1 Introduction

(1) *tɤ-χtɯ-t-a*
PFV-buy-TR:PST-1SG
'I bought it.' (Japhug)

(2) *tɤ-ra-χtɯ-a*
PFV-ANTIP-buy-1SG
'I bought things.' (Japhug)

1.1 Agent-preserving lability

(3) *A-ndzum-ille   sapla khutt-aŋ*
1SG.POSS-friend-ERG book steal-1SG.P.PST
'My friend robbed me of my book.' (Limbu)

(4) *Sapla khutt-ɛ*
book steal-PST:INTR
'The book was stolen.' (Limbu)

(5) *A-ndzum-in   khutt-ɛ*
1SG.POSS-friend-DEF steal-PST:INTR
'My friend committed a theft.' (Limbu)

1.2 Indefinite/generic objects

(6) *nam-ʔa   kʰa   hit-yaŋ*
sun-ERG something scorch-3SG:INTR:PROG
'The sun is scorching.' (Bantawa)

1.3 Light verb construction

(7) *u-me   nu   kɯ   andi paχɕa ɲɯ-ntsɤe   ŋu*
3SG.POSS-daughter DEM ERG west pork IPFV-sell be:FACT
'Her daughter sells pork there.' (hist-17-lhazgron, 118) (Japhug)

(8) <ali> *kɯ-rmi   nunu kɯ, tɯtsɤe   tu-βze   tɕe nu kɯ-fse   kɯ-rɤʑi*
Ali   NMLZ:S/A-be.called DEM   ERG commerce IPFV-do[III] LNK DEM NMLZ:S/A-be.like IPFV-stay
pjɤ-ŋu.
IFR.IPFV-be
'The person who was called Ali did commerce and lived like that.' (hist140516 yiguan ganlan, 4) (Japhug)

1.4 Noun incorporation

(9) *a-wa   kɯ si kɯ-osɯ-pʰut*
1SG.POSS-father ERG tree EGOPH.PRES-PROG-fell
'My father is felling trees/the tree.' (Japhug)

(10) *a-wa   kɯ-ɣɯ-sɯ-pʰut*
1SG.POSS-father EGOPH.PRES-DENOM-tree-fell
'My father is felling trees.' (Japhug)

2 Incorporation of generic noun / indefinite element

(11) *ŋa-a   kho-lai enn-u-ŋ*
1SG-ERG 3SG-DAT hear.N.PST-3SG:P-1SG:A
'I hear him/her.' (Puma)

Table 1: The denominal prefix *rɤ-* in Japhug

Base Noun	Denominal verb
ta-ma 'work (noun)'	*rɤ-ma* 'work (intransitive)'
tɯ-krɤz 'discussion'	*rɤ-krɤz* 'discuss (intransitive)'

(12) *ŋa   kʰa-en-ŋa*
1SG ANTIP-hear-1SG:S/P

'I hear someone/people.' (not 'I hear something') (Puma)

3 Action nominalization + denominal verbalization

(13) *rgɤnmu   nɯ   kɯ   li   iɕqʰa*   <yuwang> *nɯ   pjɤ-k-ɤsɯ-tʂuβ-ci*
old.woman DEM ERG again the.aforementioned fish.net   DEM IFR.IPFV-EVD-PROG-sew-EVD

'The old woman was sewing the fish nets.' (hist140430 yufu he tade qizi, 297) (Japhug)

(14) *iɕqʰa*   *kɯ-rɤ-tʂuβ*   *nɯ   pɤjkʰu   pjɤ-rɤ-tʂuβ*   *ɕti.*
the.aforementioned NMLZ:S/A-ANTIP-sew DEM already IFR:IPFV-ANTIP-sew be:AFFIRMATIVE:FACT

'(Very early in the morning), the tailor was already sewing.' (hist140512 alibaba, 151) (Japhug)

4 Reflexive/Middle

4.1 Kiranti

(15) *lokpei ghrēmd-u.*
leech be.disgusted.by-1SG→3

I am disgusted by leeches. (Khaling)

(16) *gʰrēm-si-ŋʌ*
be.disgusted.by-REFL-1SG:S/P

I feel disgust. (Khaling)

4.2 Dulong-Rawang

(17) *à:ng-i   àng-sʋ̀ng shvngō-ò̤-ē*
3sg-AGT 3sg-LOC hate-3:TR.N.PST-N.PST

'He hates him.' (Rawang)

(18) *àng nø̄   shvngō-shì-ē*
3sg TOP hate-REFL-N.PST

'He's hateful.' (Rawang)

4.3 Kuki-Chin

(19) *Páihtiim   noh   a   pó   pyéin-ci.*
Paihtiim ERG 3sg.POSS friend tell.I-NON.FUTURE

'Paihtiim gossiped about her friend.' (K'cho)

(20) *Páithiim   ng-pyéin-ci*
Paithiim DETRANSITIVE-tell.I-NON.FUTURE

'Paithiim gossips.' (K'cho)

4.4 West Himalayish

4.5 Old Chinese

Table 2: Antipassive derivation in Old Chinese

Base verb	Meaning	Derived verb	Meaning
覺 *kæwk*	'be conscious of'	覺 *kæwH*	'awake'
知 *tje*	'know'	知智 *tjeH*	'be wise'
射 *ʑek*	'shoot at'	射 *ʑæH*	'practise archery'
勝 *ɕiŋ*	'overcome'	勝 *ɕiŋH*	'be victorious'

(21) 祝聃射王中肩，王亦能軍

祝　　聃　　射　　王　　中　　肩　　　王　　亦　　能　　軍
tɕuk *tʰam* *ʑek* *hjwaŋ* *tjuŋH* *ken*　*hjwaŋ* *jek* *noŋ* *kjun*
p.n. p.n. shoot king hit　shoulder king also can army

'Zhu Dan shot at the king and hit his shoulder, but the king was still able to lead his army.' (Zuozhuan, Huan 5) (Old Chinese)

(22) 秦晉圍鄭，鄭既知亡矣

秦　　晉　　圍　　　鄭　　鄭　　既　　知　　亡　　　矣
dzin *tsinH* *hjwij*　*djeŋH* *djeŋH* *kjijH*　*tje*　*mjaŋ*　*hi*
Qin Jin　encircle Zheng Zheng already know disappear particle

'The country of Zheng is besieged by Qin and Jin, and already knows that it will perish.' (Zuozhuan, Xi 30) (Old Chinese)

(23) 君使士射，不能，則辭以疾；言曰：「某有負薪之憂。」

君　　使　　士　　射　　　　　不　　能　　則　　辭　　以　　疾　言　曰　某　有　負
kjun *ʂiX* *dʐiX* *ʑæH*　　　*pjuwX* *noŋ* *tsok* *zi*　*jiX*　*dzit* *ŋjon* *hjwot* *muwX* *hjuwX* *bjuwX*
ruler cause officer practice.archery NEG　can then decline because ill　word say　some have carry

薪　　之　　憂
sin　*tɕi*　*ʔjuw*
firewood GEN worry

'When a ruler wishes an officer to take a place at an archery meeting, and he is unable to do so, he should decline on the ground of being ill, and say, 'I am suffering from carrying firewood.' (Liji, translation by Legge) (Old Chinese)

(24) 失其所與，不知

失　　其　　所　　　　　與　　　不　　知
ɕit　*gi*　*ʂjoX*　　　*joX*　*pjuwX* *tjeH*
lose 3:POSS NMLZ:OBLIQUE be.allied NEG　be.wise

'Loosing an ally is not wise.' (Zuozhuan, Xi 30) (Old Chinese)

"食夜反，又食亦反".

(25) 每射，抽矢菆，納諸厨子之房

每　　射　　　抽　　矢　　菆　　　納　　諸　　厨子　　之　　房
mwojX *ʑek/ʑæH* *tʰjuw*　*ɕijX* *tʂjuw*　*nop*　*tɕo* *dju.tsiX* *tɕi*　*bjaŋ*
each shoot　take.out arrow good.arrow put.in it:to p.n.　GEN quiver

'Each time (Xun Shou) shot an arrow/shot at them, if the arrow he had taken was a good one, he would put it into Chuzi's quiver.' (Zuozhuan, Xuan 12) (Old Chinese) (射食夜反，又食亦反.)

5 Conclusion

Table 3: Antipassive constructions in ST

Branch	Language	Type	Section
Kiranti	**Puma**	Indefinite	2
	Limbu	Reflexive/Middle	4.1
	Khaling	Reflexive/Middle	4.1
	Thulung	Reflexive/Middle	4.1
Gyalrongic	**Tshobdun**	Nominalization + verbalization	3
	Japhug	Nominalization + verbalization	3
	Zbu	Nominalization + verbalization	3
Nungish	Rawang	Reflexive/Middle	4.2
West Himalayish	Bunan	Reflexive/Middle	4.4
	Darma	Reflexive/Middle	4.4
Kuki-Chin	K'cho	Reflexive/Reciprocal	4.3
Sinitic	Old Chinese	Reflexive/Middle?	4.5