

# An Analysis of Pragmatic Features of "*buru 不如*" Sentences in Modern Mandarin of Chinese from a Subjective Perspective

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## Abstract

As a special comparative sentence, "*buru 不如*" sentence contains two meanings of comparison content and comparison result, so it can express both the meaning of objective proposition and the speaker's subjective view. This paper finds that, from the perspective of subjectivity, "*buru 不如*" sentences have two pragmatic features: one is to express discursive information, which is a representation of the speaker's perspective; Second, it embodies the functions of assertion, suggestion and evaluation of speech acts, which is the embodiment of the integration of the speaker's emotion and cognition.

**Keywords:** "subjective" perspective, "*buru 不如*" sentence, pragmatic feature

## 1. Introduction

"*Buru 不如*" is a mark indicating the difference in comparison sentences, indicating the meaning of "different from, not compared with". The Dictionary of *XIANDAI HANYU BABAI CI* explain in detail the six usages of "*buru 不如*": (1) When two things are compared, the word "*buru 不如*" before and after can be nouns, verbs, clauses, and the parts of speech or clause structure are the same. This construction need not be used to explain the matters of comparison (nature, quantity, etc.). (2) The comparison of two things, the matter used for comparison can be before or after. (3) Compare the differences of the same thing at different stages. (4) Used in the sentence that includes the word "*de 得*", the position of "inferior (bu ru)" can be placed before or after the word "*de 得*". (5) In the clause of "*lian 连...buru 不如*", the object of "bu ru" is advanced by the word "*lian 连*". (6) Used in the choice sentence of "*yuqi 与其...buru 不如...*".

The Dictionary of *XIANDAI HANYU BABAI CI* emphasizes the semantic bias and syntactic features of "*buru 不如*". Tang Shuxia (1995) investigated the usage of "*hai 还*" in the sentence "*A hai 还 buru 不如 B*". "*Hai*" plays an anti-anticipatory pragmatic effect, and the sentence of "*A hai 还 buru 不如 B*" also has the function of expressing anti-anticipatory discourse information. Li Xianzhao (2013) discussed the usage and function of discourse marker "*buru 不如*", arguing that from verb to discourse marker, "*buru 不如*" developed "choice" and "suggestion" on the basis of "table comparison", and the pragmatic function of "*buru 不如*" is the cohesion and coherence of discourse, which reflects the politeness principle in communicative strategies. The above research results only analyze the usage and function of important words in "*buru 不如*" sentences. As for the pragmatic characteristics of the whole sentence pattern of the "*buru 不如*" sentence, scholars have paid little attention to it. Because the "*buru 不如*" sentence can not only express the concept of comparison, but also express choices and suggestions, which is closely related to the subjectivity of language expression. *Subjectivity* means that the speaker expresses his own position, attitude and feelings about this paragraph while saying a paragraph, so as to leave his own mark in the speech.

Finegan (1995) points out that *subjectivity* is related to the following three aspects: (1) the speaker's perspective. (2) The speaker's affect. (3) epistemic modality of the speaker. The contents of these three aspects are overlapping and related to each other, and it is difficult to separate them completely. When expressing relevant information, the words in "*buru 不如*" sentences also incorporate the characters' personal positions, attitudes and feelings, and different sentence patterns also express different degrees of subjectivity, which is most obvious in pragmatic features. This paper attempts to explain the pragmatic characteristics of "*buru 不如*" sentences from the perspective of subjective theory.

## 2. Expressing Discursive Information Against Expectations

The anti-expected information conveyed by a sentence refers to the discursive information that is contrary to a particular expectation. In speech events, when a speaker presents an assertion, belief, or opinion about an event mentioned in context that is contrary to or at odds with his or the speaker's expectations, the speaker expresses an anticipatory message. According to Traugott (1999), antianticipation is actually a representation of *point of view* and also the speaker's Angle of observation of the objective situation, or the starting point for describing the objective situation, that is, *Perspectivized subjectivity* (This is proposed by Iwasaki. He believes that the speaker's perspective is *perspective-oriented subjectivity*. The speaker is in a three-dimensional space of self, current time and current position, and this subjectivity is usually encoded by lexical means. For example, personal pronouns, demonstratives, motion verbs, giving verbs, etc.). In modern Mandarin Chinese, the adverbs and conjunctions are often used to express *counter-anticipation* information, such as "in fact (*qishi 其实*), actually (*shijishang 实际上*), in reality (*shishishang 事实上*), still (*hai 还*), and (*bing 并*), unexpectedly (*juran 居然*), but (*que 却*), however (*danshi 但是*), nothing but (*buguo 不过*), nonetheless (*raner 然而*)". These words are all called counter-anticipation markers. The "buru 不如" sentence expresses counter-anticipation information from the speaker's subjective perspective, with the help of lexical, especially adverbs.

The basic pattern of the "buru 不如" sentence formed by "X buru 不如 Y (W)", which means *X is worse than Y (W)*. There are three main variants: "X lian 连 Y dou 都 buru 不如", "X bi 比 Y hai 还 buru 不如" and "Y buru 不如". Here X represents the comparison of the previous term, Y represents the comparison of the latter term, and W represents the comparison result. The basic pattern "X buru 不如 Y (W)" can express counter-anticipation information only in specific situations, while the variant "X lian 连 Y dou 都 buru 不如", "X bi 比 Y hai 还 buru 不如" can directly express counter-anticipation information.

### 2.1 Counter-Anticipation Information of the Basic pattern "X buru 不如 Y (W)"

The basic pattern of the "buru 不如" sentence—"X buru 不如 Y (W)" cannot always express counter-anticipation information, when "buru 不如" in front of the explicit counter-anticipation mark such as "juran 居然", it conveys counter-anticipation information. This is a way of using words to express perspective-oriented subjectivity. For example:

- (1) Years later, Richard Huang reflected on that evening's action. "If he puts on his hat and leaves, he will not hold his head up for the rest of his life for being a man *less than (juran 居然 buru 不如)* a parrot." (*Shi Shuqing Lonely Cloud Garden*)
- (2) A price of 188 yuan of anti-ultraviolet umbrella, the actual sunscreen effect *is not as good as (jing 竟 buru 不如)* 38 yuan of ordinary nylon black umbrella. (CCL Corpus)
- (3) He could not bear to see the children studying here in the 1990s were *not as good as (jingran 竟然 buru 不如)* in his time, and he decided to donate 1 million yuan to improve the school conditions and set up a large "junior military band". (1994 Newspaper selection)

The above example sentences violate the shared expectations of the society. "juran 居然", "jing 竟" and "jingran 竟然" are counter-anticipation marks and convey counter-anticipation information.

There are also some implicit markers that can also convey counter-anticipation information when entering the sentence of "X buru 不如 Y (W)". What kind of implicit counter-anticipation markers can do this? Through investigation, we find that the recessive counter-anticipation markers are mainly "shenzhi 甚至", "hai 还", "dou 都" and other critical adverbs. Zhang Yisheng (2000) pointed out that the critical adverbs are functional words that act as adverbials in sentences and carry the speaker's judgment and emotional attitude towards the events said. "Shenzhi 甚至" means that what is presented is a prominent, which has a further meaning. It can be seen that it can itself reflect the emotional attitude of the speaker. Such as:

- (4) In their work, they found that individual veteran store managers pride themselves on merit, and *are even inferior (Shenzhi 甚至 buru 不如)* to ordinary workers in terms of management of stores, implementation of systems, demonstration operations, and due quality and responsibility. (BCC Corpus)

As for the two adverbs "hai 还" and "dou 都", they need to be explained in detail because of their complex semantics. Shen Jianxuan (2001) believes that when the adverb "hai 还" is used in conjunction with the modal word "ne 呢", "hai 还" has an use of metalanguage increments, and the speaker uses it to indicate his attitude towards a known proposition, which is a subjective statement. "Dou 都" also has the meaning of "shenzhi 甚至", which is mainly used in the sentence of the word "lian 连" and progressive complex sentence, reflecting the subjective attitude of the speaker. The critical adverbs such as "hai 还" and "dou 都" enter the base form of "buru

不如" sentences, usually appearing in front of "*buru 不如*", indicating that the speaker's judgment on the event is unexpected. For example:

(5) Is to survive, but now the so-called company, we as what? We actors *are worse than (hai 还 buru 不如)* migrant workers! (BCC Corpus)

(6) Emperor Jing decreed, "Agriculture is the foundation of the world. Gold, pearls and jade, which cannot be eaten when hungry or worn when cold, *are inferior to (dou 都 buru 不如)* grain and silk and linen." (CCL Corpus).

In the example sentences, "*hai 还*" and "*dou 都*" both play the role of strengthening the tone of the sentence, taking the comparison of the latter term as the basis, the situation of the comparison of the former term is not as unexpected as the latter term, emphasizing the unexpected situation. Both of these cases violate shared social expectations. In example (5), it is expected that the occupation of *actor* should be higher than that of *migrant workers* in terms of income and status, but surprisingly, the situation of *actor* in the company is not as good as that of *migrant workers*. In Example (6), the anticipation information was that the value of gold was higher than that of grain, silk and linen, and the contents of Emperor Jing's imperial edicts were contrary to the expectations shared by society.

## 2.2 The Counter- Anticipation Information of the Variant "X *lian 连* Y *dou 都* *ye 也* *buru 不如*"

Qi Shuling (2014) believes that "*lian 连* NP *dou 都* *ye 也* VP" is counter-anticipation construction, which can convey an counter-anticipation information, it is contrary to the receiver's expectation, which means a most unlikely extreme event has actually been realized. Through the search and collation of the CCL corpus, we find that in the variant "X" and "Y", the comparatives "X" and "Y" are both nouns or nominal phrases, and "*buru 不如*" is also used as a verb. Therefore, "*X lian 连 Y dou 都 ye 也 buru 不如*", like "*lian 连* NP *dou 都 ye 也* VP", is also an counter-anticipation construction, which can convey an counter-anticipation information. For example:

(7) "Now the world is in great turmoil, and all the princes and demons in all directions are exhibiting their powers. You think the rebels are really all revolutionary? Bah! Some are *worse than (lian 连 dou 都 buru 不如)* us little thieves." Said Zhou Zheng just laughed. (Green Moon by Peng Jingfeng)

(8) Gu Fenglian's man said: "These days I went to Hebei for a visit to relatives, yesterday came back after dark, she did not ask me to go into the house, asked me to go to sleep, I think she is angry with me....." Both men and women laughed and said, "I'm not angry with you! You have no power, *not even (lian 连 ye 也 buru 不如)* a cripple..." (Huai River in Tears by Dai Houying)

(9) At that time, the performance of *Youyi* is really hateful, but *ganoderma* hate is "How can a middle school student *worse than Manxi (lian 连 ye 也 buru 不如)*?" (Sanli Bay 三里湾 by Zhao Shuli)

Both (7) and (8) violated the expectations of the recipients, and the expectation of Zhong Zhou Zheng in (7) was that the rebels were true revolutionaries and could not be inferior to small thieves. But from the speaker's point of view, the truth is quite the opposite, some rebels behave despicably, worse than petty thieves. In Example (8), the listener *Gu Fenglian's husband* is expected to be in better health than a physically disabled cripple, but from the speaker's perspective, a cripple can enter the house, but *Gu Fenglian's husband* is driven out by *Gu Fenglian*, so it can be seen that *Gu Fenglian's husband* is worse than a cripple. Example (9) violates the psychological expectations of the characters in the text. From the perspective of the psychological activities of the characters, her expectation is that the high school students *Youyi* should be more excellent than the *Manxi* who is illiterate, but the fact is contrary to her idea, *Youyi* are not as good as *Manxi* in aspects of human interaction.

There is also a variant of "*buru 不如*" sentence—"Y *buru 不如*", which is shortened from the construction of "*X lian 连 Y dou 都 ye 也 buru 不如*", omitting the previous term X and omitting the comparison result. It can also send an counter-anticipation information. For example:

(10) *Ma Lao* also spoke out against the Kuomintang bureaucratic capital, especially Kong Xiangxi and others to make money in the country! He said: "People are dying for the war of resistance, but some people are taking advantage of the war to make the country rich." This *is worse than (buru 不如)* pigs and dogs!" (ccl Corpus).

Example (10) is an extremely ironic statement, the speaker used an exaggerated statement to describe the corruption of the Kuomintang bureaucratic capital, not only against the expectations of the speaker but also against the expectations of the shared society, people cannot be inferior to pigs and dogs and other livestock.

### 2.3 The Counter- Anticipation Information of the Variant "X bi 比 Y hai 还/dou 都 buru 不如"

In the sentence pattern of "X bi 比 Y hai 还/dou 都 buru 不如", both "hai 还" and "dou 都" are commentary adverbs. For example:

(11) Changgeng sneered and said: You don't be delicate; your man **is worse than** (bi 比···hai 还 buru 不如) me! And she was grieved and ashamed, and could not ask questions, so she wept. (Lu Xun's "In the Restaurant").

(12) When she was a girl, her master regarded her as a thing, her master regarded her as a thing without spirit, **worse than** (bi 比···dou 都 buru 不如) cats and dogs; But the lotus knows that it is spiritual. (Lin's Shop by MAO Dun).

(13) Those Chinese restaurant boss's wife, she has seen a lot, almost all the time is spent in the kitchen, **is worse than** (bi 比···hai 还 buru 不如) the hired workers, hired workers have a rest day she does not, hard copper motherly willing to use? (Writer's Digest 1995).

Example (11) violates the expectation of the listener, according to the description above, *Changgeng* is a chicken thief, and her expectation is that her husband is better than a chicken thief. *Changgeng's* behaviour is the opposite of her expectations. In the sentence, "hai 还" emphasizes the degree to which the former term her husband is not as good as the latter term *Changgeng*, including the speaker's emotional tendency and subjective attitude. Example (12) People are higher creatures, and they cannot be as spiritual as cats and dogs. The content of the proposition is absurd and unexpected, which violates the social sharing expectation information. Example (13) the proposition content is also inconsistent with the expectations shared by the society, the social general cognition is that the employee is very busy, the boss's wife only needs to command, the employee is certainly busier than the boss's wife. But the proposition means exactly the opposite.

### 3. Reflect The Assertion, Suggestion and Evaluation Function of Speech Behavior

The "buru 不如" sentence bears two meanings of expressing comparison content and result at the same time, so it can express both the meaning of objective proposition and the speaker's subjective opinion. This perception of subjectivity is what Iwasaki (2010) refers to as "experiential subjectivity" and "epistemic subjectivity."

"Experience subjectivity" refers to the speaker's consciousness of his own perception, feeling, emotion, will, etc., which is mainly related to the speaker's mental activities. "Cognitive subjectivity" includes a series of phenomena such as judgment, evidential evidence and confidence, that is, to limit the speaker's statement in various ways. From the perspective of experiential subjectivity and cognitive subjectivity, it can be found that "buru 不如" sentence has developed the usages of choice and suggestion on the basis of comparison, which are closely related to speech acts.

According to Austin's speech act theory, speech act is characterized by the speaker performing one or several similar actions with one or several words, and the realization of these actions may bring some consequences to the listener. These "buru 不如" sentences can also represent speech acts. The speaker conveys information or euphemistically expresses suggestions through comparison, thus causing the recipient to choose or implement, which is the result of pragmatic reasoning based on comparison of differences. According to Searle's (1976) classification of speech acts (mainly divided into assertion or exposition, instruction, commitment, expression and declaration). The "buru 不如" sentences can express three kinds of speech acts, *assertion or exposition, instruction and expression*. The pragmatic functions of these three speech acts are assertion function, suggestion function and evaluation function.

#### 3.1 The Function of Assertion

Declarative speech acts indicate that the speaker makes a certain degree of statement on something and makes a true or false judgment on the propositional content expressed by the discourse. When expressing the meaning of comparison, "buru 不如" sentences often use some lexical means to improve the authenticity of the conveyed information, so as to play the function of assertion. In the basic pattern "X buru 不如 Y (W)", many words that directly express positive or negative meanings are before "buru 不如", such as really (*zhen 真*), definitely (*juedui 绝对*), indeed (*qieshi 确实*), certainly (*kending 肯定*), must (*yiding 一定*), precisely (*jiushi 就是*), is not (*bushi 不是*), which are used to indicate the speaker's subjective attitude towards the authenticity of the event, so as to improve the authenticity of the discourse. This kind of speech act mainly involves the speaker's cognition of the propositional content, which reflects the subjectivity of cognition. Through the search of corpus, this paper finds that these "buru 不如" sentences of positive judgment are far more than those of negative judgment. For example:

(14) Fang Aunt while picking a big egg, nagging: chicken *is really not as good as* (*zhen 真 buru 不如*) growing vegetables! Eggs 3.8 yuan/kg, winter melon 4 yuan/kg, round lentils 8 yuan/kg, a circle of market inquiries down, Fang Dama quickly made a decision: eat more eggs. (People's Daily 2000).

(15) It is said that Guangdong lacks water, coal, oil and other resources, and the electricity conditions are *definitely not as good as* (*juedui 绝对 buru 不如*) Hubei. (CCL Corpus).

(16) "There are quite a few young players who have great potential and are desperate to improve. They are trying to move up the world rankings. But the Russian men's tennis is *indeed not as good as* (*queshi 确实 buru 不如*) the women's", Safin admitted. (Xinhua News Agency in September 2004).

(17) "The conditions here are *certainly as good as* (*kending 肯定 buru 不如*) a hotel, but you can feel the warmth of home." In Taiwan Nantou County Zhongliao Township "Qingcheng farm", owner Wu Jiren said to reporters while receiving tourists. (Xinhua News Agency reported in March 2003).

(18) Wang Jinqing gave a sigh, threw back his neck, drank a glass of wine and said: "I have never been a Communist Party, *I must not be as* (*yiding 一定 buru 不如*) familiar with the inside story of the Eighth Road as Captain Hu." (Shak "Fighting youth").

(19) Xiuzhi: "In fact, these months, when I see other people's cotton grow green and strong, my heart itches. After all the math, growing grain *is precisely not as good as* (*jiushi 就是 buru 不如*) growing cotton. Uncle, let you say so, I will leave a good white land after the autumn, prepare enough cotton seeds, fertilizers and pesticides early, and plant 8 acres of cotton next year, and then pass the addiction of planting cotton." (Market Report 1994).

(20) "But don't forget, I'm *not inferior to* (*bushi 不是 buru 不如*) you, but I'm afraid you're worse off than me, and then that face scares the little Apple away, and I'll be guilty of a lot, won't I?" (Yu Qing, "Love of Red Apples").

The above examples are all about comparison, the speaker according to their own perspective think that the content of the proposition is basically conform to objective facts, so as to conclude that the content of the proposition is true. Examples (14), (15) and (16) use "really (*zhen 真*), definitely (*juedui 绝对*), indeed (*queshi 确实*)", these words respectively to express the speakers subjective judgment on the proposition, emphasizing the authenticity of the discourse. Examples (17), (18), (19) directly use positive words to express the speakers positive attitude towards the proposition content, aiming to remind the listener that the discourse content is combined with objective facts, and conclude that the proposition content expressed in the discourse is true. In example (20), the negation word "is not (*bushi 不是*)", indicating that the speaker "me" subjectively determines that he is stronger than the listener, and the purpose is to remind the listener to believe in the speakers judgment.

### 3.2 Suggestion Function

Instruction speech acts indicate that the speaker instructs or orders the listener to do something to varying degrees. It causes objective reality to change to suit the speaker's wishes or needs. The propositional content of a discourse always makes the hearer perform a certain action. Such acts mainly include request, invitation, suggestion, order, instigation and so on. The propositional content expressed by the speaker in this kind of "*buru 不如*" sentence starts from his expectation, so that the speaker clearly compares the advantages of the latter term, puts forward suggestions tactfully, and urges the other side to implement them, thus it reflects the function of behavior suggestion. This kind of speech act weakens the comparative sense of "*buru 不如*", and the speaker's suggestion to the listener is to follow the speaker's psychological expectations and wishes. This is related to the speaker's own emotional experience and view of the event, reflecting the subjectivity of experience and subjectivity of cognition.

The comparative meaning of such "*buru 不如*" sentences is weakened or even omitted, usually without comparison previous objects and comparison results, and the corresponding form is mainly the base form "*X buru 不如 Y (W)*". "*buru 不如*" is usually followed by a verb or phrasal verb. Under the influence of semantic direction of behavior suggestion, the events that represent the behavior suggestion followed by "*buru 不如*" are all actual events that have not happened. For example:

(21) "Stop swimming, it's too dangerous," she said, looking up at him. "Why *don't we just* (*buru 不如*) talk. Maybe I'll take a few more photos and you'll be studying against the Yellow River." (Zhang Chengzhi, "The River in the North").

(22) For the two-thirds of the suffering people in the world, I think this: it *is better not to* (*dao 倒 buru 不如*) say anything than to shout that we will liberate them and let others suffer. (Wang Xiaobo, The Silent Majority).

Example (21) is the speaker's suggestion to the listener, expressing an imperative tone. She thought it was too dangerous to swim and suggested he go ashore for a chat. Example (22) is a typical only choice of sentence, "*buru 不如*" followed by the speaker's subjective thoughts and wishes, the object concerned is the speaker himself. The speaker believes that for the sufferer, Shouting is not the best choice, while silence is the best choice.

There are also some sentences, "*buru 不如*" followed by the event, but the discourse conveys the speaker's subjective evaluation of the event, reflecting the evaluation function. For example:

(23) In the face of this pain and isolation, it is **really not as good as** (*zhen 真 buru 不如*) to let her face death... (CCL Corpus)

E.g. (23) is not a command speech act, "really not as good as to let her face death" is not a suggestion that she should actually die, but a sympathy for her pain and isolation.

### 3.3 Evaluation Function

Expressive speech acts reflect the mental states by the speakers expressing the content of the proposition. The content of discourse proposition has certain authenticity, which is the premise of the implementation of the behaviour. It includes apology, thanks, welcome, congratulations, sympathy, regret, remorse, etc. In these "*buru 不如*" sentences, the speaker's subjective statement on the content of the proposition involve the speaker's emotions, attitudes, psychological activities, etc. These sentences reflect the subjective evaluation function. The basic forms "*X buru 不如 Y*" with commentary adverbs, the variant "*X lian 连 Y dou 都 buru 不如*", "*X bi 比 Y hai 还 buru 不如*" and "*Y buru 不如*", these sentences all have evaluation functions. This kind of speech act is based on the comparison of the latter term as the standard to highlight the degree of the comparison of the former term in some aspects, which is the speaker's subjective statement on the content of the proposition, but also related to the speaker's own emotional experience, reflecting the subjectivity of experience and cognitive subjectivity. For example:

(24) "Is a Party member who has taken an oath under the Party flag, a Marxist, a leading cadre who works for the welfare of the masses **not as good as** (*buru 不如*) a feudal scholar?" (Feng Jicai "Into the Storm").

(25) After the little girl's popularity, she cried: "Brother, I am **not even better than** (*buru 不如*) a dog in this room! I see us running away, far away, even if I want to eat or drink, as long as your brother is with me day and night..." (Chen Zhongshi "White Deer Plain").

(26) The wife of the section chief said and cried again: "I have been sick to this point, and I don't even say where to go. They don't treat me like a wife, **not like** (*buru 不如*) a servant. Ye Min Ming, I beg you, can you help me get him back?" (Fang Fang "Ambush").

(27) Yun He said: "All Wudang warriors great kindness and great virtue, I know at this moment. Just my words offended Master Zhang, is **really not as good as** (*zhen 真 buru 不如*) pigs and dogs." (Jin Yong, "The Dragon Slay by Heaven").

E.g. (24) Rhetorical questions are used to express a rebuttal tone, and the speaker's views on leading cadres are full of irony. Example (25) is the speaker's speech, "*buru 不如*" followed by the speaker's evaluation of their own situation, expressing an exclamation tone. "Tian Xiaoe" with the "*lian 连*" sentences to express a mockery of their own situation, intended to cause the listener "Heiwa" to sympathize with her.

Example (26) involves the speaker's own emotional experience, "worse than a servant" is the wife of the section chief of his own mockery and belittling, expressing dissatisfaction and complaints to the section chief. It not only related to their own situation but also expressed the evaluation of the behavior of the section chief. This is the manifestation of the fusion of experiential subjectivity and epistemic subjectivity. Example (27) The content of proposition is that the speaker Yunzhonghe sarcastically evaluates his own behavior and gets the other person's emotional understanding through self-derogation. This also reflects experiential subjectivity.

## 4. Conclusion

This paper finds that the counter-anticipation information expressed by the "*buru 不如*" sentence is the representation of the speaker's perspective. Another speech act's assertion, suggestion and evaluation function reflects the fusion of the speaker's emotion and cognition. Both the base form and the variant of the "*buru 不如*" sentence can express the counter-anticipation information. For the base form "*X buru 不如 Y (W)*", there should be commentary adverbs before "*buru 不如*", such as "juran 居然, jingran 竟然, jing 竟, shenzhi 甚至, hai 还, dou 都, ye 也 etc.". For the variant "*X lian 连 Y dou 都 buru 不如*" and "*X bi 比 Y hai 还 buru 不如*", these two constructions have become an counter-anticipation construction.

The "buru 不如" sentences have the pragmatic functions of assertion, suggestion and evaluation of speech acts. Its syntax is as follows: (1) the basic pattern "X buru 不如 Y (W) " have assertion function. (2) the basic pattern "X buru 不如 Y (W) ", which hides the comparison previous objects and the comparison results, have the function of behavior suggestion. (3) The basic form "X buru 不如 Y (W) "with commentary adverbs, and the variant "X lian 连 Y dou 都 buru 不如 ", "X bi 比 Y hai 还 buru 不如" and "Y buru 不如" all have evaluation functions.

In short, the words in the "buru 不如" sentence incorporate the speaker's personal position, attitude and feelings when expressing the content of the proposition, thus leaving a self-imprint in the words.

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