The expressions of comparative and similative in Oceanic and non-Oceanic languages: A typological study

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Abstract: This study attempts to clarify the functional characteristics of comparative and similative expressions. This cross-linguistic study takes ten languages as a sample and, we focus on formal and semantic differences in Oceanic languages by contrasting them with others. We conclude that the functional differences observed in these expressions from the ten languages can be explained in terms of areal tendency and typological features.

Key words: comparative, similative, function, typology, Oceanic

1. Introduction

When we evaluate a person or a thing, we can use another person or thing as a standard. For example, when we express how tall John is, we can evaluate John's tallness using another person's height as a standard, e.g., Bill.

(1) English

　　John is taller than Bill.

Example (1) is called a comparative construction. Likewise, there is a similative construction, as in example (2).

(2) English

　　John runs like a rabbit.

Example (2) is called a similative construction, and this expression describes how John runs. In this case, John cannot be a rabbit, but his manner of running is exemplified by the way a rabbit runs. Similative construction is a kind of evaluation using another person or thing as a standard.

This study examines comparative and similative constructions cross-linguistically, focusing particularly on the standard marker of each construction. In examples (1) and (2), the standard markers are *than* in the comparative (1), and *like* in the similative (2). English uses different markers for the comparative and the similative, and both markers are functioning as particles in English grammar. Some languages have the same standard marker for the comparative and the similative, while others have different standard markers for each of them. This study attempts to describe their characteristics, and explain why they are different. The sample languages used in this study are listed below.

(3) Sample languages of this study

Finno-Ugric:	Hungarian
Indo-European:	English
Australia:	Yidiny, Dyirbal
Papua New Guinea:	Amele, Hua, Yimas, Tok Pisin
Austronesian:	Merej
Other (East Asia):	Japanese

The sampling is my subjective choice of ten languages from Europe, Asia, Australia, and Papua New Guinea. This sampling is insufficient to arrive at conclusions on any universal tendency, but is enough for the exploration of characteristics of the languages in Australia and Oceania including Papua New Guinea, and Austronesia.

The remaining part of this study is organized as follows. Section 2 provides a theoretical introduction to comparative and similative constructions, based on Stassen (1985, 2005). Section 3 summarizes typological data and we contrast the results. Section 4 is a discussion, and we attempt to provide semantic and functional explanations of the constructions. Finally, in Section 5, we summarize the observation and the discussion.

2. Preliminary study and theoretical foundations

This section will illustrate the preliminary studies of comparative and similative constructions. For example, there is a construction using a particle *mint* in Hungarian. This conjunction (*mint*) is used to express both comparative and similative meanings.

(4) Hungarian (Nose 2004: 39-41)

a. Péter   magas-abb,   MINT   János. (Particle: mint)
   Peter   tall-COMP   than   Janos
   "Peter is taller than Janos."

b. úgy   össze-nőtt,   MINT   a magyar-ok   szem-é-ben
   in that way   together-united STM   theHungarian-PL   eye-its-LOC
   a halászlé   a túrós   csuszá-val[1].
   the fish soup   the cottage   cheese pasta-with
   "They (bean soup and crepe) are (such a combination) like fish soup and cheese pasta in Hungarians' eyes."

In Hungarian, the fact that the same particle *mint* is used for comparative and similative constructions indicates that it can express a comparative and a similative standard, and Hungarian grammar assumes there is no functional difference between comparison and similarity. Other languages make a distinction between them (e.g., comparative *than* and similative *like* in English), but we cannot obtain a significant observation of the comparative and the similative from only the Hungarian example.

First, we refer to Stassen's studies of comparatives (Stassen 1985, 2005). Stassen (1985) conducted a typological study of comparison and later updated his data, and created a geographical mapping in The World Atlas of Language Structures (WALS) (Haspelmath *et al*. eds., 2005). Second, Haspelmath and Buchholz (1998) examined equative and similative constructions among European languages and tried to find typical functional tendencies among European languages. Haspelmath and Buchholz (1998) focussed on the differences among equative, similative, and role marker, while we have chosen comparative and similative markers in this study.

When we analyze such comparative and similative expressions, we can use the following parameters in (5) (cf. Haspelmath & Buchholz 1998, Heine 1997, and Stassen 1985). Moreover in (6) and (7), examples of equative and comparative are shown in English and Japanese. Using the model in (5), we especially try to describe the relationships between comparee (CMP), standard marker (STM), and standard (STAN) in the sample languages. Each language has different characteristics and functional motivations in comparative and similative expressions.

(5) Parameters of comparative construction:

1	CMP	comparee
2	PAM	parameter marker
3	PARA	parameter
4	STM	standard marker
5	STAN	standard

(6) English equative:

My sister is	as	pretty	as	you.
1	2	3	4	5

(7) Japanese comparative:

Watashi-no	imouto-wa	anata	yori	kawaii.
I-of	sister-TOP	you	than	pretty
1		5	4	3

2.1. Comparative constructions by Stassen

In Stassen's typological study of comparative constructions (1985, 2005), he examined STM of the comparative constructions and classified them into four types: locational, exceed, conjoined, and particle comparatives.

a. Locational comparatives

(8) Hungarian

Péter	János-nál	magas-abb. (Locational: adessive "by")
Peter	Janos-LOC (adessive)	tall-COMP

"Peter is taller than Janos."

Locational comparative indicates that STM is in the locative case or preposition of locations. There are three comparative bases: [from], [to], and [at]. For instance, the Hungarian comparative in (8) is locational, and the locative case (adessive) is used as STM. In this case, adessive means "by" or "at" and the semantic base is regarded as [at].

b. Exceed comparatives

(9) Nguna (Stassen 1985: 165, Nose 2007b)

Namauriana	e	parua	liu	navinaga.
life	it	great	exceed	food

"Life is more than food: man does not live on bread alone."

Exceed comparative does not have a comparative marker (parameter marker); instead the transitive verb meaning "exceed, surpass" is used as STM. Using the verb "exceed", the construction expresses a comparative meaning. Example (10) is the comparative in Nguna.

c. Conjoined comparatives

(10) Amele (Roberts 1987: 135, Stassen 2005)

jo	i	ben	jo	eu	nag.
house	this	big	house	that	small

"This house is bigger than that house."

Stassen (2005) explains conjoined comparative, which "consists of two structurally independent clauses, one of which contains the comparee NP, while the other contains the standard NP. Furthermore, the two clauses show a structural parallelism, in that the grammatical function of the comparee NP in one of the clauses is duplicated by the grammatical function of the standard NP in the other clause." When we want to describe the comparative "He is older than I," the conjoined comparative is expressed as in "He is an adult, I am young." In (10), Amele in Papua New Guinea has a conjoined comparative.

d. Particle comparatives

(11) Hungarian (particle: *mint*)

Péter	magas-abb,	mint	János.
Peter	tall-COMP	STM (than)	Janos

"Peter is taller than Janos."

Particle comparatives are observed in English and other Indo-European languages. Hungarian and other Finno-Ugric (Finnish) also have a particle as STM. In example (11), Hungarian has *mint* as STM.

e. No comparative

(12) Dyirbal (Dixon 1972: 226)

maya/	ɖigalbaɽa	balan	bigaybila.
No	good-COMP	there-NOM-ii	handle-with

"No, it [kerosene tin] is better [than a bark bag] since it has a handle."

Stassen (1985, 2005) did not point out any language without comparative constructions. Dixon (1972) reported that there is no grammatical means of expressing the comparative in Dyirbal, as in (12). There is certainly a comparee in one sentence, but it lacks a standard. Thus, we cannot evaluate comparee by comparing it with a standard. In (12), however, the Dyirbal sentence indicates a comparative relationship using discourse. This study considers this type has no comparative[2].

Finally, Stassen (2005) summarized the cross-linguistic data for comparative constructions. His results are visualized in the world map through WALS software, as in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Comparative constructions
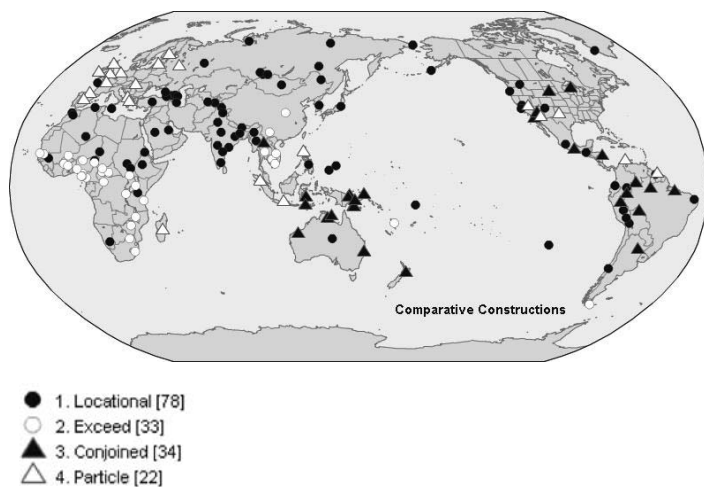
Stassen (2005: 490-493) examined 156 languages and classified them into the four types mentioned above: locational, exceed, conjoined, and particle. Geographically, locational is observed worldwide, especially in Eurasia, India, and North Africa. Exceed comparatives are observed in Sino-Tibetan (Mandarin), and South Asia (Thai and Vietnamese). In Papua New Guinea, Australia, and North / South America, conjoined forms are scattered. Finally, particle comparatives are observed in Europe. Indo-European languages like English and

German have particle comparatives, but the most frequent comparatives in the world are locational[3].

2.2. Types of similative constructions

Haspelmath and Buchholz (1998) conducted a study of adverbial constructions in European languages, and focussed particularly on equative and similative constructions. They explained that "similative constructions are usually simple phrases, consisting of a similative marker ('like') and a standard, which function as manner adverbials" (1998: 313). When Haspelmath and Buchholz (1998) examined STM markers, several forms were observed. This study classifies the forms into three types: particle, like-form, and essive case marker.

a. Particle

(13) Spanish

Ella	habla español	como	una española.
she	speak Spanish	STM(like)	one Spanish

"She speaks Spanish like a Spaniard."

Particle similative is observed in some languages. In Spanish (13), particle *como is* STM. The form *como* is a relative pronoun meaning "how." This particle similative has become a grammaticalized element and no longer has a "how" meaning, but is functioning as STM.

b. *Like*-form: adjective-based *like*

(14) English

"He writes like his sister."

(15) Japanese

Sore-wa	tori	no-youni	sora-wo	tobu.
it-TOP	bird	STM (manner)	sky-ACC	fly

"It flies in the sky like a bird."

In (14), the similative construction in English is different from that in Spanish (13). The preposition-like form like is used in English. This like form is an adjective-based STM, but it still includes some lexical meaning. In Japanese (15), the STM form *youni* is postposition-like. This *youni* form obviously includes a manner meaning.

There are some languages that have less grammaticalized STM forms, and obviously

including "like, similar" meanings. Such forms are preposition-like (English, Tok Pisin, and Merej), postposition-like (Amele, Yimas, and Japanese), and suffix (Yidiny and Dyirbal).

c. Essive figurative in Hungarian

(16) Hungarian (Rounds 2001: 116)

a.	Úgy dolgozik,	mint	rabszolga.
	thus work-he	STM (like)	slave
b.	Rabszolga-ként	dolgozik	
	slave-ESS	work-he	

"He works like a slave."

This type of special adverbial "case" is found only in Hungarian. As pointed out, there are two comparative constructions in Hungarian: particle and locational comparatives (Nose 2007a). There are also two similative constructions. One is using particle *mint* in (16a), and the other is using essive case suffix *-ként*. Particle similative is widely used, and essive case usage is restricted, but Hungarian is unique in having two similative forms. According to Nose (2006), there are some languages that have case form with "like," such as the essive case in Hungarian: "like"—case in Awa Pit, similarity case in Epena Pedee, and similative case in Nunggubuyuu.

Finally, Haspelmath and Buchholz (1998: 317) classified the similative constructions to the following types in (17).

(17) Types of similative markers in Europe
a. STM prepositional, based on relative pronoun "how"
b. STM postpositional, not based on "how"
c. STM prepositional, not based on "how"

Almost all Indo-European and Finno-Ugric languages are included in (17a), and (17b) type concerns languages in Turkey and the Caucasus area. The remaining Maltese, Welsh, Irish, and Breton languages are included in (17c).

3. Method and sample languages

The purpose of this study is to contrast comparative and similative constructions cross-linguistically. Thus, this study attempts to find common or specific functional motivations among the constructions. In particular, we examine STM. Although contrasting ten

languages is rather a small typology and not enough to observe a universal tendency, the characteristics of the ten languages are diverse, and this study attempts to include all four types of comparative constructions (locational, exceed, conjoined, and particle). As a result, we can make several significant observations about the comparative and similative constructions.

Among the parameters in (5) above, we focus particularly on STM. STM is directly related to the object of comparison (or similarity), STAN. This study describes the relationship between STM and STAN. In fact, there are differences in STM among the languages, and between the comparative and similative.

For the purpose of cross-linguistic study, we carefully chose the sample languages; including no case-marking (English and Merej), rich case system (Hungarian and Japanese), and languages in Australia and Papua New Guinea, and moreover one creole (Tok Pisin). The latter belongs to Oceania area, and this study contrasts Oceanic with non-Oceanic languages.

4. Results, functional classifications, and discussion

In this section, some examples of the comparative and similative constructions are assembled. In this study, we examined the comparative and similative constructions of the sample languages using reference grammars and interviews conducted with native speakers.

Europe:

(18) Hungarian

  a. Péter   magas-abb,   mint   János. (Particle: mint)

      Peter   tall-COMP   STM (than)   Janos

      "Peter is taller than Janos."

  b. Úgy dolgozik,   mint   rabszolga.

      thus work-he   STM (like)   slave

      "He works like a slave."

(19) English

      a. John is taller than Bill.

      b. John runs like a rabbit.

Hungarian is Finno-Ugric, and the form *mint* is observed in both the comparative and

similative[4]. English is Indo-European, and there is no formal or semantic relationship between the comparative and the similative.

Australia:
(20) Yidiny (Dixon 1977: 241, 244)

        a. post-inflectional affix: -waḍan

        ŋayu ŋalal / yiŋu bagil ŋalalwaḍan.

        "I'm big but this other [man] is bigger [than me]."

        b. post-inflectional affix: -ŋuɽi

        yiŋu wagu:ḍa ɲinaŋ/ bu ɲaŋuri

        "This man sitting [here] is like a woman."

(21) Dyirbal (Dixon 1972: 225, 226)

a.	maya/	ḍigalbaɽa	balan	bigaybila.
	No	good-COMP	there-NOM-ii	handle-with

        "No, it [kerosene tin] is better [than a bark bag] since it has a handle."

b.	bayi	yaɽa	gugula-ŋaru	mulmaɲu.
	the	man	platypus-STM	dive

        "The man dives like a platypus."

The languages (Yidiny and Dyirbal) in Australia use inflectional affixes to express comparative and similative meanings. Dixon (1972) claimed that Dyirbal does not have a formal comparative, and a comparative meaning is given by introducing discourse, as in (21a).

Papua New Guinea:
(22) Amele (north-eastern PNG) (Roberts 1987: 134–135, 137)

a.	jo	i	ben	jo	eu	nag. (Conjoined)
	house	this	big	house	that	small

        "This house is bigger than that house."

b.	Uqa	cecela.	Ija	qa	wol-du-gi-na. (Exceed: *woldoc* "to surpass")
	he	tall	I	but	surpass-PRES

        "He is tall but I am taller than him."

    c.   Uqa   wa   gubal   cinig   we   cesawe-na.

            he   water   turtle   seem   like   divide-PRES

            "He swims like a turtle."

(23) Hua (Eastern Highlands, Haiman 1980: 171, 172, 283)

    a.   d-kaso-na   za'xafi-e.

            me-exceed-he   tall-finite

            "He is taller than I."

    b.   kma   ademo hi-ka   ktafu-ka   Hua ke hane.

            Siane woman speak   you are like - and you   Hua you speak

            "You speak Hua like the Siane woman."

(24) Yimas (Sepik area: Foley 1991: 296–297, 444)

    a.   arm   tark   kantk-rm   ima-na-tin.

            water   coldness   with-water   water-become

            "The water is getting cold." (colder than?)

    b.   mal-k-n   nampayn   ma-na-pay-n.

            die-IRR   like   you-lie

            "You are sleeping like a corpse."

(25) Tok Pisin

    a.   Lio em i   longpela long   Neret.

            Lio he is   tall   STM (than)   Neret

            "Lio is taller than Neret."

    b.   Mi   save   waswas   olsem   pis.

            I   can   wash   STM (like)   fish

            "I wash myself like a fish."

In Papua New Guinea, there are many typologically divergent languages and this study focuses on the four languages: Amele (lowland) and Hua (highland), Yimas (Sepik area) and Tok Pisin (creole). Amele and Hua use the exceed type of comparative. Amele and Yimas use postpositions with similative meaning. However, Amele has another option for the comparative: conjoined. Hua does not have a postposition for similative meaning, but uses the verb to indicate similative meaning. It is noteworthy that there is no comparative in Yimas. Tok Pisin, a creole language, has acquired formal means (using prepositions) for

comparative and similative constructions, possibly borrowed from English.

Austronesian:

(26) Merej (Vanatu: Chung 2005: 36, 52)

a.	I	nie Ø ta		barap	nui	iadu	tese	vunvun.
	Article	he he-REA		tall	than	Article	man	everyone
	"He is taller than all men."							
b.	Ia natu	i	Pita	ta	aliali	balein	i	Pita (ta aliali).
	the son	of	Peter	R	walk	like	article	Peter (R walk)
	"Peter's son walks like Peter walks."							

Merej is an Austronesian language spoken in Vanuatu. The comparative in Merej is of the exceed type, and the similative uses the verb balein.

East Asia:

(27) Japanese

a.	Taro-wa	Hanako-yori	sega takai.
	Taro-TOP	Hanako-LOC	tall
	"Taro is taller than Hanako."		
b.	Taro-ga	tori-noyouni	tonda.
	Taro-NOM	bird-STM (manner)	flew
	"Taro flew like a bird."		

Finally, in Japanese, the locational comparative is used as observed in Eurasia, and the similative consists of the manner adverb *youni* (meaning "manner"). The results are summarized in Table 1. Types of adposition (preposition, postposition, or none) and word order are added in the table.

Table 1: Comparative, similative, and other forms of the ten sample languages

	Comparative STM	Similative STM	Adposition	Word order
Hungarian Finno-Ugric	*mint*, loc	*mint* (particle) essive	Postposition	No dominant
English Indo-European	*than* (conj)	*like* (like)	Preposition	SVO
Japanese Others	*yori* (loc)	*you-ni* (like)	Postposition	SOV
Dyirbal Australia	no STM discourse-based	*-ŋaru* "is like a" noun suffix	No adposition	No dominant
Yidiny Australia	Conjoined (A is big and B is not)	*-ŋuri*: Post-inflectional suffix	No adposition	SOV
Amele PNG	Conjoined/Exceed *woldoc* (surpass)	postp: *we* (like)	Postposition	SOV
Yimas PNG	no STM inchoative (no adjective?)	*nampayn* (like) postp	Postposition	No dominant
Hua PNG	Exceed verb: *kaso*	verb: *ka ktafu* (like)	Postposition	SOV
Merei Austronesian	Exceed verb: *nui*	verb: *balein* (just like)	Preposition	SVO
Tok Pisin Creole, PNG	*long* (multi-functional)	*olsem* (like)	Preposition	SVO

In Dyirbal, Yidiny, and Yimas, there is no comparative construction. Instead, they use discourse effect and can express a relative comparison for things or people. Indo-European languages have comparative constructions, and apparently lead us to assume that every language has comparative means. Yidiny and Yimas, however, do not have them, and therefore, we need to reconsider the functions in the grammar of the comparative. Next, Hungarian and Amele have two kinds of comparative usages. Hungarian has particle and locational means, and Amele has conjoined and exceed comparatives. It is not surprising that one language has two kinds of comparatives, but it is natural that they are functionally different and one construction is more frequent than another. Moreover, it is noteworthy that every language has a similative construction, and it may be universal that languages have the means of expressing the similarity in things or people. Overall, types of adposition

and word order do not appear to have a significant relationship with the comparative and the similative.

4.1. Discussion

The comparative and similative constructions are grammatical means of describing the relationship between a comparee and a standard by comparing the two. When we make comparative and similative sentences, we need at least two participants: CMP and STAN, as in (5)–(7). Thus, we can evaluate CMP by comparing it with STAN. The comparative constructions express CMP's characteristics (taller, more beautiful) and manner (more slowly, more beautifully). The similative constructions can express not only CMP's characteristics but also CMP's actions (She sings a song like a bird.).

Here we will discuss two points. First, the comparative and similative constructions are related to each other in semantic terms. In fact, we discuss in which points both constructions are similar from a functional viewpoint. Second, we have found that there are some languages in the Oceania area lacking the comparative. Such languages, however, have similative expressions, and we explore functional motivation (s) of this lack, specifically in Oceania.

In Table 1, there are formal differences in similative constructions, and these are particle, like-form, and adverbial forms (suffix, preposition, postposition, using verb).

Particle similatives are observed in Hungarian and English. Like-form indicates that a similative marker has the form-meaning manner adjective, like. This is observed in English, as well as in Hua, Merej, and Japanese. The adverbial forms also have like or "similar" nuances, and they are adverbial suffix, or adpositions (preposition, or postposition, and some verbs)[5].

There are four types of comparative constructions: particle, locational, exceed, and conjoined. On the other hand, there are three types of similative constructions: particle, like-form, and like-based suffix or adpositions. It is possible to classify the combinations in to four categories in terms of area and types. Particle type is characteristic in Europe, and conjoined / no comparative and suffix / postposition type in Australia and Papua New Guinea. The third one is lexical type consisting of exceed comparative and like-similative. Eurasia and Tok Pisin are the fourth type, with locational comparative and like-similative.

When we consider semantic relationships between comparative and similative constructions, there are three kinds of semantic combinations: identical, similar functions, and unrelated.

First, the identical type indicates that the same forms are used for comparative and

similative. Hungarian uses the same particle mint for comparative and similative. Next, the similar functional type means that the language uses some lexical or lexicon-based forms for comparative and similative constructions. They do not always share a similar meaning, but both functions are similar. For example, English uses the comparative standard marker than in the comparative construction and the similative marker like in the similative construction, and the STMs are not the same, but their functions are both "particle." In Merej, the comparative uses the exceed verb *nui*, and the similative uses the verb "just like." Finally, the third one is not related to the others. There is no semantic relationship between the comparative and the similative. Dyirbal and Yimas do not have grammatically observable comparative constructions. They can express the comparison by giving some discourse situations. On the other hand, both languages have similative constructions. Dyirbal has the suffix -*naru*, and Yimas has the similative postposition nampayn. The comparative and similative forms in both languages do not show any similarity or any semantic relationship. Such an "unrelated" tendency is observed in the Oceania area.

Overall, it is noteworthy that not all languages have a comparative construction, but every language may have a similative construction. Functionally speaking, we do not need a comparative construction if we do not compare a comparee and a standard. In fact, there are some languages (Dyirbal and Yimas) in Oceania that do not have the comparative form. The similative constructions, on the other hand, have two possibilities: using particle or lexical *like*-based means. Every language has a form for expressing similative relationships. It is assumed that languages have a strong motivation for expressing the similarity between two things. As a result, it is considered that the similative is more widely used than the comparative. Perhaps, comparing one thing with another is one of the basic skills of human beings, and describing comparative relationships is more complicated than describing the similarity[6]. In particular, in the Oceania area, the comparative and similative construction are unrelated to each other and are differently grammaticalized. Their relationships and functional motivations are totally different from those of non-Oceanic, Indo-European, Finno-Ugric, and Japanese languages. These differences between Oceanic and non-Oceanic languages cannot be typology-based differences. It is rather assumed to be a geographical feature or a different grammaticalization process.

5. Summary
This paper has examined comparative and similative forms by focusing on Oceanic languages. This contrastive study has argued that there are different formal distributions, different semantic groups, and different syntactic relationships in the comparative and

similative expressions among the ten sample languages. In Oceanic languages, there are some peculiar functional characteristics in the relationships between the comparative and similative. They are totally different from those of other non-Oceanic languages.

Such differences are not only based on typological features but also are considered as a geographical tendency, and common cognitive phenomena in the area. This study has attempted to clarify the functional relationships among these, showing that the comparative is divergent, and the similative is essential.

Notes

*   This work is supported by a grant-in-aid for young scientists (start-up) from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS); project no. 20820033 (Rara observed in case systems and adverbial constructions, and limits of grammar). The following abbreviations are used: ACC: accusative; CMP: comparee; COMP: comparative form, or comparative element; ESS: essive; IRR: irrealis; LOC: locative; NOM: nominative; PRES: present tense; REA: realis, STAN: standard; STM: standard marker; TOP: topic marker. My special thanks are due to an anonymous referee for reading the manuscript and making a number of helpful suggestions. However, fuller discussion will be presented in the next opportunity.

1. Major Árvácska. (1998) *Suomi Temészetesen*. Kaposvár: Lokki-Sirály könyvek. p. 184.

2. Dixon (1972: 227) examined the grammar of Dyirbal, Australia, and finally pointed out that Dyirbal does not have STM, and he cannot mention the object of comparison. He continued "it is, however, quite clear what the object of comparison is from the preceding sentences and / or from the situational context." Example (12) in Dyirbal has shown that kerosene tin and a bark bag are implied in the situational context, and we can acquire the comparative meaning.

3. There is one problem pointed out by Nose (2004). This study has already pointed out that Hungarian has particle comparative in (11), and locational comparative in (8). Locational comparitive is an older form, and particle comparitive later developed through contacts with Indo-European languages. In Finno-Ugric, many languages have such binary STM systems (I found two STM forms in Hungarian, Finnish, Estonian, Mari, Khanty, Udmurt, and Nganasan as well).

4. The particle *mint in* Hungarian is multifunctional, and this is functioning as not only similative but also comparative and role phrase. That is, this *mint* form is a polyfunctional standard marker in Hungarian.

5. Similative suffix and adpositions also have the meanings of *like* or "similar." These formal meanings are grammatically fixed (more grammaticalized), and as a result, function as suffix, preposition, postposition, or using verb. Similative expression using a verb is almost the same

system as observed in the exceed type of comparative.

6. Nose (2004) discussed that after examining the Hungarian *mint* form contrasted with the Japanese equivalents, it became clear that the Japanese translations show quite different distributions from those of Hungarian. Hungarian uses only *mint* for the comparative and the similative, Japanese, on the other hand, use *yori* for the comparative, and *youni / youna* for the similative.

When we focus on the relationship between STM and STAN, Hungarian does not distinguish the comparative from the similative. In Japanese, on the other hand, another form is used. As observed, there is another formal difference between *yori* and *youna / youni*. The form *yori* means "*from*" in Japanese, and *you* in *youni / youna means* "*manner.*" Thus, it is the difference between "*from*" and "*manner*."

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