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Laughter for Human Well-being; An Analysis of Laughter Psychotherapy and Sri Lankan *Kōlam* Folk Theatre

Vishanka Gunawardana
Psychological Counselor, Sri Lanka Navy
Email: *gunawardanavishanka@gmail.com*

Abstract

Kōlam is a public performance that belongs to the low country dancing tradition in Sri Lanka which is primarily concerned to evoke humour. Laughter therapy or humour therapy constitutes a part of group psychotherapy, which enhances human well-being in western psychotherapy. This study is aimed to examine the impact of laugher psychotherapy and Sri Lankan traditional *kōlam* folk theatre on human health and well-being. The content analysis method has been used for the study while using library sources for primary and secondary data collection. In the comparison of laughter therapy and *kōlam* folk theatre, it was identified that humour and laughter are essential for people. Therefore, both are mainly concerned to evoke humour/laughter using different methods and procedures. The study examines humour and laughter in east-west cultures to highlight cultural limitations. Different techniques and group psychotherapeutic characteristics are analyzed to find out how both laughter therapy and *kōlam* folk theatre aim for health and human being. It is proved that when western health professionals develop laughter/humour as a therapy, ancient Sri Lankan people have possessed a unique way to enhance human well-being using laughter.

Keywords: Folk Theatre, Human well-being, *Kōlam*, Laughter therapy, Sri Lankan traditional Performances

Introduction

Laughter and humour are an important part of human life for their long-lasting impact on mental and physical well-being. Today, health professionals identify laughter as the 'best medicine for its ability to strengthen the immune system, boost good moods, diminish mental pain

and protect from damaging effects of stress. The biological aspect of laughter is explained by some scholars with its psychological background. According to Reville (1999), laughter is an involuntary physiological response to a cognitive stimulus. It results from indirect stimulation of the motor centres of the nervous system via higher cognitive centres, which in turn are stimulated by reading a joke or by watching comedy. Wild et. al (2003) also explains the two neuronal pathways of the expression of laughter as i.e (i) an 'involuntary' or 'emotionally driven' system, involves the amygdala, thalamic/hypo and subthalamic areas and the dorsal brainstem, and (ii) voluntary' system originates in the pre-motor/frontal opercula areas and leads through the motor cortex and pyramidal tract to the ventral brainstem. This human activity generates freely when people behave as a social group and are connected. With the competitive economic system, as it can be generally observed, people lead compact and competitive lifestyles where it encourages hatred and stress which may cause serious damage to a person's mental and physical health. To keep the balance between a healthy mind and body people have to buy laughter in the modern context as they pay for their essential needs of them. Hence this 'best medicine' that is fun, free and easy to use has become a complex matter for 21st century people.

With the growing necessity and the scarcity of laughter /humour, people of ancient and modern eras used various methods to evoke laughter and humour. Using modern technology, people spend their spare time in social media or watching comedy videos, movies that make them stress-free but randomly engage in time-consuming activities such as watching stage comedy-drama or reading skits whereas the ancient people engage naturally in role plays in gatherings, reading skits or organize festivals of comedy drams as the ancient Greeks did for celebrations and fun. Generally, scholars attribute the birth of comedy-dramas to Aristophanes (446 – 386 BC), a Greek comedy writer in classical Athens and thereafter comedy-drama passed various stages and gained improvements as a more organized form of event performed according to a script. These dealt with political and social issues of the day crudely and mockingly which any average Athenian could relate to thus easing his daily discomforts by watching the comedy (Rigas, 2017). Likewise, creative activities of people

are prominent in evoking humour or laughter in all societies. A similar type of creative method of evoking humour/laughter can find in Sri Lanka which is one of the main concerns of this paper, i.e. *Kōlam* folk drama.

Various types of folk drama, namely *Nadagam, Nurthi, Sokari and Kōlam,* can be attributed to the Sri Lankan dancing tradition. Among them, *kōlam* which gives the meaning of "mockery" in *Sinhala*, is primarily concerned to evoke humour or sarcasm. This folk drama is found mostly in the low country coastal area of Sri Lanka. Mainly it was well-known in Waligama, Mirissa, Ambalangoda, and Bentara (Dela Bandara, 2000). Even though *kōlam* and other folk dramas are rarely performed on the public platform today, they have passed a golden age of polarity in Sri Lankan society. The different dramatic techniques and stock characters have caused the closeness of this drama to the average society. In ancient times, *kōlam* was mostly all-night performances mixed with satire, songs and dance (Sarathchandra, 1968). Most of the scholars have identified that the characters of *kōlam* drama are taken from contemporary society and hence it is a form of social satire. To dramatically perform the characters that were chosen, the artists have used different masks attributed to the special features of the character. According to Dela Bandara (2000) that is the speciality of the *kōlam* folk drama among other performances. These masks were mainly made from the trees such as *Rukattana, Samadara*, and *Kaduru* (Sarathchandra, 1968 and Dela Bandara, 2000). Therefore, it is evident that *kōlam* folk drama has a close link with the Sri Lankan traditional wooden masks. Even its mythological story highlights these masks as a divinely gifted attire to perform the drama.

As many scholars assert, there is a mythological background for the origin of the *kōlam* folk drama. According to them, the queen of the king *Mahasammata* suffered from a "pregnancy craving" for "dances and amusements" and the king invited every performer in the kingdom to perform their masterpieces. But she was not satisfied with any of the performances. At the moment, the gods' king *Sakra* saw this condition and ordered the god *Wishwakarma* to create *kōlam* masks and keep them in the royal garden of the king *Mahasammata*. In next day morning, king *Mahasamata* saw these masks and thereafter ordered to organize a *kōlam*

dramatic event. Ultimately, the queen was satisfied with those performances. This is the summary of the mythological story that triggered *kōlam* folk theatre. Based on the above story, *kōlam* dramatists use king and queen as characters and its plot was created around their presence to watch the dramatic event.

As Sarachchandra (1968) and other scholars mentioned, there are no proper written documents to study the basic form, script or the procedure of the *kōlam* drama, but notably, there are two foreign writers, namely John Callaway and O. Per told have written on *kōlam* folk drama according to their perception. However, for the present study, the *kōlam* folk theatre was studied by referring to Professor Ediriweera Sarathchandra's research with *Ambalangoda Ariyapala Kōlam* group and *Ambalangoda Gunadasa Kōlam* group. Additionally, Gunathilaka (1964) also has included significant factors that agree with Professor Sarachchandrain his book on *Kōlamdrama and Masks in Sri Lanka*. Despite the primary sources on *kōlam* folk theatre, a general picture could be obtained from the above prominent writers.

To study laughter therapy features in the *kōlam* folk theatre which is the main aim of the study, it is necessary to understand the dramatic episode and their flow in the *kōlam* dramatic event. Wijesiri (2020) states that there are two main sections of *kōlam*: firstly, the performance by stable characters, and secondly, the performance of selected stories. These characters and stories are unique to the context of the performers and their audience. As for the other social events, the folk theatre also started with religious formalities. Sarathchandra (1968) states *kōlam* drama event started with the invocation to *Buddha, Dhamma, Sangha* and gods. Next, the narrator who is known as *kariyakarawanarala* (in Sinhala) introduces characters one at a time to the audience and they perform their roles by intentionally evoking humour to make the audience laugh. Episodes of different characters casually present on the stage to perform or rather act out their duties before the arrival of king and queen.

The first episode is known as *Police kōlama* which as the name implies, few actors perform as police officers. In this episode, they come to the stage to see whether there is enough security for the chief guests (king and

queen). Following the police officers, the character *Ārachchi* appears on the stage to perform the next *kōlama*. As Manoj (2009) explains, the village headman was known as *Ārachchi* and he gets a count of the exact number of people gathered in the audience to welcome the royalty. *Ārachchi*'s assistant who is known as *Liyana Rāla* (clerk) happened to be a funny character and he is very keen on embarrassing his master. He kept on counting even the unborn babies in the wombs of the women in the audience. This suggests *kōlam* as an interactive theatre. Finally, *Ārachchi* orders all those who are in the audience to behave well as the royalty was about to arrive. According to Sarachchandra (1968), this episode shows how the folk theatre has criticized the higher rank officials sarcastically.

The next scene is *Hēwakōlama* which the performers act as soldiers (*hēwayo*) who came for the protection of the king and higher officials. As Manoj (2019) explains, the soldiers must ensure that the roads are clean and tidy. Then the dramatic scenes proceed to *Anaberakōlama* (messenger drummer's episode). This drummer is known as *Panikki Rāla* who shows the royal messenger's role while hanging a drum. His wife is known as *Nonchiakka*and hence the scenes switch to *Nonchikōlama*. The next episode is *Pedi kōlama*, which shows an elderly washerman called *Jasaya* who is by nature a lazy person who appeared on the stage accompanied by his young wife *Lenchina*. Dela Bandara (2000) states that he must set up the canopy of the *kōlam* theatre premises. Sarachchandra (1968) writes the next episode as *Mudalikōlama* which shows the higher rank royal officer (*Mudali Thumā*) visiting the village with a servant to carry out the king's duty. Immediately after *Mudlikōlama* or rather after assurance of safety and security, the king and queen come to the stage with other elite class people. Manoj (2019) states this scene as *Raja kōlama* which shows the arrival of the king and queen. In this episode, the characters of king and queen look glorious because they wear jewelry to make the audience feel that a real king and queen have visited the event (Dela Bandara, 2000).

When the main episodes to welcome royalty are over, as Sarachchandra (1986) explains, the next episode is *Rākshakōlama*. According to Manoj (2019), the *Rāksha* (demon) is also known as *Nāga Rāksha* (Cobra demon) and as in the other episodes, the character wears the mask of *Nāga Rāksha*

to perform a dance to please the royalty. As Sarachchandra (1986) explains, the last episode of the *kōlam* is known as *Āndikōlama*. A man who came from *Āndra* in India is prophesizing while travelling around the country. He is introduced as a liar and a person who cheat on people. All the above characters are included in the first part of the *kōlam* folk drama and the second part is included some selected stories such as *Sandakinduru* story, *Gotaimbara* story, *Maname* story, and finally Village story (*Gama kāthawa*) which are very familiar to old Sri Lankan ordinary society (Wijesiri, 2020). Hence, as Sarachchandra (1986) asserts, the village story is the most humorous story among others and that performs only in conversations.

The final episode of *kōlam* folk drama is *Garā* demon's (*Garāyakā*) dance, and Dela Bandara (2000) explains that this dramatic scene performs as a treatment (*Shānthikarmaya*) to overcome demon's influence on the human life. People expect to protect their paddy fields, horses, cows, and hope to overcome illnesses by performing *Garā* demon dance. This episode is different from the first scenes of the *kōlam* performances. In the past, *kōlam* was performed mostly in the rural sector and later, it has performed in different areas as a festival item. However, the *kōlam* folk drama is a form of traditional performance in Sri Lanka and it is considered to evoke humour.

Humour can be seen as a key element of human communication. Western psychology has recognized humour as an important fact for people's well-being by bringing it to a psychotherapeutic context. The therapeutic intervention is known as laugher therapy or humour therapy. Polimeni et al (2006) state that humour and laughter are closely related, but they are not synonymous. Humour is the underlying cognitive process that frequently, but not necessarily, leads to laughter. APA dictionary of Psychology defines laugher as follows;

> "vocal expression of amusement, enjoyment, or derision, characterized by inspiratory and expiratory movements occurring in rapid succession. Laughter is pleasurable because it serves to release tension built up when people listen to an amusing story or watch an amusing event."

As Yim (2016) explains, there are five categories of laugher which has been identified by health professional such as genuine or spontaneous laugher (unrelated to one's own free will and taggers by external facts), simulated laugher (triggers by oneself and no specific reason), stimulated laugher (happens as a result of external factors), induced laugher (the result of specific drugs or substances), and pathological laugher (the result of specific neurological or psychiatric disorders). According to Ripoll (2017), stimulated laugher, simulated laugher, and genuine or spontaneous laugher are more focused in the therapeutic context and health professionals have recommended as beneficial methods. Laugher therapy sessions are conducted by therapists, who guide the entire session for individuals or groups by improving the individual's connection with other people. Browne (2017) explains that the laughter therapists are expected to qualify as licensed psychologists, psychotherapists, professional counsellors or licensed clinical social workers. Hence, it is evident that laugher is used as a treatment in a socially acceptable way. According to Kmita et al (2018), it is best to describe laugher therapy as humour therapy or humour workshops. This therapy has become more attractive and effective in the psychotherapeutic field in the current health sector. However, many studies reported the benefits of humour and laughter on both physical well-being and psychological well-being.

The current study intends to investigate the western laugher therapeutic features in Sri Lankan traditional *kōlam* folk theatre. There are some studies on the aesthetic and literary aspects of Sri Lankan traditional *kōlam* theatre. Sarachchandra (1968) has explained the historical and literary aspects of *kōlam* folk theatre. He has elaborated the origin of this traditional performance and different types of *kōlam* traditions by observing local *kōlam* events and foreign historical documents. Dela Bandara (2000) describes the origin of the *kōlam* traditional masks, the context of the *kōlam* folk drama and the ritual of the performance by including many poems of each episode of *kōlam*. Gunathilaka (1964) explains several important factors regarding traditional masks, generations of *kōlam* performers, different traditions, and the context of *kōlam* folk drama with relevant poems and dialogues. Kankanamge (2013) and Manoj

(2019) have explained the different characters of the *kōlam* folk theatre. Wijesiri. (2020) has written on the context, how the cast and social hierarchy are presented in the performance. All the aforesaid scholars have discussed literature, anthropology, dramatic features and aesthetic aspects of *kōlam* folk theatre. About western laugher therapy, there are several literary sources which explain the physical and psychological health benefits of it. Yim (2016) explains that laughter therapy is an effective and scientifically supported alternative treatment for many health issues. Edmond (2020) explains that laugher therapy has wonderful psychological and physiological results and he explains laugher therapeutic outcomes in child patients. According to Ripoll (2017), simulated laughter, as a type of therapeutic laughter, has also shown some quantifiable effects on certain aspects of health, including mental health. Amici (2019) describes humour as a key element of human communication, and it has a beneficial effect on both psychological and physical well-being. Additionally, he explains the negative effects of humour.

Objective

There is a lack of studies connecting Sri Lankan *kōlam* folk theatre and western laugher therapy although many researchers have conducted studies on the two fields separately. Therefore, the specialty and the major objective of the current study were to examine the impact of laugher/humour psychotherapy and Sri Lankan traditional *kōlam* folk theatre on human health and well-being while observing both similarities and differences of these east-west methods. Apart from the above-mentioned main objective, to deeply study how the folks have created the *kōlam* to evoke humour as a healing method is another objective of the study.

Methodology

The content analysis research method has been used for the study while using library sources for primary and secondary data collection.

Discussion

The laugher or humour therapy has developed with a scientific background and it has a therapeutic foundation, while *kōlam* folk theatre developed as

a traditional performance among Sri Lankan people, especially in rural areas. However, when carefully observing these east-west methods, many similar features and similar objectives can be identified. Therefore, this study examines the similarities with an in-depth study of *kōlam* and laugher therapy under topics of techniques and therapeutic characteristics that highlight the importance of laughter for human health and well-being. The discussion is initiated with a background study on humour and laughter in east-west cultures.

Humour and Laughter in East-west Cultures

Laughter is a universal fundamental act of human beings from evolution which cannot specify its origin. Polimeni et al (2006) explain that there are several reasons to suppose humour and laughter could be evolutionarily adaptive. A simple joke can utilize language skills, theory-of-mind, symbolism, abstract thinking, and social perception. Further, Polimeni et al (2006) describe that Freud (1905-1963) viewed humour as a release of excessively sexual or aggressive tension and hence it releases the psychic tension related to inhibiting unconscious sexual or aggressive impulses. Another finding of Polimeni et al is that in an attempt to methodically assess humour in traditional societies, in ten hunting and gathering cultures that could perhaps reveal humorous situations and at least one native participant had to laugh or acknowledge the humorous situation. Hence, it is evident that laughter is a fundamental act of human being from evolution and every human need humour and laughter in their life. According to Gendry (n.d), public interest in laughter therapy started to develop in the 1960s and grew from there. As he explained many scholars have contributed to developing the therapeutic process such as William F. Fry, Norman Cousins (1915-1990), Lee S. Berk, Mickael Miller, Ramon Mora-Ripoll, Annette Goodheart, and Hunter (Patch) Adams in old generation and Madan Kataria, Steve Wilson, and Sebastien Gendry in new generation. As Gendry (n.d.) explains, Madan Kataria is an Indian family physician who created laughter yoga in 1995 with the help of his wife, wrote papers for medical journals. In his scholarly work he became interested in the growing body of scientific evidence showing that laughter is extremely beneficial. He developed a range of laughter exercises including elements of role-playing and other techniques.

According to Louie et al (2016) laughter was not generally perceived to have any particular healing effect until 1979, when Norman Cousins published his book *"As Anatomy of an Illness*."Various theories and gathered knowledge have a great impact on developing humour and laugher as formal psychotherapy. As an impact of globalization, the new knowledge and finding of therapeutic processes are rapidly shared worldwide and people try to practice the modern methods to overcome their issues.

Some scholars argue that limitations to laughter and humour depend on the cultural background. Jiang (2019) explains that Easterners are less likely to use humour as a coping strategy in comparison with Westerners. It can be assumed that specific cultural and traditional beliefs may influence the perception of humour and laughter. Japanese women, as a common practice, cover their mouth with their hands when they laugh or even smile. Nakata (2015) states this is practiced mainly "because Japanese women aren't supposed to laugh out loud, which is considered lacking grace and unladylike in Japanese culture". In the Sri Lankan cultural context, the same can be observed in literature and cultural practices. As an example, the following poem in *Kāvyasekaraya*[1] has included some restrictions for Sri Lankan women including restriction to laugh;

"පෙකනිය නො දක්වා
සළු ඇඳ බෙලට දක්වා
නොපව තන සක්වා
සිනා නොමසන් දසන් දක්වා" (*Kāvyasekaraya,* poem 19)

(Author's translation- Lines 1,2,3: Dress properly from neck to legs covering your navel and breasts. Line 4: Don't show your teeth while smiling)

The last line of the above poem states that smiling or laughing by showing teeth is not suitable for women. This has encouraged smiling rather than

[1] *Kāvyasekaraya* was written by Thotagamuwe Sri RahulaThera in 1449. This work is one of a principal works of RahulaThera in the early 15th Century. (Ven. Thotagamuwe Sri RahulaThera. *The Real Buddhist Culture*)

laughing on about Buddhist cultural background. Even though laughing or even smiling is restricted in some of the east-Asian cultures, men are not bound to any of those restrictions. In such culturally bounded Sri Lankan Buddhist society, *kōlam* folk theatre can be seen as a form in that people get rid of the aforesaid restrictions and freely mingle with laughter despite gender. To fulfil their need for humour in a socially accepted way, it can be assumed that they have reasoned *kōlam* by connecting to a mythological story that involves divinity and royalty which was hard to deny by any means.

Jiang (2019) explains that Westerners and Easterners have similar patterns in the relationship between their humour and psychological well-being. Accordingly, people consider humour as a positive aspect of life although some traditional beliefs influence it. Similar ideas on its positive aspect can be identified in the Sri Lankan context in various colloquial ways. As Ilangasinghe (2018) mentions, for example, popular sayings like "laughing leads the blood" can be seen among Sri Lankan people. According to folk stories, the king had his clown called *Andare* who provide humour to the king and his royal council at any required time. This is basically to avoid the stress caused by the administration and governance of the country. Hence, it is evident that ancient Sri Lankan society has considered humour and laughter as an important aspect of their well-being. When looking at the traditional *kōlam* folk theatre, ancient Sri Lankan society has made an effective platform to produce humour and laugher in a socially acceptable way and people can participate without considering any segmentation such as gender, age, and cast just as the western laugher psychotherapy.

Techniques to Achieve Purposes of *Kōlam* and Laugher Psychotherapy

Laugher psychotherapy and traditional *kōlam* folk theatre mainly concern producing humour and laughter for their participants and the audience. But, there are some other specific purposes of *kōlam* apart from producing humour such as obtaining the blessing from gods while performing the *Gara* demon dance at the end. When laugher therapy uses specific techniques and methods to produce humour and laugher in the participants,

kōlam folk theatre has used its inherent simple ways to produce humour to the audience.

According to Yim (2016), laughter therapy is a kind of communication that arouses laughter, smiling, pleasant feelings, and enables interaction. In the present context, laughter therapy is mainly aimed at experiencing the binomial simulated spontaneous laughter and it may lead to a higher laughter dose which might create greater health outcomes (Ripoll, 2017). Many scholars have explained the various techniques in laugher therapy sessions or workshops. Edmond (2020) states child patients might see more humour rooms in hospitals, as well as laughter wagons full of funny books, games and toys roaming the halls. Edmond further explains that laugher therapy is included various techniques to produce laughter. According to laugher therapists, there are certain techniques in a laugher therapy individual or group sessions such as evoking laughter by using comic videos, jokes, comedy and laughter for a specific period. There are some exercises and laughing yoga involves in the therapy as well. According to Kamita et al (2017), the workshop's participants laugh at the tasks they are asked to do but also create their humour joking about the tasks and what they associate with or joking about each other. They further explain that in the humour workshops in Poland, Steven M. Sultanoff uses jokes, anecdotes, cartoons, and props. Psychodrama can play an important role in laugher therapy as well. According to Ripoll (2017), simulated therapeutic laughter intervention typically consists of three stages such as (i) opening and warm-up, (ii) experiencing positive emotions, humour and laughter, (iii) recovery, closure and evaluation. The aforesaid techniques are used in a scientific platform with well-organized structures. Additionally, therapists are certain about the techniques that they use in humour/laughter therapy.

When considering the purpose of traditional *kōlam* Folk theatre, similarities can be observed as humour or laugher therapy. Kankanamge (2013), states that the *kōlam* is mainly performed to evoke humour and sarcasm. The dramatists used vulgar and colloquial words to entertain the audience as a technique. According to Manoj (2019), the Sinhala word *kōlam* is commonly used in the day-to-day parlance throughout Sri Lanka

which connotes some comical, crazy or unusual behaviour that provides entertainment through fun and humour. Dela Bandara (2000) also asserts the same and, according to him, the purpose of *kōlam* folk theatre is as follows; "*Sinhala kōlam* drama is a simple folk cultural performance. It performed only for the happiness of people and never charged money for it." (*Sinhala kōlamsampradaya*, p. 54) Therefore, it is evident that evoking humour is the end goal of these east-west methods. Even though some similar techniques can be identified in *kōlam* folk theatre, it is not up to the standards of professional psychotherapy.

The ways of *kōlam* folk drama to produce humour and laughter can be attributed to factors such as comic characters, coquetries of acting/dancing, comic language, masks, costumes, and music. According to Sarachchandra (1968), every character of *kōlam* drama appear in the episodes such as police *kōlama, ārachchikōlama, hēwakōlama, panikkikōlama, nonchikōlama, pedikōlama and āndikōlama* are conversed purposely to make humour and laugher by the narrator who is known as *kāriyakarawanarāla*. The main purpose of these conversations is to make fun of the audience. Sarachchandra explains the purpose as follows; "the narrator asks questions from every character after they came to the theatre. The purpose of this conversation is to make humour and to give more details about characters to the audience." (p.98). Hence, different characters are used as a technique in this folk theatre.

Coquetries of acting and dancing of the characters of *kōlam* drama have an impact on producing humour and laugher in the audience. According to Sarachchandra (1968), every character of the *kōlam* drama has used expression of the limbs (*āngikaabhinaya*) effectively to evoke humour and they act naturally as they live in the characters. Although, *Nonchiakka* is an old woman she tries to behave like a young girl in the *Nonchikōlama* episode and hence the controversy of the appearance and the behaviour of this stock character is amusing to the audience. Another example is that Village headman (*Ārachchi*) and his assistant (*Liyanarāla*) in the *ārachchikōlama*. The performer of the village headman character shows how the government officers behave in their real lives with arrogance and greed for power. The character of the assistant shows due respect to

ārachchi when he looks at him, but the character changes the behaviour to a free manner when *ārachchi* looks away. This seems to be the real behaviour of the people in that society. As Sarachchandra (1968) explains every character performs how real officers, helpers, and villagers behave in that society by making laugher in the audience.

Dancing is also included in the *kōlam* with the music, apart from the acting. Sarachchandra (1968) has stated that the music and other supportive methods were prepared according to the context of *kōlam* drama. *Kōlam* folk theatre is included some stories apart from the above characters such as "the village story" (*gamakathawa*). This story is about two brothers who are going to find a place to build a house because their old house was destroyed by a flood. The whole story reveals the foolishness of the brothers in building the house and the difficult situations they encounter due to their foolishness. Sarachchandra, states that "this is a story which has written to act comically about village life and village characters" (p. 104). The above examples are evident to humour that evoked in *kōlam* folk theatre using the everyday life, follies, vices and duties close to general rural life. Hence, this is a more comprehensive platform for the audience to look at the performances closely without much effort and more humorously. There are other techniques used to enhance the familiarity to the audience such as colloquial and vulgar language.

Kōlam traditional performance has its inherent language which is familiar to relevant society which people could grasp easily. Mainly, there are both poetic (*padya*) and prosaic (*gadya*) languages in *kōlam* folk drama. It suggests that this familiar language is also a method that directly affects to produce humour and laughter in the audience. Gunathilaka (1964) has written many such poems and conversations. Following is an example to show the narrator's explanation about the character *Nonchiakka* in *nonchikōlama*;

"කටේ දත් වැටෙමින
කබත් කුණු කෙල පෙරමින
ගතත් වෙවුලා ගෙන
නොන්චි අක්කා ඒය දුවගෙන" (Gunathilake, 1964:95)

(Author's translation: Here comes *Nonchiakka* without any teeth in her mouth, with boogers in her eyes, saliva draining from her mouth, with shivering hands, legs and body)

The above poem shows how the narrator explains the real look of an old woman who lost her young appearance. Now she has loosed her teeth and looks effete. A vulgar poetic language has been used here to evoke humour purposefully as in the second line. Another example can be seen in the *Ārachchikōlama*. The narrator explains the village headman (*ārachchi*) as follows;

"කටෙත් දත් සුද්දා
කියයි අණ රජ එද්දා
දොඩයි වල් බැද්දා
රාල ආරච්චි බේබද්දා" (Dela Bandara, 2000:111)

(Author's Translation: *Ārachchirāla,* whose teeth are shining, is a drunkard, speaking nonsense and giving people the king's orders)

As Sarachchandra (1968) explains how the *kōlam* folk drama satirizes the people who are excited with their official power using colloquial language. When these conditions bring in the theatre, it can assume that the general public makes fun and release their unconscious hostility and tension with laughter.

There are several examples to prosaic comic conversations in *kōlam* folk drama and Gunathilaka (1964) has stated one of the conversations between a soldier (*hēwaya*) and his wife in *Hēwakōlama* as follows;

Wife: *Whom is that crippledman coming this way?*
Soldier (*hēwaya*): *It's me! your loving husband. I am coming back from Malabar after fighting on the battlefield.*
Wife: *My husband is so handsome! Not like you crippled man! If you try to come close, I will punch you in the face.*
Soldier (*hēwaya*): *I am your real husband. Although I lost my nose after the war, back then I was very famous in the country."* (p.93)
(Author's translation)

The above conversation is about a soldier (*hēwaya*) who has lost his nose after fighting on the battlefield and now, his wife cannot recognize him. Similar other comic conversations can be found in both character narratives and stories performed in *kōlam* which use vulgar and colloquial language.

Many scholars have shown that the masks and costumes are playing an important part to make the folk drama colorful and communicating effectively. Therefore, masks and costumes can be identified as techniques to evoke humour in the audience. Kankanamge (2017), states that the *kōlam* characters wear suitable masks to present their characters without facial expressions since funny expressions are often carved in the masks. According to Sarachchandra (1968), *kōlam* masks are created purposely to explain characteristics of the people used as characters on the stage. For example, *panikkirāla*'s mask shows an innocent look, *Mudali*'s mask shows arrogant look, and *pedi*'s mask show silliness. Different expressions engraved in these masks may impact to produce humour and laughter in the audience. According to Gunathilake (1964), masks of these characters have been created to show the nature of real characters and it can make the comprehensive idea in the spectators. Similarly, clowns who wear comic masks perform in western laugher therapy sessions. According to Edmonds (2020), clowns can be a key part of laughter therapy, which relies on various techniques designed to produce laughter. Generally, the clowns wear various masks to make people fun. But, Rohrer (2008) states that there is nothing laughable about a clown in the moonlight which means wearing a scary mask may impact negative psychological consequences due to the fear of the mask. In that sense, traditional *kōlam* folk masks are created to bring a positive aspect while producing humour and laughter. However, it is evident that, while western laugher therapists use various techniques and methods to conduct their sessions, traditional *kōlam* folk theatre also possessed its inherent ways to make people laugh. Therefore, both these east-west interventions have used focused performances and use their unique methods to produce humour and laughter.

Group Therapeutic Characteristics

Group psychotherapeutic characteristics can be examined in both *kōlam* folk theatre and laugher therapy sessions. As scholars point out laugher therapy is held in both individual and group sessions. According to Martin (2018), human beings tend to laugh more when they are in groups with others rather than being alone. Many scholars identify this as a positive aspect of laughter by emphasizing the social conventional nature which indicates the emotional connection among individuals. According to Martin (2018), group laughter therapists also should have sense of humour and people can obtain an effective outcome with the support of the group. Grotjahn (1971) mentions that the emotional freedom of the group is demonstrated when the therapist interactively laughs with his/her patients. The positive outcomes of this interaction are identified as sharing emotional feelings, improving social relationships and empathy, feeling not alone anymore, realizing everyone has different issues in their lives, and life has a joyful, enthusiastic aspect too. According to Kamita et al (2017), Laughter therapy can constitute a valuable part of group psychotherapy and participants were enthusiastic about this type of therapy and expressed willingness to participate in laughter therapy again because the collective and supportive characteristics may help them to obtain effective outcomes. Hence, the group sessions can understand as a collective effort between therapists and participants to evoke humour and laughter for health well-being purposely.

Similarly, *kōlam* folk theatre is also a group performance in a collaborative environment. Characters of *kōlam* are chosen from the villagers or by a trained drama group. Hence the audience includes most of the villagers and they remain until the next morning. The collective group behaviour can be seen in preparing the theatre and during the performance. According to Gunawardana (2013), the *kōlam* is performed in any sufficient space available and the audience gathers in a circle by leaving the space to perform. Group laughter therapy also involves minimum facilities and requirements to conduct its sessions. By referring to Mora-Ripoll (2010) and Ko and Youn (2011), Yim (2016) states;

> "laughter therapy does not require specialized preparations such as suitable facilities and equipment, is not prohibited by cost, does not depend on when or where it happens and is easily accessible and acceptable, the medical world has also introduced it into treatment programs". (pp.243)

Hence it is evident that *kōlam* folk theatre and therapy engage in laugher as a group or community with minimum sources and spaces.

Laughter for Health and Human Well-being

World Health Organization (WHO) defines health as "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease and infirmity" (Constitution of WHO, 1948). According to this definition, human well-being is not only getting a healthy body but also getting a healthy or perspicuous mentality and being a successful person in society. Gonot-Schoupinsky and Gulcan (2018) state that "Well-being, defined by the WHO (Five) Well-being Index to include feeling cheerful, active, relaxed, rested, and interested in life, is thought to buffer physical and mental disease." Therefore, elicited laughter is important to keep good health and well-being. In that sense, laugher therapy and *kōlam* folk theatre can be identified as effective interventions to make a completely healthy person.

When considering the health and well-being outcomes of laugher therapy, many health professionals have suggested it as an effective treatment for both mental and physical well-being. Among them, Yim (2016) has pointed out evidence-based outcomes as mentioned in the following table 01.

Table 01: Physiological and psychological effects of laughter.

Physiological outcomes	Psychological outcomes
Exercises and relaxes muscles. Improves respiration. Stimulates circulation. Decreases stress hormones. Increases the immune system's defences.	Reduces stress, anxiety, and tension, and counteracts symptoms of depression. Elevates mood, self-esteem, hope, energy. Enhances memory and creative thinking.

Elevates pain threshold and tolerance. Enhances mental functioning.	Improves interpersonal interaction. Increases friendliness and helpfulness. Promotes psychological well-being. Improves quality of life and patient care. Intensifies mirth and is contagious.

Source: Yim (2016), p. 245

In addition to the above physiological and psychological outcomes, Amici (2019) describes another beneficial effect of laugher therapy for both psychological and physical well-being. According to him, people enhance the coping ability of stressful events, cognitive skills to shift away and distance oneself from negative events, and ability to avoid negative emotions in the laughter therapeutic practice. According to Ripoll (2017), simulated laughter, as a type of therapeutic laughter, has also shown some quantifiable effects on certain aspects of health, including mental health. Black (2020) also explains that laugher therapy has wonderful psychological and physiological results related to the chemical process of humans. The author further asserts that laughing is not just a behavioral phenomenon. When people laugh, the body releases two key chemicals, i.e. (i) our pituitary gland releases endorphins into our blood where they make their way into the brain and spine and help relieve pain and trigger feelings of pleasure, (ii) when we laugh, our brain releases dopamine and it can enhance learning, motivation, and attention. The overall health benefits of laughter and the neurochemicals involved in laughter improve immune functioning, stress relief, increased tolerance for pain, improved cardiovascular health, reduced anxiety, sense of safety, and improved mood. Further, Black (2020) states the importance of laugher for social interaction and well-being as follows;

> "One day, I hope, we will find a vaccine for the coronavirus, and we'll be able to get back to more natural social interactions. But it is very likely that even after the crisis is over, more people will work more often from home alone, which means the laughter issue is here to stay — because no matter how much better the tech gets, social behaviour and neurochemistry evolve over thousands of years. Since that pace is

> unlikely to accelerate suddenly over the two, 20, or even 200 years, leaders are going to have to get good at making laughter happen".

The above statement clearly shows that laughter is essential for human behaviour which strengthens human bonds and closeness even in a pandemic situation. Although the technology can find a vaccine for a critical pandemic situation, it may not be able to reduce the feeling of isolation and stress as laughter does.

Even though the Sri Lankan traditional *kōlam* theatre is also produced humour and laughter in the audience by performing different types of characters and stories, there is no scientific evidence to prove people are aware of its health benefits and well-being. However, as western laugher therapeutic research proved, it can suggest that people can obtain the benefits of laugher although they are unaware of it. This is wing to the fact that the main purpose of *kōlam* performances is to evoke humour, make a happy platform for the society or community. Therefore, it is evident that *kōlam* theatre also played a vital role in keeping human well-being. Especially, these performances have performed in an era in which people did not have access to technical equipment for entertainment. According to Gunawardana (2013), ritualistic theatres and various other folk theatres are aimed to promote the welfare of the community and to heal the sick in the rural agricultural areas. Especially, *kōlam* folk theatre has made a platform for elder villagers to release the tension of social unfairness and elite suppression by mocking various social characteristics. It also makes an equal opportunity for the people to enjoy without considering gender, age, or social strata. As Manoj (2019) explains, the *Garā* demon traditional dance is performed to dispel the effects of evil mouth, evil eyes and as a closure to *kōlam* performance. Therefore, it is evident that the *kōlam* theatre has focused on both benefits of laugher and the blessings at the end of performances. When considering the purpose of the event, it can assume that this is to convince people that every human or non-human issue have been cured after the *kōlam* performances as *kōlam* myth says that the queen is ultimately satisfied and cured her pregnancy craving.

Today's western laugher therapy or humour therapy has become a popular and effective treatment in the therapeutic context for many physiological

and psychological issues. It uses not only in the health sector, but also to enhance social and interpersonal relationships in the organizational sectors. Laughter therapy is a gradual process with a scientific background, which essentially concerns the condition of the patient. It often has a limited time duration which is scientifically approved as a treatment whereas traditional *kōlam* folk theatre concerns none of the aforesaid formalities. Traditional *kōlam* theatre is not performed by health professionals or licensed therapists and there is no limited time duration since the main focus of it is otherwise. Even though, with a lack of focus on psychological treatments, the *kōlam* folk theatre has contributed to the psychological well-being of the community by making a platform to obtain humour and laughter in a socially acceptable way. K*ōlam* folk theatre has done a great contribution to making people entertain and happy by producing humour and laughter in old Sri Lankan society. Therefore, it can be suggested that while Western Psychologists develop scientific therapy like laugher therapy, traditional *kōlam* performers of Sri Lanka have possessed a unique way of healing through humour and laughter.

Conclusion

This paper aimed to examine the impact of laugher psychotherapy and Sri Lankan traditional *kōlam* folk theatre on human health and well-being. When modern people recognize humour and laugher as an effective method to keep mental, physical and social well-being, Sri Lankan *kōlam* folk drama has practically used the same methods by creating a platform to engage in laughter despite gender, age and class in a socially acceptable way. Both interventions were a manly concern for producing humour and laugher by using their unique methods. The group therapeutic features can be commonly studied in them. When laugher therapy stresses the mental and physical health benefits, traditional *kōlam* folk theatre focused on the happiness and joyfulness of the community which shows their connotation for good health and well-being. Laugher or Humor therapy has developed with a scientific background and it has an acceptable therapeutic root, but the *kōlam* folk theatre is merely an attempt to evoke laughter through humour. However, both of these interventions focused on the well-being of the people by using humour and laughter. Therefore, it is evident that there are many similarities as well as different approaches between these

two east-west methods. It is proved that when western health professionals develop laughter/humour as a therapy, ancient Sri Lankan people have possessed a unique way to enhance human well-being using laughter.

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Importance of Validating the Folklore Research in Sri Lanka Using *Diachronic* and *Synchronic* Integrated Methods

Sunanda Premasiri
Department of Sinhala, University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka
Email: *spremasiri@yahoo.com*

Abstract

When it comes to discussing the folklore studies in the world, the diachronic method and the synchronic method can be recognized widely. As Shamsuzzaman Khan describes the diachronic approach to folklore looks at a genre or a specific text type in a way that emphasizes its historical context rather than its performance context. On the other hand, the synchronic approach to folklore is solely concerned with the performance context of a genre or a specific text type. (Shamsuzzaman Khan, April 2013) The present article's goals are fourfold: to determine whether both the diachronic and synchronic methods can be integrated to attain the best results in folklore study in Sri Lanka; to define and ascertain the characteristics of the folklore; to identify and discuss with examples the theories which can be used to study Sri Lankan folklore, and to propose certain methods to further develop folklore studies in Sri Lanka.

Though the Synchronic method has become the current trend in studying folklore around the globe, the Indian subcontinent studies the historical development of most of the genres, particularly in Sri Lanka. Besides, the synchronic method in the study of Sri Lankan folklore won't help the folklorists to identify the deep and inner significance of many genres. Therefore, this paper focuses on introducing the importance of integrating both the diachronic and synchronic methods to attain the best results in folklore study in Sri Lanka.

This paper discusses folklore and folklore theories; different approaches (in detail) available in Sri Lankan folklore studies. Therefore, this paper discusses *Culture, Structural Method,*

Functional Method and *Finland Theory* elaborately. It argues that a comparative study of folk culture and oral tradition may contribute to our understanding of culture and its functioning across geographic boundaries. It is important to understand the importance of a study in a comparative perspective in the present socio-cultural context, particularly in South Asia. Finally, the importance of the present paper is established not only through its outcome but also by unfolding the scope it provides for further research in this field. This concludes as the comparative study is considered distinctly valuable for the history of folklore in Sri Lanka. It also focuses to elaborate on the importance of the present research as it has touched the unexplored area in the folklore studies of Sri Lanka.

Keywords: Diachronic Method, Synchronic Method, Integrated Method, Structural Method, Functional Method, Finland Theory

Literature Review

The basic sources used for the study are materials of folklore theories. Analysis of the tales was done on the specific established approach used in folkloristic studies. I referred to the article "*In Search of a Model for Bangladesh's Folklore Materials"* by Shamsuzzaman Khan to understand the need for a research paradigm integrating both the diachronic and synchronic methods. Shamsuzzaman Khan describes and finds a realistic solution to the study of Bangladesh's folklore materials more pragmatically and sensibly through the integration of the two approaches in this writing.

To understand the range of meanings of 'culture' I referred to *'Culture'* by Ramond Williams. It describes elaborately about 'a cultured person', 'cultural interests', 'cultural activities', 'the arts' and 'humane intellectual works'. To discuss the importance of culture while understanding folklore, reading this book is important.

Different approaches have been suggested by folklorists around the world and the functional model of Vladimir Propp (1928) and William R.

Bascom (1984) and structural analysis following Claude Lèvi-Strauss model for analysis will be introduced here. It is known that any folkloristic material survives in society only for its functions, not for any other reason. Three models by Claude Levi-Strauss, Vladimir Propp, Willam Bascom, are following to suggest new avenues out of the number of approaches used in current-day folkloristics study.

To make this argument about the structure of myth, Lévi-Strauss insists that myth is language because myth has to be told to exist. It is also a language, with the same structures that Ferdinand De Saussure described belonging to any language. He proposed a wholly new direction in mythological interpretation in an influential article '*The Structural Study of Myth*' (Lévi-Strauss, 1955)

Vladimir Propp extended the Russian Formalist approach to the study of narrative structure. Where, in the Formalist approach, sentence structures had been broken down into analyzable elements - morphemes - Propp used this method by analogy to analyze Russian fairy tales. Propp's morphological analysis is based on the available data given by the text. It is synchronic rather than diachronic. (Meitie, 1999). By breaking down a large number of Russian folk tales into their smallest narrative units - narratemes - Propp was able to arrive at a typology of narrative structures. By analysing types of characters and kinds of action, Propp was able to conclude that there were thirty-one generic narratemes in the Russian folk tale. While not all are present, he found that all the tales he analysed displayed the functions in an unvarying sequence. This theory can be used to depict not only the structure of 'fairy tales, but also that of certain myths.

Vladimir Propp's work and ideas can be adapted to films, comics, television series, and all kinds of other narratives. His concept of functions can be applied to all kinds of texts with interesting results. Vladimir Propp's *Morphology of the Folktale was* translated into English in 1958, after thirty-year time lag between Propp's completion of the work in 1928. He describes approximately 1500 examples of plot constituents which he termed 'Functions.' He described functions as elements following chronological, the linear sequence which served as fundamental

components, stably constant, independent of how or by whom (in terms of a character's name) they were fulfilled. Most functions always followed the same chronological order. There has been an ever-increasing interest in attempting structural analyses of various folklore genres. He identified that five categories of elements define not only the construction of a tale but the tale as a whole. Hence Vladimir Propp's work *Morphology of the Folktale* has been used as a model in this paper.

Willam R. Bascom suggested that every culture depends in part on folklore for the maintenance of its continuity. For maintaining the stability of culture, folklore is an important mechanism. Folklore can carry along and teach the history of a people as well as its cultural norms diligence, respect, perseverance etc. He proposed, discussed three of the common problems which are of especial concern to anthropologists. In this study, I have used William R. Bascom's elaborate description of *four functions in folklore* in *Contributions to Folkloristics.*

Researchers such as Edward B. Taylor, Andrew Lang, and James Frazer focused on deeply studying the cultures of people around the globe. Folklorists like Andrew Lang and Dan Ben-Amos have respectively introduced the comparative analytical approach or historic-geographical method as approaches/methods of conducting proper research on folklore. Further, the comparative method was authorized by Andrew Lang, Julius Krohn, and Kaarle Krohn. The method of studying cultural relationships introduced by W. F. H. Nicolaisen with *'Place Names'*- a significant research area in the field of Folklore studies. In search of this method, I referred to Dan Ben-Amos' "Folktale" in *Folklore, Cultural Performances, and Popular Entertainments.*

Methodology

This analysis is based mainly on printed sources. For primary and secondary sources, I referred to library sources and used the content analysis research method for the analytical part. The study required a descriptive and analytical treatment. The materials collected, therefore, comprise most of the 'qualitative data'. Since the region of study is wide

enough, it was not possible to take up intensive fieldwork. Both the primary and secondary sources have been used in the collection of components of folklore theories.

Analysis/Discussion

Introduction

It is widely known that for the study of folklore, theories and methods have been formulated from time to time to meet new challenges and accommodate new knowledge and even the new functions of the discipline. Folklorists are analyzing and evaluating folklore materials from new perspectives as the old concepts on the study of folklore has been already shattered. Modern folklorists are paying their major attention to the study of text to its context. Therefore, as folklorists identified the utmost importance of applying the newly recognized theories and methods to its study to gain a clearer insight into its subject - matter. (Mahmud & Khatun, 13-15 April 2013).

Even though very often? face such questions: "What is the meaning of folklore? What constitutes folklore as a study? What place has literature and the written word in it? What human activities are to be included in its scope? And so on. The answers to these questions are various, maybe because of different views of researchers of the world about folklore. It is clear now that the basic definition of folklore has not yet been formulated to anyone's complete satisfaction. The meaning of folklore, its theory and its relationship with other disciplines are continually being debated. Even *the Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legen* which was published in 1949 has included twenty-one different definitions of the word *folklore*. These definitions were composed by the then most prominent and influential American scholars involved in the field; Stith Thompson, Archer Taylor, MacEdward Leach, Erminie Voegelin, Katharine Luomala and many others.

William Thoms coined the word 'folklore' and wrote in an article published in the *Atheneum* in August 1846 that he intended the word to be employed as; *…the generic term under which are included traditional*

institutions, beliefs, art, customs, stories, songs, sayings, and the like current among backward peoples or retained by the less cultured classes of more advanced peoples. (Richmond, 1986). Somehow now it is accepted all over the world that today's concept of the folk differs considerably from that of above discussed nineteenth-century scholars such as William Thoms.

> "…no longer do folklorists restrict the concept of folk to 'backward class', whatever they may be. Instead, they are concerned with human interaction on all levels of society, be the participants illiterate, unlettered or highly educated. Folklorists today are concerned with creations that result from the relationships of human beings within a particular cultural matrix. Folklorists today recognize that the same sort of forces operates in urban, educated societies as in rural, isolated, unlettered societies." (Richmond, 1986).

It is clear and well defined that the modern-day folklore studies are developed concerning human interaction on all levels of society namely urban, educated societies as in rural, isolated, unlettered.

Culture and Folklore

Because of the impact on folklore studies through their application to general methods of research and analysis, the distinction between *diachronic* and *synchronic* methods is extremely significant. The synchronic method is linked to the performance theory of folklore and according to the diachronic critics argued that focusing on the historical or cross-cultural dynamism of texts without contexts makes folklore a lifeless entity, which is analogous to a collection of museum objects.

As discussed elaborately, the advocates of the diachronic approach hold that the proponents of the synchronic approach lose the historical distinctiveness of folklore. Further, according to the critics of the synchronic approach, in the hands of their opponents, the study of folklore becomes an assessment of behaviour rather than of the products of artistic creativity. (Mahmud & Khatun, 13-15 April 2013). Here in this article I suggest and try to find realistic ways to study Sri Lanka's folklore materials

more pragmatically and sensibly through the integration of the two approaches.

I would love to start this discussion quoting the most prominent saying of Raymond Williams. According to this description *the whole way of life of a distinct people or another social group* can be called "culture". Although folklore is comparatively a new branch of study in Sri Lanka, people have long been interested in it and in modern times they are getting more and more attracted to it, and even in universities students are very much enthusiastic about the discipline. Folklore of a people or a group can be fully understood through a genuine knowledge of people's culture. With this knowledge, if one can study folklore, its place in the daily round of life, he can contribute significantly. It is important to remember in this connection that folktale, folksongs, myths, legend, proverb, riddle etc. are to some extent distinctive and must be analysed separately. Williams describes 'culture' as follows;

> "Meanwhile, in more general usage, there was a strong development of the sense of 'culture' as the active cultivation of the mind. We can distinguish a range of meanings from *(i) a developed state of mind*- as in a person of culture', 'a cultured person' to (ii) *the processes of this development*- as in 'cultural interests', 'cultural activities' to (iii) *the means of these processes*- as in culture as 'the arts' and 'humane intellectual works'. In our own time (iii) is the most common general meaning, though all are current. It coexists, often uneasily, with the anthropological and extended sociological use to indicate the ***'whole way of life*** of a distinct people or another social group." (Williams, 1981)

Scholars all over the world generally stress that folklore is oral in nature, defining it as a mode of communication different from writing or print. This is because of its new orientation. As Williams quote says and as we understand 'culture' of any society is with an important value to their folklife and for years, folkloristic concepts and methods have been dominated by a single theory of culture, namely, the *cultural evolution*. But it is clear, in the second half of the twentieth century the discipline of folklore attained worldwide recognition.

To understand folklore and its role in man's life, we must have more knowledge of the function of folklore. Mostly we must have more knowledge of the specific functions of its various forms as well as the categories of different societies-literate, non-literate, tribals, and so on.

> "A student of folk literature and art needs much exposure to the ethnological background, though it is ancillary to his main purpose. The collector, even if his major concern is folksong or folktale, may find custom and belief a gift he cannot overlook. One should try to understand why those exponents of culture pattern and fieldwork in-depth, the anthropologist do separate folk literature from the larger context…we may welcome the enthusiasm of the public for our subject matter which revives for them half-hidden memories but we must not let tempting Satan seduce us towards an expansionist inclusion of all documents as though they were of equal merit, a playing down to popular nostalgia or taboo or bias, an acceptance of Paul Bunyan with one hand while we reject him with the other. These temptations can destroy our understanding of the very truth we are after, for to call everything. Folklore is to leave us no field for research or action" (Utley, 1961)

Looking at the definition of folklore it appears that *oral* matter is a guiding factor in folklore in common. Prominent Folklorologist Alan Dundes defines this factor in this manner:

> "… leads to several theoretical difficulties. First, in a culture without writing (termed 'nonliterate' culture by anthropologists), almost everything is transmitted orally; and although language, hunting techniques and marriage rules are passed orally from one generation to another, few folklorists would say that these types of cultural materials are folklore; second, there are some forms of folklore which are manifested and communicated almost exclusively in written as opposed to the oral form, such as autograph-book verse, book marginalia, epitaphs, and traditional letters…a professional folklorist does not go so far as to say that a folktale or a ballad is not folklore simply because it has at some time in its life history been transmitted by writing or print…The third difficulty with the criterion of oral

> transmission concerns those forms of folklore depending upon body movements; that is, there is some question as to whether folk dances, games and gestures are passed on *orally*" (Dandes, 1965).

The difficulty of identifying tradition in these communities is that it is always being sophisticated by the written word, and in modern times by the electronic media. Materials collected and observed in the more complex civilization need to be continually analysed by comparison with smaller and more restricted groups, the 'folk'. In that sense, so many scholars are paying their interest in 'bawdy tales' also, which are very commonly popular among some urban communities. Though written tradition plays a major part in urban societies, folklorists argue that 'baudy tales' are more traditional than anything else. Even folklore can be an important part of the daily life of most complex societies, urban societies. Rumours, tales, jokes and scurrilous rhymes from one person to another person shape them into a form that is recognizable as traditional. Folklore is transmitted from individual to individual, often directly by word or act, and sometimes indirectly. In folklore 'tradition' is felt to be the operative world. Other major thing about folklore is there are materials other than folklore which are orally transmitted. Therefore, criterion of oral transmission by itself is not sufficient to distinguish folklore from non-folklore. It is a popular fact that without traditional link, folklore cannot exist. When a folk-artist copies a traditional design from a finished product of another artist, it can be named as indirect transmission or it is indeed indirect transmission. And when someone uses folklore themes or themes for literary creations, it is adapting folklore.

Some people argue that city dwellers cannot be considered as 'folk' and they cannot have 'folklore' of their own. This is completely a wrong idea and the truth is the city dwellers may also have folklore of their own provided by previous generations. This folklore which they share maybe with common factors like language, religion, occupation, traditional dance/music, food habits of common tradition which might not always be 'oral'.

Suggestions for Some Avenues for the Development of Folklore Studies in Sri Lanka

Functional Analysis

It is clearly understood then that folklore has many definitions and diverse functions. Prominent folklorist William R. Bascom has discussed Four Functions of Folklore, which is a major discussion among folklorists and anthropologists all over the literate world. Bascom suggested that every culture depends in part on folklore for the maintenance of its continuity. For maintaining the stability of culture, folklore is an important mechanism. Folklore can carry along and teach the history of a people as well as its cultural norms diligence, respect, perseverance. William R. Bascom proposed, discussed three of the common problems which are of especial concern to anthropologists namely;

1. The social context of folklore
2. The relations of folklore to culture, which might be phrased as the cultural context of folklore
3. The functions of folklore. (Bascom, 1981)

The four functions of folklore suggested by Bascom in this book are as follows;

- The social context of the folklore, its place in the daily round of life of those who tell it, its function in cultural context or the relationship between folklore and other aspects of culture. Under this particular theme he suggests the following facts;

1) When and where the various forms of folklore are told,
2) Who tells them, whether or not they are privately owned, and who composes the audience,
3) Dramatic devices employed by the narrator, such as gestures, facial expressions, pantomime, impersonation, or mimicry,
4) Audience participation in the form of laughter, assent or other responses, running criticism or encouragement of the narrator, singing or dancing, or acting out parts in a tale,
5) Categories of folklore recognized by the people themselves, and
6) Attitudes of the people toward these categories (William R. Bascom, 1981).

- The second function of folklore is the role it plays in validating culture in justifying its rituals and institutions to those who perform them. To justify this function, he quotes the following from Malinowski;

  "Myth fulfils in primitive culture an indispensable function: it expresses, enhances, and codifies belief; it safeguards and enforces morality; it vouches for the efficiency of ritual and contains practical rules for the guidance of man. Myth is thus a vital ingredient of human civilization; it is not an intellectual explanation or an artistic imagery, but a pragmatic charter of primitive faith and moral wisdom…The function of myth, briefly, is to strengthen tradition and endow it with a greater value and prestige by tracing it back to the higher, better, more supernatural reality of initial events." (Malinowski, 1932)

- The third function of folklore is its use in education particularly, but not exclusively in non-literate societies, which he believes as it mirrors the culture and contains practical rules for the guidance of man.

- The fourth function of folklore is that it fulfils the important but often overlooked function of maintaining conformity to the accepted patterns of behaviour, more than simply serving to validate or justify institutions, beliefs and attitudes. Some forms of folklore are important as means of applying social pressure and exercising social control.

Bascom further explain the function of folklore in a society;

"Folklore is one of the universals, and perhaps to understand why the importance of folklore has decreased as the written and printed word has been spread and mechanical devices such as photographs, radios, moving pictures, and television have been developed. Is it due to the competition of these forms of mass media in the field of amusement? Or is it because of the loss of some other function of folklore, such as education? Is it due to inability of folklore to adapt itself to culture-change which is too rapid or too radical" (Bascom, 1981)

To obtain answers to all these questions need a lengthy discussions and researches to be done. Researchers have to conduct extensive research of folklore and folklife together with the knowledge of the specific functions

of folklore is necessary. And it is also necessary to know in which context folklore is created or has come into being.

But in folklore research in Sri Lanka, we generally are not taking much interest in it. Teachers and students are very much confined to the textual part of folklore. Generally, we study 'lore' rather than 'folk'. But the trend of modern research demands that we should be interested simultaneously in the study of 'folk' and 'lore' or the study of the relationship between 'folk' and 'loreZ. In an oversimplified way of putting the varied functions of folklore, one may suggest that the two-fold aim of folklore study are;

- Dissemination of folk culture
- Training of a cadre of professionals

The dissemination of folk culture includes the popularisation of the methodology of research and acquaintance with theory concepts and theories. The professional care is to be trained to carry out two roles;

- Dissemination of folk culture
- producers of research

In this connection, if we cannot give our plan projects a problem-oriented nature we will not be able to provide guidance to administrators in the choice of strategies, because it is an important mechanism for maintaining the stability of culture. It may thus be admitted that all stages of culture contain matter for folklorologists, but it is not clear in which aspects of culture there contain folklore. Scholars are getting conscious about the function of folklore, what it does for the people who preserve it. In addition to the function of entertainment, folklore also serves to sanction the established belief, attitude and institutions, both sacred and secular in an extensive discussion of the social context of folklore, the cultural context of folklore and the functions of folklore may clarify the idea but space and scope will not permit us an adequate analysis of these problems. Despite a general awareness of the importance of folklore as a part of the culture and as a useful field technique, neither cultural nor social anthropologists or others with a few outstanding expectations have fully explored the relations between folklore and culture. Here we must understand the fact that these attempts have fully utilized the insights into a culture that folklore provide.

For example, if we discuss myths, folktales can be profitably compared using versions from Sri Lankan cultures and the significant similarities and differences can be further analysed or illustrated in detail. These folklore materials function as models and examples for all human activity as they follow them and all remaining activity in the events of the great tradition. Further folklore in any society functions as practical models of behaviour by describing very important aspects of life and the universe embodying common values and ideals and expressing them in the form of practising. These human behaviours or the rituals make the creative events of the beginning of time to live and enables them to be repeated in the present. Even the structural parallel between cosmogonic myths and creation stories of the world's origin is the ultimate source of the identity of those societies. These myths can be seen in social life as in the form of a ritual drama or as a religious art or as in a liturgical form. All these categories, stories, rituals can be structured under social, cultural and religious fields in a way that resembles ancient cosmogonic myths. (Honoko, 1984, Bscom, 1981).

If we discuss this example further, we may notice that the origin of the world in the form of myth or folk narrative remains a potential area of investigation in the field of folklore and cultural anthropology. The study of the world provides a quest for the identity of a community, which consists of its narratives or creates its myth. Each myth or narrative about the origin of the world operates in two levels, one as a storehouse of knowledge system and the other as the repertoire of narrative modes. So, researchers can observe the common use of stories even in different societies as well as understand the structural pattern of these stories. Then can aim at exploring a common base for the study of myths, in different societies in a comparative perspective. When comparing and contrasting mythic motifs we often notice that different motifs tell a lot about cultural and natural differences while similar motifs tell a lot about psychological and religious similarities. It is surprised to find logical patterns hidden in mythical symbols or story structures. Hence these methods will explore the many ways of reading and understanding even religious stories. This

approach will open broader aims to see how myths function as building blocks of cultures and there are some other aspects also as follows;

- To read and interpret myths and some of the ways they function in societies and cultures;
- To describe and discuss the cultures that produced the myths;
- To read and interpret mythic metaphors, symbols and analogies;
- To compare and contrast significant characters, events, symbols and actions(motifs) in one story with similar events in another story;
- To improve analytical, conceptual and connective writing skills;
- To discover what these stories have to do with our lives today.

In a validating culture, a combination of folklore and culture has a special role to play. Not only that this helps in education in nonliterate societies either. It is justifying rituals and institutions to those who perform and observe them. It is accepted that folklore may mirror the familiar details of culture. Folklore and culture incorporate common situations from everyday life.

Vladimir Propp's approach also can be used to study Sri Lankan folklore in *diachronic and synchronic* ways. Propp extended the Russian Formalist approach to the study of narrative structure. Where, in the Formalist approach, sentence structures had been broken down into analysable elements - morphemes - Propp used this method by analogy to analyse Russian fairy tales. His morphological analysis is based on the available data given by the text. *It is synchronic rather than diachronic* (Meitei, 1999) By breaking down a large number of Russian folk tales into their smallest narrative units - narratemes - Propp was able to arrive at a typology of narrative structures. By analysing types of characters and kinds of action, Propp was able to conclude that there were thirty-one generic narratemes in the Russian folk tale. While not all are present, he found that all the tales he analysed displayed the functions in an unvarying sequence. This theory can be used to depict not only the structure of 'fairy tales, but also that of certain myths in any country.

Vladimir Propp's work and ideas can be adapted to films, comics, television series, and all kinds of other narratives. His concept of functions can be applied to all kinds of texts with interesting results. Vladimir Propp's *Morphology of the Folktale was* translated into English in 1958, after thirty-year time lag between Propp's completion of the work in 1928. He describes approximately 1500 examples of plot constituents which he termed 'Functions.' He described functions as elements following chronological, a linear sequence which served as fundamental components, stably constant, independent of how or by whom (in terms of a character's name) they were fulfilled. Most functions always followed the same chronological order. There has been an ever-increasing interest in attempting structural analyses of various folklore genres. He identified that five categories of elements define not only the construction of a tale but the tale as a whole.

1. Functions of dramatis personae
2. Conjunctive elements (chance disclosure, the announcement of misfortune, etc.)
3. Motivations (aims and reasons of personages)
4. Forms of appearance of dramatis personae (chance meeting with a donor, the flying arrival of a creature)
5. Attributive elements or accessories (witch's hut or her clay leg)

According to the Proppian analyses 'function' is understood as an act of a character, defined from the point of view of its significance for the course of the action. These observations cited may be briefly formulated in the following manner: (Oinas, and Soudakoff, 1975)

1. Functions of characters serve as stable, constant elements in a tale, independent of how and by whom they are fulfilled. They constitute the fundamental components of a tale.
2. The number of functions known to the fairy tale is limited.
3. The sequence of functions is always identical.
4. All fairy tales are of one type regarding their structure.

Propp argued that all fairy tales were constructed of certain plot elements, or 'functions,' and that these elements occurred in a standard, consistent sequence. He undertook a detailed study of a hundred Russian folk tales

from which he derived thirty-one generic functions, such as a difficult task is proposed' or 'donor tests the hero' or "a magical agent is directly transferred. He analyzed the plots of a group of Russian folktales into their minimal units of action, and he found that in his sample these units were limited in number to thirty-one, that Propp identified, plus their symbol, interpretations and discussion. But not all of which are found in each folktale. Moreover, he found that the sequence of these units was always identical. Thus, once the units were identified, one could see the basic structure or morphology of these folktales. (William R. Bascom Edt., 1977). Note that some of these functions generally occur in pairs, such as departure and return. They may also be repeated. Few stories contain all elements, but where they do contain elements, they will very largely occur in the sequence given here (Oinas and Soudakoff, 1975)

1st Sphere: Introduction

He analyzed one hundred Russian wonder tales from *Afnav*'s collection and produced a model. He divides a tale into structural units according to the chronological linear sequence of the plot of the tale to discover 31 units. After the initial situation is depicted, the tale takes the following sequence, which Propp called 'functions' applicable to all tales irrespective of the varying number of units present in a particular tale. (Meitei, 1999). Steps one to seven introduce the situation and most of the main characters, setting the scene for subsequent adventure.

- Absentation: Someone goes missing, a member of a family leaves home (the hero is introduced);
- Interdiction: Hero is warned
- Violation of interdiction (villain enters the tale);
- Reconnaissance: Villain seeks something (either villain tries to find the children/jewels etc; or intended victim questions the victim);
- Delivery: The villain gains information about the victim;
- Trickery: Villain attempts to deceive the victim to take victims possession or belongings (trickery; villain disguised, tries to win the confidence of victim);
- Complicity: Unwitting helping of the enemy;

2nd Sphere: The Body of the Story

The main story starts here and extends to the departure of the hero on the main quest.

- Villainy and lack: The need is identified. The villain causes harm/injury to a family member (by abduction, theft of magical agent, spoiling crops, plunders in other forms, causes a disappearance, expels someone, casts spell on someone, substitutes child etc, commits murder, imprisons/detains someone, threatens forced marriage, provides nightly torments); Alternatively, a member of a family lacks something or desires something (magical potion etc);
- Mediation: Hero discovers the lack. Misfortune or lack is made known, (hero is dispatched, hears call for help etc/ alternative is that victimised hero is sent away, freed from imprisonment);
- Counteraction: Hero chooses positive action;
- Departure: Hero leaves on the mission;

3rd Sphere: The Donor Sequence

In the third sphere, the hero goes in search of a method by which the solution may be reached, gaining the magical agent from the Donor. Note that this in itself may be a complete story.

- Testing: Hero is challenged to prove heroic qualities; interrogated, attacked etc, preparing the way for his/her receiving magical agent or helper (donor);
- Reaction: Hero responds to test; reacts to actions of the future donor (withstands/fails the test, frees captive, reconciles disputants, performs service, uses adversary's powers against him);
- Acquisition: Hero gains magical item; (directly transferred, located, purchased, prepared, spontaneously appears, eaten/drunk, help offered by other characters);
- Guidance: Hero reaches destination;
- Struggle: Hero and villain do battle
- Branding: Hero is branded; (wounded/marked, receives ring or scarf);
- Victory: Villain is defeated; (killed in combat, defeated in the contest, killed while asleep, banished);

- Resolution: Initial misfortune or lack is resolved; (object of search distributed, spell broken, slain person revived, captive freed);

4th Sphere: The Hero's Return

In the final (and often optional) phase of the storyline, the hero returns home, hopefully uneventfully and to a hero's welcome, although this may not always be the case.

- Return: Hero sets out for home;
- Pursuit: Hero is chased; (pursuer tries to kill, eat, undermine the hero);
- Rescue; Pursuit ends (obstacles delay pursuer, hero hides or is hidden, hero transforms unrecognizably, hero saved from an attempt on his/her life);
- Arrival: Hero arrives unrecognized;
- Claim: False hero makes unfounded claims;
- Task: Difficult task proposed to the hero; (trial by ordeal, riddles, test of strength/endurance, other tasks);
- Solution: Task is resolved;
- Recognition: Hero is recognized (by mark, brand, or thing given to him/her);
- Exposure: False her is exposed;
- Transfiguration: Hero is given a new appearance (is made whole, handsome, new garments etc);
- Punishment: Villain is punished;
- Wedding: Hero marries and ascends the throne (is rewarded/promoted). (Meitei, 1999)

Occasionally, some of these functions are *inverted*, as when the hero receives something whiles still at home, the function of a donor occurs early. More often, a function is negated twice, so it must be repeated three times. (A. Mani Meitei, 1999)

He also concluded that all the characters could be resolved into only 8 broad character types in the 100 tales he analysed:

1. The villain — struggles against the hero.
2. The donor— prepares the hero or gives the hero some magical object.

3. The (magical) helper — helps the hero in the quest.
4. The princess — marries the hero, often sought for during the narrative.
5. Her father — Propp noted that functionally, the princess and the father cannot be distinguished.
6. The dispatcher — a character who makes the lack known and sends the hero off.
7. The hero or victim/seeker hero — reacts to the donor, weds the princess.
8. False hero/anti-hero/usurper — takes credit for the hero's actions or tries to marry the princess. (Meitei, 1999)

These roles could sometimes be distributed among various characters, as the hero kills the villain dragon, and the dragon's sisters take on the villainous role of chasing him. Conversely, one character could engage in acts in more than one role, as a father could send his son on the quest and give him a sword, acting as both dispatcher and donor. (Meitei, 1999)

Structural Analysis

For more research in modern Sri Lanka, can be used Claude Lévi-Strauss's model also to make this argument about the structure of myth. Lévi-Strauss insists that myth is language because myth has to be told to exist. It is also a language, with the same structures that Ferdinand De Saussure described belonging to any language.

He proposed a wholly new direction in mythological interpretation in an influential article 'The structural study of Myth' (Lévi-Strauss, 1955). Myth, like language, consists of both 'langue' and 'parole,' both the synchronic, historical structure and the specific diachronic details within the structure. Lévi-Strauss adds a new element to Saussure's langue and parole, pointing out that langue belongs to what he calls 'reversible time,' and parole to 'non-reversible time.' He means that parole, as a specific instance or example or event, can only exist in linear time, which is unidirectional--you can't turn the clock back; langue, on the other hand, since it is simply the structure itself, can exist in the past, present, or future.

His system relies on a sorting out and rearrangement of the narrative features in the myth to reveal the inherent structure (Dorson, 1972)

For example, if we take 'myths', a myth, according to Lévi-Strauss, is both historically specific—it is almost always set in some time long ago and historical, meaning that the story is timeless. As history, myth is parole; as timeless, it's language.

Lévi-Strauss says that myth also exists on a third level, in addition to language and parole, which also proves that myth is a language of its own, and not just a subset of language. He explains that level in terms of the story that a myth tells. That story is special because it survives any translations. While poetry is that which can't be translated or paraphrased, Lévi-Strauss says that myth can be translated, paraphrased, reduced, expanded, and otherwise manipulated-without losing its basic shape or structure. He doesn't use this term, but we might call that third aspect 'malleability.'

He thus argues, while myth as structure looks like language as structure, it's something different from language per se--he says it operates on a higher or more complex level. Myth shares with language the following characteristics:

1. It is made of units that are put together according to certain rules.
2. These units form relations with each other, based on binary pairs of opposites, which provide the basis of the structure.

Myth differs from language (as Saussure describes it) because the basic units of myth are not phonemes (the smallest unit of speech that distinguishes one utterance from another, like a letter), morphemes (the smallest unit of relatively stable meaning that can't be subdivided, like a non-compound word), or seems (the meaning expressed by a morpheme), or even signifiers and signifies, but rather are what Lévi-Strauss calls 'mythemes.' His process of analysis differs from Saussure's because Saussure was interested in studying the relations between signs (or signifiers) in the structure of language, whereas Lévi-Strauss concentrates

on sets of relations, rather than individual relations or what he calls "bundles of relations."

Lévi-Strauss' method is of taking a myth and reducing it to its smallest parts which he termed as 'mythemes.' (Each mytheme is usually one event or position in the story, the narrative, of the myth). Then he lays these mythemes out so that they can be read both *diachronically* and *synchronically*. The story or narrative of the myth exists on the diachronic axis, in a non-reversible time while the structure of the myth exists on the synchronic axis, in reversible time.

He concludes that the structural method of myth analysis brings order out of chaos, as it provides a means to account for widespread variations on a basic myth structure, and it 'enables us to perceive some basic logical processes which are at the root of mythical thought.' This is important to Lévi-Strauss because he wants to make the study of myth logical and 'scientific' in all its aspects, and not to have to rely on any subjective interpretive factors. He says that repetition, in myth as in oral literature, is necessary to reveal the structure of the myth. Because of this need for repetition, the myth is 'slated,' meaning it tells its story layer after layer.

However, the layers, or 'slates,' aren't identical, even though they repeat key elements in the structure. Because of this, the myth 'grows spiral wise,' meaning the story it tells unfolds as the myth goes on. In other words, the myth "grows" as it is told; Lévi-Strauss points out that this growth is continuous, while the structure of the myth, which doesn't grow, is discontinuous. This is a version of the *synchronic-diachronic* split mentioned earlier, and of the langue-parole distinction. Lévi-Strauss compares this aspect of a myth that it both grows and remains static, to molecules.

He also says that myths function in cultures to 'provide a logical model capable of overcoming a contradiction.' Such a contradiction might consist of believing in two precisely opposite things. The important thing for Lévi-Strauss is that every culture has these contradictions because

every culture organizes knowledge into binary opposite pairs of things, and these contradictions have to be reconciled.

One might critique this view of Lévi-Strauss' by pointing out that his explanations favour science over 'myth,' as he insists that his method of myth analysis is scientific, and therefore better than other methods. But that's a deconstructive reading, and we'll get to that with Jacques Derrida.

Historic- Geographical Approach or Comparative Method

The historic- geographical approach is extremely important in studying folklore. In the Historic-geographical approach, a text or a tradition is compared with another text or a tradition. This balancing or comparison is done with different kinds of aims and expectations. At times it was influenced by the *Theory of Evolution and Positivism*. In this case, it is also important to have some knowledge about certain primaeval Indo-European cultures which might have influenced Western languages and thinking. It could have been due to this reason that researchers like Max Muller have introduced Folklore as primeval myths.

The comparative research method is also much prominent in studying folklore. Comparative research method can be identified as a mode of analysis that has been known for a long, and it can be utilized to deeply discuss or analyze folklore. Its use as an academic approach in the modern context is important. It is also necessary to examine which folkloric items were compared through it, the aims of comparisons, what changes the comparisons underwent during the last few decades, and how much space it will have in future academic world.

Researchers such as Edward B. Taylor, Andrew Lang, and James Frazer focused on deeply studying the cultures of people around the globe. Folklorists like Andrew Lang and Dan Ben-Amos have respectively introduced the Comparative Analytical approach and Historic-geographical method as approaches/methods of conducting proper research on folklore (Ben-Amos, 1992)

Several Humanitarian Studies related to music, art, religion, and literature that happened during the 18th and 19th centuries can be considered as

historical researches. 'Historicism' has been the general concept of all these studies. Thus, it is apparent that the *Historical approach* has a special place in studying the *origins* of a text etc**.** Through *comparison,* we get an opportunity not only to reveal information about a thing's location, structure, and time of origin but also it provides space to reconstruct/recreate opinions about that thing's evolution.

The variations that can be found in certain historical documents are caused by the geographical backgrounds related to them. Therefore, in studying the historical documents, it is extremely important to disclose the geographical factors related to them.

Creating place names is an activity done by man. In this activity, the man spontaneously reveals the information on history, culture, and beliefs related to that naming or labelling. When a place is given a name, that name establishes some uniqueness related o that place. Commonly, *words* used for place names have some connection with the *day-to-day language usage* of that particular area. Also, those words represent the culture of the people who lived in that era. Studying place names (topography) around the world along with folklore and linguistics disciplines through the *Geographical Approach* can be considered as a new awakening in the field.

This can be introduced as a discipline that has marked its authority in the field of folklore studies. At the initial stages of these researches, the main focus was on establishing the *Hypothetical Archetype* of folk fiction. Gradually, the research expanded up to the extent of disclosing its initial geographical locations and different historical origins. That is one reason why Richard M. Dorson, a giant in the field of Folklore research, considers this to be a discipline that has proven its impact in the realm of folklore studies; he shuns the criticism which says that this research method has neglected the aesthetic aspects, stylistic features, and the owner's expression in a folkloric item. Kaarle Krohn of Finland is known as a pioneer of this research field. *Kalevala,* the folksong collection of Finland is known as an important item of the entire folklore realm. This text paved the way for folklore to stand as a *Science*. Krohn who was interested in conducting research on world folk stories is also identified as a predecessor

in studying folklore through a *Historic-geographical approach*. This approach which was found by his father Julius Krohn was expanded by Kaarle Krohn. He expanded his studies up to the extent of analyzing how one item/genre of folklore represents the culture and nationality of a country, comparing a multitude of texts belonging to that particular genre, and eventually culminating in revealing the *original text* of that item. *Comparison and Comparative Methodology* was the basis of these studies conducted by Krohn. *Historic- geographical Method* was originated through the strategies Julius Krohn had employed to analyze *Kalevala poetry***.** In folklore, this is known as the *Finland method.* (Ratnapala, 1995)

It is said that to identify the original sections and later additions, Julius Krohn has organized the poetic text Kalevala by their varieties, historical time, and geographical locations. He had depicted that each item of folklore has a history of its own and it is essential to separately analyze the items which were attached to them later. But in this method, it is not important to find the exact location where these folk tales were originated. He announced adding varieties of folklore according to historical and geographical elements as the basis of this method. After gathering information about all the available varieties, the relevant archetypes can be built up. Likewise, the route was taken by these varieties, the things newly added to them, and the aspects they have lost can be identified (Ratnapala, 1995) some very important research steps are included in this analysis;

1. Identifying one archetype which can be the base/root of all types of stories.
2. Ability to come into a general assumption when and where archetypical folklore was originated.
3. Explaining how different folklore items were originated during different times under various geographical conditions.
4. Discussion of the geographical and historical aspects which might have influenced them.
5. Painting the footprints along which the varieties of folklore have moved.
6. Ability to identify the new things added to the folklore and the things dropped, and the factors that caused such addition and elimination in

folklore. (It is important to organize and understand the varieties of folklore.)

W.F.H. Nicolaisen is a pioneer in the research on '*Place Nomenclature'*, which is considered an important discipline in Folklore studies. With the aid of different stories, he had gathered, he deeply studied the cultural affairs, ideologies and their time limits related to the *Place Nomenclature* on which his studies were based. As the prime outcome of his research, he published '*Scottish Place Names'* which was awarded the Chicago Folklore Prize considering the service he had done for the field of Folklore studies. In 1983, delivering a speech on *'Names and Stories'***,** he presented several issues related to the origins and expansion of traditional expressions. According to him;

- Traditional expressions reflect a static and superseding Tradition. The relationship between a tradition and its creativity is a basis for the process of Folklore.
- Folklore includes responses to both social conditions and instant behaviours. Thus, it is important to recognize an individual as a cultural being rather than a person belonging to a particular cultural condition or level/ground.
- Even though a story displays a basic, continuous, and complete identity, its diversities come into limelight when they are reconstructed or weaved and re-weaved when they are used and applied in different social contexts.
- Such fictions are continuously exchanged by people and they gradually expand as an essential and necessary result of social bonds (Nicolaisen, 1991)

Historic- geographical Analytical Method or Comparative Method could be novel approaches in the field of local Folklore studies. But, in the first half of the 20thcentury, when Henry Parker was searching for the stories parallel to local stories, he, for the first time had attempted to employ the *Historic-geographical Method* which was then prominently used in folklore studies in his research as well (Weerasinghe, 1986). There he tried to analyze the similarities between Sinhalese and Indian stories (Parker, 1910) But, there are fewer evidence to prove the sufficient employment of

Historic-geographical Method in folklore studies. On this basis, in research I did, the *Historic-geographical Analysis Method/Comparative Method* is used to reveal historical, social, cultural, and religious conditions related to the origins of the place names. When we are designing a better way of studying and developing Sri Lankan folklore studies, these theories can be implemented both in *diachronic and synchronic* studies for the analytical part as a theory.

Conclusion

As we discussed earlier, the extent to which folklore is a mirror of culture has been mainly the concern of anthropologists. Some of the above-mentioned functions include promotion of group's feeling of solidarity, providing socially sanctioned ways for individuals to act or to censure other individuals. It serves as a vehicle for social protest, offers an enjoyable escape from reality, and converts a dull work into a play. All these bear upon the usefulness of folk-lore as a part of the culture, as an educational device or a form of amusement or literature.

The content of Folklore should be made relevant to the needs of any society. Basically, folklore should attempt to bridge the gap between theory and research material. Universities should guide and train the students of folklore to approach correctly in a modern way.

The content of collected folklore should be made relevant to the needs of society. Most importantly it should attempt to bridge the gap between theory and research material. Even in Universities and school teachers should have the freedom and knowledge to make selections of such materials and modify their teaching tools according to the demands.

These approaches will help students of folklore who are not trained in modern ways as well as ensure continuity and proper training. Despite lack of proper encouragement, students of folklore are exploding and compared to them the number of trained teachers are limited for folklore teaching. Most of the teachers are not adequately qualified to teach folklore and to conduct research. Therefore, proper training for teachers currently working in the field is needed.

Not like nowadays practising in Sri Lanka, folklore must be introduced in the academic institutions on a wide scale in the schools and the Universities and scholars should break away from their conservative ideas and must develop a progressive view. So, the curricular research should get a place in the syllabus. What folklore scholars should understand is that there is a need to develop documentation services for folklore properly in any country. That is why Alan Dandes explains the value of developing documentation services. According to Alan Dandes;

> "folklore archives are essentially repositories of the unpublished manuscript and tape-recorded collections of folklore made by professional and amateur folklorists. The folklore archive is so arranged that if a folklorist in one country writes to the archive concerning a particular folktale, the folklore archivist can easily find the appropriate versions in his archive and send copies of them to the folklorist conducting research". (Lee, 1969)

Once developed a documentation service, that collection will help to create a dialogue between the information gatherer and the information user. It will help to ascertain and investigate the possibilities of co-operation and coordination among various documentation centres in the different parts of any country.

In the early stages of folklore studies, folklorologist's subject matter of studies was based on 'texts' and the methodology were comparative and historical. During those days, the study of folklore became verbal-centred and abstractly analytic in their hand. Thus, the carefully transcribed words of verbal folklore variants were systematically classified and compared to discover their place and time and their paths of dissemination.

As a result of this method and process the steps for such studies were worked out by European and American scholars who have initiated the historical geographic method. Recently, the historical geographic method has been introduced and served Sri Lankan folklore studies as well (Premasiri, 2019). Some of the scholars have done several studies using Sinhala materials. Therefore, it is available to find a full-scale study of this type made in Sri Lanka with ancient materials. The important characteristic

direction that folklore studies have taken is toward analysis of texts in languages studies, social and cultural fields. In some Universities, scholars are trying to study folklore against the background of a region, a racial or religious group, an occupational group; a social-economic class or an aspect of popular culture for knowing everyday details. On the other hand, another approach to study is the customary occasion for folklore transmission such as the social context or dispensing proverbial wisdom, riddle, saying, joke-telling, folk game, behaviour and the other functions of folklore in such setting. Therefore, an approach for structural, psychological or rhetorical analysis is possible. Furthermore, any scholar may formulate better definitions in terms of interpersonal relations, interaction rituals or another communicative process that would do great service to the subject with the influence of anthropology, sociology, psychology, linguistics and communication theory. The terms and basic methods of folklore analysis should come from above-mentioned areas like linguistics, anthropology, literary criticism, psychology and sociology. Folklore scholars or researchers should apply theory and method in their investigation and study of the environment.

Sri Lankans have demonstrated a keen interest in their record as a civilization. We consult many historical documents, records and epigraphies to explore the evaluation of the civilization of the country. In Sri Lanka, the folklore revival emerged in the colonial period and started folklife studies followed by many books of the collection of folklife details. But still, we are not with the amount of momentum in Sri Lanka as it is Europe, America, or many countries in South Asia. It would be necessary for Sri Lanka to give more attention to folk-life studies as it is being given in those countries. In this project, we should try to increase agricultural products, improve existing village arts and crafts and industries and provide better educational and recreational facilities keeping folks informed of their rites, rituals, ceremonies and past times. With the help of these projects, folks will be able to reach the original culture and behaviour. This will educate people with a knowledge of what human activities are linked with folklore study. Though the collection and study of folklore in Sri Lanka have lagged far behind the above-mentioned countries.

Many universities in this country now offer post-graduate studies in folklore. But the study of the factory as of folklore should embrace the city as well as the countryside, the office as well as the home, the factory as well as the home. In this process, no segment of human activity and human relationships in government institutions, sports teams, armed services, social organizations, families, schools, universities, fast food restaurants, street food stalls, and so on normally falls outside the folklorists purview. It is our responsibility to point out new ways and avenues to further advances in folklore studies in Sri Lanka. This concludes as the comparative study is considered distinctly valuable for the history of folklore in Sri Lanka. It also focuses to elaborate on the importance of the present research as it has touched the unexplored area in the folklore studies of Sri Lanka.

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Importance of Understanding the Invisible Trauma: Understanding the Experience of Psychological Abuse against Women by Their Intimate Partners

Gunendra R.K. Dissanayake
Department of Psychology, University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka.
Email: *gunendrad@pdn.ac.lk*

Abstract

Psychological abuse is estimated to be the most common form of intimate partner violence (IPV) associated with a wide range of social and mental health consequences. Despite this fact, when compared with other forms of IPV, research on the impact of psychological abuse on mental health and the overall psychological wellbeing of the victims is limited. This paper aims to provide a review of the literature on this topic examining the extent and nature of psychological abuse against women by their intimate partners while showcasing the tremendous detrimental effects on the mental and physical health of the victims. This review includes both original research and studies which undertook secondary analyses of primary data sources published from 1984 to 2019 covering many countries in the world. A literature search was conducted via online databases including Google Scholar, Pub Med, Research Gate and Academia. The review shows that while there is a variation in the prevalence of psychological abuse across various countries and cultural settings, it is associated with a range of psychosocial and physical health issues including problems in memory, depression, anxiety, self-harm, and sleep disorders. Exploring the nature of psychological abuse and acknowledging its damaging effects would be important to implement early interventions for the reduction of serious outcomes.

Keywords: Intimate partner violence, Psychological abuse, Mental health, Sri Lanka

Introduction

Intimate partner violence (IPV) is well recognised as a serious, widespread social problem with mental health consequences for people who are victimized regardless of their cultural and/or ethnic group. IPV refers to a violent relationship taking place between two adult intimate partners. While IPV can take many forms, including physical, sexual, emotional, economic, and psychological abuse, studies show that it can have devastating consequences on the short- and long-term health and well-being of the women affected as well as their overall quality of life (Hutchins and Sinha, 2013).At present, it is well-documented that IPV results in extensive mental health consequences among its victims (Dutton et al., 2006; Devrieset al., 2013; Johnson, Zlotnick and Perez, 2008). More specifically, IPV is the threat of, and/or actual, physical, sexual, psychological, or verbal abuse by a current or former spouse or non-marital partner, as well as coercion, or the arbitrary deprivation of freedom that can occur in public or private life [United Nations (UN), 1993]. It can occur within marriage, long-term partnerships or short-term intimate relationships and also can be perpetrated by ex-partners when relationships have ended (Harvey, Garcia-Moreno and Butchart, 2007). Research clearly shows that while not all perpetrators of IPV are male and not all victims are female (Worden, 2002) though women are reported as the majority of IPV victims (Rennison and Welchans, 2003). According to a prevalence study conducted by World Health Organization (WHO), it is estimated that worldwide, almost one third (30%) of all women who have been in a relationship have experienced physical and/or sexual violence by their intimate partner, and in some regions, 38% of women have experienced intimate partner violence (WHO, 2013). The same study reports that globally, as many as 38% of all murders of women are committed by intimate partners, documenting not only how widespread this problem is, but also showing how deeply women's health and life is affected when they experience such violence.

The World Health Organization also reported that South-East Asia had a high prevalence of physical and sexual IPV among ever-partnered women worldwide (37.7%) (2012) while another review of data from 81 countries

revealed that South Asia has the second-highest prevalence of IPV (41.7%) (Devries et al.,2013).In Sri Lanka, the Demographic and Health Survey (2016) reports that 17 percent of ever-married women aged 15-49 have suffered from domestic violence[2] from their intimate partner during the 12 months preceding the survey. Another survey conducted in 2013, reported that 22% of women experienced IPV from a male partner, and 24% of male participants perpetrated IPV during their lifetime (CARE International Sri Lanka, 2013) shedding light on the high prevalence of IPV among Sri Lankan women.

However, abusive behaviour does not always involve tangible violence. Distinctions must be made between physical violence/abuse—traditionally, the most researched and detectable form—and emotional or psychological abuse. Psychological abuse or psychological intimate partner violence (psychological IPV) (hereafter used interchangeably) is any nonphysical behaviour or attitude that is designed to control, subdue, punish, or isolate another person through the use of humiliation or fear (Engel, 2002). Women frequently report that psychological abuse or psychological IPV can be even more damaging than other forms of IPV (Follingstad, 2009). In contrast to studies exploring physical forms of abuse, comparatively little is known about the prevalence and impact of psychologically abusive behaviours in intimate relationships. Most of these studies on IPV have focused more on physical forms of IPV, neglecting the non-physical forms of abuse which are both more prevalent in relationships and more distressing to its victims (Dokkedahl et al., 2019; Heise et al., 2019; Follingstad, 2009; Follingstad et al., 1990; Outlaw, 2009; Street and Arias, 2001; Walker, 1984). One reason for the relative neglect of research into psychological abuse is that, unlike physical abuse, it is often insidious (Follingstad et al.,1990; Kasian and Painter,1992; Kirkwood, 1993).The research on psychological abuse may also be limited by the implicit assumption that physical abuse results in a greater

[2] The term 'domestic violence' is used in many countries to refer to partner violence but the term can also encompass child or elder abuse, or abuse by any member of a household.

psychological toll than emotional abuse (O'Leary, 1999).Consequently, studies exploring IPV seem to have mainly focused on the effects of physical abuse, which is considered potentially life-threatening, and more obvious to the external world, overlooking the nature and effects of rather hidden forms and effects of psychological abuse (Baldry, 2003; Heise et al., 2019; O'Leary, 1999).

Representative sample surveys, however, demonstrating the importance of exploring psychological IPV indicate that physical violence in intimate relationships is almost always accompanied by psychological abuse and, in one-third to over one-half of cases (Heise, Ellsberg and Gottmoeller, 1999). Psychological abuse (compared to physical and sexual abuse) is estimated to be the most common form of IPV in both the USA (Blacket al., 2011) and Europe [European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (EUAFR), 2014), affecting between 35 and 49% of men and women (Dokkedahl et al., 2019). With the given situation, some European countries have taken steps to criminalize psychological abuse as an independent offence, making it equally punishable as physical violence [e.g. Norway and England] (Aas and Andersen, 2017, Home Office, 2015 in Dokkedahl et al., 2019).

Sri Lanka also adds to the existing prevalence rates of psychological abuse against women by showing that it indeed is the most common form of IPV among Sri Lankan women as well. The Demographic and Health Survey (2016) carried out in Sri Lanka shows that the most predominant type of violence (75% of women reporting) identified among the participant women who suffered from IPV was "belittled or seriously offended you" which is considered to be a form of psychological abuse. However, the study has not explored the phenomena of psychological abuse in-depth even with three-quarters of women reporting to be subjected to that form of abuse.

The importance of considering psychological abuse in addition to physical abuse in violent relationships have been noted in many studies (i.e., Antai et al., 2014; Arias and Pape, 1999; Dokkedahl et al., 2019, Heise et al., 2019; Follingstad, 2009; Follingstad et al., 1990; Lammers, Ritchie and

Robertson, 2005; O'Leary, 1999; Pico-Alfonso et al., 2006; Tolman, 1989; Yoshihama, Horrocks and Kamano, 2009). However, despite these important findings, there remains a lack of research in the area of intimate partner psychological abuse and its negative consequences. Psychological abuse, however, is found to exert a toll on victims that is just as damaging as physical abuse, if not more so than that of physical abuse (Herbert, Silver and Ellard, 1991; Dokkedahl et al., 2019; Heise et al., 2019; Follingstad, 2009; Follingstad et al., 1990; 2009; Lammers, Ritchie and Robertson, 2005; Pico-Alfonso et al., 2006; Walker, 1984). Women often have reported that the psychological abuse and degradation are even more difficult to endure than the physical abuse itself (Dissanayke, 2019).

Notwithstanding the encouraging development of research on psychological abuse, the recent efforts to address this devastating problem appears to be mainly confined to western literature (Arias and Pape, 1999; Baldry, 2003; Follingstad, 2009; Lammers, Ritchie and Robertson,2005, O'Leary, 1999; Schumacher et al., 2001). Relatively little is known about the nature, extent and impact of psychological IPV among South Asian women, especially Sri Lankans. Exploring the nature of such abuse and acknowledging its damaging effects would be important to plan and implement early interventions for the prevention and reduction of serious outcomes.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this paper is to provide an overview of research literature that has explored psychological IPV against women and its impact on the overall psychological wellbeing of the victimized women while discussing the somewhat vague terminology and conceptualization of the concept which hinders research in the field. The present discussion will help consolidate knowledge on psychological IPV as it will use findings from a broad range of studies to map patterns and trends of health consequences and prevalence of psychological IPV, while emphasizing the importance of understanding, recognizing and exploring this significant form of IPV most often hidden from the outsiders ´eye´. The paper will review how different subtypes, severity and frequency of psychological abuse that may impact on the mental health of the victim, and also will discuss why is it

important to understand the nature and impact of psychological IPV for the researchers, academia, general public and of health care workers as identification may lead to early interventions for the prevention and reduction of its serious outcomes.

Method

A search was conducted in the electronic databasesGoogle Scholar, PubMed, Research Gate, ScienceDirect and Academia. Hand searching of grey literature, reference checking and a library search also were used as other methods to collect the relevant data. This review includes both original research and studies which undertook secondary analyses of primary data sources published from 1984 to 2019. Articles published in English in the form of peer-reviewed journals, research reports and book chapters related to psychological abuse against women by their intimate partners were included in this review. Articles were first assessed based on the title and the abstract to decide on the suitability to include in this review. The search terms used included "psychological abuse against women, psychological IPV, emotional abuse in intimate partner violence" and "impact of psychological abuse/IPV on physical health/mental health/ psychosocial wellbeing". To avoid the exclusion of research articles portraying an overall account of all forms of IPV, and while using a slightly different terminology the search terms "domestic violence" and" Intimate partner violence" also were used. Finally, included in the review are articles that are based on an original study, studies based on secondary data analysis, research focused on psychological abuse against women by their intimate partners at any point in their relationships after 18 years of age, studies including women abused psychologically by a current/previous and married/divorced/separated/living together partner, and research focusing on psychological and physical consequences of psychological IPV. Excluded in the review are the research articles based on special populations such as clinical populations with specific health conditions, who have undergone special circumstances such as traumatic natural hazards, and adolescents as these issues might contribute to the generalizability of the results. Upon completion of the review selection process, adhering to the inclusion and exclusion criteria, finally, there were

75 journal articles, 22 books and 14 reports which form the basis for the findings presented and discussed in this review.

Findings

The literature review is organized, starting from an exploration of various analyses and descriptions of the concept of psychological abuse/IPV aiming to arrive at meaningful conclusions. Then the review presents the extent of the psychological abuse present worldwide demonstrating how prevalent such abuse occurs regardless of any ethnic, geographic, or socio-cultural determinants. Next presented is the deleterious impact of psychological abuse on mental and physical health, on social and other aspects of the lives of victim women. Whether all forms of psychological abuse exert a similar impact on the psychological wellbeing of the victims or whether different forms of psychological abuse carry different impacts, and also how women perceive the experience of different forms of psychological abuse is discussed next. Then, how the experience of psychological IPV impacts the intimate relationship between the partners, focusing on the severity and the detrimental nature of such abuse is discussed. Finally, a brief discussion on the study findings is presented with suggestions and implications for health care workers and researchers.

Psychological Abuse/IPV

Psychological abuse takes many forms and can be defined as the "direct infliction of mental harm" or "limits to the victim's well-being" (Gondolf, 1987: 97). Psychological abuse, often used interchangeably with psychological aggression and emotional abuse, has become a subject of concern in abusive relationships (Straight, Harper and Arias, 2003). While some researchers use the term 'psychological abuse' to describe abuse that is not physical in nature (Chang, 1996; Marshall,1994, Marshall, 1999), others use the term 'emotional abuse' (Douglas, 1987; Kirkwood, 1993; Loring, 1994). In addition, the terms psychological maltreatment (Tolman, 1989), psychological violence (Dokkedahl et al., 2019), psychological aggression (Murphy and O'Leary, 1989; O'Leary, Malone and Tyree, 1994; Stets, 1991), and emotional blackmail (Follingstad et al., 1990; Forward and Frazier, 1997) have also been used to describe the construct

of 'psychological abuse' or some component of it. These various terms are sometimes used interchangeably (Hoffman, 1984).

Although mental health workers agree that psychological abuse occurs and results in harmful psychological outcomes, a common definition of this construct remains elusive. There is little consensus on the definition of psychological abuse in the prevailing literature up to date. The intensely personal nature of an individual's experience of psychological abuse does not support the notion of a universally accepted definition of psychological abuse (Kelly, 2004).

That remains one reason why the conceptualization of the phenomenon is ambiguous in both research and clinical practice. Acts of psychological abuse are distributed along a continuum starting from what is commonly termed psychological aggression (e.g. yelling and insults) and ending with more severe abuse, often labelled coercion(e.g. threats and isolation) (Dokkedahl et al., 2019).The same researchers point out that how we interpret psychological abuse and how we distinguish it from more severe abuse depends, among other things, on the context in which it occurs, when it occurred in a sequence, how it was interpreted and whether it was perceived as abusive.

In literature, psychological abuse is often characterized in different ways. Walker (1984) defined psychological abuse in adult relationships generally as all behaviours that undermine a partner's self-esteem or sense of self-control and safety. Lammers, Ritchie and Robertson (2005) have defined emotional abuse in heterosexual relationships as the patterned non-physical degradation of one person by their partner through the conscious or unconscious gaining, regaining or maintaining of power through the repetitive overt or subtle acts and messages that control or attempt to control, which negatively affects the abused partner's emotions or self-value in the long term. Emotional abuse from this perspective has at its core the misuse of power. Psychological abuse also is defined as recurring incidents of criticism, verbal abuse, and acts of domination and isolation that lead to control the woman (O'Leary, 1999). It can include such acts as extreme rages, fits of jealousy, and severe criticism intended to demean the

victim (Tolman, 1989). According to many theorists, by its very nature psychological *abuse* has the potential to undermine a woman's sense of self in all domains in her life, and ultimately, may undermine her health. Many other theorists and researchers have attempted to come forward with a comprehensive conceptualization of psychological IPV. Loring emphasized the pattern of behaviours that constitute abuse, defining psychological abuse as "an ongoing process in which one individual systematically diminishes and destroys the inner self of another" (1994: 1), with the concept of the "inner self" including ideas, perceptions, feelings and personality characteristics. Marshall (1996: 282), however, defines psychological abuse primarily in terms of outcome. Abuse is conceptualized as "common day to day communication and interaction with a partner" that undermines the victim's psychological, emotional or behavioural competence regardless of whether the intent was purposeful or out of loving concern or whether the victim realizes undesirable effects have occurred.

Various other definitions of psychological abuse in intimate partner relationships have been described in the literature. O'Leary defined psychological abuse as "acts of recurring criticism or verbal aggression toward a partner and/or acts of isolation and domination" (1999: 19). Furthermore, these behaviours are described in terms of their influence on victims, such as they generally "cause the partner to be fearful" and/or "result in lowered self-esteem." A more explicit definition concerning the intent of the offender is provided by Murphy and Cascardi. They suggested that psychological abuse "consists of coercive or aversive acts intended to produce emotional harm or threat of harm" (1999: 202). Although others have argued to broaden this conceptualization of psychological abuse (e.g., Marshall, 1999), most of the available research on this issue is consistent with these characterizations.

Tolman, being one of the main proponents went on to provide a more comprehensive definition of this construct. Tolman (1992) defined psychological maltreatment as a form of violence involving dominance and isolation and emotional and verbal attacks. Subsequently, the Psychological Maltreatment of Women Inventory (PMWI; Tolman, 1999),

derived from this definition, allowed for the measurement of psychological abuse. Based on the results of factor analysis, this measure ultimately included two distinct clusters of psychologically abusive behaviours: dominance-isolation, which includes rigid observance of gender roles, demands for subservience, and isolation from resources; and emotional or verbal abuse, which includes withholding of emotional resources, attacking verbally, and degrading the victim (Tolman, 1999).

A broad definition allowing a thorough understanding has been put forth by Dokkedah et al., 2019 by combining that of both the WHO (2012) (i.e. both emotional/psychological abuse and controlling behaviours) and the European Institute of Gender Equality (EIGE): "Any act or behaviour which causes psychological harm to the partner or former partner. Psychological violence can take the form of, among others, coercion, defamation, a verbal insult or harassment" (EIGE, 2017: 45), including belittling, constant humiliation, intimidation (e.g. destroying things), threats of harm, threats to take away children and/or isolating a person from family and friends; monitoring their movements; and restricting access to financial resources, employment, education or medical care (WHO, 2012: 1).

The empirical evidence to date suggests that psychological abuse represents a complex array of factors that combine to create this overriding construct. Almost in every case, attempts to operationalize the construct of psychological abuse have resulted in the identification of subscales (i.e., factors) thus supporting the notion that psychological abuse must be viewed broadly (Kelly, 2004). Thus, as stated earlier, although mental health practitioners agree that psychological abuse occurs and results in harmful psychological outcomes (Keashly, 1997; Loring, 1994; Tolman, 1992), a common definition of this construct remains elusive. This lack of clarity creates a difficulty for researchers because there is not yet a consistent method for operationalizing the construct of psychological abuse (Baldry, 2003). This lack of agreement as to what constitutes emotional abuse makes it difficult to compare research findings on emotional abuse. Due to all these factors, despite the pervasive potential for harm psychological abuse exerts on the victims, the study of

psychological abuse has been placed second to the study of physical abuse and especially in Asian countries, is in its infancy. However, researchers emphasise that being exposed to psychological abuse alone can no longer be considered a minor type of IPV when assessing and recognizing the impact of IPV on women's mental health, thus that deserves the full attention of researchers, clinicians, lawyers, and policymakers (Pico-Alfonso et al., 2006; Dokkedahl et al., 2019).

Importance of Studying Psychological Abuse/IPV

There are several important reasons to study psychological abuse as it occurs in the context of intimate relationships. First, psychological abuse exerts a significant negative and prolonged impact on the emotional and physical well-being of the victims. Second, when compared to physical abuse, it may have a more detrimental impact on the victim's psychological functioning. Third, it is widely prevalent and very common in society. Fourth, psychological abuse almost always accompanies physical abuse. Fifth, psychological abuse represents a common pathway or precursor to physical abuse. Sixth, it plays an important role in the dynamics of maintaining abusive relationships. Finally, psychological abuse appears to influence women's perceptions of their relationship and their response to IPV. All these issues will be discussed in the following section in detail however not in the exact order reasons listed above.

Prevalence of Psychological Abuse/IPV

Although not extensively researched, with a limited amount of data available, and with a great variation in how psychological abuse is measured across countries and cultures - available evidence still shows high prevalence rates.Over a decade ago, the authors of the original Domestic Violence and Women's Health (WHO MCS) report refrained from publishing prevalence estimates of psychological violence because of concerns about a lack of cross-cultural consensus on what constitutes this phenomenon (Garcia-Moreno et al., 2005). However, analyzing the data of (WHO MCS) report, Heise et al. (2019) reported that psychological abuse is highly prevalent, ranging from 12% to 58% across countries. According to their analysis, the proportion of women experiencing any

listed act of psychological abuse within the last year has ranged from 12% in Samoa and Serbia and Montenegro to 58% in provincial Ethiopia.

Forty-three per cent of women in the 28 European Union Member States have experienced some form of psychological violence by an intimate partner in their lifetime (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2014). While it is difficult to establish the precise figures on the numbers of women who experience IPV due to under-reporting, data compiled by World Health Organization in 2005 from more than 24 000 women in 10 countries for IPV has suggested that the percentage of women who had ever been physically assaulted by a male intimate partner ranged from 5.1% to 67% (WHO, 2005), out of which 13–61% reported ever having experienced physical violence by a partner; 6–59% reported sexual violence by a partner at some point in their lives; and 20–75% reported experiencing one emotionally abusive act, or more, from a partner in their lifetime. As stated above, psychological abuse (compared to physical and sexual violence) is estimated to be the most common form of IPV in both the USA and Europe, affecting between 35 and 49% of men and women (Dokkedahl, 2019).

The few local studies carried out so far give a wide variation in the prevalence of psychological abuse against women ranging from 23 % (Kuruppuarachchi and Wijeratne, 2005) to 45% (Jayatilleke et al., 2011). In their community-based study, Jayatilleke et al. (2011) revealed that in Sri Lanka, more than one in three wives experience at least one type of physical, psychological, or sexual abuse by their husbands during their lifetime, and among those wives, psychological abuse is more prevalent than the physical or sexual or both types of abuse. The fact that psychological abuse is pervasive and frequent highlights the need to explore this phenomenon as a separate entity in the local context.

Taking all these local and international research findings into account, it can be roughly estimated that the prevalence of IPV in Sri Lanka ranges between 18% to 60%, whereas worldwide the prevalence is between 6% to 61%. However, looking at the existing figures of IPV, it is not feasible to extract the exact prevalence rate of psychological abuse. One factor that

is worthy of noting here is that most of these studies in the local context have focused on the prevalence of physical abuse, and some on sexual abuse as well, largely ignoring the existence of psychological abuse. Only a limited number of studies have attempted to explore this phenomenon. However, even the limited information available on the prevalence of psychological abuse in global and local settings highlights the need to explore this phenomenon in depth.

Impact of Psychological IPV (abuse)

Research on psychological abuse has highlighted the detrimental effects it exerts on the victim's psychological as well as physical health. Loring (1994) reported that emotionally abused women were more likely to report feelings of despair and loneliness than women who were physically abused or who were in non-abusive relationships. However, while the impact of physical abuse may be more 'visible' than psychological scarring, repeated humiliation and insults, forced isolation, limitations on social mobility, are more subtle and insidious forms of violence. The intangible nature of psychological abuse makes it harder to define and report, leaving the woman in a situation where she is often made to feel mentally destabilized and powerless. Researchers have reported that psychological abuse is related to increased vulnerability to several clinical issues (Antai et al., 2014; Arias and Pape, 1999; Baldry, 2003; Dutton, Goodman and Bennett, 1999; Hennings and Klesges, 2003; Ovara, McLeod and Sharpe, 1996; Marshall,1999; McKibbin, 1998; Sackett and Saunders, 1999, 2001; Lingren and Renck, 2008). For example, psychological abuse has been shown to impact women's general functioning (Kelly, 2004; Tolman and Bhosley, 1991), perceived physical health (Nur, 2012; Marshall, 1996; Yoshihama, Horrocks and Kamano, 2009), Lingren and Renck (2008) reported that the women interviewed in their Swedish study suffered various physical symptoms as a result of psychological abuse, including weight loss, weight gain, stomach pain, and pains in "every bone of my body" demonstrating that the psychological abuse not only causes damages to ones´ psychological health but undermines ones' physical health as well.

Psychological abuse is also found to be directly causing psychological distress (Antai et al., 2014; Kaslow et al., 1998; Marshal,1999), low self-esteem (Baldry, 2003; Marshall, 1999; Ovara, McLeod and Sharpe, 1996; Sackett and Saunders, 1999), substance abuse (Kaslow et al., 1998; Ovara, McLeod and Sharpe, 1996) and cognitive impairment (Ovara, McLeod and Sharpe, 1996). Psychological abuse may lead also to depression (Antai et al., 2014**;** Baldry, 2003; Dutton, Goodman and Bennett, 1999; Marshal,1999; McKibbin,1998; Pico-Alfonso, et al.,2006; Sackett and Saunders, 1999), anxiety (Baldry, 2003; McKibbin, 1998; Pico-Alfons et al., 2006), PTSD (Arias and Pape,1999*;* Baldry, 2003; Dutton, Goodman and Bennett,1999; Pico-Alfonso et al.,2006 and ultimately to suicide (Antai et al., 2014; Ludermir et al., 2008; Vives-Cases et al., 2011). Pico-Alfonso and others (2006) in their study conducted with a sample of Spanish women found psychological IPV to be as detrimental as physical IPV in terms of depressive symptoms in their study sample. They further clearly indicate that psychological IPV, with some variations, is as detrimental to women's mental health as is physical violence, having independent effects on depressive and anxiety symptoms and being the only factor contributing to PTSD and PTSD/depression comorbidity. Adding to that finding, Wong et al. (2011) found psychological abuse to be the significant predictor of higher levels of IPV-related depression in their study of Chinese women. In this study, they also reported that the more frequent the psychological abuse, the higher the level of depression experienced, but this significant result was not found to be present about the frequency of physical abuse further demonstrating the detrimental nature of psychological IPV.

Similarly, demonstrating the association between psychological IPV, suicide and psychological distress, Antai et al. (2014) conducting a population-based study of women in the Philippines reported that psychological abuse was a stronger predictor of suicide attempts than physical abuse and that women who experienced physical or psychological abuse were more likely to attempt suicide and experience psychological distress, with psychological abuse being more predictive of suicide attempts implying that psychological abuse is intimately relevant for the

development of suicide risk in abused women. Pico-Alfonso et al. (2006) have also found that women having a partner with controlling behaviour were more likely to attempt suicide and to experience psychological distress implying that coercive control is intimately relevant for the development of suicide risk in abused women, which was again confirmed by Antai et al. (2014) in their study conducted to determine the differential association of economic abuse on psychological distress and suicide attempts with a sample of Philippine women.

Moreover, psychological abuse has been shown to elicit fears of physical abuse which in turn may create a pervasive climate of distress (Marshall, 1996; Sackett and Saunders, 1999). Research on psychological abuse suggests that an underlying motivation for psychological abuse is the desire of perpetrators to exert control over other individuals and destroy their sense of self-esteem (Johnson and Ferrero 2000; Schwartz, 2000). Lammers, Ritchie and Robertson (2005) have clearly explained to how the experience of psychological abuse would lead to diminished self-esteem among women. Women who are continually made to feel that they are unworthy of respect or love or fair treatment may start to focus their attention inward in an attempt to make sense of their partner's variable behaviour and may begin to feel inadequate. Feelings of inadequacy, in response to emotional isolation, separation, or the threat of separation, may turn into shame (Keltner and Buswell, 1997; Retzinger, 1991). Shame, therefore, can be seen as the result of damage to a person's self-value and self-confidence and may result in a sense of diminished identity (Kirkwood, 1993). In addition, this diminished identity is associated with the further loss of self-esteem and emotional abuse (Kirkwood, 1993; Loring, 1994)

Psychological abuse has generally been inextricably linked with physical or sexual abuse in the existing literature as for the common belief that emotional abuse almost always precedes (Hyden, 1995; Kasian and Painter, 1992; Murphy and O'Leary, 1989; O'Leary, Malone and Tyree, 1994) or occurs as part of both physical and sexual abuse (Anderson, Boulette and Schwartz, 1991; Bass and Davis, 2008; Antai et al., 2014;

Herman, 1997; Kirkwood, 1993; NiCarthy, 1986; Pence and Paymar, 1993).

Many studies exploring the impact of psychological abuse on mental and physical health Cleary demonstrate that psychological IPV alone is as detrimental to women's mental and physical health as physical IPV, which almost always involves some form of psychological abuse. This situation prevails in Sri Lanka as well. Compared to many western countries, there is a dearth of accurate information on psychological abuse against women in the Sri Lankan setting. Even the limited number of studies that have examined the prevalence of psychological abuse/emotional abuse have studied psychological abuse as a concurrent phenomenon with physical abuse (e.g., Hettigoda, 2009; Jayasuriya, Wijewardena and Axemo, 2011; Jayatilleke et al., 2010; Jayatilleke et al., 2011; Jayaweera et al., 2010 in Perera, Gunawardane and Jayasuriya, 2011; Kuruppuarachchi and Wijeratne, 2005; Kuruppuarachchi et al., 2010). None of the studies so have reported the impact of psychological abuse detangled from the effects of physical abuse or have attempted to statistically control the impact of physical abuse when examining those of psychological abuse. These studies either have not measured its unique contribution to outcomes or have not reported them. Because both forms of abuse frequently co-occur (Arias and Pape,1999; Stets,1990), it might have been difficult to obtain sizable samples of women who were only psychologically abused to examine unique effects. However, a more recent study conducted by Dissanayake (2016), investigating the relative contribution of psychological, sexual and physical abuse to the development of psychological distress among women experiencing IPV in Sri Lanka after controlling for the effects of physical and sexual abuse, showed that there was a high degree of overlap between the different types of abuse, in 79% of cases physical, sexual and emotional abuse occurring together. The findings of the study further demonstrated that psychological abuse has been a stronger predictor of psychological distress, memory problems, problems in general functioning, and attempts of suicide than physical and sexual abuse, even though psychological, physical, and sexual abuse experiences were highly correlated. Psychological abuse has contributed

uniquely to the prediction of psychological distress, even after controlling for the effects of physical and sexual abuse. Results of this study highlight the importance of examining the effects of less visible forms of IPV like psychological abuse, independent of physical forms of abuse, to understand its impact on victims.

Impact of Different forms of Psychological Abuse

In addition to documenting the high prevalence and the detrimental effects of psychological abuse exerts on the abused women's psychological and physical well-being, previous research has also shown that some types of psychological abuse experienced by women have been rated as more severe than others and that they exert more severe impacts (Sackett and Saunders, 1999). Ridicule which attacks a person's sense of self more directly than other types of abuse has shown to produce detrimental consequences including depression, low self-esteem, alienation and isolation from self and others (Follingstad, 2009; Follingstad et al., 1990; Sackett and Saunders, 2001). Some other studies have found that controlling/emotional abuse results in low self-esteem (Aguila and Nightingale, 1994) and dominance/isolation being more strongly related to trauma and low self-esteem (Dutton and Painter, 1993) than other types of abuse. Thus, determining particular forms of psychological abuse that cause more severe impacts is necessary to identify women, who are at a higher risk of developing more detrimental consequences, modify and redefine counselling methods, and initiate intervention accordingly. However, in Sri Lanka, very limited published research studies have attempted to explore this important issue so far.

Dissanayake (2019) has conducted a study to identify the most frequent and most detrimental forms of psychological abuse and to determine the impact of various forms of psychological abuse on the mental health well-being of the abused women in Sri Lanka. In this study, ridiculing, ignoring, isolating, controlling, verbal harassment, threatening, manipulating, and non-supportive behaviour have emerged as the most distress causing forms of psychological abuse among the participant women. Frequent forms of abuse have not necessarily been rayed as the worst forms of abuse which exerted the most detrimental impact on women´s psychological well-

being. For example, although being a frequent form of psychological abuse, experiencing the partner using money or making important financial decisions without talking to the woman about it has not significantly been associated with the level of psychological distress of the abused woman. As the researcher explains, it could be since when living in a patriarchal society where men get the upper hand, women are used to men performing the decision-making role and handling financial matters without consulting them. Hence, this form of abuse might not have generated much distress in the woman in the Sri Lankan context. However, some other forms of abuse have to lead to greater levels of distress. These significant findings clearly show that clinicians should make the differentiation between most frequent and severe forms of psychological abuse when working with the clients as countering forms of abuse probably cause the most lingering effects on psychological well-being. For practitioners, it is important to be knowledgeable of these differences when working with abused women to uplift their emotional life and sense of self.

More Detrimental than Physical Abuse

There has been a tendency to categorize abuse along a continuum with the effects of physical abuse being considered "more harmful" than psychological abuse. This tendency is because psychological abuse, unlike physical abuse, leaves no visible scars or bruises, making it harder to detect (Cahill, Kaminer and Johnson, 1999). However, psychological abuse has been shown to exert a more detrimental impact on the victim's emotional functioning when compared to physical aggression, in spite of despite the implicit assumption that physical abuse exacts a greater psychological toll on victims than does psychological abuse. At the extreme level of physical abuse, this assumption seems defensible, but at levels of physical aggression that are most common in marriage and long-term relationships, psychological abuse appears to have as great an impact as physical abuse. Loring (1994) for example, found that emotionally abused women were more likely to report feelings of despair and loneliness than women who were physically abused or who were in non-abusive relationships. Similarly, although most extant research has focused on the prevalence and consequences of physical and sexual partner violence, some other studies also have demonstrated that women have frequently reported that

psychological or emotional abuse can be even more damaging than physical or sexual IPV (Follingstad, 2009; Heise et al., 2019).

Many other studies also have shown that even direct ratings of psychological and physical abuse by women in physically abusive relationships have indicated that psychological abuse has had a greater adverse effect on them than physical abuse (Pico-Alfonso et al., 2006; Arias, Street and Brody, 1996; Dokkedahl et al., 2019; Follingstad et al., 1990; Lynch and Graham-Bermann, 2000; Marshall, 1996; Vitanza,Vogel and Marshall, 1995; Walker, 1984). Researchers studying the same people over time have found that victims of psychological abuse tend to experience severe adjustment and psychological problems over the lifespan, although the nature of the abuse and its effects may differ according to one's age (Schwartz et al., 2000).

In some instances, the effects of psychological abuse have been reported more notably different than experiencing physical abuse. For example, Henning and Klesges (2003) found that while psychological and physical abuse both contributed to depression and low self-esteem in abused women, women's fear of abuse was uniquely predicted by psychological abuse. This is at least in part because psychological abuse is often directed at the recipient's basic sense of self and it can have a profound negative impact on the self-concept. Thus, the importance of the understanding impact of psychological abuse on the victim's well-being cannot be placed second to understanding the effects of physical abuse on them. The effects of psychological abuse can be complex, devastating and long-lasting.

Precede, Follow, or Occur concurrently with Physical Abuse

Many researchers believe that psychological abuse almost always precedes (Hyden, 1995; Murphy and O'Leary, 1989; O'Leary, Malone and Tyree,1994) or occurs as part of both physical and sexual abuse (Anderson, Boulette and Schwartz, 1991; Bass and Davis, 2008; Herman, 1992; Kirkwood, 1993; NiCarthy, 1986; Pence and Paymar, 1993; Stets,1990). Follingstad et al. (1990), for example, found that only 1% of the abused women they sampled reported physical violence without a concurrent history of psychological aggression. Other researchers also demonstrate

that psychological abuse can precede, follow, or occur concurrently with physical violence (Dissanayake, 2019; Mahoney and Williams, 1998; Stets, 1991; Tolman, 1992; Walker, 1984). Most women who are physically abused by their current or former intimate partner also have reported psychological abuse (Walker, 1984), but the reverse has not always been true (Dutton and Painter, 1981). More recently, some researchers point that psychological abuse may exist independent of physical abuse (Chang, 1996; Loring, 1994; Marshall, 1996; Marshall, 1999). Such researchers state that while physical abuse is almost always accompanied by psychological abuse, the presence of psychological abuse does not always indicate or predict the presence of concurrent physical or sexual abuse.

Although psychological abuse and physical violence often co-occur, they may affect women differently. Researchers have indicated that many of the negative intra-psychic ramifications previously attributed to physically abusive actions may be products of the psychological abuse frequently accompanying physical abuse (Engels and Moisan, 1994; Marshal, 1996). Indeed, the psychological consequences of IPV may be due not so much to physical violence but to psychological abuse (Tolman, 1992), hence it is very important to identify the occurrence of psychological abuse.In short, these studies suggest that physical and psychological abuse co-exist and that women suffer greater victimization than men (Johnson and Ferraro, 2000).

The Precursor to Physical Aggression

Understanding the existence of psychological abuse is very important as psychological abuse may represent a common pathway or precursor to physical aggression. Psychological abuse early in marriage has shown to be a frequent precursor of physical aggression late in the relationship (Murphy and O'Leary, 1989). Many other researchers also have shown that psychological abuse almost always precedes (Hyden, 1995; Kasian and Painter, 1992; Murphy and O'Leary, 1989; O'Leary et al., 1994). By early identification of the existence of psychological abuse, it would be possible to uncover important clues to the development of violent intimate relationships and help prevent physical abuse later in the relationship.

For example, Johnson (1996) reported, that being called names and put down was one of the strongest predictors of spousal physical violence. This finding was reinforced by another study finding which also suggested that emotional abuse and controlling behaviours can be precursors to physical violence in a relationship (Pottie-Bunge, 2000). More specifically, in this study, rates of violence in current intimate relationships were ten times higher for women who reported emotional abuse than for those who did not report emotional abuse.

May Help to Maintain Abusive Relationships

There is also evidence demonstrating that psychological abuse may contribute to maintaining abusive relationships. The occurrence of psychological abuse is a better predictor of victims' fear of subsequent aggression than was the severity of the prior physical violence (Marshall,1999; Sackett and Saunders;1999). If severe enough, it may lead to self-doubt, confusion, and depression, consequently causing abused women a difficult time seeing their options and marshalling the resources needed to leave the relationship (Glaser, 2002; Follingstad and DeHart, 2000; Sackett and Saunders, 1999).

Influence Perceptions of the Relationships

On the other hand, psychological abuse appears to influence women's perceptions of their relationship and their response to IPV. Psychological abuse may target perceptions, thoughts, feelings, or behaviour; so this type of abuse may profoundly affect how a woman views herself, partner, relationships, and others. For example, according to Follingstad (2009), a psychologically abused woman willbegin to devalue the partner, to view the partner as problematic, to detach from the relationship, to change his or her investment in the relationship, or to revise his or her expectations or structure of the relationship. As a result, psychological abuse has been related to lesser relationship stability and intimacy (Katz and Arias, 2000). As a consequence, women experiencing severe psychological abuse have been likely to seek an end to their relationship (Arias and Pape, 1999; Brown, O'Leary and Feldbau, 1997; Hennings and Klesges, 2003).

Gortner et al. (1997) conducting a study on reasons for marital disruption stated that the husband's emotional abuse was a stronger predictor of the marriage ending than the physical violence the woman incurred emotional abuse was singled out as the most important factor in leaving, particularly when the types of emotional abuse the husband engaged in were "degrading" and "attempting to isolate the woman from others". Adding to this finding, Raghavan et al. (2005) showed that a woman appears to leave her abusive partner was directly related to levels of psychological abuse and not due to physical abuse or feelings of efficacy within the relationship. Ending the relationship can happen physically as well as emotionally. According to Loring (1994), women reaching this final step towards personal power does not take place until women have disconnected from their partner on an emotional level, a process termed as 'disattachment'. Loring makes the differentiation between disattachment and detachment by saying that detachment connotes an immediate and complete separation, while disattachment designates an ongoing separation process in which a person, after reincorporating her formerly fragmented self, breaks away from the emotional abuse process.

Discussion and Implications for Future Research

Psychological abuse not only creates enormous personal costs to the victim, and also affects society negatively. The effects of psychological abuse are just as detrimental as the effects of physical abusecan be even more damaging. However, although it is a pervasive form of relationship abuse, commonly, physical and sexual forms of IPV are recognized as having more serious consequences on the individual but not psychological abuse. The reviewed studies indicate that psychological IPV is as detrimental as physical IPV (Follingstad, 2009; Heise et al., 2019) and the studies that have included psychological IPV also have indicated that this type of IPV *per se* is enough to predict mental health sequelae. Therefore, it is important to further our knowledge on psychological abuse and its effects on human psychology and health. Although, several published articles report deleterious effects as a function of experiencing psychological abuse, the relatively small number of studies, the problematic methodology, and the typical co-occurrence of physical

violence prevent strong statements of causal effect or clear, uncontested results.

Availability of high-quality cross-cultural qualitative research studies on women's subjective experiences is also of value to allow better triangulation of the data on psychological IPV and adverse health impacts. While this area appears to be a highly fruitful one for understanding the impact of psychological abuse, viewing the relationship as a system which likely to change as a result of aversive interpersonal actions has not received much attention. Future studies may embark on this avenue of research as well. Further research is required to better understand not only the prevalence and impact of the issues discussed in this paper but the intersection of these issues and contexts. Future studies also need to focus on the pathways to recovery from abusive experiences and how health services, particularly primary care clinicians, can play a role in this rehabilitative journey.

One important research area future researchers may look at is how experiencing psychological IPV might affect the nature of parenting of the mothers and affect the relationship the mothers would have with the children. Though a large body of research has investigated the impacts of IPV on women only few studies have been devoted to the impact of such exposure on child rearing/parenting. However, exposure to IPV has shown to adversely affect a victim's parenting capacity thereby placing children at heightened risk of abuse and neglect. In general, these researchers report that psychological and physical abuse of women by their partners creates stress in parenting and negatively affect parenting behaviors (Herman, 1992; McCloskey et al., 1995; Wolfe et al., 1985 as cited in Levendosky, and Graham-Bermann, Sandra, 2001). Even though some research in relation to parenting in domestically abusive contexts, covering the impact of all forms of IPV is available, the research particularly examining mothers' parenting capacities specifically in the context of psychological IPV while controlling the impact of other forms of IPV, or where other forms of IPV are absent, is very limited. Thus, sufficient amount of research evidence could not be obtained to include an analysis on how

psychological IPV impact on parenting of mothers in this review. Therefore, it is suggested that future studies may examine the effects of psychological IPV on parenting and the effects of maternal parenting on children's adjustment.

The purpose of this paper has been to illustrate the complex nature and manifestations of psychological abuse, and to outline the factors contributing to it with the intention emphasizing the importance of understanding the impact psychological abuse on adjustmentof the victim as it is of paramount importance to further our knowledge on psychological abuse and its effects on victim women´s psychology and health. Accordingly, awareness-raising programmes on the detrimental effects of psychological abuse which encourage social support network members to intervene in such cases should be implemented.Governments together with the health care sector professionals must address the range of factors that contribute to the intergenerational transmission of abusive behaviours by allocating significant resources in school settings for early intervention, and healthy relationship programs.

Conclusion

It is evident that psychological abuse is a concern in incidents of partner violence and so necessitates a thorough understanding of its impact on the abused women by the health care workers and the social support network. It is intended that individuals, families and service providers will take more specific actions and proactive approaches to address psychological IPV against women.With a focus on resourcefulness rather than on the helplessness of women who stay in abusive relationships, it is hoped that abused women will be seen by the public in a more positive light. With more public support and understanding than these women have received in the past, they may be more encouraged to seek help, when previously shame and embarrassment prevented them from doing so. It is hoped that awareness of the detrimental effects of psychological abuse will encourage social support network members to intervene in such cases more positively.

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The Impacts of Arabic Language on Sri Lankan Muslims: A Socio-Historical Study

Nafeel Zawahir
Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka
Email: *nafeelz@pdn.ac.lk*

Abstract

The Arabic language in Sri Lanka holds a prominent place among Muslims. There has been a strong relationship between the Arabic language and Muslims in Sri Lanka for centuries, greatly impacting the culture of Sri Lankan Muslims, however, this has been challenged in recent times. There is no significant study on the impact of the Arabic language in the socio-historical context. This study attempts to identify the impact of the Arabic language on the socio-historical context of Sri Lanka. This study was carried out based on secondary data such as books, magazines, newspapers and internet sources. According to the analysis and the findings of the study, the Arabic language is inextricably connected to many aspects of the live of Sri Lankan Muslims. The Arabic language has seeped into their daily lives so much that it has almost become a part of their identity.

Keywords: Arabic Language, Culture, Iimpacts, Sri Lankan Muslims

Introduction

Arabs and the Arabic language have been known to Sri Lanka for a very long time, even long before the origin of Islam and the arrival of that religion on the island. The Arab merchants' relationship with the Sri Lankan empire has become a major turning point for Arabic verbal communication. The Arabic language in Sri Lanka holds a prominent place among Muslims. Since the end of the past century, Muslims in Sri Lanka paid great attention and special interest in teaching Arabic. So, many schools and institutions were opened in the country. The Encyclopedia of Social Sciences defines culture: as follows "it comprises inherited

artefacts, goods, technical process, ideas, habits and values'' (Selignman, 1949). Tylor (1889) defines culture as a complex whole that includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, law, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by [a human] as a member of society. Cultures vary according to their formation and their changes over a period. In this respect, languages are a powerful tool of intercultural exchange and a vehicle for uniformity and diversity of cultures. Languages provide bases for the co-existence of cultures in multi-cultural societies.

Literature Review

The study proposes to conduct a deep literature survey on the aspect of components and dynamics of Sri Lankan culture. Researchers establish these facts through empirical evidence. Language is closely related to the socio-cultural and political life of a community. It is an expression of a specific meaning by articulation (Nafeel, 2016). It becomes the symbol of the national, ethnic or cultural identity of the community. The Muslims of Sri Lanka consider Arabic important to them, as it is the language of their religion even though the vast majority of them do not understand or speak Arabic and they seek their identity in religion but not in language (Nuhman, 2007). The religious language of the Muslims, of course, is Arabic; it is considered more a sacred, ritualistic language than a living, robust tongue. The linguistic heritage of the Muslims of Sri Lanka includes words from Persian and Malayalam (Mahroof, 1995).

It is an irrefutable fact that every religion gives significance to the original language of its scriptures; It is not surprising that Islam has given prominence to Arabic, especially as Hinduism has given prominence to Sanskrit, Christianity to Latin, and Buddhism to Pali (Nafeel, 2021).

Ameen (2000) discusses the impact of the Arabic Language, the use of Arabic Tamil and its importance among the Muslims of Sri Lanka. And also, he points out that when the Arab Muslims entered the countries such as Egypt, Syria, Iran, Iraq, etc., the indigenous people of those countries learned Arabic and used it in their religious and business activities accepting it as the official language though it was not their mother tongue.

Muslims in Sri Lanka sought to learn the Arabic language as it was the language of the Quran (the holy scripture of the Muslims) and due to the cultural ties that they had with the Islamic world. However, the Quran Madrasas (Quranic Learning Centers) at that time did not play a great role in teaching the Arabic language, and consequently, some Muslims went to countries like India and Egypt to learn the Arabic language. South Indian Islamic scholars attempted to establish Arabic Madrasas (Arabic Religious Schools) with the support of recognized local donors and other publics among the Sri Lankan Muslim community who perceived the act of learning Arabic as a good deed (Ameen, 2000).

Dewaraja (2019) presents the history of ties between Arabs, the Arabic language and the Sri Lankan Muslims. She points out that the Sri Lankan Muslims speak Arabic Tamil, have Arabic names have their forms of greeting and the women especially could be distinguished from their dress. The earliest migrants from the Middle East spoke Arabic, which was the language of the Quran and the language of devotion. Hence, for Muslims, it holds sanctity. Several Arabic words have been introduced to express Islamic concepts and certain social activities that cannot be entirely dissociated from religion. This dialect came to be known as Arabic Tamil. She also remarks that a 10^{th}-century Arabic inscription written in Kufic characters found in the National Museum in Colombo proves that the contact with the Arab world was not merely commercial but religious and cultural as well.

Similarly, Shukry (1984) explores the historical context, Muslims of Sri Lanka largely of Arab descendants with the downfall of Bagdad in 1258 lost the link with the Arab countries and were merely largely in contact with the East coast of India, this led to the emergence of Arabic Tamil as a common language among the Sri Lankan Muslims.

Dassanayaka (2018) discusses the deep relationship of Arabs with Sri Lanka during the time of pre and post-Islamic era. The cordial and amicable trade relationship of Arabs with Sri Lanka and changing patterns of navigation in the Indian Ocean and their impacts on Sri Lanka is also explained.

The Arab Muslim Traders and the native Tamils converts to Islam in the Tamilnadu State of India and Sri Lanka came into closer contact as a result of their commercial activities. They were bound by a common religion but separated by two different languages. They felt the necessity for a link language. They started to write Tamil in an adapted Arabic script called Arabu-Tamil. The Arabu-Tamil or Arwi script represents the Tamil language using an Arabic style of script. From the eighth century to the nineteenth century, this language enjoyed its popularity among Tamil speaking Muslims of Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka. However, the beginning of the twentieth century saw the decline of the Arwi language (Zubair, 2016).

When examining the impact of the Arabic language on the Sri Lankan culture from a sociological perspective, (Nafeel, 2016) points out that Arabs and the Arabic language have been known to Sri Lanka for a very long historical time, even long before Islam. Since the end of the past century, Muslims in Sri Lanka have paid great attention and special interest in teaching Arabic, and many schools and institutions were opened in the country.

All the above literates extensively have discussed various cultural aspects of Arab Muslim relations and the Arabic language in Sri Lanka. Specifically, the studies have tried to investigate the link between the Arabic language and the ancient Muslims in Sri Lanka. Nevertheless, those studies to some extent fail to look into the impact of the Arabic language on the socio-cultural life of Sri Lankan Muslims, and therefore, this study is conducted to fill the existing research gap.

Methodology

This qualitative analytical research study is based on historical document analysis. Secondary sources such as books, magazines, newspapers, and internet sources were used. The study uses a multi-disciplinary approach to understand the historical conducts of Arabs and the Arabic language in Sri Lanka and the impact of the Arabic language on Sri Lankan Muslims and their cultural lives. Such an approach is appropriate to understand the historical process that led to the formation of a multicultural society in Sri

Lanka. The main objectives of the study are to investigate the socio-historical conduct of Arabs and the Arabic language in Sri Lanka and the impact of the language on the cultural life of Muslims in Sri Lanka. The study hypothesizes that "though the impact of Arabic Language on Sri Lankan culture is not very significant on the major cultures, it made a significant gateway through the people who followed Islam in Sri Lanka".

Findings and Discussions

Arabic Language and Sri Lankan Muslims

Based on the data analysis, Sri Lankan Muslims had long historical contacts with Arabs and Arab countries. Therefore, it is unavoidable fact that the impact of the Arabic language on Sri Lankan Muslims' lasted for a long period. A language is a main tool to the human nation, it is not merely a medium of communication it becomes the symbol of national or ethnic or cultural identity.

Sri Lanka has cultural diversity, there are three major cultural groups and two main languages are found in Sri Lanka. The cultural practices of the people who speak the Sinhala language consist of about two-thirds of the Island's population. There are considered distinct and separate small and sub-cultural groups found among the major Sinhala cultural group. The diversity within this culture is because of the region where the Sinhala language speaking people live and the type of activities that they engage and so on. Tamil is another major language and the people who speak this language inherit a long and rich cultural tradition like the Sinhalese. An ethno-religious culture practised by Muslims of Sri Lanka is also recognized as a separate culture in this country. Cultures have intermixed and intermingled with one another during the historical period and as a result, the impact and influence of one cultural practice on the other is evident. However, the majority of the Muslims of this country use the Tamil language as their mother tongue. This study attempts to understand the socio-cultural impacts of Arabic - a foreign language on the indigenous culture of Sri Lankan Muslims. It is a fact that with the open economy system, the Arabic language and Middle Eastern Cultures have been gaining importance in the world in general and in Asian countries in

particular for various political, economic and cultural reasons. Arabs and the Arabic language have been known to Sri Lanka for a very long historical time, even long before Islam. The term *Yonaka* is used in Mahawamsa according to which historians referred to early Arab settlement in Sri Lanka (Dasanayaka, 2018).

As a result of commercial and cultural contact with South India, the Tamil language had its impact on the socio-cultural life of Muslims and it has become the medium of expression. This led to the emergence of Arabic-Tamil as a common language among the Muslims (Shukry,1984)

Arabs and the Arabic language have been known to Sri Lanka for a very long historical time. For example, an intimate relationship between Sri Lanka and some of the middle east Arab countries existed long before the Abbasid dynasty of Baghdad in 1258 A.D is evident, for instance, in some of the carvings on a tombstone erected in the memory of the great Arabian religious teacher Khalid bin Abu Bakaya who died in Sri Lanka. Sir, Alexander Johnston has made references to this tombstone in his research in 1827 A.D in the sixteen century, during which European dominance in the Indian Ocean was at its peak. The relationship that had existed between Sri Lanka and Arab countries was weakened. Consequently, the influence of the south Indian Muslims was on the rise in Sri Lanka. We can observe the development in the establishment of Arabic institutions in the nineteenth century. (Dasanayaka, 2018).

At the same time, the Arabic language in Sri Lanka holds a prominent place among Muslims. It was spread in Sri Lanka using Arab traders who had a historical link with the island. This close relationship helped them to propagate Islam in Sri Lanka. The European invasion of this country in the 16th c. A.D brought about a serious impact on the educational, cultural and economic life of Muslims. (Gafoordeen, et al, 2013) Nevertheless, Muslims were keen on preserving their culture and following the religious rules of the moral and social codes of Islam. To improve the status of Muslims, Scholars like Siddi Lebbe and Mapillai Lebbe Alim presented several different projects for reform. These erudite personalities founded schools for Muslims and created opportunities for receiving modern education in a religious environment. They opened separate educational

institutions for teaching the Arabic language. The institutionalized Arabic education in Sri Lanka began in 1882 AD the Arabic institutions started to serve the community in the southern province, after which many Arabic institutions flourished in other parts of Sri Lanka. Arabic is the religious language of Muslims; they have supported Arabic education since the introduction of Islam in Sri Lanka.

In the wake of independence in 1948, a considerable change took place concerning the education provided by the Arabic institutions. The struggle against colonialism in Muslim countries, the Islamic renaissance of the Islamic world, the changes in the foreign policy of the 1956 Sri Lankan government, and the evaluation of the general education system contributed to changing the system of education in Arabic institutions as well. As a result, the institution which had followed a traditional way of thinking gradually turned to modern ideology. At the same time "*Quran Madrasa*" (Quran teaching Schools) also gradually developed into "*kulliyas*" (colleges) and "*Jamias*" (universities). Government Muslim Schools and Universities too included the Arabic languages in their curricula. (Gafoordeen)

In Sri Lanka, the Educational system is undergoing rapid reform. So, a study of this nature will help to incorporate the Arabic Language into the new curriculum. Therefore, the study of this nature is timely and useful. The Arabic Language has been taught as a language for the last century. But, the result has not been effective enough compared to other languages. Therefore, the research on this will pave the way for further exploration.

For the development of Arabic Languages in Sri Lanka, a proper environment for teaching and learning of Arabic Language must be created. For instance, Arabic teaching experts in Sri Lanka should prepare the teaching materials.

The objective of the study is to assess the impact of the Arabic language on Sri Lankan culture, Arabic language is taught in the Qur'an madrasa, Arabic colleges, government schools, universities, and other institutions. In the Qur'an madrasa, children are taught from the age of four to twelve to learn the alphabets of Arabic to read the Qur'an, some children memorize the whole or the part of the Qur'an and in general, all the

children memorize the necessary supplications (*dua*) in Arabic. These Arabic colleges have a history of more than a century. The institutions are called *Madrasa, Kulliya, Ma'had and Jamia*. The passed-out students are called *Moulavi, Aalim and Shaikh*. Upon completion of their studies, they serve as *Imams* (the one who leads Muslim worshipers in prayers) in masjids, teachers of the above Arabic institutions, and Arabic translators. Since 1940 to date Arabic teachers are being appointed to government schools to teach Arabic to Muslim students. They play a major role in promoting the Arabic language in Sri Lanka.

The Arabic language has been introduced in the national curriculum from grade 6 to G.C.E Ordinary and Advanced Level Classes. In Addition, the Department of Examination conducts Ahadiya, Darmachcharya and Al-Alim examinations where an important portion of the Arabic language is being covered. The Arabic language has been taught in the government universities in Sri Lanka since 1945 and it was introduced as a separate department under the faculty of oriental studies with the establishment of the University of Peradeniya in 1945. At present Arabic is taught in Colombo, Eastern and Southeastern Universities. Recently a separate Faculty of Islamic Studies and Arabic was established at the Southeastern University of Sri Lanka. (Gafoordeen) The Postgraduate programs up to PhD are conducted in some of these universities. There are ample opportunities for young graduates to proceed with their higher studies in the field of Arabic in different Arab countries. This very clearly portrays the impact of the Arabic language in Sri Lanka.

Arabic is also learned as a means of professional achievements since the open economy of 1974, many Sri Lankan males and females migrate to Middle Eastern countries for employment. Therefore, the Arabic language is being taught to these migrants by the Foreign Bureau of Sri Lanka. This has paved the way for the impact of the Arabic language on Sri Lankan culture irrespective of ethnicities.

When referring to cultural aspects, architectural and calligraphical designs are used in mosques and religious-oriented premises. Arabic words are used in the day to day life of Sri Lankan Muslims. The Arabic language is being used in the rituals of Sri Lankan Muslims from birth until death such

as birth, circumcision, marriage and funeral rites. The Department of Muslim Religious and Cultural Affairs holds Meelad and other competitions in Arabic. Many programs also take place to preserve the culture and promote the Arabic language such as Arabic calligraphy, Arabic speech, Arabic song, Azan and Qira'ath competitions.

The impact of the Arabic language can be observed on the cultural aspects of Sri Lankan Muslims throughout history, from day-to-day *Azan*. (calling for five times prayer.) moreover, there are supplications (*du'a*) performed in Arabic on many occasions. There is also a great impact of the Arabic language on the mother tongue of Sri Lankan Muslims. For instance, Arabic Tamil was in usage among the Muslims of Sri Lanka from the colonial period, Arabic Tamil was the Tamil spoken and written by the Muslims with a mixture of Arabic words whether it is written in Arabic or Tamil scripts.

However, the Arabic Tamil or Arvi Script gradually vanished from usage as it was merely considered a language without grammatical rules and failed to gain consent at the national level. Another cause of the decline of Arabic language usage was the loss of links with Arab countries in the latter part of the 13th century.

Despite having Tamil as their mother tongue, the Sri Lankan Muslim urban elite has fostered an Arab Islamic identity even in the 20th century (McGilvray, 1998). The Muslim elites argue and maintain that Tamil was not their language, but borrowed one. Even in the late 1980s, a reputed Sri Lankan Muslim scholar M.M. Uwais maintain that Tamil is the adopted language of the Sri Lankan Muslims. According to him, the Tamil language is the language of trade in the areas where the forefathers of the Muslim community settled, and they had no difficulty in adopting Tamil as their language of communication with the resident population as well as among themselves, and thereby lost interest in Arabic as the spoken language (Nuhman, 2007).

Conclusion

The diversity of Sri Lanka where it is a multilingual and multi-cultural country, three major cultural groups and two main languages are found. There is a long history of Arab Muslim relations in Sri Lanka, and the Arabic language has a prominent place among the Muslims of Sri Lanka. Muslims in Sri Lanka are paying great attention and special interest in teaching and learning Arabic, as a result, many schools and institutions were opened in the country at different levels. In the beginning, Arabic was learned by Muslims for religious purposes, and later it was learned for professional achievements by Muslims and other ethnicities. However, the impact of the Arabic Language on Sri Lankan culture is not very significant in the major cultures, it made a significant gateway through the people who practise Islam in Sri Lanka. When tracing the cultural aspects of the Arabic language, it is used as the architectural and calligraphical design at the mosques and religious-oriented premises. As well Arabic words are used in day to day life of Sri Lankan Muslims and in the life of other communities in general.

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The Economic Transformation of Sri Lanka under Colonial Domination; A Literature Review

M. Sriyani Gunarathne
Department of History, University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka
Email: *msgunarathne@yahoo.com*

Different pre-colonial modes of production in various parts of Asia were subjected to changes under the impact of western colonialism. However, once the disintegration processes were set in motion by different colonial impacts there were interventions of a wide variety of actors within these pre-colonial modes of production. Accordingly, emerged different economic patterns and combinations of actors within these economies and they produced different historical development patterns and colonial legacies. Various scholars following diverse theoretical approaches have interpreted and analysed these as monolithic developments. They have generally assumed all pre-colonial economies as backward underdeveloped or traditional.

The scholarly debate on the nature of the colonial impact on pre-colonial economies was most intense during the period, 1950 to 1980. One of the schools of thought on the subject the Dependency theorists adopted the Marxian perspective. However, this approach became highly controversial among scholars. The main contributor of the Dependency School André Gunder Frank persuaded his perspectives in his *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America: Historical Studies of Chile and Brazil*, (1968). Immanuel Wallerstein put forward his argument in *The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origin of the European World Economy in the 16th Century*, (1974). And Samir Amin continues these produce two important works, *Imperialism and Unequal Development*, (1977) and *Accumulation on a World Scale: A Critique of the Theory of Underdevelopment*, (1974).

According to their analyses, the underdeveloped nature of the colonized Asian, African and Latin American societies was the result of imperial domination which generated a characteristic development named the centre-periphery relationship where the imperialist metropolitan formed

the core or the centre and the colonies their periphery. This relationship was maintained according to Wallerstein, under a system of *'unequal exchange' within the constituents of a single 'world capitalist system'* (Patnaik, Nov. 1982: 3). Under this relationship, each metropolis exercised domination of several satellites. Samir Amin developing this theory further argued that while the developed industrial capitalist countries formed the metropolitan economies, the developing countries of the third world occupied satellite positions in the periphery. The core countries developed their economies by expropriating the surplus of the satellite countries through a system of unequal exchange. This relationship enabled the metropolis to perpetual the dependency status of the periphery. (Wolfe, Apr. 1997: 396)

This essay intends to review three main research publications relating to the economic transformations in Sri Lanka; 1. *The Political Economy of Under Development*, by S.B.D. de Silva's book, (Rutledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1982) 2. *Colonialism in Sri Lanka; The Political Economy of the Kandyan Highlands, 1833-1886*, by Asoka Bandarage, (Lake House Investments Ltd., Colombo, 1985) and 3. *Nobodies to Somebodies; The Rise of the Colonial Bourgeoisie in Sri Lanka*, by Kumari Jayawardena, (Social Scientists' Association and Sanjiva Books, Colombo, 2000). The main theme addressed in these studies is the socio-economic transformation under colonialism in Sri Lanka and its specific characteristics. However, the issues relating to the pattern and cause of this transformation have not received systematic treatment in this literature.

Applying the dependency theory to the Sri Lankan situation S.B.D. de Silva and Asoka Bandarage[3] attempt to analyse the economic transformation with an emphasis on the centre-periphery dichotomy as

the principal cause of Sri Lanka's underdevelopment. Bandarage argues that economic mobility in Sri Lankan highlands was based on commercial

[3] *We can agree with Gunder Frank that the process of change set in motion by western capital in the Kandyan Highlands was on of underdevelopment rather than autonomous capitalist development as anticipated by either the modernization or Marxist development theorists*. (Bandarage, 1985: 331).

coffee plantations introduced by the British colonial rulers. This laid the foundation for a dual economy in Sri Lanka.

With the rapid growth of the plantation sector, Sri Lanka linked up with the world economy as a satellite of the British metropolis and the world capitalist centre. Grounded in the classical Marxist model, de Silva explains, *it is the production relations that determine the type of exploitation, and the specific interaction, under different historical conditions, between 'centre and periphery,', 'metropole and satellite', or 'dominance and dependency'*. (de Silva, 1982: 11)

Kumari Jayawardena also follows the classical Marxist assumption of the universalizing tendency of capital. In her work *Nobodies to Somebodies*, she attempts to analyse the economic change in Sri Lanka under British colonialism as an unfolding of capitalism on the European model though it failed to reach its full maturity. She analyses that capitalist development under colonialism was part of the universal project which took a "homogenized" form. (Jayawardena, 2000: vii) Applying the problem to the assumption that the pre-colonial Sri Lankan over the centuries remained underdeveloped and static she concludes that under British colonialism, *there were perceivable changes in economic and social life, which were significant in comparison with the relative stagnation that had existed before*. (Jayawardena, 2000: v)

Further, she maintains that the British superimposed the European model of capitalist development on the Sri Lankan society through the introduction of plantation agriculture and the accompanying institutional changes. (Jayawardena, 2000: Introduction) S.B.D. de Silva also subscribes to this argument; *in the periphery capitalism was not a natural or organic growth but an implantation or superimposition of the pre-existing model*. (de Silva, 2000: 12) He accordingly, concludes that this process left the Sri Lankan society in an underdeveloped state which amounted to the incomplete development of capitalism. Kumari Jayawardena elaborates this point further; *Plantation agriculture, beginning with the cultivation of coffee in the 1830s, did not, as is commonly supposed, represent any deep-seated structural change putting*

an end to the economy's underdeveloped character, nor did it bring about a complete capitalist transformation. (Jayawardena, 2000: v)

S.B.D. de Silva's study, *The Political Economy of Underdevelopment*, is entirely intended to establish that the plantation system of production throughout the British Empire was a merchant capitalist process and its inevitable outcome was underdevelopment. Accordingly, he argues that the cause of underdevelopment in Sri Lanka was the expatriation of capital by the British and that the indigenous classes involved in plantation agriculture *were representatives of merchant capital, landlord capital and usurer capital*. (de Silva, 2000: 11) Accordingly, he argues that this *underdevelopment signifies a set of production relations which have become a barrier to the development of the productive forces* and that *the problems of underdevelopment are not the contradictions of capitalism arising from the accumulation process but the absence of accumulation- there was no class whose existence was bound up with the continued reproduction of capital*. (de Silva, 2000: 11-12)

Kumari Jayawardena categorizes this mode of production as *colonial-type capitalism* (Jayawardena, 2000: xiii) and explains, that the Sri Lankan society transformed into a merchant capitalist society and the emerging new class was a merchant capitalist class. *As in many colonies, the Sri Lankan bourgeoisie was the product of a specific colonial form of capitalist production*. (Jayawardena, 2000: vii) Her study deals with the *development of merchant capital and a plantation economy and the failure to move beyond this stage of capitalism*. (Jayawardena, 2000: vi) Further, the Sri Lankan bourgeoisie thus represented merchant rather than industrial capital. *And while merchant capital is the historic premise for the development of fully-fledged capitalist production, in the colonies, such as Sri Lanka, merchant capital remained transfixed in what .... was neither wholly feudal nor capitalist, ...* (Jayawardena, 2000: xi)

Thus, according to Marxist interpretations, capitalist development is a process that has universal applicability. The Sri Lankan situation in many ways belies this theoretical assumption. Economic changes under colonialism are as determined by specific historical conditions of the

respective society as by the initiatives taken by colonial rulers. The exact nature of the process as well as its outcome are also determined by the nature of the interaction of both indigenous and foreign social forces. Although the British introduced the financial institutions, basically the exchange bank system, there was no significant capital percolation to the level of Sri Lankan society. As a result, economic development was not dependent entirely on market forces, as it usually happens in typical capitalist societies. As in many other colonies, capital formation in Sri Lankan society was a multi-faceted process where it was essentially a combination of three investment patterns that determined the economic development process. These were; 1. the British joint-stock companies in the plantations and allied businesses; 2. the Indian community-based businesses in trade and proto-industries and 3. the indigenous family-based businesses covering a large area of the economy. (Gunarathne, 2011: chap.4)

European capital investment in Sri Lanka is strictly restricted to new areas, basically the plantation sector and export-import trade with Europe. Indian capital was on the other hand invested broadly in three areas; 1. bulky area of export-import trade, 2. as productive capital in proto-industries, and 3. as loan capital in indigenous enterprises. The Indians functioned as the principal source of credit for indigenous investments. Accordingly, the Indian capital played the role of dynamic capital in Sri Lanka. Therefore, the economy of Sri Lankan society during British colonial domination was not altogether a backward or underdeveloped state as argued by S.B.D. de Silva and Kumari Jayawardena. There was a development[4] process of its unfolding under the operation of the Indian capital. Besides, Sri Lankan economic development, contrary to the assumption of de Silva and Jayawardena was not entirely a merchant capitalist process. If British

[4] What is meant here is that a process of economic development and capital accumulation arising out of a combination of indigenous and regional capital. Sri Lankan 'capitalist' development and was therefore not entirely a superimposition by the British.

capital was a merchant form of capital which expatriated profits, the other sources of capital contributed to more sustained development.

Asian capitalist development or Asian mode of capitalist production was essentially a collaborative process between colonial capital and indigenous capital. Based on a wide trading network covering India and China there emerged a capital accumulation process and an investment pattern in Asia before the intervention of colonial powers. The cross-national capital was brought into this network by various indigenous mercantile communities. These cross-national capital operations under this network played a crucial role in the economic transformation of Asia under colonial intervention. In this process, the major role was played by Indian and Chinese business communities. Indian merchant and business communities in particular operated their business establishments interconnecting many colonial economies in Asia, eg. in Burma, Malaya, and Sri Lanka and extended up to African regions. Their capital constantly circulated within this network. (Ray, Jul. 1995: 454-458; Bose, 2006: 72-79.)

The nature of Indian involvement in the Sri Lankan economy, therefore, assumes vital importance in understanding the colonial capitalist development processes under British rule in the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century. It was not strictly a linear development of capitalist forces with British colonial initiatives but rather a collaborative process where a vital role was played by economically dynamic Indian communities who had a long history of economic activity from pre-colonial times. None of the works of the underdevelopment school recognizes the significant influence of centuries-old Indian Ocean trade and commerce and the role of the cross-national flow of capital especially based in India. European, Indian as well as indigenous investors played complementary roles in this complete process. Along with the European investors and the emerging local entrepreneurs, Indians ventured to assume vital roles in areas that were associated with new economic enterprises. In certain instances, these Indian groups were competitors but in certain others, they played mutually dependent or collaborative roles. Accordingly, the Indians were more dynamic actors interacting freely with

other groups. Besides, they managed to build up a good collaborative economic relationship with the metropolitan colonial bourgeoisie. In these diverse ways, the involvement of Indians was essential for the eventual capitalist development in Sri Lanka under colonialism. (Gunarathne, 2011: chap.4)

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