन, राजनीतिक-सामाजिक विकास क्रममा नयाँ अध्याय शुरु भयो । देशको राजनीति र सत्ता परम्परागत राजावादी शक्ति तथा दलका ठालू वर्गहरू (political fixer) को हातमा प्रजातन्त्र मूल्य मान्यता विहिन बन्यो । सत्ता लोलुप, पदीय भागवण्डाको संस्कृति द्वन्द्वछ को संविधान नबन्दासम्म तीव्र बन्यो । एकातिर त्रिशंकु संसद र अर्कोतर्फ माओवादी जनयुद्धको दवावमा परेका राजनैतिक दलहरूले जनता र देशलाई प्रजातन्त्रको उपलब्धि दिन सकेनन् । दरबार हत्याकाण्ड पछि राजा ज्ञानेन्द्रको सत्ता संचालनको विधि प्रजातन्त्रका लागि बाधक बन्ने संकेत देखिए पछि जनता समेत दलहरू असन्तुष्ट भए र 2006/07 को दोस्रो आन्दोलन भयो । जनयुद्धमा रहेको माओवादी पनि गणतन्त्र स्थापनाको सर्तमा राजनैतिक पार्टीहरू र नागरिक

समाजसँग एक्यबद्धता गर्दै संयुक्त आन्दोलनमा समाहित भयो । द्दण्ड मा पहिलो संविधान सभाको निर्वाचन गरियो । राजतन्त्रको अन्त्य गर्दै संघीय लोकतान्त्रिक गणतन्त्रको स्थापना भएको घोषणा भयो । अन्तरिम संविधान मार्फत् देशको शासन सत्ता संचलान गरियो । पहिलो संविधान सभाको असफलता पछि 2013 मा दोस्रो संविधान सभाको निर्वाचन भयो । यसले संरचनागत रूपमा संघीय लोकतान्त्रिक गणतन्त्रात्मक संविधान जारी गऱ्यो । ने.क.पा. (एमाले) र ने.क.पा. माओवादी बीचको पार्टी एकीकरण भएपछिको संघीय निर्वाचनमा नेपाल कम्युनिष्ट पार्टीले व्यापक बहुमत प्राप्त गरेर शासन संचालन गरेको अवस्था छ । नेपाली कांग्रेस प्रतिपक्षीको भूमिकामा रहेको छ ।

यस क्रममा प्रजातान्त्रिक अभ्यासले सामाजिक सवालहरूलाई पनि प्रतिबिम्बित गऱ्यो । दलित आन्दोलनहरू, जनजाति आन्दोलन, महिला आन्दोलनहरू, मधेशवादी आन्दोलनहरू, सुदुर पश्चिम कर्णालीका आवाजहरूले जनसांख्यिक, भौगोलिक तथा आर्थिक सामाजिक न्यायको कुरालाई स्थापित गर्दै गऱ्यो । राजनीतिक आरक्षणहरू सृजना भएका छन् । कमैया मुक्ति, छुवाछूत विरुद्ध कानूनहरूमा सुधार, वैवाहिक एवं पारिवारिक सम्बन्ध सुधारका कानुनहरूको कारण परम्परागत सामाजिक संरचनाहरूमा समेत प्रभाव पार्न सक्ने र परिवर्तन गर्ने कुराको संकेत देखिएका छन् ।

क्रान्ति वा आन्दोलनको उपज प्रजातन्त्र : अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय प्रभाव Based World System/ Comparative History

अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय शक्ति सन्तुलनको इतिहासमा प्रजातान्त्रिकीकरणको अभ्यासहरू World systematic approach का सन्दर्भमा धेरै पृथक देखिँदैनन् । विकसित राज्यहरूमा प्रजातन्त्रको क्रान्तिको आधार र साना तथा अविकसित राष्ट्रहरूमा क्रान्तिका आधारहरू केहि विशिष्टीकृत (Contextualized) चाहिँ अवश्य हुन्छन् । Karl Marx को विचारमा विश्वका सबै मजदूरहरू एकतृत भएर क्रान्ति गर्ने हुनाले उनले विश्वलाई नै समग्र क्रान्तिको एकल इकाइका रूपमा हेरेका छन् । उनले विश्व व्यवस्था दृष्टिकोणबाट परिभाषा गर्न खोजे । Moore को भनाइ यस्तो छ -

"The fact that smaller countries depend economically and politically on big and powerful ones means that the decisive caused of their politics lie outside their own boundaries (1966)"

अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय सन्दर्भमा कुरा गर्दा साना तथा अविकसित देशमा प्रजातन्त्रको लागि हुने क्रान्तिहरू बढी आर्थिक, राजनीतिक कारणले ठूला राष्ट्रहरू माथि भर परेर भएका देखिन्छन् । साना देशहरूमा उत्पन्न केहि क्रान्तिहरू आकस्मिक पनि हुन्छन् । तर दीर्घकालसम्म संक्रमण रहिरहने हुन्छन् । नेपालमा प्रजातन्त्रको क्रान्ति भएको सात दशक (on the basis of 1950 revolution) हुँदा सम्म राजनीतिक, सामाजिक संक्रमणबाट मुक्त भएको छैन । पंचायत पछि कै गणना गर्ने हो भने पनि प्रजातान्त्रिक काल ज्ञढढण पछि पंचायत काल खण्ड जति तीस वर्ष पुगिसक्दा पनि देश राजनीतिक संवैधानिक संक्रमण मै देखिन्छ । शक्तिशाली राष्ट्रहरूमा हुने क्रान्ति भने त्यसको निर्णायक कारणहरू आफ्नो सिमा क्षेत्र भन्दा बाहिर गएको पनि देखिन्छ ।

Skocpol को भनाइमा हरेक क्रान्तिहरूलाई अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय सन्दर्भसँग जोड्नु पर्छ । प्रायः अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय क्रान्तिहरू सैनिक, आर्थिक प्रतिस्पर्धामा पछि परेको कारणले पनि भएको देखिन्छ । उनी भन्छिन् -

"…modern social revolutions like the French, Russian and Chinese have invariably occurred in countries caught behind move, economically developed competitor nations" (Skocpol, 1979)

सैद्धान्तिक धरातलमा रहेर हामीले 1990 र 2006 को प्रजातान्त्रिक परिवर्तनहरूलाई लिन सकिन्छ । अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय सन्दर्भसँग जोडेर नै धेरै विद्वानहरूले यसलाई हेर्ने प्रयास गरेको देखियो । दुवै आन्दोलनहरू (1990 / 2006) का आन्तरिक कारणहरू भए पनि त्यस अघि र पछिका प्रभावमा अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय सन्दर्भमा देखिएका विचारधारात्मक, राजनीतिक, सामाजिक, आर्थिक आदि तत्वहरूको ठूलो प्रभाव छ । दुई ठूला छिमेकी भारत र चीनको बीचमा रहँदा र ती राष्ट्रहरू क्षेत्रीय एवं विश्वको शक्तिराष्ट्रको रूपमा उदय हुने क्रममा रहेको अवस्थामा नेपाल कुटनैतिक, सामाजिक दृष्टिले केन्द्रमा रहेको छ । नेपालले विश्व वित्तीय संस्थाहरू तथा देशहरूबाट भारी मात्रामा ऋण र विभिन्न अनुदान सहायताहरू लिएको छ । जसको कारण नेपालको विचारधारा राजनीति, संविधान, वित्तिय नीतिहरू र अन्य संस्थाकरणमा दृष्य वा अदृष्य रूपमा अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय हस्तक्षेप/प्रभाव परिरहेको हुन्छ । यिनकै कारण प्रबुद्ध वर्गहरू, मिडियाहरू आदिमा विवाद ल्याउने, नयाँ सवालहरू सृजना गरेको देखिन्छ । पुँजीवादी विश्व प्रणालीको सन्दर्भमा कुरा गर्दा पनि क्रान्ति र परिणाममा थुप्रो निर्भरता कायम भएको हुन्छ । अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय प्रभाव वा हस्तक्षेपको कुरा गर्दा यसमा शक्तिशाली राष्ट्रहरूको मात्र नभै कम शक्तिशाली राष्ट्रहरूको पनि नीति निर्माणमा सामाजिक-सांस्कृतिक मूल्य रूपान्तरणमा अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय गैर

सरकारी संस्था, सांस्कृतिक-सामाजिक समूह जस्ताका गतिविधिले पनि हस्तक्षेप गरिरहन्छन् । जस्तै अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय दलित आन्दोलन, जनजाति सम्मेलनहरू, धार्मिक सम्मेलनहरू महिला तथा लैंगिक सवालका नियमहरूले नेपालको वर्गीय, जातीय, लिंगीय, प्रदेश क्रान्तिहरूमा प्रत्यक्ष-अप्रत्यक्ष भूमिका खेलेका छन् ।

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What Preliminary Research Writing Involves and How It Is Executed

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The beginning is half of the whole (Plato)

Abstract

This paper focuses on the preliminary processes of conducting a research work. Its target readers are those students who are new to research area. Given this fact, the fundamental objective of this paper is to familiarize them with the basic definitions and important elements of research. This article collects insights by employing two methods. First, it draws upon the experience of its author as a teacher and researcher. This personal resource renders the article reflective and employs the personal pronoun I. Second, it resorts to documents pertinent to research and academic writings. The paper assigns no separate section for reviewing the past works. Instead, to aid smooth transition and readership, they have been invoked and interlarded in the main body during the discussion. Because the intended readers of this paper are neophytes, simplified version of research terminologies has been used for easy comprehension.

Keywords: research, knowledge, beginner, research questions, gap,

Introduction

In any academic context, students and scholars confront a predicament: either publish or perish. This situation reveals the value and importance of research publications. A truly conducted research project not only ensures promotion and successful academic career, it also fosters novel perspectives on a given field of inquiry. A research is defined "as the deliberate study of other people for the purposes of increasing, understanding and /or adding to knowledge" (Dawson ix). It aims at "advancing the frontiers of knowledge" (Nicholas Walliman 7). A quick hindsight reflection will reveal that every successive epoch of human civilization is the result of the constant investigation and rigorous curiosity of the previous generations. This unique human activity has continued to unpack a whole range of completely new realms of wonders and marvels over the centuries. Upon this human endeavor has depended the evolution, maturity and happiness of the entire human being. If motivated by the goal of benevolence, a humane research work serves human society with no discrimination and presents a scientific perspective on the entire cosmology.

Although this little background cannot wholly serve to establish the significance for doing a research, it should at least support the statement that every nascent researcher, before embarking on conducting a research work, should first be acquainted with its broad aim and objective. Since it is beyond the scope of this paper to delineate a history and philosophy of research, in what follows, I provide an overview of the elements, characteristics, and techniques required of those beginners who are currently or in future planning to pursue an academic project at home or abroad.

Rationale

Writing a sustained and long research essay is an extremely intricate and intriguing academic pursuit. Wayne C. Booth et. al. aptly explain the reason: "research follows a crooked path, taking unexpected turns, sometimes up blind alleys, even looping back on itself" (5). This subtlety explains why a research work is at times off-putting and even frustrating. To write on a single topic at a prescribed length with little personal freedom is no less a challenge. It is equally bewildering how swiftly and unambiguously a researcher, particularly a new one, can navigate through the maze of presentational aspects and writing mechanics. As a teacher and researcher myself, I have found that the majority of the fledgling researchers have struggled with this particular area. Why is this so? The present paper answers this question.

Discussions

Assignments, term papers, report writings, and research projects unnerve most of the students at colleges and universities. One of the reasons why these activities have earned more detractors than admirers is because they are the tasks that involve "complex" (Ellison 8) processes. However, if properly guided, students can also find "a research project… fascinating, rewarding and exciting" (Dawson x). In the following paragraphs, I guide general students right through preliminary states to completion by providing them a general framework of the main tasks required in conducting a research project.

Creating a Space

A researcher needs justification to establish the significance of his study. Given M. Lisa maintains, "[r]esearch justification refers to the rationale for the research or the reason why the research is being conducted," (780). This aspect is related to the issue of originality. It is generally expected that an original work is the one that makes some new contributions to the existing body of learning. For every researcher, whether the seasoned or the novice, finding a rationale is a time-consuming, protracted and complicated process.

It is crucial that a researcher find a space for his research. This initial process decisively places the research into a distinctive territory. Of paramount importance here is how compelling and researchable the topic in question is. Once the researcher finds a novel area or issue, he is well ahead into making "claims for the centrality or significance of the research in question" (Paltridge and Starfield 82).Thus, it is reasonable to reflect on the rationale of the research and what is there to be known or explored.

Narrowing a Topic

In every research work, researchers are required to develop a viable topic. This crucial task involves focusing on one specific aspect of the intended area of inquiry. This aspect of research is, however, not as simple as it sounds. Although no subjects are ruled off-limits in research, it is almost impracticable for a single person to deal with every component of a topic that exists under the sun. Normally, the general trend shows that a student who is new to conducting a research at first comes out with an extremely vast subject. It is, therefore, prudent to resolve this issue early on. Mario Klarer explains what defines a workable topic. According to him, "it is crucial to narrow down the topic in a sensible and practicable way. Good scholarly papers are characterized by a clearly and convincingly focused topic" (109). If a researcher is interested to examine Nepal's relationship with India or China, his study should focus on one aspect only. For example, the title Nepal's Relationship With India would be an unmanageable topic and too general to tackle. No single person can handle every dimension of this issue in a single research project. A viable area in this case would be the one that would focus on Nepal's trade relationship, or cultural relationship or political relationship. Depending upon the length of the research paper, they can be broken down further, focusing on even more precise aspects or issues.

Ideally, a researcher should consider a great deal in terms of selecting a topic and if confused, it is prudent to discuss it with his teacher or supervisor or classmates. Only a clearly defined topic will lead the researcher logically into other aspects of research. Focusing on specific aspect will lead the researcher to "answer favorite questions" (Chin 6) that he has about the topic. Therefore, a research work should home in on one specific issue in depth.

Asking Questions

Once a preliminary study about a topic has been completed, it is time for the researcher to know what he does not know about the topic. Posing a right question only will provide information about an unsolved issue. This is an important component of writing a research work. As a systematic and controlled pursuit, research is a project that answers a curiosity. It aims at solving a puzzle. If there is nothing to baffle or puzzle us, there is no research at all. So, W. Lawrence Neuman states that a research "is a way going about finding answers to questions" (2). While laying out questions, it is, however, crucial to know what specific information is to be sought about the problem to be addressed. Questions are designed accordingly. There are specific processes to formulate questions. Depending on the topic, area of inquiry, and the purpose of conducting research writing, a researcher can ask questions using as many wh-words as viable. These include who, what, when, where, why and how. For example, if somebody wants to consider the Covid-19 outbreak as an area of inquiry, the researcher could consider asking some or all of the following questions:

1. How has this pandemic affected the economic system of Nepal?
2. Who suffered the most?

3. Why was it so devastating?

4. What lesson did people learn?

5. What measures should be taken to tackle any such catastrophe in the future?

6. How have the post-pandemic sufferings and struggles been rendered through stories?

These questions compel the researcher to examine relevant sources for the right answers. In short, questions are the pulse of a research work, and if designed incorrectly or carelessly, they will definitely give a bumpy ride for the researcher.

Looking Back

Research is a recursive process. It takes the researcher back and forth during the whole period of research work. Booth et al capture this scenario as a complex process: "Real research loops back and forth, moving forward a step or two, going back and moving ahead again, anticipating stages not yet begun" (xi). A crucial component of this looping back and forth is to dovetail the research with a broad and large scholarly context on the related topic. This is called a review of literature. According to Klarer, this research activity "open[s] a new perspective, cast[s] light on a hitherto neglected aspect of a text, and establish[es] a connection with the state of current research in the field" (103). This means that a research is built upon a huge bulk of the previous body of literature. Before embarking on doing a research work, it is essential to be familiar with what current state of knowledge exists in the chosen field of investigation. The scouring of the past works provides a solid foundation for the research project. By examining previous works, the researcher can make an assessment of where his own research will fit into the existing body of knowledge. This assessment will lead him to claim that what he is proposing was not researched before.

Among many others, a review of literature serves two key functions. One, it allows the researcher to survey what has been researched or not researched; and second, how the research has been carried out. The former provides information about the content covered and the latter about the methodology and techniques. The insights drawn this way enable the researcher to establish his stance vis a vis his own research. Thus, a review of literature hooks the work in question to what has already been done on the related topic.

Reviewing involves more than just cataloguing the past works and should move beyond the tracking down of information. This act requires the researcher to take a critical stance on what to regard as valid or redundant and prepares him to determine the quality of research information. Apart from allowing for an objective evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of a source, the process of doing a review of literature also involves judging its relevance for the research work under consideration.

Another important aspect of doing a review of literature is to examine the credibility of the information accessed. There are a number of sources available in various places. While the easy availability of information is an obvious advantage, the problem lies in determining its reliability and validity. For an experienced researcher, this task is relatively less daunting. The novice, however, seems to be struggling considerably. In this case, he will save himself from getting into trouble by consulting his supervisor or senior students.

Where to find the right information and relevant sources depends upon the subject chosen. There are places that researchers have trusted for long. For them, the first choice is the college or university library. There are departmental libraries also that contain documents on specific subjects. Apart from this, other common information centers include museums, galleries, people, and the internet.

Detecting and Addressing a Gap

A research is conducted to address what is lacking in the existing body of related subject. In simple terms, there arises a need to carry out an inquiry into an issue because it is incomplete in some respects. Awareness to this incompleteness underpins the argument that a research study is worth doing. Finding a gap requires a detailed analysis of relevant subjects. This part necessitates a researcher to "trawl through all the available information sources in order to track down the latest knowledge, and to assess it for relevance, quality, controversy and gaps" (Walliman 52). In other words, a thorough study of previous works uncovers where the lack lies and by addressing this issue, the researcher can take a decisive step in lending a novelty to his work. The ability to spot a lacuna provides a solid point of departure for the researcher. It is a skill that has, however, to be gained through consistent practices and reading.

Although the reading of previous works is crucial for discovering a gap and situating the research in a broad context, this task, however, entails a complex process and can at times be frustrating unless it is known how to spot the gap as well as what to look for. A researcher can tailor his search for the gap according to his specific area of inquiry and the purpose of conducting the research. However, in general, the two significant areas that researchers can target to show a new contribution include the method and the content. For example, if a researcher considers to study Laxmi Prasad Devkota's poem *The Lunatic*, first, he has to assess previous works for what Nicholas Walliman states that every past works should contain: "relevance, quality, controversy and gaps" (52). This previous reading will allow him to make an assessment of the books reviewed, to identify what has not been researched about the poem and then pave the way for the basis of the research question(s). To illustrate, let's take up the hypothetical situation that a good number of people have analyzed *The Lunatic* from the linguistic perspective or from the point of view of prosodic features. If the new researcher adopts the same perspective, his paper will only be scratching the surface, making no original contribution. However, if during his review of literature, he detects that no previous work has touched upon its contextual aspect or philosophical aspect or rhetorical aspect, and he examines the poem from one of these approaches, then he spots a gap and the study made this way will make a substantial contribution to the existing documents on that poem. Herein lies the worth that really raises the stake of a work of research. So, finding out a gap and addressing it is an important aspect of a research work. Beginners should take this crucial fact in mind.

So what

In every step of a research work, researchers have to face a deadly, cold question of so what. Indeed, every researcher should be wary of and be prepared for this predictable situation. Supervisors are most likely to raise this question with their student-researchers through their written comments or orally during a viva voce. The question of so what is based on the argument that analysis is not just for the sake of analysis only. Beyond the platitudes of analysis, there is a whole lot of the world that exists outside the research text. The analysis should point to that outside world. Since a research is about a phenomenon, it should say something about that phenomenon when it is completed. Otherwise, if the research is limited to analysis only and says nothing, then what is the worth of doing a work which results from constant industry and diligence?

Let's take up the earlier poem again, Devkota's *The Lunatic*. Suppose a researcher has approached the poem from philosophical aspect, made an exhaustive reviewing of previous opinions, addressed the gap faithfully, but has failed to make connections between the text and the outside world, then his work will have little impact despite his painstaking work. Therefore, the task of a researcher, through the process of analysis, is to move beyond the text and communicate to his readers a message about what he has done.

Showing Integrity

A research is a cumulative endeavor. Every successive document is built upon previous sources and information. For every single piece of information consulted and borrowed, every researcher owes to their predecessors. According to the conventions of writing academic papers, others' ideas should be acknowledged with respect. Passing off others' views without proper acknowledgement is considered "the worst offense against the honesty" (Nicholas 44). This intellectual property crime is called plagiarism, and depending upon the gravity of the offense, the plagiarist can face a variety of penalties, ranging from a flunking grade, an expulsion from college or university to the disqualification from carrying out any academic activity in future.

A researcher who is new to the convention of research writing is likely to commit plagiarism wittingly or unwittingly. There are, however, two commonly adopted methods to avoid "the worst offense" (Nicholas 44). One is paraphrasing. This method involves presenting the original ideas through synonyms and in different syntactic structures. The other is direct quotation. The ideas quoted are placed within double inverted commas, as in the above. Brief information about the source is presented in the body of the text, a process called in-text citation and the details are provided at the end of the research paper under the category of Works-cited.

Eureka Moment

One of the most fulfilling experiences in any researcher's life is to be able to complete the research task undertaken and pull it off. However, a feeling of repugnance on the part of the student for research is also a reality. Anthony C. Winkler and Jo Ray Metherell assert that there are "[m]illions of students" (3) who "hate the research paper" and consider it "an assignment that is both picky and tedious" (3). Yet, in their view, despite the repulsion that the research paper provokes, it "has outlasted generations of its haters" (3). Lovitts, E. Barbara and Ellen L. Wert argue that writing assignment like the research paper is an opportunity for students to carry out "an independent scholarship" (vii). Beverly Ann Chin captures the excitement of a successful researcher: "you'll gain the experience of taking on a task, seeing it through to the end, and being proud of your accomplishment" (2). So, a researcher's eureka moment comes when he executes his task successfully, which affords him a dignified sense of accomplishment at the end of the day.

Orienting the Reader

An organized piece of writing draws readers' attention quite early on via a short paragraph which is placed at the beginning of the article. This paragraph is called the Abstract. An Abstract is a section that encapsulates what the researcher has presented in his paper. Through this section, readers become familiar with the information and content contained in it. Generally, it is written after the paper has been completed. Although the Abstract is the last part to write in a research paper, readers are most probably to read it first. The main reason is that it provides an overview of what the main part contains.

By reading the Abstract section, readers can immediately feel the pulse of the article and decide whether it deserves a further reading or not. If presented well, this section provides a compelling reason for readers to read the article. This is mainly determined by the novelty of ideas presented. If the ideas are new, readers' curiosity is aroused and they are motivated to find out more about them. A badly written abstract involves the risk of losing the reader. If so, the Abstract is a vitally important part which should be written with considerable care and attention. Paltridge and Starfield provide a five-fold typical structure for writing an Abstract: "overview of the study," "aim of the study," "reason for the study," "methodology used in the study" and "findings of the study" (156). A good abstract is written along this model.

Giving Credit Where It Is Due

In the case of a long piece of research writing like the thesis, researchers provide a section in which they convey their gratitude for the intellectual assistance and moral support that they receive from their supervisors in the completion of their academic undertaking. This part is called the Acknowledgements. This section is short but an important piece of text. Like the Abstract, the Acknowledgements section is written after the researcher has completed his research. Ken Hyland points out that the Acknowledgements contain three distinctive stages. According to him, "students acknowledgements have a three-tier structure consisting of a main "thanking move" framed by optional "Reflecting and Announcing moves" (308). Paltridge and Starfield simplify these three moves. They explain that the reflecting move "makes some introspective comment on the writer's research experience"; the thanking move "gives credit to individuals and institutions", and the announcing move accepts responsibility for any flaws or errors and dedicates the thesis to an individual or individual/s" (160).

Wrapping UP

After the research has been completed, it is now time to reorient the reader to what has been found out from the materials examined. The section that deals with the findings of the research is called the Conclusion. In the words of Paltridge and Starfield, a conclusion states "the significance of what [the researcher] found out" (151). It follows some specific steps. First, it restates the research topic. Second, it presents findings and points out the limitations. Third, it synthesizes key points. Fourth, it presents a recommendation. However, much depends on the guidance and instruction of the supervisor regarding the importance of these steps.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Research is a systematic and organized project carried out to answer a question. It should be guided by the broad theme of uplifting the condition of human society. Students should be aware that the purpose of research is to expand knowledge. However, it is necessary for them to be familiar with the basics of what a research activity constitutes and how it is conducted. Although this paper provides some useful ideas about the process of conducting a research paper, more still needs to be written and done in this regard. My experience reveals that much less attention is given in the direction of developing what Garde-Hansen and Calvert call "a research culture" (105) among students. An answer to this hiatus in our education system could be the formation of a student-centered research cell in every campus with a research supervisor at the helm. Through such a research body, interested students can form a network of research cohort, hold periodic discussion sessions, arrange orientation classes with research experts, conduct reading sessions on the on-going scholarly activities, and carry out research activities and various writing tasks. This initiative could also be aided by some financial or other material incentives.

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