A Dimension Missed:
East and West in Situ rGyalrong Orientation Marking[*]

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This paper reanalyzes the basic orientation system of rGyalrong, a Tibeto-Burman language of northwestern Sichuan. The fundamental solar orientation axis {east ↔ west}, overlooked in previous analyses, is vindicated here by actual linguistic usage in orienting oneself in the natural geographical settings of the rGyalrong country, comparative data from rGyalrong dialects and other rGyalrongic languages, and relevant cross-linguistic typological observation. Discrepancies between previous studies and the current one, especially the issues concerning the upstream-downstream opposition interacting with the solar contrast, are also elucidated.

Key words: Tibeto-Burman, rGyalrong, orientation (east-west)

1. Introduction

rGyalrong, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Aba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture of Sichuan, China, distinguishes a fundamental sun-based orientation-axis {east ↔ west}. However, previous studies on its Situ dialect, missing this salient orientation feature, fail to give satisfactory accounts of certain important issues on Situ rGyalrong orientation morphosyntax.

In this paper, a reanalysis will be attempted on the orientation subsystems of the Zhuokeji variety of Situ rGyalrong on the basis of first-hand data.[1] Supporting evidence for the sun-based interpretations of the relevant orientation-contrasts consists

of actual linguistic usage in orienting oneself in the natural geographical setting of the rGyalrong country, comparative data from other rGyalrong dialects and rGyalrongic languages, as well as typological observations provided by Brown (1983).

In the ensuing sections, the orientation system of Zhuokeji rGyalrong and the involved grammatical categories will be introduced first (§2), followed by a critical evaluation of previous studies (§3). Then, I will provide an account of the discrepancies between the current and earlier analyses (§4).

2. Orientation system and grammatical categories in Zhuokeji rGyalrong

In several recent studies, J. Sun proposes a pan-rGyalrongic orientation system composed of solar, riverine, and vertical subsystems, each consisting of two antonymic terms:[2]


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Solar                       east
                            west

Riverine                    upstream
                            downstream

Vertical                    up
                            down
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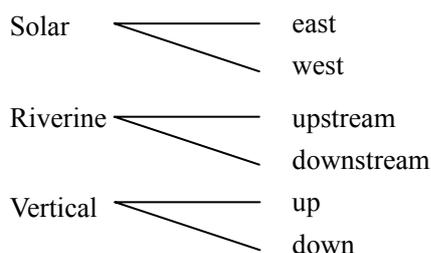
This view is confirmed by my research on the Zhuokeji variety of Situ rGyalrong, which also exhibits identical orientation subsystems.

The Zhuokeji orientation oppositions materialize in distinct forms of nominals, verbs, verbal prefixes, as well as adverbials, as shown in the following table.[3]

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[2] J. Sun 2000:24, forthcoming:§3.4.2.

[3] Suprasegmental symbols used in this paper are:

σ̄ (syllable in level tone)   σ̂ (syllable in falling tone)   σ́ (accented syllable)

In Zhuokeji rGyalrong, there are two contrasting tones in accented domain-final position: level and falling. However, if the pitch accent is not on the default final position, the tonal contrast is overridden. For details see YJ Lin 2000:§1.5.2.

1	Solar		Riverine		Vertical	
	east	**west**	**upstream**	**downstream**	**up**	**down**
Nominal	*akû* 'east direction'	*adî* 'west direction'	*atô* 'upstream direction'	*arê* 'downstream direction'	*atâ* 'upward direction'	*anâ* 'downward direction'
Pronominal	*akūt* 'the one to the east'	*adīt* 'the one to the west'	*atōt* 'the one upstream'	*arēt* 'the one downstream'	*atāt* 'the one up there'	*anāt* 'the one down there'
Verb 1	*kɐ-gô* 'to go eastwards'	*kɐ-dɜ̂* 'to go westwards'	*kɐ-rô* 'to go upstream'	*kɐ-rɜ̂* 'to go downstream'	*kɐ-tʰô* 'to go upwards'	*kɐ-jɜ̂* 'to go downwards'
Verb 2	*ka-gōt* 'to take sth eastwards'	*ka-dīt* 'to take sth westwards'	*ka-rōt* 'to take sth upstream'	*ka-rēt* 'to take sth downstream'	*ka-tʰōt* 'to take sth upwards'	*ka-jūt* 'to take sth downwards'
Verbal Prefix	*ko-* 'eastwards; facing the easterly direction'	*nə-* 'westwards; facing the westerly direction'	*ro-* 'upstream; facing the upstream direction'	*rə-* 'downstream; facing the downstream direction'	*to-* 'upwards; facing the upward direction'	*na-* 'downwards; facing the downward direction'
Adverbial	*kû* 'eastwards; facing the easterly direction'	*dî* 'westwards; facing the westerly direction'	*rô* 'upstream; facing the upstream direction'	*rê* 'downstream; facing the downstream direction'	*tô* 'upwards; facing the upward direction'	*nâ* 'downwards; facing the downward direction'

The examples below illustrate the above-mentioned terms representing the orientation 'west':

(1) Nominal: *adî*
  ŋā   ***adî****-s* [4]   *rjɔ̄k-ŋ*
  1SG   west.direction-LOC   run₁-1SG
  'I (will) run westwards.'

(2) Pronominal: *adīt*
  ʃtɔ̄   *wə-tʰólo*   *mɑ́-ra,*   ***adīt***   *´ra* [5]
  this   3SG:POSS-pine.tree   NEG-want   the.one.in.the.west   want
  'I don't want this pine tree, I want the one in the west.'

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[4] This suffix *-s* can code allative, ablative, as well as locational information, depending on context.
[5] An acute accent / ´ / preceding a monosyllabic verb stem represents a latent penultimate accent, which requires at least two syllables to materialize.

(3) Verb 1: *kɐ-dɜ̂*

   ŋā   *tʰorʒetʃʰíᵐbo-s*   *dɜ̂-ŋ*

   1SG   Guanyinqiao-LOC   go.westwards-1SG

   'I go westwards towards Guanyinqiao.'

(4) Verb 2: *ka-dɪ̄t*

   wəjō   *tʰorʒetʃʰíᵐbo-s*   *skɜ̂*   *´dit*

   3SG   Guanyinqiao-LOC   statue.of.a deity   take.westwards

   'He takes/will take the statue of a deity westwards towards Guanyinqiao.'

(5) Verbal prefix: *nə-*

   wəjō   *tʰorʒetʃʰíᵐbo-s*   *nə-rjûk*

   3SG   Guanyinqiao-LOC   PFV:westwards-run$_2$[6]

   'He ran westwards towards Guanyinqiao.'

(6) Adverbial: *dî*

   wəjō   *tʰorʒetʃʰíᵐbo-s*   *dî*   *ŋá-rjək*

   3SG   Guanyinqiao-LOC   westwards   IMPFV-run$_1$

   'He is running westwards towards Guanyinqiao.'

3. Previous research

Analyses proposed in the existing literature on Situ rGyalrong fall into two groups according to the orientation distinctions they posit. On the one hand, Jin et al. (1957-58)[7], Qu (1984), and XR Lin (1993) are agreed in their treatment of the Situ orientation system as primarily divided into three subsystems: riverine, mountain-river and vertical, as shown in Table 2;

Table 2: Situ orientation oppositions proposed by Jin et al., Qu, and XR Lin

Subsystems	Oppositions	
Riverine	upstream *ko-*	downstream *nə-*
Mountain-River	toward mountain *ro-*	toward river *rə-*
Vertical	up *to-*	down *nɐ-*

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[6] In Zhuokeji, around twenty percent of the basic verbs distinguish two stem forms. One of them, labeled *stem$_2$*, co-occurs with modally unmarked perfective, past imperfective and self-person present imperfective prefixes; while the other stem, *stem$_1$*, appears elsewhere. Cf. YJ Lin 2000:§2.2 for details.

[7] While the target variety in Qu 1984, and XR Lin 1993 is Zhuokeji, the target variety in Jin et al. 1957-58 is Suomo, a very closely related variety to Zhuokeji.

Nagano (1984), on the other hand, proposes four subsystems: riverine, vertical/hill, front-behind and seat. The oppositions encoded by what he terms 'direction markers' are given below.

Table 3: Zhuokeji orientation oppositions proposed by Nagano

Subsystems	Oppositions	
Riverine	upstream *ko*	downstream *no*
Vertical/ hill	up/uphill *to*	down/downhill *no*
Front-behind	front *ro*	behind *re*
Seat	seat of honor *ku*	lower seat *ni/di* [8]

4. Elucidating the discrepancies

A comparison of the orientation systems in this paper with previous research reveals glaring discrepancies, which I sum up in the following table:[9]

Table 4: Contrast of this proposal with prior studies

	Forms	**Analysis proposed herein**	**Previous analyses**
1.	*ro-, rə-*	Riverine	Mountain-river (Jin et al., Qu and XR Lin)
2.	*ko-, nə-*	Solar	Riverine (Jin et al., Qu, XR Lin, and Nagano)
3.	*kû, dî*	Solar (adverbial)	Seat (Nagano)
4.	*rô, rê*	Riverine (adverbial)	Front-back (Nagano)

In the sections that follow, I shall give a brief discussion where there is variance, and offer evidence as to why this analysis is to be preferred over prior interpretations.

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[8] Nagano (1984) regards *ni* and *di* as free variants although my consultant assures me that *ni* does not exist in the Zhuokeji orientation system.

[9] In the remainder of the paper, the orientation verbal prefixes will be taken as representative of the orientational dimensions except where the distinction between verbal prefixes and adverbials is crucial.
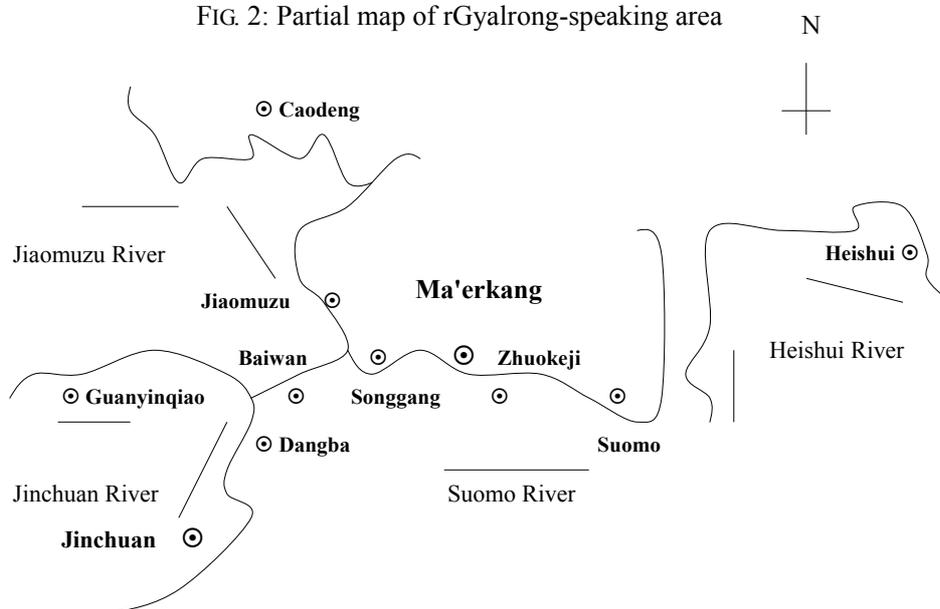
4.1 Riverine vs. mountain-river

Jin et al. (1957-58), Qu (1984), and XR Lin (1993) share the view that the terms *ro-* and *rə-* are orientated to the mountain and its correlate, the river, such that *ro-* conveys the idea of 'toward the mountain', and *rə-*, 'toward the river'. Jin et al. (1957-58) and XR Lin both state that the geographical setting of the rGyalrong land contributes significantly to the development of such orientational concepts. It is true that most rGyalrong speakers dwell in valleys with a river running through. The usage of *ro-* and *rə-* in such a setting is illustrated below:

FIG. 1: A geographical setting in which *ro-* and *rə-* are applied to code mountain-river opposition (adapted from XR Lin (1993:161))
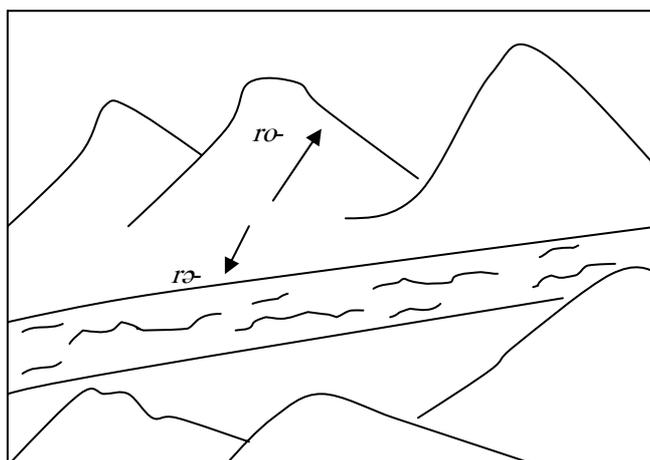
However, the application of *ro-* and *rə-* is in fact not restricted to such a limited geographical setting. The interrelationships among the sites in FIG. 2 suggest that *ro-* and *rə-* denote rather an upstream-downstream opposition:

FIG. 2: Partial map of rGyalrong-speaking area

N

⊙ **Caodeng**

Jiaomuzu River

Jiaomuzu ⊙

Ma'erkang

Heishui ⊙

Baiwan ⊙ **Zhuokeji**

⊙ **Guanyinqiao** ⊙ **Songgang** ⊙ ⊙

Heishui River

⊙ **Dangba** **Suomo**

Jinchuan River Suomo River

Jinchuan ⊙

If, for instance, one were to travel upriver from Jiaomuzu along the Jiaomuzu River toward Caodeng, only *ro-* would be used; conversely, if one were to go from Caodeng to Jiaomuzu, *rə-* would be the only apt orientation choice. The former instance would involve a trip upstream, while the latter would involve a trip downstream. In either case, the riverine concepts are exclusively coded by *ro-* and *rə-*, with the concept of mountain-in-opposition-to-river being simply irrelevant.

The use of *ro-* vs. *rə-* to code a mountain-river contrast does indeed figure prominently in the Zhuokeji and Suomo dialects; nevertheless I still contend—even in this instance—that the fundamental orientational concept is that of a riverine opposition. Here the reference is to the flow of creeks through gullies in the mountains alongside the main river.[10] Dalangjiao Creek, for instance, as shown in FIG. 3, serves as a reference landmark flowing past the town of Ma'erkang:

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[10] Prof. Jackson T.-S. Sun has provided useful discussions regarding this argument.

FIG. 3: The geographical context for *ro*- and *rə*- in Ma'erkang
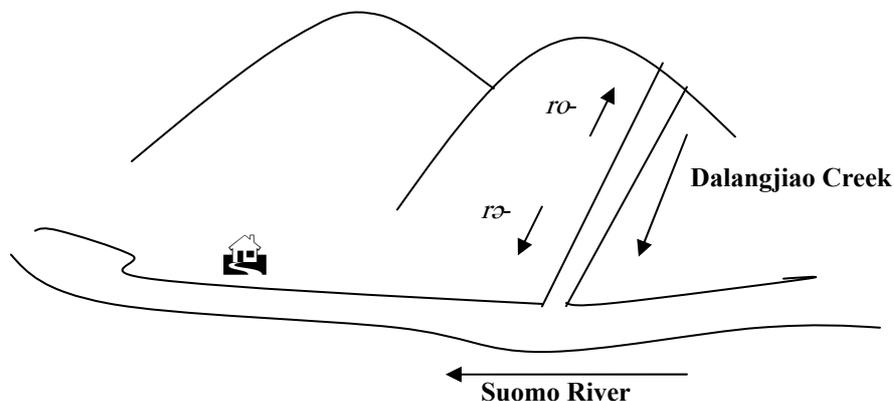
If we keep the basic river-based contrast of *ro*- and *rə*- in mind, it becomes clear how Qu (1984) and XR Lin (1993) arrived at their mountain-river opposition: the riverine pair has become generalized for cases where there are no mountain creeks in sight, and the orientation markings then encode an opposition between higher and lower parts of a slope via metaphorical extension. Such an extension would not be unexpected, since rivers naturally flow downhill from a topographically higher locale. Qu (1984) and XR Lin (1993) probably misidentified the basic contrast because, as illustrated in FIGS. 1 and 3, moving up-gradient (extended from 'upstream') is moving toward the mountains, and moving down-gradient (extended from 'downstream') is moving toward the river in the natural topography of rGyalrong country.[11]

4.2 Solar vs. riverine

Previous analyses have identified the orientational concepts represented by *ko*- and *nə*-[12] as 'upstream' and 'downstream' respectively. Unfortunately, this is neither reasonable nor in accordance with observed facts. As already argued in §4.1, since *ro*- and *rə*- denote river-based-orientation meanings, why would the language need another set of terms for the same contrast? And why are they not allowed in the two diagnostic cases (Jiaomuzu→Caodeng, Caodeng→Jiaomuzu), as depicted in §4.1?

What orientational concepts, then, do *ko*- and *nə*- convey? Various facts support the claim that the basic meanings of these prefixes is a sun-based opposition {east↔

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[11] The applicability of the geographical terms 'up-gradient' and 'down-gradient' was suggested by Nancy J. Caplow.
[12] Although Nagano (1984) studies the same Zhuokeji dialect, his description often deviates from all other linguists' accounts, as noted by Nishida (1984:64-68).

west}.[13] First and foremost is my consultant's intuition. He would say plainly that *ko-* and *nə-* refer to 'where the sun rises' and 'where the sun sets' respectively. This is consistent with the observation that the rising and setting of the sun are the most prevailing referents for defining east and west cross-linguistically.[14] Therefore, supposing one were headed for Guanyinqiao from Zhuokeji, both orientation terms *ro-* ('upstream') and *nə-* ('west') would be usable, depending on whether the speaker were focusing on which way the river flowed or on the cardinal direction 'west'. *Ro-* would be selected, because, after moving downstream along the Suomo River, one one would have to move upstream along the Jinchuan River to reach Guanyinqiao; whereas *nə-* would also be applicable owing to the fact that Guanyinqiao is to the west of Zhuokeji. Another salient case would be a trip eastwards from Zhuokeji to Heishui, a town situated along a river not connected to the Suomo River in the same drainage system, in which case *ko-* would be the only grammatical option.

Supportive evidence is also available internally among rGyalrong dialects and rGyalrongic languages, namely in the orientation systems in Caodeng dialect of Sidaba rGyalrong[15], Dazang dialect of Chabao rGyalrong,[16] and the Mu'erzong dialect of Lavrung[17]. These systems all contain a sun-based opposition, where forms representing the contrast are evidently cognate to Zhuokeji, as illustrated in the following table:

Table 5: Orientation prefixes in Zhuokeji, Caodeng rGyalrong, Dazang rGyalrong, and Mu'erzong Lavrung

Subsystems	Oppositions	Zhuokeji	Caodeng	Dazang	Mu'erzong
Solar	Eastwards	*ko-*	*kə-*	*kɐ-*	*kʌ-*
	Westwards	*nə-*	*nə-*	*nə-*	*nə-*

Moreover, Duo'erji, writing on his mother tongue, also claims that in the Geshiza variety of Horpa (the third rGyalrongic language), east and west are orientationally fundamental.[18]

Tibetan loanwords are adopted in Zhuokeji to represent the four cardinal points:

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[13] As suspected in J. Sun 2000: fn. 31.

[14] Brown 1983:127, 193. In many other Tibeto-Burman languages, including Yi, Naxi, Hani, Dulong, and Pumi, the terms for 'east' can be decomposed into morphemes meaning 'sun' and 'rising', and terms for 'west' into morphemes meaning 'sun' and 'setting' (Dai and Xu 1995:223-224).

[15] J. Sun forthcoming.

[16] The data of Dazang rGyalrong was personally collected in Sichuan in the summer of 2000.

[17] J. Sun 2000:183.

[18] D. Duo'erji 1998:70.

ʃə̃r 'east' (WT: *shar*), *nɔ̄p* 'west' (WT: *nub*), *pjâŋ* 'north' (WT: *byang*) and *ɬō̄ʔ* 'south' (WT: *lho*). However, this does not mean that the language does not have native terms to code these orientations. In fact, a Zhuokeji speaker situated in unfamiliar territory would first observe the direction and movement of the sun, then assign *ko-* to represent east ('where the sun rises'), and *nə-*, west ('where the sun sets'). After the fundamental axis of orientation {east ↔ west} has been determined, the forms for riverine opposition would be applied to represent the axis perpendicular thereto; i.e., {north (coded by 'upstream' forms) ↔ south (coded by 'downstream' forms)}. An analogous strategy for determining cardinal directions is attested in Yi and Dulong, in which the term for 'north' can be analyzed into 'water' and 'head', and the term for 'south' into 'water' and 'tail'.[19] This is a heuristic process in perfect accord with Brown's observation that languages have the predisposition to encode east and west before north and south.[20]

But how did an orientation distinction as pivotal as east-west come to be obfuscated in the literature? An account can be given in terms of the direction of the flow of the Suomo River, along which the Zhuokeji and Suomo speakers dwell, as well as the dominance of the solar subsystem in cases when upstream and downstream directions happen to overlap respectively with east and west. Referring to FIG. 2, we can see that the Suomo River flows west. Therefore, in the region roughly between Suomo and Songgang, the sun rises in the upstream direction and sets in the downstream direction. That is to say, the points of reference for the solar and riverine subsystems merge and become indistinguishable within the Suomo Valley. As it turns out in such a case, the solar subsystem becomes dominant, blocking the riverine dimension. Therefore, for a trip from Zhuokeji to Suomo, only *ko-* 'eastwards' can be applied; and for a trip from Ma'erkang to Songgang, *nə-* 'westwards' rather than *rə-* 'downstream' must be used. This is true irrespective of the fact that these are also trips upstream and downstream. Notably, the dominance of the solar over the riverine subsystem asserts itself only where an upstream direction coincides with absolute east or any subdivision to the right of the north-south axis and, likewise, where a downstream direction coincides with absolute west or any sub-direction to the left of the north-south axis. In other words, if the upstream direction happens to point in a generally easterly direction, *ko-* ('eastwards') must replace *rə-* ('upstream'); in the same way, if a river runs in a generally westerly direction, then *nə-* ('westwards') becomes the only choice, thwarting *rə-* ('downstream'). This scenario is portrayed in FIG. 4.

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[19] Dai and Xu 1995:224-225.
[20] C. H. Brown 1983:143.

FIG. 4

N

nə-/*rə- | *ko-/*ro-*

S
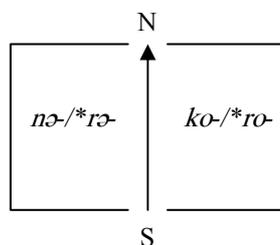
This analysis helps to explain why along the Jinchuan River, which flows southwest, *ko-* 'eastwards' is the only orientational option for someone traveling from Jinchuan to Dangba; and, conversely, only *nə-* 'westwards' is correct if one travels in the opposite direction. A revealing observation by my Zhuokeji consultant further testifies to the important role that the sun plays in the blocking effect. While comparing trips made along the Jiaomuzu River, as opposed to the Jinchuan River, he contends that *ro-* 'upstream' is used because the sun is not visible to someone traveling upstream along the Jiaomuzu River; however, the sun can be seen in a trip upstream along the Jinchuan River, hence the obligatory use of *ko-* 'eastwards' to the exclusion of *ro-*.

4.3 Solar vs. higher-lower seat

In Nagano (1984), the two terms of the solar opposition are taken to represent rather a sociolinguistic distinction of higher versus lower seats; specifically, *ku* 'seat of honor' vs. *ni/di* 'lower seat'. Comparing the forms in Tables 6 and 7,[21] one can find that the forms for 'seat of honor' (*ku*), 'lower seat' (*ni/di*), and 'behind' (*re*) are in fact identical to the adverbial terms for 'eastwards' *kû*, 'westwards' *dî*, and 'downstream' *rê*:

Table 6: Zhuokeji orientation oppositions proposed by Nagano

Subsystems	Oppositions	
Riverine	upstream *ko*	downstream *no*
Vertical/hill	up/uphill *to*	down/downhill *no*
Front-behind	front *ro*	behind **re**
Seat	seat of honor **ku**	lower seat *ni/**di***

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[21] These tables, repeating information, already put forth in Tables 1 and 3, are placed here for expository convenience.

Table 7: Zhuokeji verbal prefixes and adverbials coding orientation oppositions

Forms Subsystems		Verbal Prefix	Adverbial
Solar	east	*ko-*	*kû*
	west	*nɔ-*	*dî*
Riverine	upstream	*ro-*	*rô*
	downstream	*rɔ-*	*rê*
Vertical	up	*to-*	*tô*
	down	*na-*	*nâ*

Nagano asserts that all "direction markers" can serve as perfective prefixes.[22] However, the following examples demonstrate that *kû*, *dî* and *rê* are by no means used for marking perfectivity, but are in fact specialized adverbial forms coding 'east' (*kû*), 'west' (*dî*), and 'downstream' (*rê*):

(7) a. *ŋā*   ***kû/dî/rê***   *tʃʰê-ŋ*
        1SG   eastwards/westwards/downstream go_1-1SG

   = b. ***kû/dî/rê***   *ŋā*   *tʃʰê-ŋ*
        eastwards/westwards/downstream   1SG go_1-1SG
        'I walk eastwards/westwards/downstream.'

   c.* *ŋā*   ***kû/dî/rê***   *tʰɐl-ŋ*
        1SG   eastwards/westwards/downstream go_2-1SG
        'I walked/have walked eastwards/westwards/downstream.'

In (7c), *kû*, *dî*, and *rê* are incompatible with $stem_2$, the stem form associated exclusively with past imperfective, self-person present imperfective, and, above all, perfective prefixes. Furthermore, *kû*, *dî*, and *rê* are phonologically and syntactically independent because they are always in accented falling tone, displaying no interactions with the tonal and accentual patterns of the conjugated verb stem (7a-b), and can furthermore be separated from the verb by an inserted free morpheme (7b). All these facts lead to the conclusion that the system proposed by Nagano fails to discern the distinction between orientation prefixes and orientation adverbials.[23]

     In addition, the actual orientation forms marking the seating contrast are the verbal prefixes *ko-* and *nɔ-*. A closer scrutiny of the data and the relevant literature makes it

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[22] Nagano 1984:29.

[23] Nishida (1984:64-68), comparing the subsystems proposed by the Chinese linguists and that by Nagano, also deplores the fact that in Nagano's data two distinct categories of orientation markers, similar in form but quite different grammatically, are not distinguished one from the other.

certain that the seating opposition is metaphorically derived from the primary sun-based semantics. The solar contrast has been found to be extendible to a secondary centripetal (< 'eastward', i.e., in the direction of the rising sun) vs. centrifugal (< 'westward') opposition.[24] In my Zhuokeji data, for instance, *ko-* is the default perfective prefix selected by verbs like *kə-ŋɐjtôn* 'to accumulate' with clear centripetal meanings; likewise, *nə-* is the perfective prefix lexically selected by verbs like *kɐ-klêk* 'to erase, to wipe away'. By the same token, it would be natural to regard the seat of honor[25] as the deictic center of the house. Thus, the chain of metaphorical extensions 'eastward (toward the rising sun)'→'toward center'→'toward center of house' is entirely natural, and provides a revealing account of the occurrence of the relevant forms *ko-* and *nə-* in a seemingly unrelated fourth subsystem.

4.4 Riverine vs. front-back

Nagano (1984) treats the riverine markers as representing a front-back contrast, in which *ro* and *rɛ* signifies 'front' and 'back' (Nagano's 'behind') respectively. I have already argued in §4.1 that *ro-* and *rə-* (Nagano's *rɛ* being an adverbial derivative therefrom) basically denote riverine contrasts. The idea that 'front' and 'back' could bear metaphorical links to the riverine contrast could not be verified in my own field research, and is hard to evaluate since no concrete examples of this usage were provided in Nagano 1984. In my Zhuokeji data the concept 'front' and 'back' are signified by means of the nominals *tə-tṣī* 'front' and *tə-ŋkʰū* 'back', which are completely unrelated to the riverine subsystem.

5. Conclusions

This paper attempts to establish the solar dimension in the Situ rGyalrong orientation marking by exploring its fundamental semantic characteristics. Previous analyses have failed to recognize this important orientational dimension owing either to inadequate understanding of the geographical surroundings in the Suomo Valley, or mistaking secondary, extended meanings for the primary east-west distinction. Once the nature of the primary sun-based opposition and its metaphorical extensions are properly recognized, mysteries regarding the descriptive disparity in the literature are nicely solved.

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[24] J. Sun forthcoming:§3.4.2.
[25] In a traditional rGyalrong stone house, the seat of honor is at the side of the hearth directly facing the entrance to the living room.

Abbreviations

1	first person	**3**	third person	**IMPFV**	present imperfective
LOC	locative	**NEG**	negator	**PFV**	perfective
SG	singular				

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被忽略的面向：
四土嘉戎語的「東」與「西」

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　　嘉戎語屬藏緬語族，分布於四川省西北山區。本文重新解析該語言的趨向系統。有鑑於前人的研究忽略了以太陽爲依據的「東－西」趨向範疇，本研究記錄了在嘉戎地區地理環境中嘉戎語指示趨向的實際情況，搭配嘉戎語其他方言及其他嘉戎語組語言的比較材料，並佐以跨語言的類型學觀察，證實「東－西」趨向確實存在於嘉戎語中。同時，與前人分析相左之處，尤其是「上游－下游」、「東－西」對立交叉作用的相關問題，也有詳盡論述。

關鍵詞：藏緬語，嘉戎語，趨向（東－西）