Cross-Cultural Understandings in the Language and Politics of Friendship[1]

COMPRÉHENSION TRANSCULTURELLE DANS LE LANGAGE ET LA POLITIQUE D'AMITIÉ

Heather Devere[2]

Abstract: *Friendship* is a frequently-used word but it is difficult to define it clearly. Friendship in its various configurations links people and communities together in some sort of reciprocally beneficial association that forms societies. Thus friendship is a concept that deserves attention. This paper examines some of the similarities and differences about understandings of friendship which both support and challenge traditional western perspectives. The article argues that an exploration of the experiences and interpretations of friendship outside the western philosophical tradition demonstrates a shared understanding about many aspects, but also some subtle differences which, while challenging some of the western concepts, can also be incorporated into developments of the idea of friendship.
Key words: friendship, western philosophical tradition, cross-cultural understandings, language of friendship, socio-linguistic approach

Résumé: L'amitié est un mot fréquemment utilisé mais il est difficile de le définir clairement. L'amitié lie, dans ses diverses formes, les peuples et les communautés à une sorte d'association réciproquement bénéfique qui forme la société. L'amitié est ainsi un concept qui mérite l'attention. Le présent article examine des similitudes et différences des compréhensions de ce mot, qui supporte et défie à la fois les perspectives occidentales traditionnelles. L'auteur argumente qu'une exploration des expériences et interprétations de l'amitié hors de la tradition philosophique occidentale montre une compréhension partagée sur beaucoup d'aspects, de plus, des différences subtiles qui, tout en défiant des concepts occidentaux, peuvent aussi être intégrées au développement de l'idée d'amitié.
Mots-clés: amitié, tradition philosophique occidentale, compréhension transculturelle, langage d'amitié, approche sociolinguistique

---

The axiom 'O my friend, there is no friend' attributed to Montaigne via Aristotle, has been used as a motif by the French philosopher, Jacques Derrida in his lectures and writings on friendship collected in his book *The Politics of Friendship* (1997). This citation of the citation of a quotation serves to indicate something of the complexities and contradictions inherent in the everyday term of friendship. The apparent ordinariness of the word friendship conceals ideas about, not only a multiplicity of personal relationships, but also pacts between states, cultural exchanges, business contacts, political alliances and legal communications. Friendship in its various configurations links people and communities together in some sort of reciprocally beneficial association that forms societies. Thus friendship is a concept that deserves attention and that has the capacity to improve relationships in an increasingly conflict-ridden world.

The vast literature which seeks to illuminate and define the concept of friendship is located predominantly in the western philosophical tradition. This article, while acknowledging the difficulty of accessing the values, beliefs and ways of thinking of different cultures, examines some of the similarities and differences about understandings of friendship which both support and challenge traditional western perspectives. Drawing on a variety of disciplines the paper uses literature and research from the humanities and the social sciences and findings from cross-cultural conversations on friendship in an attempt to make a link between the theoretical and the empirical. The article argues that an exploration of the experiences and interpretations of friendship outside the western philosophical tradition demonstrates a shared understanding about many aspects, but also some subtle differences which, while challenging some of the western concepts, can also be incorporated into developments of the idea of friendship.

THE WESTERN TRADITION OF FRIENDSHIP

In the western philosophical tradition, the study of friendship often refers back to the political writings of the Greeks and Romans. The leading philosophers including Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Seneca and Plutarch who wrote discourses or treatises on the role of friendship in the search for the good life. Most subsequent philosophical writers use the Greco-Roman models of friendship as the framework for ongoing debate about what constitutes friendship, and how important a place it holds in western society. In the medieval period, Christianity was evolving into a hierocratic religion which required a priesthood to act as mediator or counsellor between the divine and the mortal. The treatises of Plato, Aristotle and Cicero were reworked by such figures as St. Augustine, Aelred of

Rievaulx and St. Thomas Aquinas to incorporate a spiritual component into friendship, where the relationship between God and man was paramount and was a prerequisite for friendships between men. The influence of the ancients was also evident in other religious traditions such as Islam and Judaism. For example, the Muslim theologian, al-Ghazali built on the Aristotelian ideal of friendship and then overlaid it with the notions of the spiritual bond of Sufi brotherhood. Maimonides, the 12th century Jewish sage, reflected both Socratic and Aristotelian ideas when he advocated the importance of finding a friend.

After centuries during which philosophical concerns in the West centred round the concepts of individualism and liberty, there was a revival of interest in friendship at the end of the 20th century. Western scholars looked to the classical writers, reviewing on the way back the few philosophers in-between who had considered friendship worthy of attention. Modernists such as Bacon, Emerson and Montaigne had written in praise of friendship. Kant is less certain about the possibility of trust between friends, and Nietzsche, one of the forerunners to postmodernism, questioned or interrogated the concept and value of friendship.

At the beginning of the 21st century, there is an abundance of academic literature relating to the concept of friendship, not only from philosophers and historians of ideas. Anthropologists, whose focus has traditionally been kinship relations, have been moving to embrace the study of friendship. Economists and business studies researchers are examining the previously unacknowledged influence of friendship in corporate culture. International relations and foreign policy scholars are more explicitly looking at friendly relations between states. Peace and conflict studies academics include friendship as part of their analysis of conflict resolution possibilities. Psychologists and sociologists are undertaking empirical research which demonstrates the impact of friendship on individuals and society. Political scientists are questioning the role and ethics of intimate relationships in the realms of power.

LITERATURE ON FRIENDSHIP IN NON-WESTERN PHILOSOPHICAL TRADITIONS

There are a few attempts to give accounts of friendship from non-western philosophical traditions. Rouner (1994) and Leaman (1996) include in their edited collections essays on friendship within Indian, Chinese, Arabic and Jewish philosophies. Leaman claims that his book can be useful 'in proposing radically different ways of understanding or practising friendship, or it might indicate shortcomings or peculiarities in our way of thought which were obscure to us because familiar' and to help explain 'why friendship has been largely

ignored within post-Cartesian philosophy'.[3]

Parakh (1994) acknowledges that Indian thinking on friendship has been influenced by Islamic and western civilisations, but does not site his account of friendship within those traditions. Instead he uses two Indian epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, to explain the history of Indian thought on friendship, or what he sees as analogous to the western concept. He contrasts the orientation of Indian thinking to the anthropocentric and theocentric views of western thought, claiming that Indian philosophy is more cosmocentric. From this perspective, human beings have 'a duty of universal friendship and goodwill (*maitr*) towards the other orders of being.' Friendship contributes to the maintenance of non-violence by 'an absence of the wish to harm' (*vairatyaga* or *avaira*) other living beings. (99) Mahalingam (1996) claims that there are similarities between Indian and Aristotelian accounts of friendship. Both are value-orientated and not consequentialist, and both portray the difficulty of achieving a perfect friendship.

Hall and Ames (1994) explore Confucian friendship which they consider to be comparable to Platonic *eros* rather than *philia*. For Plato and Socrates, love was part of the search for the attainment of 'the Good'. In Confucian thought friendship is one of the five important relationships required for the path to Sagehood. Lai (1996) recounts the significance of friendship in Confucian thought and the strict and comprehensive rules which govern it. Lai suggests that neo-Taoist ideals have introduced an emotional component to friendship. Vogel (1965:59) argues that the traditional Chinese concept of friendship was undermined with the introduction of Communist rule in 1949 and was 'reconstituted as comradeship' which was a universal concept stressing friendliness and helpfulness between all citizens. He claims that 'as a moral ethic, comradeship is very similar to the moral ethic governing work relationships in the West'. The difficulty of interpreting complex philosophical ideas from other cultures, such as the Chinese concept of *yuan* which concerned with associations or relationships, is discussed by Chan and Holt (1991). Another Chinese concept which is used to describe connections between people is covered in Bell and Coleman (1999). Another 'liquid word' which can be used neutrally, positively or negatively, *guanxi* is 'the bond of social network in China.'[4] Yao (1996) comparing ideas of love in Confucianism and Christianity, contrasts the Chinese concept of *jen* with the Greek idea of *agape*. Hall and Ames (1994:82) claim that *jen* is conventionally translated as 'benevolence', 'humanity' and 'goodness'. But a *jen* person is loved by others, loves others and loves himself, according to Confucius.

Goodman (1996) examines the way in which Aristotle's notion of friendship was incorporated into the work of medieval Islamic and Jewish philosophers. According to Goodman, Miskawayh believed that friendship had an important social role, and detailed how Aristotelian ideas related to Islamic social ethics. Ghazili's interpretation of friendship was instrumental and he argued that the value of friends was to use them to discover your own faults. Leaman (1996) also analyses the views of Miskawayh and Maimonides on friendship and relates these to Aristotelian and Neoplatonic theories of human imperfectability.

There is little evidence from these accounts about friendship from non-western perspectives that this has lead, as Leaman suggested, to 'radically different ways of understanding or practising friendship'. On the other hand, the literature contributes to a growing awareness of the complexities of the concept of friendship, the importance it plays in all cultures, and the need to fill in the lacuna which exists in the academic record of friendship

RESEARCH ON FRIENDSHIP IN NON-WESTERN CULTURES

Attempts have been made by social scientists to research ideas and practices of friendship in non-western cultures. Anthropologists use ethnographic field work to examine particular 'exotic' peoples and regions. A strand of social inquiry, named alternately 'inter-cultural' communication in the American tradition, 'cross-cultural' communication in the British tradition, and 'cross-racial' communication in Australian usage, analyses differences between cultures and ways of researching non-western cultures. Socio-linguists interpret and translate different languages and attempt to give explanations about different cultures to an English-speaking world.

Bell and Coleman (1999) argue that anthropology has tended to be preoccupied with kinship ties for explaining social relations and that the consideration of the role of friendship is 'long overdue'. According to Guichard, Heady and Tadesse (2003) it is only in the past two decades that social anthropologists have rediscovered friendship as a field of study. Non-western cultures have been considered as less friendship-oriented because kinship is the main structural basis for these societies. Silver offers the explanation that friendship is an unaffordable 'luxury' and a product of modernity. (cited in Guichard et al: 7) Although there have been some accounts of friendship in non-western societies since the 1930s, these have concentrated on the ceremonial aspects such as bond-friendship or blood-brotherhood. For example, Srivastava (1960) using evidence from ethnographic studies of twelve Indian tribes between 1915 and 1958, examines patterns of ritual friendship. Jordan (1985)

---

[3] Pakaluk (1997) is very dismissive of this attempt and regards all but two of the contributions as superficial (p.27)
[4] Can Qin commenting on contribution on '*Quanxi* in Chinese societies' in Bell and Coleman (1999).

makes a study of Chinese ritual kinship in Taiwan and describes some of the rituals and responsibilities undertaken. According to Jordan, sworn brotherhood between close friends:

> stands on the border between friendship and kinship. It is closer than friendship, not so close as kinship, different from both and similar to both... (2)

Guichard (2003) drawing on her own fieldwork among the Fulbe societies of northern Cameroon and northern Benin and also on a critical examination of several ethnographic texts, argues that anthropologists have undervalued the role of friendship in the relationships between people who are also kin. She claims that there are certain aspects of friendship which can be universalised, such as the 'experience of mutual commitment arising from a sense of mutual empathy'. (Guichard et al: 11) Guichard (2003: 156) suggests that friendship and kinship need to be studied together and proposes a research project to fill the gap, 'field study with participant observation, informal conversations, guided and narrative interviews, individual sociograms and mobility diagrams'.

There are a number of studies which have carried out cross-cultural research on friendship. Most of these are based on a comparison of two cultures, rather than on friendship between cultures, and usually the comparison is between American or Canadian and 'an other' culture, ethnicity or race. Ting-Toomey and Korzenny (1991) bring together several cross-cultural studies on interpersonal communication, some of which focus on friendship. For example, Chan and Holt interviewed ten Taiwanese graduate students studying in the United States about their interpersonal relationships and argue that their research serves 'as a critique of western conceptions of communication and relationship, thus further enhancing understanding of communication.' (28) They claim that the Eastern perspective is less instrumental than that of western conceptions of interpersonal relationships.

Comparative studies of self-disclosure and reciprocity in American and South Korean university students have indicated that in cross sex-dyads Koreans demonstrated relative reticence when reciprocity of topical disclosures was considered. (Won-Doornink 1991: 127). However, in male-male dyads the 'generation and reciprocation of self-disclosure by the two national groups were virtually identical'. (116) A Canadian study on friendship satisfaction (Koh, Mendelson and Rhee, 2003) found similar levels of satisfaction in both Korean and Canadian university students. However, female Canadians both expected more from their friends and reported receiving higher levels of support from their closest friend, than did male Canadians or Koreans of both sexes. And Korean students expected friends to give in and use conflict resolution more often than did Canadian students.

Conflict in close friendships is explored by Collier (1991) who compares three ethnic groups in the United States: African, Mexican, and Anglo. Her findings are that there are norms 'unique to each group'. For example, Anglo males prefer directness and rational argument whereas Anglo females prefer 'situational flexibility'. African American males use clear argument and problem-solving, whereas the females prefer 'appropriate assertiveness and respect.' Mexican males prefer to talk over issues to achieve 'mutual understanding' and Mexican American females are described as preferring 'support for the relationship'. (132) Sex differences in friendship patterns were compared between India and the United States in another study of students by Berman and Murphy-Berman (1988). Results showed that there were differences between the sexes among the Americans in their responses concerning how much they loved their friend, how willing they were to disclose information, some activities and some of the functions of friendship. However, among Indians there were no sex differences in any of these issues. It was the American males who were more reluctant to self-disclosure, were more afraid of being perceived as homosexual and lacked close friendships. (62)

In inter-cultural relationship studies, similarities and differences are explored. Jackson and Colthran (2003) study of Blacks in the United States, compared the relationships among Africans, African Americans and African Caribbeans found that although African people have the same beginnings, there is 'a continued rivalry for economic and social advantages' among these groups. African Caribbeans or 'West Indians' viewed themselves as set apart from African-Americans, but this was also the group that expressed the most desire for friendship with the two other groups.(594) Geo's (1991) research on romantic relationships in China and the United States found that the mutuality of 'openness, involvement, shared nonverbal meanings and relationship assessment' were the four factors that consistently explained relationship stability in both China and the United States.(99) Friendship between Chinese and British students forms the basis for Goodwin and Lee's (1994) study which examines gender and cultural patterns in levels of taboo, and concludes that 'Chinese students recorded a greater level of taboo than their British counterparts.' (325) Gudykunst et al (1991) studied 30 Japanese and North Americans who were involved romantically or were friends or acquaintances. The male-female dyads were interviewed individually in their own language and gave accounts of their relationships. One of the findings was that all comments on the display of emotions came from the Japanese respondents.

It is difficult to come to any overall conclusions from this research. Most studies are tentative in their findings and recommend that further research needs to be undertaken. The anthropological studies into friendship are relatively recent and comment

specifically on how anthropology has focused on kinship which has resulted in a lack of recognition of the importance of friendship in the 'exotic' cultures researched. Cross-cultural comparisons are mostly conducted from a western Anglo-American perspective, and very often the research involves students, the Anglo-Americans being in their home country and the other students studying in an unfamiliar environment. Some studies include a gender component, but there is little related to class differences. There are differences found between different groups, but these are not consistent enough to say anything definite about any overall characteristics regarding friendship in any of the cultures examined.

THE LANGUAGE OF FRIENDSHIP

One of the main difficulties with cross-cultural research is the language barriers. Part of the study of linguistics is concerned with semantics and whether it is possible to have words with exact semantic equivalence in other languages. In the 17th century Leibniz advanced the idea of a universal 'alphabet of human thoughts' (Goddard and Wierzbicka 1994: 1) In the early 20th century, the French sociologist, Lucien Levy-Bruhl argued that there were fundamental differences between western and non-western thought (1928, cited in Goddard and Wierzbicka). Franz Boss in 1938 advanced the doctrine of the 'psychic unity of mankind'. (Goddard and Wierzbicka)

The socio-linguistic approach advocates examining the meaning of language or the semantics within the social context, taking into account the referential function of language. (Casson 1981) There have been other attempts by scholars such as Wierzbicka to develop a 'semantic metalanguage independent ... of any particular language or culture – and yet accessible and open to interpretation through any language.' (Goddard and Wierzbicka: 6) However, others believe that this approach needs to be more thoroughly tested. (see for example Massayuki Oniski, in Goddard and Wierzbicka: 382).

Noam Chomsky hypothesises that human beings are born with an innate knowledge of universal principles underlying the structure of human language. But he draws a distinction between linguistic competence and an individual's actual performance as a user of language. So although there is this basic understanding, words are 'so radically beyond anything that's ever been described.' (Chomsky 1993: 89.) Chomsky is well aware of the political implications of language and both the problems and the 'mysteries' that are inherent in any attempt to try to definitively associate language with specific meanings, and what responsibilities are involved (Chomsky 1979).

The acknowledgement of the political power of language is taken up by scholars such as Brown (1989:ix) who is searching for a 'discourse for emancipating society.' He argues that both the study of language and of the social sciences should take responsibility for contributing to a 'fully democratic civic discourse' for:

> Ideas alone, no matter how eloquently formed, cannot by themselves redirect the language and the mission of the social sciences towards politically enlightened ends.

Linguistics, and in particular semiotics, it is argued by some scholars, are essential tools for understanding society. According to Greimas (1990:vi), for example, semiotics can be thought of 'as a metalanguage of the human sciences.' The importance of an interchange between the disciplines is stressed by Nuyts and Pederson (1997: 7) who advocate that the study of the relationship between language and conceptualization needs to 'consider carefully some important recent advances from disciplines and methodologies other than their own.' The ideas from linguistics and semiotics contribute to an understanding of culture and identity, and in particular need to be considered when the research is focussed on cross-cultural perspectives about complex and contested concepts.

THE ETYMOLOGY OF FRIENDSHIP

The historical origins of words can also be used to make connections between the languages of different cultures. While there is on-going debate in linguistics about the genetic classification of world languages, there are some links which can be found. Examination of the words for friends and friendship links English with other Germanic languages, but also through Sanskrit to Indo-Asian languages. In turn, the influence of Arabic on all these languages can also be noted at various points. The link between English and the Latin languages makes another connection. The languages of Chinese, Korean and Japanese are associated through the use of characters, and the understandings about friendship are evident in visually and semantically similar characters. Differences in pronunciation mean that the familiar western aural association is missing. However, pronunciation and the sound of the language make a further link between Japanese and the Polynesian languages.

The etymology of the English word friend [5] is connected closely to German, Dutch, and the Scandinavian languages, with origins in Old English (*freond*) Old Frisian and Old Saxon (*friund, friond*), Old

---

[5] Several etymology sources were used for this. See full references in bibliography.

High German (*friunt*) and Gothic (*frijonds*). The German word for friend is '*freund*', in Dutch and Afrikaans it is '*vriend*'. The Norwegian '*venn*', Danish '*ven*' and Swedish '*van*', all meaning 'friend' are obviously related to each other, and in Norwegian are connected to the word '*venne*' meaning to accustom oneself to. The original Old English was from the word '*freogan*' meaning to love or favour, and there is also a connection to the word '*freo*' meaning free. According to Bammesberger (1984) the term beloved and friend were applied, as a rule, to the free members of the clan, distinguishing them from slaves. This came to be associated with the Quakers who called themselves the Society of Friends from 1679. Even though '*freond*' was often paired in Old English with the word '*feond*' meaning fiend or enemy, these two oppositional words, while sounding similar, are not directly related to each other in their etymology, fiend coming from the Gothic '*fijan*' meaning 'to hate'.

The English language has Indo-European roots. The word 'friend' comes through the European linkages. But there is an interesting etymological connection with the slang word for friend which is 'pal'. This has the same roots as brother, fraternal, fraternity and friar. They all derive from Indo-European roots, starting with '*bhrater*'. Going through German and Old English it metamorphoses into 'brother'. Via Latin (*frater*) and Middle English it becomes 'fraternal' and via French (*frere*) it becomes 'friar' which is the brother of a mendicant order. From the Indo-European origin via Sanskrit it becomes '*bhrater*' then passes through Romany to become '*pral*' meaning brother, comrade or mate, then to English, to become 'pal' (see Davies 1981).

While there is a link between some Indian languages and English by way of the Sanskrit roots common to both, many Indo-Asian languages are also subject to the influences of Hinduism, Pali and Persian. The usual Indian word for friendship '*mitrah*' has an etymology from Sanskrit, Old Persian and Indo-Iranian languages. Mitra is the Hindu god of friendship and alliances, usually invoked together with Varuna as the upholder of order, punisher of falsehood, supporter of heaven and earth, and bringer of rain. *Mithra* also means contract and represents the god of contract.[6] This is similar to the words used in Sri Lanka for male friend '*mithura*' and female friend '*mithurya*'.[7] The language of the Maldivians is Dhivahi and resembles several other neighbourhood languages of Sri Lanka, South East Asia and North India. The language also uses some Arabic, Hindi and English words. Historically, people of the Maldives spoke 'Elu', a form of ancient Singhalese. The script of Dhivehi, known as '*Thaana*' is drawn from Arabic numerals. The word for very close friendship in Dhivehi is '*rahamiytheri*', reflecting its Indo-Asian origin.[8] The Arab words for male or female friend

'*sadiq*' and '*sadiqti*' are integral to the concept of truth, while the words for companion '*rafiki*' and '*rafikti*' relate to the general word for someone who accompanies you '*morrafik*'. The word for bodyguard, for example, is '*morrafikeen*'.[9]

In the Latin languages such as Italian, French, Spanish and Portuguese the words for friends range from personal friends to acquaintances, lovers, clients, countries. The Latin word *amicus* describes not only a personal friend, but also a lover, a courtier, a client or a disciple and *amicitia* or friendship can be used for close bonds between two people, as well as just an association. It is also used to describe friendships between states or rulers and even an 'affinity or accord between plants and inanimate things or qualities.' In Italian *amico* or *amica* can mean friend or lover, beloved or mistress.[10] The French *amitie* is less inclined to the erotic, and gives a more general sense of goodwill, defined not only as friendship but favour, kindness, salutations, greetings, regards. Spanish friendship or *amistad* can be between people and countries and is similar to the Portuguese *amizade*.

In Chinese[11], Korean[12], and Japanese[13] there is a common Buddhist influence, and although some of the characters associated with friendship are similar, the verbalisation is distinctive. For both Chinese and Korean the characters used for friendship are the same, although the characters are pronounced differently in each spoken language. The first character (friend) is made up of two other characters meaning the left hand and the right hand, with the idea being that a friend is someone in the middle, someone you cannot do without, because you need both your right and your left hand. The left hand is the 'friend' of the right, both similar, yet different, but knowing how to cooperate to achieve a certain goal. The second character (ship) has several parts which variously mean 'word', 'mouth', 'communication', 'roof and floor', and the large space in-between the roof and the floor. The connotations include the idea that there is good space or opportunity for friendship which is likely to occur between those people who share similar goals or beliefs, and are able to cooperate and communicate with each other. Japanese, like Korean, uses Chinese characters (kanji), but combines this with phonetic Japanese script (katakana and hiragana). In Japanese, the same character is pronounced in different ways, according to the context. The phonetics of Japanese is similar to other languages in the Pacific, with consonant and vowel following each other, and words ending in a vowel. However, there is no obvious connection with words related to friendship.

One of the difficulties with tracing the etymology of the Polynesian languages is that the culture is oral rather

---

[6] Indian friendship with Baljit Grewal.
[7] Sri Lankan friendship with Thushan Dodampegamage.
[8] Maldivian friendship with Ali Rasheed.

[9] Iraqi friendship with Rose Joudi
[10] Italian friendship with Mirella Soratroi
[11] Chinese friendship with Can Qin
[12] Korean friendship with Joo-Seok Lee.
[13] Japanese friendship with Yvonne Pakenham.

than written. However, present usage of languages of the Pacific, such as Maori[14], Samoan[15] and Hawaiian demonstrate shared linguistic characteristics, and phonetic similarity. One of the Hawaiian words for friend is *hoaloha*, in Maori it is *hoa*, and in Samoan, *uo*. *Aloha* (in Maori and Hawaiian) or *alofa* (in Samoa) are used as greetings and also means love. In Maori the type of friend is indicated by an additional word such as *hoa mahi* meaning colleague (*mahi* = job or activity); *hoa tane* meaning husband (*tane* = man, male, manful, husband), *hoa wahine* meaning wife or mistress (*wahine* = woman, female or wife). In Samoa the word *soa* which is derived from the word for friend has a special meaning and role associated with it. It is used for partner, or best friend (with a special role in courtship), and also signifies the second canoe in a fleet.

CROSS-CULTURAL UNDERSTANDINGS OF FRIENDSHIP

To enhance the understandings of friendship in different cultures, this study uses information from a research project based on group conversations conducted in English between university colleagues from a number of different countries, cultures, ethnic and language backgrounds. The discussions which were tape-recorded, focused on explaining concepts and practices related to friendship based on their own background and research.[16] Four areas were identified where the terminology of friendship is commonly used in a political context and where interpretations, usages and connotations from different cultural perspectives highlight unexplored differences or similarities in understanding. These areas are friendship in international treaties, friendship with political opponent or enemy, the political connotations of friendship and brotherhood and the politics of gift-giving.

FRIENDSHIP TREATIES

In the Anglo-American tradition, political alliances between nations or peace treaties are often referred to as 'friendship' treaties. Nations who are allies are often referred to rhetorically as 'friends'. The Samoans also associate the concept of peaceful agreements between different nations with the idea of friendship. Samoan uses a word which refers to friendship between two parties or two friends, *'faiganuo'* to describe treaties between two nations. For example *faiganuo* is used to refer to the international agreement between New Zealand and Samoa, or the ancient peace treaty between Samoa and Tonga, an agreement formed about 100-200

years before the arrival of the Europeans in AD 1722. The Japanese also use the analogy of friendship to describe relationships between countries, based on amicability and a sense of good will. *Yuukoo jooyaku* literally translated means friendship treaty. *Yuukoo* is one of the Japanese words for friendship, amity and companionship, and *jooyaku* is the common word for treaty. In Arabic, friendship would be used to describe treaties between an Islamic country and a non-Islamic country, such as a pact between Iraq and Russia. However, the term for brother, '*shaqeek*' which implies blood-relationship, would refer to the relationship between, for example, Iraq and Egypt. Mohammed's reference to Islamic countries as 'the Arab Nation' indicates that there are no philosophical borders between them. The different countries are 'brothers or sisters in Islam'.[17]

However, the use of the concept of friendship to refer to political alliances between countries is unfamiliar in several languages. While India signed what was popularly known as a 'Friendship Treaty' with the Soviet Union in 1971, just before the Bangladesh War, this friendship terminology was not commonly used for alliances as, for example, between India and Pakistan. In the Caribbean, treaties tend to be verbal agreements, such as the agreement made between the Prime Minister of Trinidad, and the President of Venuzuela about returning Trinidadian fishermen entering Venuzuelan waters. These sorts of pacts would not be referred to using the term 'friendship'.[18] Similarly, the use of friendship to describe alliances or peace treaties is not familiar terminology in Korean, Dhivehi, Italian or German. Human relationships, other than friendship, are used in some languages to refer to partnerships or alliances between cities or towns. For example, in German, the metaphor is of 'sister cities', while in Italian the concept of 'twinning' is used. A partnership between an Italian town or city with one of similar size in other countries is described as '*gemellaggio*' or twinning, from the word *gemello/a* meaning 'twin'.

The history of the use of 'friendship' terminology to describe international relations between countries needs further exploration, especially in the light of the conversation revealing that a treaty between Samoa and Tonga agreed to pre-European contact, uses the language of friendship. There also needs to be caution about the Anglo-American assumption that 'friendship' is universally understood as a relevant term with the appropriate connotations for describing peace treaties, pacts or alliances between nations.

---

[14] Maori friendship with Dr. Rob Webb.
[15] Samoan friendship with Laumau Tunufai.
[16] For more details on the methodology, refer to Devere et al, (2005)

[17] Iraqi friendship with Rose Joudi.
[18] Caribbean friendship with Dr. Camille Nakhid.

FRIEND AS POLITICAL OPPONENT OR ENEMY

The Greco-Roman tradition separated very clearly the friend from the enemy, while Christians were admonished to 'love your enemy'. The Anglo-American usage has separate words from different roots to describe relationships which are oppositional. Words such as enemy, foe, adversary, opposition, indicate someone who is other than a friend. When the word 'friend' is employed to describe a political or legal opponent, as in the court rhetoric of the term 'my learned friend', it is usually expressed in a sarcastic tone in order to emphasise that this is inappropriate term for one's opponent. The Italian and German terms for parliamentary opposition are also distinctly adversarial, with no connotation of friendship or partnership. In Arabic there is a saying that before you put your friend in front of you, put your enemy close to you, in other words, watch out for your enemy first. The term for the Iraqi political opposition *'moaaratha seyaseya'* incorporates a sense both of opposing or rejecting.

The assumption that 'friend' must necessarily contain its opposite 'enemy', that one cannot understand friendship without understanding enmity, does not, however, apply to all languages. In some cultures, the concept of 'friend' is incorporated within the oppositional terminology. The common term in Maori for 'friend', *hoa,* can also mean spouse or partner. Then words are added to clarify the type of friend. *Hoa mahi* means colleague (*mahi* meaning job or activity), *hoa taakaro* means playmate (from the term for to play, wrestle, sport, game, engage in single combat). *Hoa whawhai* is a sparring partner (from *whawhai* meaning fight, conflict, to cause to chase). Other terms for a similar concept are *hoa riri*, and *hoa ngangure (riri* is to be angry, quarrel, fight, scold, warlike, weapon; and *ngangi* is a cry of distress, to make a noise). The meaning of *hoariri* changes depending on the context in which it is used, and how it is pronounced. *Hoariri* was the tradition term for political opposition, sometimes in the context of a battle of minds or ideals. However, the more common term now is the transliteration of the English word – *apitihana*.[19]

In Samoan, the parliamentary opposition is named *'itu agai'* which is a term associated with friendship. The word *agai* conveys the sense of a friend who is seated opposite or facing one in order to have a discussion. Rather than having connotations of being adversarial, it incorporates values of politeness and respect. It can be used to describe eating together, facing the guest who is having a meal, so that the guest will not feel uncomfortable eating by her/himself. It has strong friendship connotations. The concept of *agai* is also used in the context of the Samoan village councils where the meeting house is set up so that the high chiefs (*ali'i*) and oratoring chiefs (*tulafale*) face each other and matters are discussed in order to reach a consensus. Samoan meetings never hold a vote, and participants are not regarded as opposing each other, but as collaborating in order to reach an agreed decision. The Samoan Parliament runs according to the British system but the use of '*agai*', in preference to opposition, tries to incorporate the Samoan political tradition which emphasises cooperation and respect. The literal word for opposition, *tete'e*, is not used in the parliamentary context.

The idea of parliamentary opposition in India, like English, does not incorporate the idea of friendship, but there is the sense of two parties working together with a common goal. The language and culture describe the parliament as comprising two sides in a tournament, not so much emphasising the other as opponent, but rather as participant in a similar venture or game. Words which connote opposition start with *prati*. A tournament is '*pratiyogita'*. Opposing parties are '*pratidhandwi*', implying different points of view.

The Japanese word for 'opposition' in parliament implies the group on the outskirts. The characters used entail a visual and spatial concept of the land surrounding the village. *Yato* is the opposition and *yoto* is the ruling party. The symbolism behind the characters describes their relationship. *Ya* means the moor or the wild and ample space surrounding the village. *To* stands for faction or party and *yo* is the concept of being involved. This has a similar sense to the ruling party as insiders, and the opposition as being on the outside, or in the wilderness.

The potential for locating friendship within people who are opposing, rejecting or harming you is found particularly in the Polynesian languages where, contained within the term, is the word for friendship. This reflects the collectivist nature of these cultures, and the restorative justice framework of traditional Maori culture.[20] It also indicates that there is a practice as well as a logical possibility of conceiving of friendship as existing alongside, rather than as the antithesis of, enmity. While friendship is not evident in the terminology for political opposition in most other languages, there is more of a sense of insider and outsider status, as in Japan, or competition between different sides, as in India and most western nations.

FRIENDSHIP, COMRADESHIP, KINSHIP AND GENDER

There are political implications about the various complex linkages between friendship and kinship,

---

[19] My thanks to Jason King at Te Ara Poutama, AUT, for clarifying some of these words.

[20] See for example, Robert Webb [GET REFERENCE FROM ROB]

particularly in terms of the privileging of the male gender. There are also connections between the language of friendship and political associations or memberships. The word comrade, meaning a close companion, an intimate associate or friend, or room-mate, is derived from the Latin *camera* meaning room. Socialist or communist circles adopted this as a term of address or a prefix to a name. Political friends or colleagues on the left were also referred to as part of a brotherhood, and sometime sisterhood. This also ties in with the naming of relationships within, and membership of, the Christian churches as well as the Muslim religion and the Arab nation.

The ritual and naming of 'sworn brotherhood' arises in both Chinese and Japanese. In Japanese, the term which describes a very close friendship uses a character which represents both older and younger brother, as well as the symbol for vowing or swearing. A ritual is involved to mark the friendship out as something significant, binding and durable. The idea of sworn brotherhood is also a familiar one in Iraq, and just as in Chinese and Japanese, the comparable concept of sworn sisterhood is much less common. In the Iraqi context, Muslims formally refer to each other as 'brother or sister in Islam' using the words '*akh*' for brother and '*akht*' for sister. In a more political context the other words for brother, '*shaqeek*', or sister, '*shaqeeka*', are used, as for example to refer to another Islamic nation, depending on whether the name of the country is male or female.

In Sri Lanka there is a rich association between the terms for kinship, in particular brotherhood and sisterhood, and the terms for friend, both as denoting left-wing relationships as well as Christian adherence. The common word for friend as in 'mate' is *machang* which comes from an old Singhalese term *massina* meaning brother-in-law. This indicates a very close relationship, but not a blood relative. The Singhalese-derived words for older brother and sister, or younger brother and sister, are also used to describe friendships, with connotations of different degrees of status, respect or reliability. The term used for the political left in Sri Lanka is *sahodharaya*, and is the same word used by the fundamentalist churches as in the English sense of 'brother' or 'sister' in Christ. In addition, *sahodharaya* also refers to priests, and this again carries the same signification as terms for leaders of certain Christian denominations – 'brother' or 'friar' which are associated etymologically.

In Italy, the word used for 'comrade' by the communists, *compagno/compagna* is then adopted, particularly by the political left, to refer to couples living together without marrying. These words carry the connotation of more liberal, non-bourgeois, egalitarian relationships. The German understanding of *kamradschaft* or comradeship, is in the sense of solidarity, bonding, reliability and sympathy with a cause, and usually has a military association connected to comrades fighting for the same side. The German use

has no necessary connection with the communist left.

The Korean expression for comrade is *dong-mu*, meaning literally equal obligation. Although this word was used in a similar sense to companion before the rise of communism, now in South Korea, *dong-mu* has lost its sense of generic companionship because it has such strong associations with the communism in North Korea. The Japanese communist party is called *kyoo santo*, literally meaning 'equal party', and has no association with any ideas related to the concept of friendship.

The colloquial idea of 'mateship' is also used in most cultures to refer explicitly to male friendships, often where the languages do not have gendered nouns for friends. The Japanese term '*aibo*' for male friend is partly represented by a character which stands for a bat or a club, recognizable as such by both Japanese and Chinese speakers. The second part of the character comprises a tree and an eye, and carries the meaning of mutual perspective or aspect and is commonly translated as 'mate'.

The basic word in Samoan for friend, *uo* is close to the Maori and Hawaiian words. A derived word, *soa*, means a partner, someone who goes alongside you, performing a special task. In some meanings, it is not gender specific, so can be used to describe a husband or wife. However, *soa* is also a very old chiefly term used to describe a strategic function in terms of courtship. The male friend or *soa* of a man who wishes to marry, accompanies the suitor to the house of the father of the woman he wishes to marry. The role of the *soa* is to speak on behalf of the suitor. The *soa* therefore needs to be skilled in the ceremonial language of respect, and needs familiarity with honorific address, particularly if the woman is of high standing, as every chief has a different honorific title. The *soa* also usually becomes the groom's best man, and so follows him through the whole marriage process. In addition, the term *soa* is also used for male friends pursuing leisure activities together, such as going fishing together. Although it is unclear whether the derivation is the same, there are naval/nautical connections with both the English term 'mate' and the Samoan term '*soa*'. The second canoe of the fleet in Samoa is called the *soa-touo*, the partner to the main canoe. A 'mate' in English can refer to a ship's officer, being under the captain or master, the second-in-command in the navy.

The subtleties of language use around friendship and gender can be illustrated with the New Zealand example. The term 'mate' is particularly common in New Zealand and Australia for referring to male friends. There is an irony that the word for heterosexual breeding or marrying – mating - is been the same word used in these masculine-oriented cultures to emphasise that the friendships between the males are non-sexual. Increasingly, too, the term 'mate' is being used by young women to refer to their male friends with whom they are not having a sexual relationship. It is rarely used by females or males to refer to female friends.

Another term, very often used by Pasifika and Maori males is 'bro' – short for brother, but without necessary connotations of family or kinship. Drawn from African-American slang, this is one of the many aspects of Black culture adopted by young men in New Zealand. Another slang use associated with kinship is the term 'coz' (from cousin) and sometimes 'cozzie-bro'.

Increasingly, young New Zealand women (and not-so-young women) are following the American habit of calling their female friends their 'girlfriends', rather than just friends. However, if used by a male, the term 'girlfriend' describes a significant relationship, often sexual. The term does not indicate the age of the woman, even though a diminutive term is used. New Zealand males are reluctant to use the word 'friend' to describe their relationship with another male, particularly when introducing a male friend, unless they wish to indicate a gay relationship, in which case they may well use the term 'boyfriend'. 'Boyfriend' is most commonly used by young women to describe their 'significant other' male friend. Non-married (and sometimes even married) couples who are living together are more commonly referring to each other as 'my partner'.

The difficulty of separating friendship from kinship is evident in the numerous ways in which the concepts of brotherhood in particular, and less often sisterhood, are used to describe, not only close intimate personal relationships, but also partisan political adherence, membership of religious groups, and military colleagues. The male version of the sibling relationship is used much more commonly than the female. The various terms for 'mate' in many cultures, are almost exclusively used to indicate male friendships, often based on shared activities. There is no obvious female equivalent. In some Anglo-American usage where the word for friend is ungendered, as in the New Zealand context, the diminutive words for male and female are added to indicate not only the gender of the friends, but also the exclusiveness or intimacy of the relationship. The generic word for friend or companion - 'comrade' and its equivalence in a number of languages - is now very much associated with the communist left, although not exclusively so.

THE POLITICS OF GIFT-GIVING – RECIPROCITY AND HOSPITALITY

The western custom of gift-giving has traditionally been an exchange between friends and family, to celebrate special occasions and extend hospitality. In addition to being tokens of friendship, gifts and hospitality can be used to obligate reciprocity or buy a favour, or to demonstrate wealth and success. Gift-giving in political and business contexts is often considered in the western context to be a challenge to the impartial ethos of fair trading or objective political decision-making.

The Maori concept of *koha* is a gift-giving custom which signifies wealth and generosity. Maori society is communal and reciprocity is highly valued. In the Samoan tradition, hospitality and giving of food is also an important part of the culture. One of the activities associated with courtship ritual described above incorporating the role of the *soa*, is the presenting of gifts or *taonga*, such as cooked chicken and a fish wrapped in coconut leaves, or now increasingly money, by the *soa*, on behalf of his friend. The duty of gift-giving or *fa'alavelave*, which began as being gifts of the land, such as woven mats and food was possible to fulfil with produce which was plentiful. With social pressure to give money to family occasions, such as funerals, weddings, births, anniversaries, as well as evidence of exploitation of the custom by some of the chiefs and church leaders, the Samoan government has recently passed a law limiting the amount to be given.

A similar escalation of gift-giving has occurred in Japan. The purpose of gift-giving is to 'keep the wheels of friendship oiled'. It has become a very formal, twice-yearly event, an essential part of maintaining business relationships. It is both instrumental and symbolic, and the value of the gift indicates the importance of the relationship. Likewise, during the Diwali festival in India, exchange of gifts between friends which was traditionally sweets, has been extended to expensive material gifts to gain favours in business contexts. But gift-giving and hospitality is also used to demonstrate friendly intent. Gifts have been exchanged between the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India to demonstrate a friendly intention to address the conflict over Kashmir. *Ifthaar*, or the break of the fast of Ramadan, is used as an opportunity to invite political opponents to attempt reconciliation.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The research from a variety of disciplines and incorporating a variety of cultural perspectives demonstrates much similarity in basic understandings about the concept of friendship. There are common understandings between cultures that friendship is associated with a voluntary, personal, important reciprocal relationship between individuals. This relationship involves affection, caring, understanding, support, loyalty and companionship. There is agreement between cultures that friendship plays an important social role, carrying with it certain reciprocal obligations and duties. There are aspects of friendship which are instrumental, and friends can help with self-perfection. On the other hand, friendship is also concerned with genuine emotions and feelings. Some aspect of equality is essential for friendship because of the mutual empathy which is part of friendship, but equality does not necessarily mean sameness. There are distinctions made in cultures between different emotional relationship involving love and affection,

although the dividing lines do not always fall in the same place.

In most cultures there is an overlap between kinship and friendship, and metaphors for friendship are often taken from family relationship terminology. While 'sister' and 'cousin' are sometimes used, the most common relation used to signify friendship is the brother. In the western tradition this is can be traced back to Aristotle who argues that 'the friendship of brothers and that of companions are similar' because they are close in age and have the same parents.[21] Aristotle does not refer to sisters, and believes that the most equal, valuable and virtuous friendships are between men. Although women were part of the early Christian movement, most writings have been by males, and Christian theological discourse has evolved using the terminology of brotherhood rather than sisterhood to describe close connections between fellow Christians. The medieval monks, such as Aelred de Rievaulx, wrote of the spiritual friendship in communities of friars between 'brothers' in Christ. For Montaigne (1580) while it falls short of mirroring accurately the special friendship which he wishes to describe, brotherhood or fraternity most closely resembled friendship. Derrida (1997) describes this privileging of the male relationship as the 'fraternisation' of friendship and also of democracy, because the female or the 'sister' is often made invisible by the discourse of 'brotherhood', and the female is never used to stand for the generic friend, comrade or citizen. In fact, as a term in English, 'the sisterhood' has assumed negative connotations associated with radical feminism and is more often than not used in a derisory way to refer to a group of women. However, it is not only the western philosophical tradition which prioritises the male.

There are distinctions made in most cultures to indicate the gender of the friends. Some languages, such as Arabic, Korean, Italian, German, and Singhalese, have gendered nouns to indicate the sex of the various parties to a friendship. Other languages, as for example Maori, add an adjectival noun for clarification of gender, while languages such as Japanese, English, Samoan and Indian use words for 'friend' which do not specify the sex or gender of the people involved. However, in the discourse of ritual friendship, for example in India, Japan, China and Iraq, it is brotherhood which takes priority over sisterhood. There are few terms used for female friendships, and many more for describing male friendships. In many of the cultures, including Maori, Samoan, Japanese, English and Singalese, there is the equivalent of the colloquial term 'mate' to describe close male friendship, but no female equivalent. This 'mateship' represents an often unexpressed understanding, primarily between males, of a support network of companions who share activities and take responsibility for one another. There is some sense that it is a tougher and more appropriate

terminology for males than any generic term which could include females.

Aristotle used the concept of civic friendship to describe the association between citizens of a political community in Ancient Greece. Friendship in the Roman sense was used by writers such as Cicero to refer to political patronage as well as personal friendship. Similarly, friendship concepts are used by several cultures to describe political relationships. So for example, 'comrade' and its equivalents, has been used to describe political associates in countries affected by communism, such as Korea, Sri Lanka and Italy, to the extent that the association is almost exclusively with the political left, and in many cases has lost any immediate reference to a type of friendship or companionship. Even in Italy where it is used to describe a live-in couple relationship, it carries with it a left-wing emphasis. In Germany, though, comradeship has military rather than communist connotations.

The adversarial political tradition of many western countries is evident in the lack of friendship terminology for political opponents. The political opposition, particularly in the Westminister model, is both literally and figuratively confrontational. However, less confrontational language is used to describe competing political factions or parties in several cultures. For example, in Samoan and Maori culture, words for political opposition incorporate the term for friendship, implying that the political interaction is more a discussion, consensual process, associated with guest friendship. Other languages such as Japanese and Indian also incorporate less oppositional language to describe parties in or out of government.

Similarly, the western idea of friend being the complete antithesis of enemy is not reflected in some of these cultures. All words which stand for enemy in Maori, for example, incorporate the root word of 'hoa' meaning friend. This implies that for Maori culture enemies are always either potential friends, or temporarily enemies and this challenges claims in the western philosophical debate which claim that friendship can only be properly understood by reference to it opposite, enmity.

Another use of friendship which was not commonly shared was to describe alliances between nation states of countries. The term 'friendship treaty' is often used for peace treaties, alliances promising cooperation between countries or trade agreements. So there was the 1992 'Friendship and Cooperation Treaty' between Czechoslovakia and Germany, the 'Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Partnership' signed between the Russian President Boris Yeltsin, and the Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma in 1999. However, the idea that a personal, individual relationship is similar to a contractual arrangement between two countries is an anomalous concept in some languages and cultures. There is the feeling that the concept of friendship is degraded if it is associated with politics or used to

---

[21] Aristotle, The Nichomachen Ethics, Book VIII, (46)

describe relationships which are obviously not the same as intimate, personal friendship.

The activity of exchanging gifts between friends is common to all cultures, even though there are different traditions about the occasions, the sorts of gifts and way in which these rituals are conducted. Gift-giving is extended in most cultures to non-friendship relationships such as political, business and religious situations. There is a general acknowledgement that these rituals can be corrupted and within many cultures there are concerns about the increasing pressure to give more expensive gifts, or big amount of money which is an exploitation of the poor and a misuse of power by leading figures in the culture.

Friendship is commonly understood, despite differences in culture and language, as a close relationship based on feelings of love and affection. There may be some overlap with kinship, but friendship is distinguishable from kinship. Although it is connected to love and intimacy, there are also understandings that there is a difference between friendship and erotic or romantic love. The concept of friendship plays an important role in all societies.

Every culture identifies different types of friendship, whether this is dependent on the quality, the gender of the friends, the quality of the friendship itself, the exclusiveness of the relationship, or the specific role of friendship. The historical, religious and political influences on the languages leads to subtle differences and nuances which impact on the terminology, rituals, customs, activities, and values associated with friendship. Yet, despite these differences, the general concept of friendship as a valuable, reciprocal, close relationship appears to be universally understood. What is needed for someone to fulfil the role of a particular sort of friend is more open to interpretations and possible disagreement.

'O my friends, there are many friends'.

REFERENCES

Abbey, R. (2000) Circles, Ladders and Stars: Nietzsche on Friendship, in: Devere and King (Eds). *The Challenge to Friendship in Modernity.* London: Frank Cass. pp.50-73.

American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language 4th edn. (2000).
www.bartley.com/61/14/mo351450.html.

Bammesberger, A. (1984) *English Etymology*, Heidelberg, C. Winter.

Bell, S. and Simon, C. (eds.) (1999) *The Anthropology of Friendship.* Oxford/New York: Berg.

Berman, J. J. and Murphy-Berman, V. (1988) Sex Differences in friendship patterns in India and in the United States. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology.* 9:1, pp.61-71.

Bloom, A. (1993) *Love and Friendship.* New York: Simon and Schuster, New York.

Bournois, F. and Chevalier, F. (1998) Doing research with foreign colleagues: a project-life cycle approach. *Journal of Managerial Psychology.* 13:3/4, p.206ff.

Boyer, E. L. (1990) *Scholarship Reconsidered.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Brenner, M. (1985) Intensive Interviewing in Michael Brenner, Jennifer Brown and David Canter (eds.) *The Research Interview: Uses and Approaches.* London: Academic Press.

Brett, J. (2000) Competition and collegiality. In T. Coady (ed.) *Why Universities Matter.* Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

Brown, R. H. (1989) *Social Science as Civic Discourse: Essays on the Invention, Legitimation and Uses of Social Theory.* Chicago and London:University of Chicago Press.

Cargile, A. C. (1998) Messages and Modes of Friendship: Verbal descriptions by Native Japanese. *The Harvard Journal of Communications.* 9:347-370.

Cassell's Dutch Dictionary (1993), (London:Cassell)

Casson, R. W. (1981) *Language, Culture and Cognition: Anthropological Perspectives.* New York: Macmillan.

Chan, H. and Holt, G. R. (1991) The concept of *yuan* and Chinese interpersonal relationships. In Stella Ting-Toomey and Felipe Korzenny (eds.) *Cross-Cultural Interpersonal Communication.* Newbury Park/London/New Delhi: Sage Publications, pp.28-57.

Charmaz, K. (2000) Grounded Theory: objectivist and constructivist methods in Norman K. Denzin and Yvonne S. Lincoln (eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research. (2nd edn.)* London: Sage Publications. pp.509-535.

Chomsky, N. (1985) *Knowledge of Language: Its Nature, Origin and Use.* New York: Praeger.

Chomsky, N. (1979) *Language and Responsibility*, (Based on conversations with Mitson Ronat) Sussex: Harvester Press.

Chomsky, N. (1993) *Language and Thought*. Wakefield, Rhode Island and London: Moyer Bell.

Chomsky, N. (1976) *Reflections on Language.* London: Temple Smith.

Collins English and Portuguese Dictionary, (2001) Glasgow: Harper

Collier, M. J. (1991) Conflict Competence within African, Mexican and Anglo American Friendships. In Stella Ting-Toomey and Felipe Korzenny (eds.) *Cross-Cultural Interpersonal Communication,* Newbury Park/London/New Delhi: Sage Publications. pp. 132-154.

Cupcik, G. (2001) Constructivist Realism: An ontology that emcompasses positivist and constructivist approaches to the social sciences. *Forum Qualitative Social Research.* 2:1, February. Available at http://qualitative-research.net/fqs-eng.htm. Date of access: July 2, 2004.

Danish Dictionary, (1991) (London and New York: Routledge)

Davies, P.(1981) *Roots: Family Histories of Familiar Words.* New York: McGraw-Hill Books.

Denscombe, M. (2003) *Good research guide: for small-scale social research projects.* Open University Press.

Derrida, J. (1997) *Politics of Friendship.* Translated by George Collins. London and New York: Verso.

Devere, H.(2000) 'A Review of the Greco-Roman Literature on Eros and Philia' in King and Devere (eds.) *The Challenge to Friendship in Modernity*, London: Frank Cass.pp. 149-187.

Devere, H. (2004) Ethics of Friendship and Ethics of Care: A Comparison' paper presented at the Politics of Friendship 2nd Symposium, Menzies Centre, Kings College, London.

Devere, H. (2005) Friendship in Maryanne Cline Horowitz (ed.) *Vol 2 of New Dictionary of the History of Ideas*. Detroit: Charles Scribners Sons.

Devere, H. (2003) Love and Friendship in Antiquity: Searching for the Women' paper presented at The Politics of Friendship: Gender and Nation in Australia, Britain and the Empire, Menzies Centre, Kings College, London.

Devere, H., Thushan D., Duerr E., Grewal, B., Joudi, R., Lee, L., Nakhid, C., Pakenham, Can Qin, Ali Rasheed, Mirella Soratroi, Laumua Tunufai, Robert Webb, Y. (2005) Cross-Cultural Conversations on Friendship: Collaboration, Collegiality and Comradeship in Diversity, Paper presented at the 33rd Joint Sessions of Workshops of the European Consortium for Political Research: Workshop No.15 'The Politics of Friendship: Bridging the Gap between Theoretical and Empirical Studies, Granada, April.

Dey, I. (1999) *Grounding grounded theory: guidelines for qualitative enquiry.* San Diego: Academic Press.

*Dictionary of the Maori Language 7th edn. (*1971) Wellington: GP Publication, Williams.

English-Swedish Dictionary (1997) New York: Hippocrene Books.

Gareis, E. (1995) *Intercultural Friendship: A qualitative study.* Lantham: University Press of America.

Geo, G. (1991) Stability of romantic relationships in China and the United States. In Stella Ting-Toomey and Felipe Korzenny (eds.) *Cross-Cultural Interpersonal Communication.* Newbury Park/London/New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Glaser, B. G. (2002) Constructivist Grounded Theory? *Forum Qualitative Social Researching.*Sept.,www.qualitative-research.net/fqs-texte/3-02/3-02glaser-e.htm.

Glaser, B. and Anselm S. (1967) *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research.* Chicago: Aldine Publishing.

Glesne, C. (1998) *Becoming Qualitative Researchers: An Introduction (2nd edn.)* New York: Longman.

Glassick, C.E., Huber, M.T., and Maeroff, G.I. (1997) *Scholarship Assessed: Evaluation of the Professoriate.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Goddard, C. and Wierzbicka, A. (eds.) (1994) *Semantic and Lexical Universals: Theory and Empirical Findings.* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamin Publishing Co.

Goodman, L. E. (1996) Friendship in Aristotle, Miskawayh and al-Ghazali. In Oliver Leaman (ed.) *Friendship East and West: Philosophical Perspectives.* Richmond: Curzon Press.

Goodwin, R. and Lee, I. (1994) Taboo topics among Chinese and English friends: A cross-cultural comparison. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology.* 25(3): 325.

Grand Dictionnaire Larousse (1993) Paris: Larousse.

 Grauman, C. F. (1992). Speaking and understanding from viewpoints: Studies in Perspectivity in Gun R. Semin and Klaus Fielder (eds.) *Language, Interaction and Social Cognition.* London: Sage Publications.

Greimas, A. J. (1990) *The Social Sciences: A Semiotics View.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Groot Woordeboek, Afrikaans English 14th edn. (1997) Cape Town: Pharos.

Guba, E. G. and Lincoln, Y. S. (2001) *Guideline and Checklist for Constuctivist A.K.A. Fourth Generation Evaluation.* http://www.wmich.edu/evalctr/checklists/constructivisteval.htm.

Gudykunst, W. B., Gao, G., Sudweeks, S., Ting-Toomey, S., Nishida, T. (1991) Themes in Opposite Sex, Japanese-North American Relationships. In Stella Ting-Toomey and Felipe Korzenny (eds.) *Cross-Cultural Interpersonal Communication.* Newbury Park/London/New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Guichard, M. (2003) Friendship and Kinship on the difference and relevance of two systems of social relationship: The case of the Fulbe societies of northern Cameroon and northern Benin. In *Max Plank Institute for Social Anthropology Report 2002-2003,* Halle/Sale: Max Plank Institute.

Guichard, M., Heady, P., and Tadesse, W. G. (2003) Friendship. In *Max Plank Institute for Social Anthropology Report 2002-2003.*Halle/Sale: Max Plank Institute.

Haiwaiian Dictionary, (1986) (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press)

Hall, D. L. and Ames, R. T. (1994) Confucian Friendship: The Road to Religiousness. In Leroy S. Rouner (ed.) *The Changing Face of Friendship.* Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press.

http://www.thefreedictionary.com/lexicon.

Hippocrene Concise Finnish Dictionary (1990) New York: Hippocrene.

Holstein, J. A. and Gubrium, J. F. (eds) (2003) *Inside Interviewing: New Lenses, New Concerns.* London: Sage Publications.

Jackson, J. V. and Colthran, M. E. (2003) Black versus Black: The relationship among African, African American, and African Caribbean persons. *Journal of Black Studies.* 33(5): 576-605.

Janis, I. L. (1972) Victims of Groupthink: A psychological study of foreign policy decisions and fiascos. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Jordan, D. K. (1985) Sworn Brothers: A Study in Chinese Ritual Kinship in Jih-Chang Hsieh and Ying-Chang Chuang (eds.) *The Chinese Family and its Ritual Behavior* Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinnica (Monographic Series B, No.15) pp.232-262, 303-304 and 310-316. Corrected internet edn. 2003 http://weber.ucsd.edu/-djordan/scriptorium/jyebay.html.

King, P. and Devere, H. (eds.) (2000) The Challenge to Friendship in Modernity, London: Frank Cass.

Koh, Y., Mendelson, M. J. and Rhee, U. (2003). Friendship satisfaction in Korean and Canadian university students. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science.* October, 35(4): 239-254.

Lai, W. (1996) Friendship in Confucian China: Classical and late Ming. In Leaman, Oliver (ed.) (1996) *Friendship East and West: Philosophical Perspectives.* Richmond: Curzon Press.

Laslett, B. and Rapoport, R. (1975) Collaborative interviewing and interactive research. *Journal of Marriage and the Family.* 37:968-977.

Lather, P.(1988) Feminist Perspectives on Empowering Research Methodologies. *Women's Studies International Forum.* 11(6): 569-581.

Leaman, O. (ed.) (1996) *Friendship East and West: Philosophical Perspectives.* Richmond: Curzon Press.

Leaman, O. (1996) Secular friendship and religious devotion. In Oliver Leaman (ed.) *Friendship East and West: Philosophical Perspectives.* Richmond: Curzon Press.

Leung, A. K. (1983) L'amour en Chine, relations et pratiques socials aux XIIIe et XIVe siecles. *Arch. Sc. Soc.des Rel.,* 56(1): 59-76.

Levine, S. and Vasi, R. (1985) *Maori Political Perspectives: He Whakaro Maori Mo Nga Ti Kanga Kawanatanga.* Auckland: Hutchinson.

Little, S., Vile, C., Devere, H., McDermott, K., Myers, B. and Verbitsky, J. (2002) Publications Syndicates Supporting Research Development in *Innovation and Links: Research Management and Development* Auckland, Auckland University of Technology, www.aut.ac.nz/conferences/innovation/papers./slml.

Macalpine's Complete Gaelic Dictionary (1955), Glasgow: Macalpine.

Mahalingam, I. (1996) Friendship in Indian Philosophy. In Leaman, Oliver (ed.) *Friendship East and West: Philosophical Perspectives.* Richmond: Curzon Press.

Mead, M. (1966) Different lands, different friendships in *Redbook,* 127(4): 38, 40.

Nakhid, C. (2003) Comparing Pasifika students' perceptions of their schooling with the perceptions of non-Pasifika teachers using the 'mediated dialogue' as a research methodology. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies,* 38(2): 207-226.

Norwegian Dictionary, (1990) Routledge: London and New York.

Nuyts, J. and Pederson, E. (eds.) (1997) *Language and Conceptualization,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Online Etymology Dictionary www.etymonline.com/f54etym.htm.

Oxford Latin Dictionary (1982) Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Oxford Spanish Dictionary (2001) Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pakaluk, M. (1997) Book review of *Friendship East and West: Philosophical Perspectives* edited by Oliver Leaman. *The Times Literary Supplement.* March 21, 4903, p.27.

Pakaluk, Michael (ed.) (1991) *Other Selves: Philosophers on Friendship.* (Indianapolis: Hackett).

Parakh, Bhikhu (1994). An Indian View of Friendship. In Leroy S. Rouner (ed.) *The Changing Face of Friendship.* Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press.

Practical English-Indonesian Dictionary (1993) Jakarta: Modern English Press.

Raymond, J.(1986) *A Passion for Friends: Toward a Philosophy of Female Affection.* Boston: Beacon Press).

Rees, D. A. (ed.) (1951) *Aristotle: The Nicomachean Ethics: A Commentary by the Late H.H. Joachim,* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Ryen, A. (2003) Cross-Cultural Interviewing in James A. Holstein and Jaber F. Gubrium (eds) *Inside Interviewing: New Lenses, New Concerns.* London: Sage Publications.

Sadler, D.R. (1998) Publication Syndicates. In L. Conrad and O. Zuber-Skerritt. *Developing as Researchers (2nd edn.)* Brisbane: Griffith University Press.

Samoan Dictionary (1993) Auckland: Polynesian Press.

Srivastava, S.K. (1960) Patterns of Ritual Friendship in Tribal India. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology.* Vol.1, 239-247.

Standard Serbo Croatian English Dictionary, (1998) Morton Benson: Cambridge University Press.

Strauss, A.and Corbin, J. (1990) *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques.* Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

The Complete English Maori Dictionary (1981) Bruce Biggs (ed.) Auckland: Auckland University Press.

The New International Webster's Italian and English Dictionary (1997) Trident Press.

The Oxford English Dictionary 2nd edn. (1989) Vol.VI, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

The Reed Dictionary of Modern Maori (1995) Auckland: Reed.

Ting-Toomey, S. and Korzenny, F. (1991) *Cross-Cultural interpersonal communication.* Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

Vogel, E. F. (1965) From Friendship to Comradeship: The Change in personal relations in Communist China. *China Quarterly.* 21: 46-60.

Wierzbicka, A. (1991) *Cross-Cultural Pragmatics; The Semantics of Human Interaction.* Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter.

Won-Doornink, M. J. (1991) Self-Disclosure and Reciprocity in South Korean and U.S. Male Dyads. In Stella Ting-Toomey and Felipe Korzenny *Cross-Cultural Interpersonal Communication.* Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

Yao, X. (1996) *Confucianism and Christianity: a comparative study of Jen and Agape.* Brighton, Sussex: Academic Press.

You, H. S.and Malley-Morrison, K. (2000). Young Adult Attachment Styles and Intimate Relationships with Close Friends: A cross-cultural Study of Koreans and Caucasian Americans. *Journal of Cross-cultural psychology.* 31(1): 528-534.

THE AUTHOR

Dr. Heather Devere, Senior Lecturer, School of Social Sciences, Auckland University of Technology, New Zealand.

E-mail: heather.devere@aut.ac.nz