

A GIS View of the Word Orders of Numeral Bases and Numeral Classifiers in Kuki-Chin Languages

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Abstract

Tibeto-Burman (TB) languages are known for their diversity in numeral systems and classifiers. This paper investigates the Kuki-Chin (KC, also called South-Central Tibeto-Burman) languages in TB's Northeast Indian Areal Group and provides a comprehensive description of the four types of numeral systems: base-final, base-initial, base-split, and no-base, and the four types of classifier systems: CL-final, CL-initial, CL-split, and no-CL. A thorough survey of the literature, aided by fieldwork, enables a GIS view of the distribution of the different types of languages. Also, KC languages conform to Greenberg's Universal 20A: N does not come between Num and CL, and the numeral base and classifier harmonize in word order. We propose the following hypothesis for Proto-KC (PKC) and Proto-TB (PTB) to account for the variation in numeral bases and classifiers in KC, i.e., PKC, like PTB, is base-initial and without numeral classifiers, and the current variation in numeral bases and numeral classifiers in KC is due to horizontal external influence via language contact. Bayesian phylogenetic inference tests, however, show mixed results, as PKC is likely to be base-initial, as expected, but CL-initial, and PTB is likely to be base-final but CL-initial. Thus, we plan to conduct a comprehensive survey of all TB languages and further explore the state of PTB in terms of numeral bases and classifiers.

Keywords: Tibeto-Burman, Kuki-Chin, numeral base, numeral classifier, word order, GIS

1. Introduction

The majority of languages have multiplicative complex numerals formed with a multiplier and a numeral base, e.g., three hundred [3×100], where the numeral base hundred serves as the multiplicand (Comrie 2013). However, while most of the modern-day languages of primary cultures have a base-final order, like English and Chinese, most African languages have the opposite base-initial order, e.g., *ikie ita* [100×3] in *Ibibio* (Niger-Congo) and all languages in Eurasia are base-final, except some of the Tibeto-Burman (TB) languages¹, e.g., *za-thum* [100×3] in *Vaiphei* (Her et al. 2024).

Thus, in the Sino-Tibetan family, while Sinitic languages are entirely uniform in having a base-final decimal numeral system (Her 2017a), TB languages are rather diversified in having both base-final and base-initial complex numerals (Li, Yang, and Her 2018). Interestingly, while Sinitic languages are likewise uniform in having numeral classifiers (NC), which consistently appear after the numeral, hence NC-final, TB languages are again diversified, as some do, and others do not, have NCs and for those that do, both CN-final and NC-initial orders are attested (Her, Tang, and Li 2019).

This study investigates the Kuki-Chin (KC) languages, an understudied TB group where base-initial languages seem to congregate (Her et al. 2024). The group consists of some 54 languages with more than a million speakers, situated mainly in Manipur, Assam, Mizoram, Nagaland, and Tripura in northeastern India, also found in Chittagong Hills District in Bangladesh and Rakhine and Chin states and Sagaing divisions in Myanmar (VanBik 2009). Fig. 1 is a GIS map of the distribution of KC languages. Each point represents a language. The coordinates are extracted from Glottolog (Hammarström et al. 2024). Fig. 2 is the Sino-Tibetan family tree, where KC is under the Northeast Indian Areal Group of the TB branch.

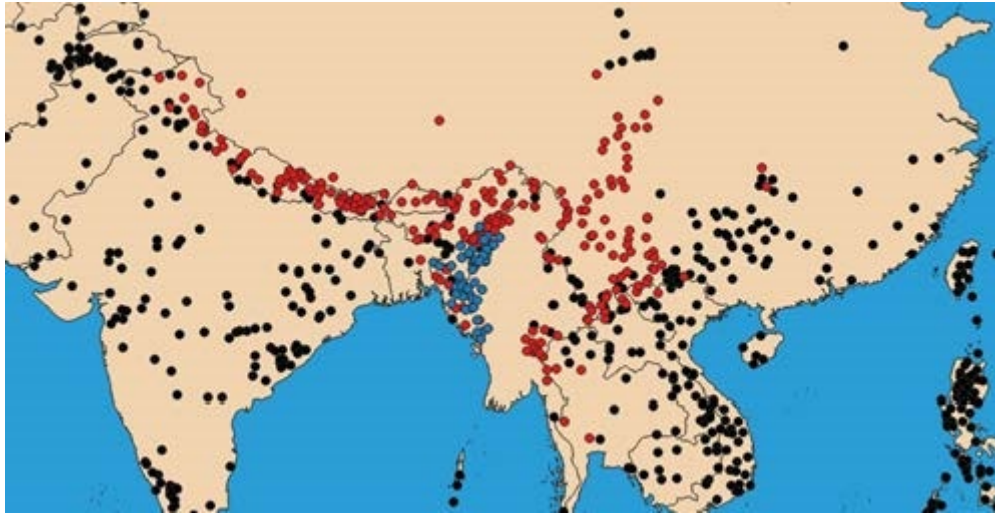
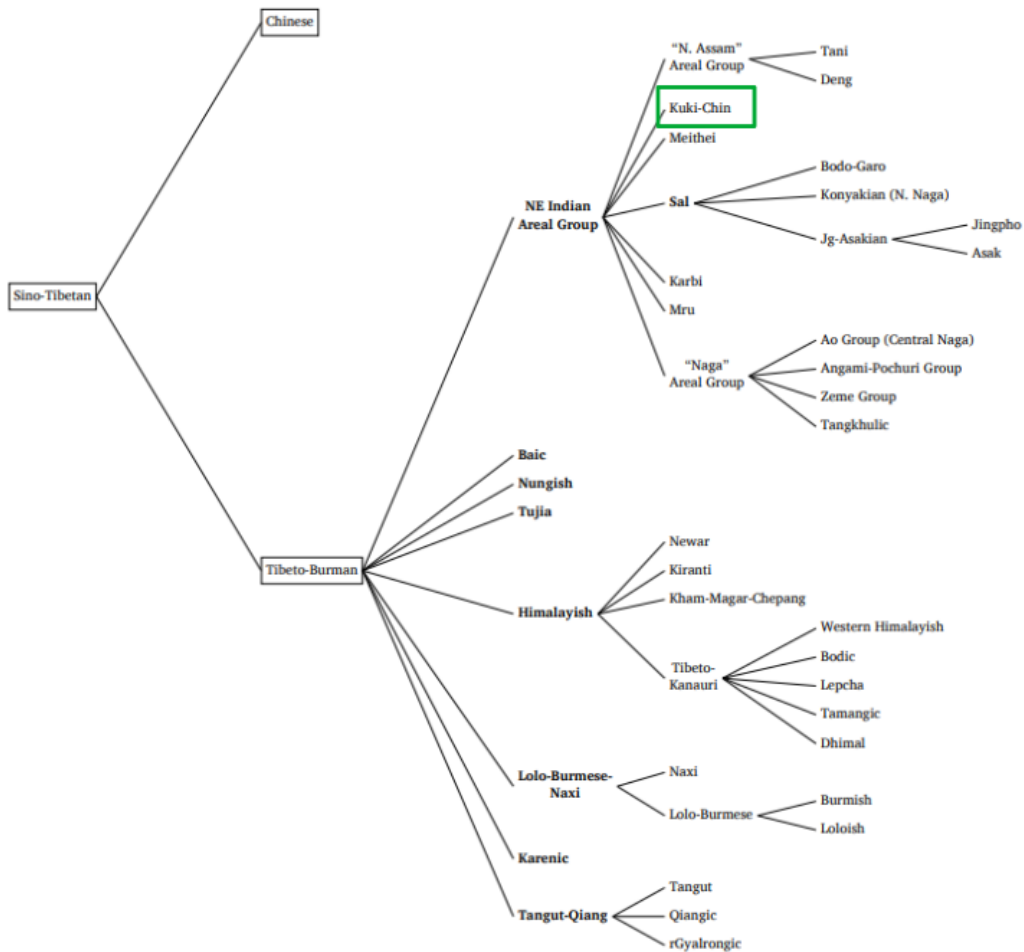


Fig. 1 Distribution of Kuki-Chin languages (blue dots: KC, red dots: TB, black dots: non-TB)



Updated subgrouping model of ST/TB relationships

Fig. 2 Sino-Tibetan family tree (Matisoff 2015: xxxii). The Kuki-Chin branch is highlighted in green.

The goal of the study is to conduct a comprehensive survey of KC languages in terms of base orders and, where NCs are present, NC orders, and then provide an account for their distribution within the TB group. This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 gives the background of the study and our motivation. Section 3 focuses on the results of the extensive survey on KC numeral bases and numeral classifiers. We then discuss their distribution in Section 4, offering a qualitative analysis and a

66 quantitative account of Bayesian phylogenetic inference tests. Section 5 presents
67 discussions, conclusions, and plans for future research.

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69 2. Numeral Bases and Numeral Classifiers

70 In this section, we demonstrate first that numeral bases function as multiplicands in
71 the mathematical formation of a multiplicative numeral. We then illustrate the advances
72 in the study of numeral classifiers by recognizing that the classifier likewise functions
73 as a multiplicand, just like the numeral base. The typology of the classifier word order
74 is thus crucially linked to the typology of base word order. We present a GIS map for
75 the worldwide distribution of the four types of base orders in 2.3. The intriguing
76 patterns of base types and numeral classifiers in TB are summarized in 2.4, which
77 motivates this study on Kuki-Chin languages specifically.

78

79 2.1 Numeral bases as multiplicands

80 In the study of numeral systems and numeral classifiers in the world's languages,
81 significant advances have been made in the last decade in terms of both theoretical
82 accounts and the construction of databases. As an informal part of Max Planck
83 Institute's (MPI) *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online* (WALS,
84 <https://wals.info/>) project, the engineer Eugene Chan's (2024) website, named Numeral
85 Systems of the World's Languages (<https://lingweb.eva.mpg.de/channumerals/>),
86 contains the limited raw data of the numeral systems of some 4,000 languages. Contrary
87 to common misconception, not all numeral systems in human languages employ
88 multiplication, as some have addition only and some only have simple numerals, and a
89 small number of languages are even without exact numerals. However, it is true that
90 most of the languages thus far documented employ addition and multiplication in the
91 general pattern in (1) (Comrie 2013); *b* refers to a numeral base, and *n* stands for
92 multiplier.

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94 (1) General Pattern of Numerals

95 For base *b*: $(n \times b) + m$, where $m < b$ and $n \leq b$

96 E.g., *sān-bǎi èr-shí yī* $[[3 \times 100] + [2 \times 10] + [1]]$ 'three hundred twenty-one'

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98 The Mandarin example in (1) shows *bǎi* 'hundred' and *shí* 'ten' as numeral
99 bases, serving as multiplicands, with *sān* 'three' and *èr* 'two' as the respective
100 multiplier. The Commutative Law of Multiplication recognizes the reversible order
101 between *n* and *b*. While most of the familiar dominant modern languages, e.g.,
102 Mandarin, English, Japanese, and Spanish, have a base-final, i.e., $(n \times b)$ numeral
103 system, a large number of languages employ a base-initial, i.e., $(b \times n)$, numeral
104 system, e.g., Kilivila (Austronesian).

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106 (2) Base-initial Numerals in Kilivila (Senft 1986:77-80)

107 luwa-tala (10×1) '10'

108 luwa-yu (10×2) '20'

109 luwa-tolu (10×3) '30'

110 lakatu-tala (100×1) '100'

111 lakatu-yu (100×2) '200'

112 lakatu-tolu (100×3) '300'

113

114 The significance and implications of this word order parameter were largely
115 overlooked in the literature. For example, Comrie (2013) states: 'The order of elements

116 is irrelevant, as are the particular conventions used in individual languages to indicate
117 multiplication and addition.’ There thus had not been any large-scale surveys of
118 languages in terms of this word order parameter, hence no studies on the relevance and
119 significance of this important typological parameter either, until recently (e.g., Her
120 2017a; 2017b).

121 Not surprisingly, the debate then extends to the controversy over the constituency
122 of additive complex numerals, e.g., *shí yī* [ten + one] in Mandarin, and multiplicative
123 complex numerals, e.g., *sān-bǎi* [three×hundred]. The dominant view in formal
124 semantics and formal syntax is that such complex numerals do not form a constituent
125 to the exclusion of the noun, which can be overt or covert (e.g., Ionin and Matushansky
126 2006; Ionin and Matushansky 2018). We have likewise followed through the
127 mathematical evidence and argued that complex numerals are indeed constituents
128 syntactically (He et al., 2017; He and Her 2022). Interestingly, Waęiel and Caha (2020)
129 propose a universal account for all numerals, where the classifier feature is universal,
130 numerals are constituents, and [Num CL] is also a constituent.

131 The WACL project (Her et al. 2022) was inspired by Greenberg’s (1990a[1972],
132 p. 172) insight that numeral classifiers function as a multiplicand and his observation
133 in Greenberg (1990b[1978], p. 293) that the numeral base and the numeral classifier
134 harmonize in word order, formalized in Her (2017a; 2017b) as an implicational
135 universal in (3).

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- 137 (3) Word order harmonization between base and CL (Her 2017a: 280)
138 a. CL-final order, or [Num CL] \Leftrightarrow base-final numerals, or $(n \times b)$
139 b. CL-initial order, or [CL Num] \Leftrightarrow base-initial numerals, or $(b \times n)$

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141 The multiplicative theory of numeral classifiers predicts the CL-base
142 harmonization, thus also in effect predicting that a classifier language should have
143 multiplicative bases in its numeral system. This is stated as a probabilistic implication
144 universal as well, as in (4).

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- 146 (4) Co-occurrence of numeral bases and classifiers in languages:
147 Presence of classifiers \Leftrightarrow Presence of multiplicative numerals

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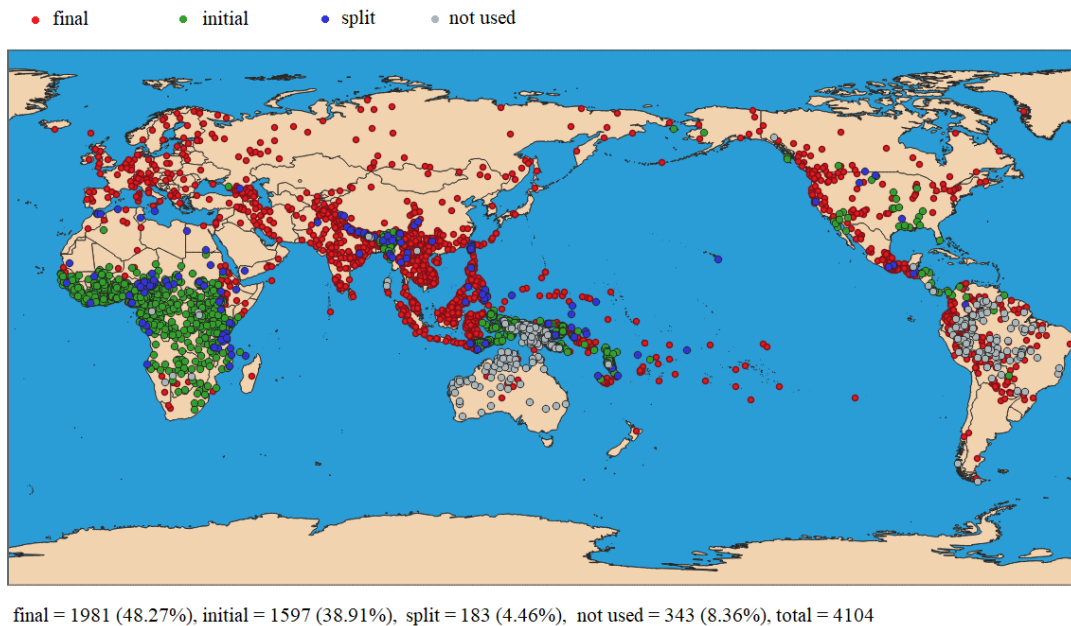
149 These predictions have been verified with statistical significance in 219 classifier
150 languages from six language groups, i.e., Sinitic, Miao-Yao, Austro-Asiatic, Tai-Kadai,
151 Tibeto-Burman, and Indo-Aryan (Her, Tang, and Li 2019). Further studies explored the
152 synchronization of word order between numeral bases, numeral classifiers, and nouns
153 (Allasonnière-Tang and Her 2020), showing that morphosyntactic plural markers and
154 sortal numeral classifiers are alike in encoding countness and functioning
155 mathematically as a multiplicand with the precise numerical value of *one* (Her and Tang
156 2020).

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158 **2.2 Typology of numeral base orders**

159 The open-access WACL database covers 3338 languages with information on numeral
160 classifiers and the relevant base orders (Her et al. 2022), and the open-access database
161 reported by Her et al. (2024) expanded to 4099 languages with information on base
162 orders. The current database has 4104 languages, where each language is marked with
163 information on the presence/absence of numeral classifiers, classifier word order,
164 presence/absence of numeral bases, and base order, along with information on the
165 language’s genealogical position, its location in terms of geographical coordinates, the

166 population size of its native speakers, and some of the important references in relation
167 to this language. See Fig. 3, a GIS map of the 4104 languages showing the worldwide
168 distribution of numeral systems with different base orders.
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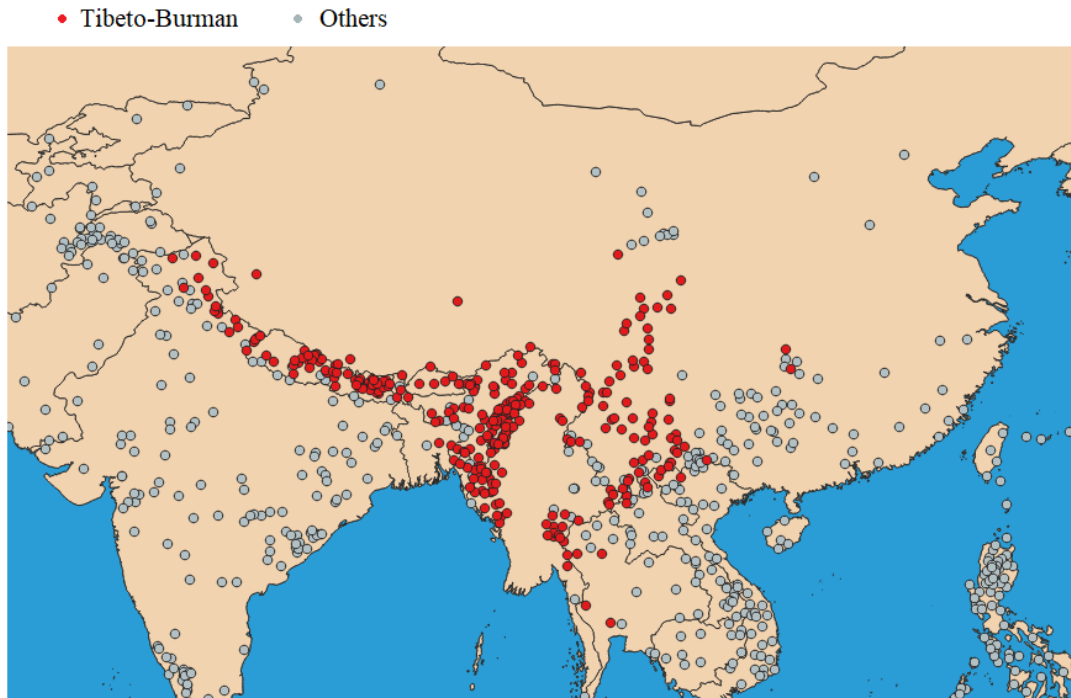


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171 Fig. 3 Worldwide distribution of numeral systems in 4104 languages
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173 The distribution pattern of base-final systems, base-initial systems, base-split
174 systems, and no-base systems does not seem random at all, and Her et al. (2024)
175 propose a set of six hypotheses to account for it. However, what especially caught our
176 attention is the fact that on the Asia continent, the only hotbed of the green dots, i.e.,
177 base-initial languages, seem to be within the TB family.
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179 2.3 Base-initial numeral systems in TB

180 Fig. 4 shows the geographical distribution of the 312 TB languages (red dots). Note that
181 while nearly all other languages (gray dots) on the Asian continent are base-final, the
182 TB language group sandwiched in between is the only exception.
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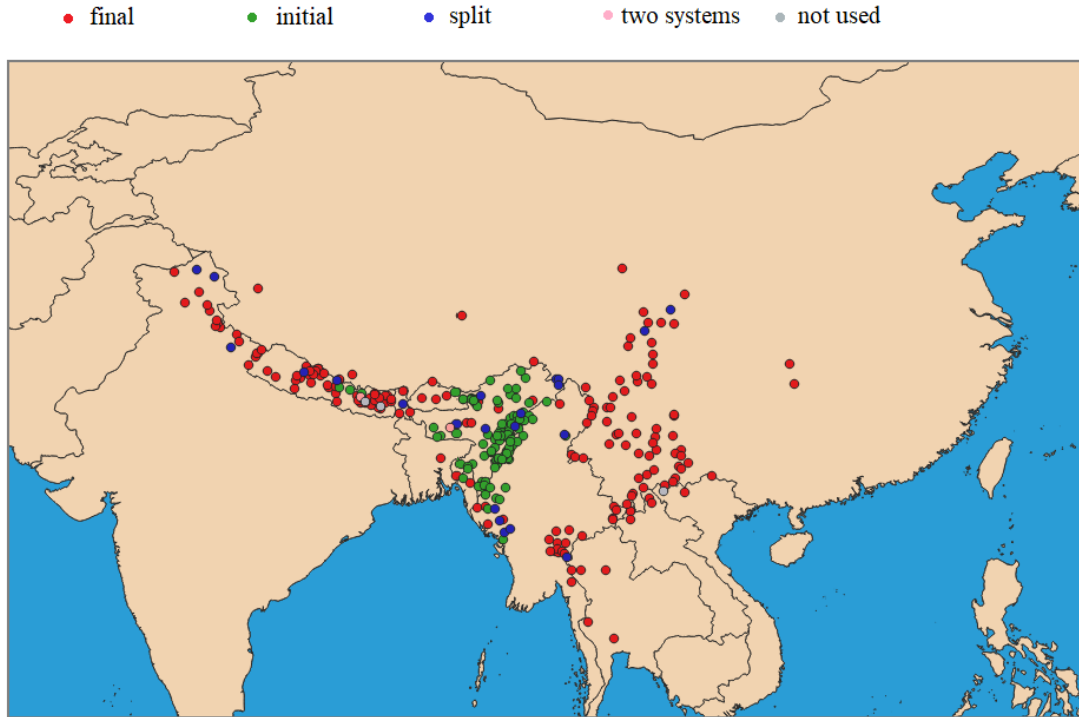


Tibeto-Burman languages = 312

Fig. 4 The Tibeto-Burman sandwiched between base-final languages

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All four types of numeral systems are also found in TB: out of the 312 languages documented in the current database, 100 (32.05%, 100/312) are base-initial, 184 (58.97%, 184/312) are base-final, 23 (7.37%, 23/312) have both orders, and 3 (0.96%, 3/312) have no bases. Fig. 5 shows the distribution of the four types of base orders in TB. Note that the base-initial TB languages (green dots) are sandwiched between base-final TB languages (red dots). In particular, note the concentration of the base-initial feature in the northeastern India region, where most of the KC languages are located.

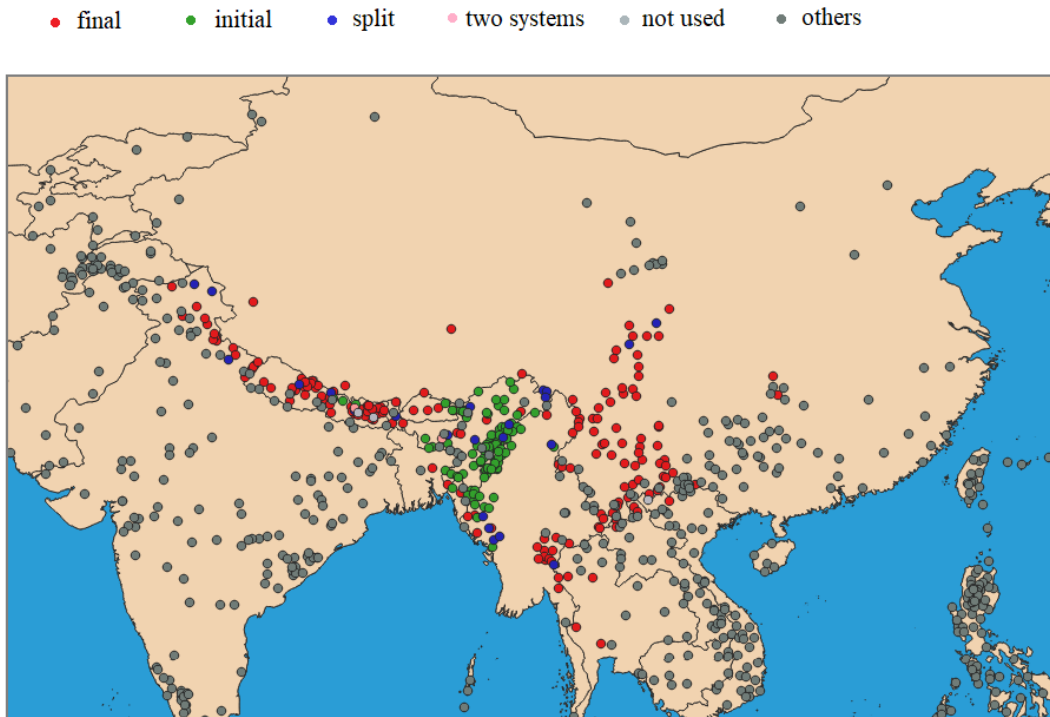


final = 184 (58.97%), initial = 100 (32.05%), split = 23 (7.37%), two systems = 2 (0.64%),
not used = 3 (0.96%), total = 312

Fig. 5 Base-initial TB languages sandwiched between base-final TB languages

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Fig. 6 shows the four types of TB languages nestled in the neighboring non-TB languages (gray dots) on the Asian continent, which, again, are nearly all base-final.



final = 184 (58.97%), initial = 100 (32.05%), split = 23 (7.37%), two systems = 2 (0.64%),
not used = 3 (0.96%), total = 312

Fig. 6 Distribution of the four types of numeral systems in TB on the Asian continent

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204 It is likely that early humans used base-initial numerals (Her et al. 2024). Such
 205 a pattern of distribution strongly suggests that base-initial TB languages are the most
 206 conservative and have so far resisted the influence of the base-final force dominant on
 207 the Asian continent. It has indeed been claimed that in Proto-TB (PTB) multiplicative
 208 numerals are base-initial (Kiryu 2009: 64-66; Her and Li 2023). Note that Kiryu (2009:
 209 65) states: ‘The Proto-Tibeto-Burman order of numeral and quantifier was Num-Q.’
 210 Crucially, ‘Num-Q’ here, or base-final in our terminology, is clearly a typo given the
 211 previous context. We have contacted the author and confirmed with him that what he
 212 meant to say was ‘Q-Num’, i.e., base-initial, instead. Kiryu (2009: 64-66) thus further
 213 suggests that the base-final order in TB is due to contact with neighboring base-final
 214 language groups. Her and Li (2023) further cite Fu’s (2015: 50) view that the default
 215 order between N and Num in TB is [N Num], thus head-initial, as supporting evidence,
 216 as base-initial numerals are likewise head-initial. This base-initial PTB hypothesis thus
 217 suggests that the base-final order in TB is due to external influences, and the split
 218 systems in TB are in a transitional stage.

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220 2.4 Numeral classifiers in TB

221 To the best of our knowledge, no TB specialist has ever claimed that the classifier
 222 feature is indigenous in any TB language or in PTB, except perhaps Matisoff (2003:
 223 609). In his *Handbook of Proto-Tibeto-Burman*, Matisoff proposes a single classifier
 224 **ra* in Index of Proto-Forms. Yet, as aptly demonstrated by Her and Li (2023) with
 225 several pieces of evidence, instead of a classifier for humans, **ra* is a noun with the
 226 meaning of ‘person’. Evidence available thus strongly suggests that PTB does not have
 227 the classifier feature and all TB classifier languages acquired this feature via contact
 228 with neighboring classifier languages. The word order distribution of classifiers in TB
 229 is thus very intriguing.

230 Out of the 312 TB languages, the database has information on the classifier feature
 231 in 180 languages; see Table 1 for a summary in terms of the classifier word order. Fig.
 232 7 shows the geographical distribution of the 312 TB languages.

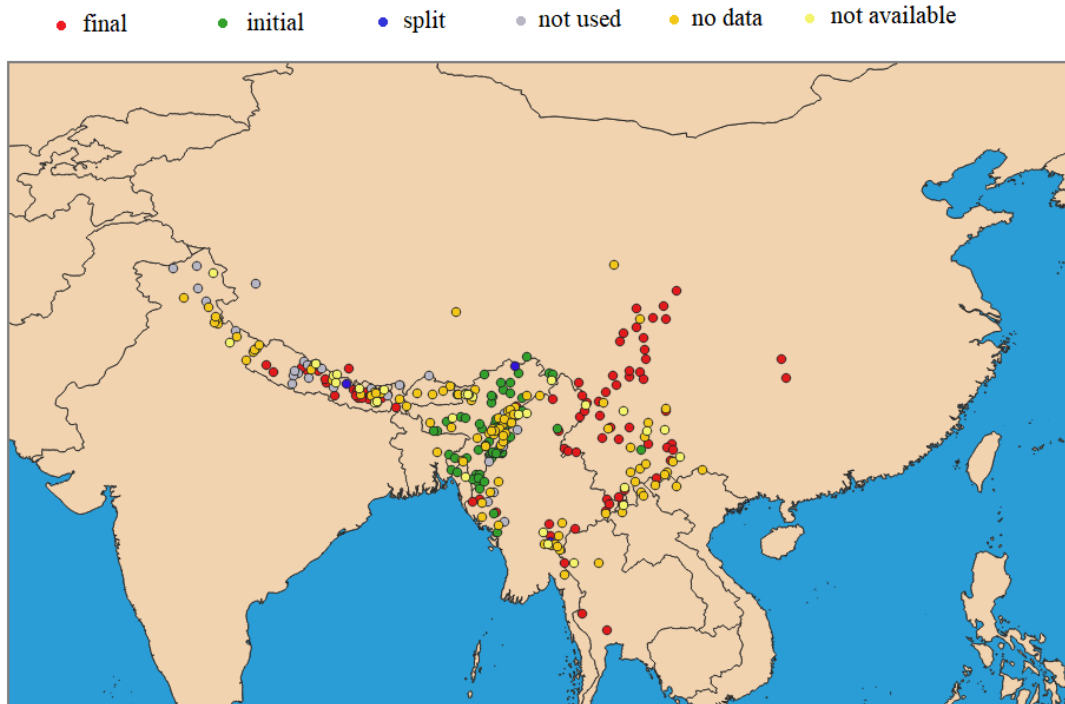
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Table 1 Distribution of classifier languages in TB

CL feature	No. of languages	Percentage
CL-final	87	27.88%
CL-initial	62	19.87%
CL-split	4	1.28%
no-CL	27	8.65%
No Data	102	32.69%
Not Available	30	9.62%
Total	312	99.99%

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final = 87 (27.88%), initial = 62 (19.87%), split = 4 (1.28%), not used = 27 (8.65%),
 no data = 102 (32.69%), not available = 30 (9.62%), total = 312

Fig. 7 Distribution of classifier languages in TB

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Given that PTB is base-initial and without CLs, it follows that TB languages without CLs are most conservative, followed by those with classifiers also in a CL-initial order, thus observing the base-CL harmonization. Those with the CL-split orders are in a transitional state, likely to further develop and join the CL-final TB classifiers languages. Note that the CL-initial feature, like the base-initial feature, again appears to concentrate in the northeastern India region.

3. Numeral Bases and Numeral Classifiers in Kuki-Chin

Upon a careful deliberation of the intriguing patterns of the distribution of numeral bases and numeral classifiers in TB and the enticing concentration of base-initial and CL-initial languages in the northeastern India region, we have decided that a thorough and targeted investigation of the South-Central Tibeto-Burman languages, *aka* Kuki-Chin, is the best starting point, and indeed a necessary first step, to a full understanding of how the TB languages came to have this pattern of distribution of the four types of numeral bases and numeral classifiers.

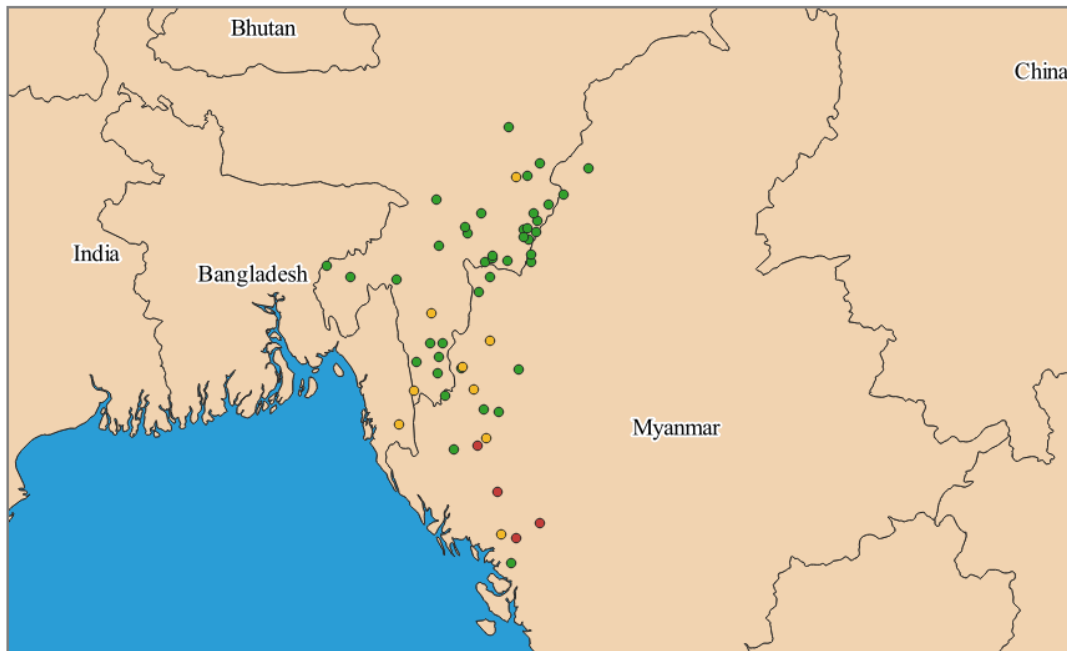
In the current database, 54 KC languages have been recorded with information on their base feature, while still 9 languages lack reliable data. Table 2 is a summary, and Fig. 8 shows the geographical distribution of the 54 KC languages.

Table 2 Distribution of the base feature in KC languages

Base feature	No. of languages	Percentage
base-final	0	0%
base-initial	41	75.93%
base-split	4	7.41%
No data	9	16.67

total	54	100.01%
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● initial ● split ● no data



initial = 41 (75.93%), split = 4 (7.41%), no data = 9 (16.67%), total = 54

Fig. 8 Distribution of the base feature in TB

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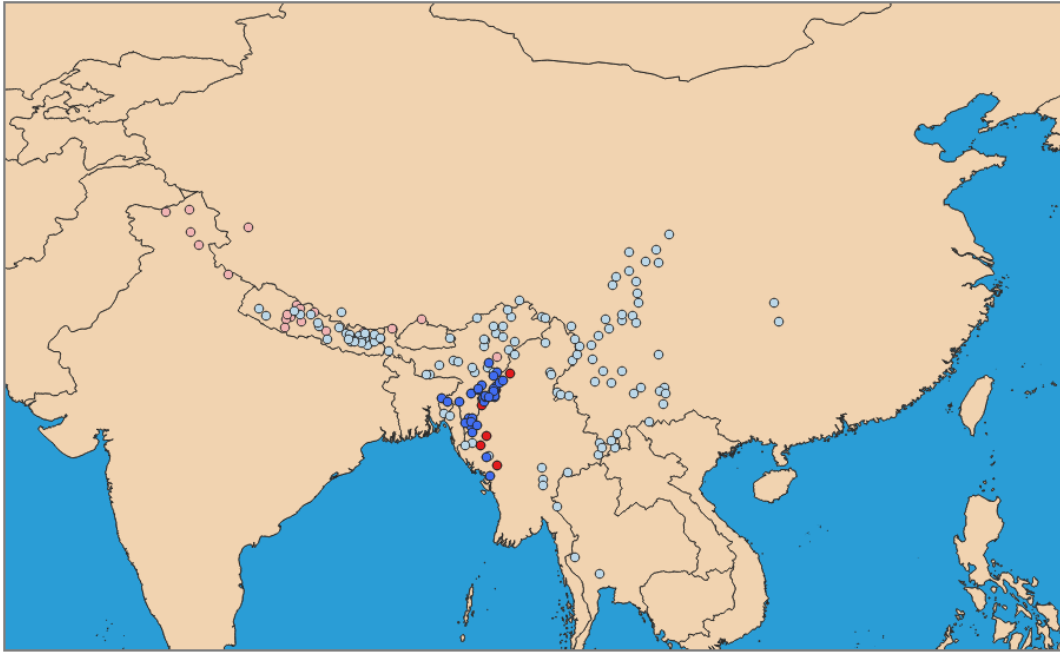
Notably, all KC languages documented are still base-initial, except the four languages with both base-final and base-initial numerals, known as ‘split’ systems. As for the classifier feature, 39 KC languages have been recorded with information on the classifier feature, while still 15 languages require data. Table 3 is a summary, and Fig. 9 shows the geographical distribution of the known KC classifier languages and non-classifier languages among the known TB classifier languages and non-classifier languages.

Table 3 Distribution of the classifier feature in KC languages

CL feature	No. of languages	Percentage
CL-final	0	0%
CL-initial	32	59.26%
CL-split	0	0%
no-CL	7	12.96%
No data	15	27.78%
total	54	100%

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• KC CL languages • KC non-CL languages • TB CL languages • TB non-CL languages



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Fig. 9 Distribution of the classifier feature in KC languages and TB classifier languages

Table 4 The base feature and classifier feature in KC languages

Language Name	Base order	CL order
Aimol	base-initial	CL-initial
Anal	base-initial	CL-initial
Asho Chin	base-split	no-CL
Bawm Chin	base-initial	CL-initial
Biete	base-initial	CL-initial
Bualkhaw Chin	no-data	no-data
Chinbon Chin	base-split	no-data
Chiru	base-initial	CL-initial
Chothe	base-initial	CL-initial
Daai Chin	base-split	CL-initial
Darlong	base-initial	CL-initial
Eastern Khumi Chin	base-initial	no-data
Falam Chin	base-initial	CL-initial
Gangte	base-initial	CL-initial
Haka/Hakha Chin	base-initial	CL-initial
Halam	base-initial	CL-initial
Hmar	base-initial	CL-initial
Hrangkhoh/Hrangkhaw 1	base-initial	CL-initial
Kaang Chin	no-data	no-data
Kharam Naga	no-data	no-CL
Khumi Chin	base-initial	CL-initial
Koireng	base-initial	CL-initial
Kom (India)	base-initial	CL-initial
Lamkang	base-initial	CL-initial

Laamtuk Thet	base-initial	no-data
Lautu	no-data	no-data
Mizo	base-initial	CL-initial
Mara Chin	base-initial	no-CL
Monsang Naga	base-initial	no-data
Moyon	base-initial	no-CL
Mro Chin	base-initial	CL-initial
Mün Chin	base-split	no-CL
Nga La	no-data	no-data
Ngawn Chin	base-initial	no-data
Paite Chin	base-initial	CL-initial
Pankhu (Pangkhu, Pangkhoa, Paang)	base-initial	CL-initial
Purum	base-initial	no-CL
Ralte	base-initial	CL-initial
Rengmitca	no-data	no-data
Sakachep	base-initial	CL-initial
Senthang Chin	base-initial	no-CL
Shendu	no-data	no-data
Simte	base-initial	CL-initial
Sizang Chin	base-initial	CL-initial
Sorbung	base-initial	no-data
Sumtu Chin	no-data	no-data
Syriem	base-initial	no-data
Tarao	base-initial	CL-initial
Tedim Chin/Thadou	base-initial	CL-initial
Thado Chin	base-initial	CL-initial
Vaiphei	base-initial	CL-initial
Zotung Chin	no-data	no-data
Zou	base-initial	CL-initial
Zyphe/Zophei	base-initial	CL-initial

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278 4. Hypotheses and A Quantitative Account

279 To account for the variation in numeral bases and classifiers in KC, we shall recruit
 280 two of Greenberg's hypothetical universals and propose a hypothesis regarding Proto-
 281 KC. First, Greenberg's Universal 20A is about the classifier word order in a nominal
 282 phrase (Greenberg 1990b:185; Her 2017a), as stated in (5).

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284 (5) Greenberg's Universal 20A

285 Of the three elements Num, CL, and N, any order is possible as long as N does
 286 not come between Num and CL.

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288 Thus, out of the six mathematically possible orders among three different
 289 elements in (6), only four are allowed in languages.

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291 (6) Six Possible Word Orders of [Num, CL, N]

292 a. √ [Num CL N] (many languages, e.g., Chinese)

293 b. √ [N Num CL] (many languages e.g., Thai)

294 c. √ [CL Num N] (few languages e.g., Ibibio [Niger-Congo])

- 295 d. $\sqrt{\quad}$ [N CL Num] (few languages e.g., Jingpho [Tibeto-Burman])
 296 e. * [CL N Num] (no languages)
 297 f. * [Num N CL] (no languages)

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A more revealing taxonomy of the four legal word orders in (6) can be the results of the interaction between two binary parameters: CL-initial/CL-final and N-initial/N-final, as shown in Table 5.

Table 5 Taxonomy of the universal CL word orders

	N-FINAL	N-INITIAL
CL-FINAL	(A) [Num CL N]	(B) [N Num CL]
CL-INITIAL	(C) [CL Num N]	(D) [N CL Num]

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Recall that since Greenberg (1990b) this universal has received a mathematical interpretation under the multiplicative theory of numeral classifiers, i.e., with CL as a multiplicand and Num as the multiplier, the two form a multiplicative unit that cannot be interrupted. We anticipate that all KC classifier languages will have the less common orders of (6c) and (6d).

Next, Greenberg (1990[1978]:292) observes that the order between Num and C/M and the order between *n* and *base* should ‘harmonize’. This implicational universal is stated in (7), repeated from (3).

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- (7) Word order harmonization between base and CL (Her 2017a: 280)
 a. CL-final order, or [Num CI] \Leftrightarrow base-final numerals, or ($n \times b$)
 b. CL-initial order, or [CI Num] \Leftrightarrow base-initial numerals, or ($b \times n$)

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Thus far all KC classifier languages turn out to be base-initial and all attested cases of (7b). Consequently, KC languages all confirm the proposed universal that a language with numeral classifiers also have numeral bases; see (8), repeated from (4).

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- (8) Co-occurrence of numeral bases and classifiers in languages:
 Presence of classifiers \Leftrightarrow Presence of multiplicative numerals

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Notably, in the extensive data we have collected, all KC languages have the base-initial order, only four have the base-final order alongside the base-initial order, and none have the CL-final order. All KC classifier languages have multiplicative numeral bases, and all KC classifier languages comply with base-CL harmonization. We thus hypothesize that PKC is base-initial, which is consistent with the existing hypothesis that PTB is base-initial (Kiryu 2009: 64-66; Her and Li 2023) and PKC’s base-initial feature is thus inherited from PTB. Furthermore, based on the data in Matisoff’s (2003) monumental work *Handbook of Proto-Tibeto-Burman: System and Philosophy of Sino-Tibetan Reconstruction*, Her and Li (2023: 133) argue that PTB is without classifiers. We thus presume that, given the relative isolation of KC languages in the TB branch of the Sino-Tibetan family, PKC remained without classifiers, which is a borrowed feature in some of the KC languages after PKC. In summary, we put forth the following four hypotheses, two for PKC and two for PTB.

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- (9) Two hypotheses for PKC
 a. PKC has base-initial, not base-final, numerals.
 b. PKC does not have numeral classifiers.

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- 343 (10) Two hypotheses for PTB
344 a. PTB has base-initial, not base-final, numerals.
345 b. PTB does not have numeral classifiers.

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347 We use phylogenetic comparative methods to test the four hypotheses above. Such
348 methods are considered appropriate as they consider the non-independence of features
349 from evolutionary processes (Mace and Holden 2005, Macklin-Cordes and Round
350 2022). We extract the tree from the Kuki-Chin and Tibeto-Burman languages included
351 in our data set from a world tree of languages proposed by Bouckaert et al. (2022). This
352 results in a sample of 902 trees that show possible histories of the languages in the data
353 set. This sample can be summarized with a maximum clade credibility tree, in which
354 every tree of the sample is scored by the product of the likelihood of the splits observed
355 in each individual tree. The tree with the highest score is taken to represent the sample.
356 The maximum clade credibility tree extracted from the tree sample is shown in Fig. 10,
357 along with the variables included in our data.

358

359 Fig. 10. The maximum clade credibility tree of Kuki-Chin and Tibeto-Burman languages
360 based on the world tree from Bouckaert et al. (2022). The heatmap visualization displays
361 the variables included in our data set. The clade in green represents Kuki-Chin languages.

362

363 Based on the sample of trees, we infer the probability of classifiers and base order
364 at the root of Kuki-Chin and Tibeto-Burman languages. We use a reverse jump
365 hyperprior (RJHP) (Green 1995; Gowri-Shankar and Rattray 2007). The RJHP is based
366 on a Continuous Time Markov Chain process. It considers scenarios of reversed change
367 between different states of a variable. For example, it scores the probability that
368 classifiers are lost, acquired, re-acquired and re-lost. The analyses are conducted in R
369 (R-Core-Team, 2021) with the following packages: ape (Paradis and Schliep 2019),
370 diagram (Soetaert 2020), Ggally (Schloerke et al. 2021), ggpubr (Kassambara 2020),
371 phangorn (Schliep 2011), phytools (Revell 2012), tidyverse (Wickham et al. 2019). The
372 code and the data used for the analysis are available at the following repository: [LINK
373 to be provided]. Within Kuki-Chin languages, the results show that the base-initial is
374 the most likely state at the root of Kuki-Chin languages (the median probability at the
375 root is 0.95 for RJHP). Furthermore, classifiers are likely to be present at the root of
376 Kuki-Chin languages (the median probability at the root is 0.86 for RJHP). When
377 considering Tibeto-Burman languages, base-final is the most likely state at the root (the
378 median probability at the root is 0.97 for RJHP). However, CL-initial is the most likely
379 state at the root of Tibeto-Burman languages (the median probability at the root is 0.59
380 for RJHP).

381

382 5. Discussions and Conclusions

383 We have demonstrated in this paper that numeral bases function as multiplicands
384 in the mathematical formation of a multiplicative numeral and that numeral classifier
385 likewise functions as a multiplicand, just like the numeral base. As a result, the typology
386 of the classifier word order is thus closely related to the typology of base word order.
387 The results of a comprehensive survey of base orders and classifier word orders in the
388 Kuki-Chin languages within the Tibeto-Burman group of the Sino-Tibetan family are
389 summarized in Table 6.

390

391

Table 6 Distribution of the base feature in 54 KC languages

Base-initial 41			Base-split 4			No-data 9			Total 54
Cl- initial 31	No-Cl 4	No- data 6	Cl- initia 1 1	No-Cl 2	No- data 1	Cl- initial 0	No-Cl 1	No- data 8	54

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We have also verified that all KC languages conform to Greenberg’s Universal 20A, in that nouns do not intervene between numerals and classifiers. Furthermore, all KC languages with numeral classifiers have the base and the classifier in harmonious order, i.e., base-initial and Cl-initial, as seen in Table 2. Based on the data and the existing views in the literature, we propose four tentative hypotheses, two for PKC in (11), repeated from (9), and two for PTB in (12), repeated from (10), respectively.

400

(11) Two hypotheses for PKC

401

PKC has base-initial, not base-final, numerals.

402

PKC does not have numeral classifiers.

403

404

(12) Two hypotheses for PTB

405

PTB has base-initial, not base-final, numerals.

406

PTB does not have numeral classifiers.

407

408

The results of phylogenetic comparative analyses show the following:

409

410

1. PKC has base-initial, not base-final, numerals.

411

The preliminary results match our hypothesis that base-initial numerals are the most likely state at the root of Kuki-Chin languages.

412

413

414

2. PKC has numeral classifiers.

415

The preliminary results do not match our hypothesis, as classifiers were more likely at the root of Kuki-Chin. We thus may need to revise the hypothesis and acknowledge the existence of classifiers in PKC already. Further research on KC’s sister groups and the root of their mother node, the Northeast Indian Areal Group will shed light on this issue.

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3. PTB numerals are more likely base-final.

421

The preliminary results do not match our hypothesis. We suspect this is due to the large number of Tibeto-Burman languages switching to base-final order due to contact with neighboring base-final languages. Additional qualitative analyses and more comprehensive quantitative data on TB languages, especially those of underrepresented languages, will be needed for a clearer picture.

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4. PTB may have numeral classifiers.

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The preliminary results do not match our hypothesis, as CL-initial is the most likely state at the root of Tibeto-Burman languages. Again, we suspect this is due to the effect of language contact between Tibeto-Burman languages and neighboring classifier languages. Additional qualitative analyses and more comprehensive quantitative data on TB

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435 languages, especially those of underrepresented languages, will be
436 needed for a clearer picture.

437

438 For further research, we plan to conduct a comprehensive survey of all TB
439 languages and find additional qualitative and quantitative evidence for the state of PTB
440 in terms of numeral bases and classifiers.

441

442 Notes

443 1. Recent studies by Zhang et al. (2019) and Zhang et al. (2020) have provided
444 robust evidence supporting a dichotomy between Sinitic and TB languages.

445

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451

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