Two can play at this game! **The survival of Old Indic middle voice morphology in Kalasha and Khowar and the rise of a new unaccusative inflection**

Old Indic differentiated so-called active and middle voices by means of different sets of endings and, in some cases, additionally by means of apophony or suffixation, e.g. *váhati* 'transports' :: *váhatē* 'moves; is transported' or *punā́ti* 'purifies' :: *pávatē* 'becomes pure' (cf. Gotō 2013: 79f.). While vestiges of the middle voice remain in Epic Sanskrit and in later varieties such as Pali, it faded completely over the course of the Middle Indic period (cf., e.g., Bubeník 2001, von Hinüber 2001: §§414ff., 458ff., and Pischel 1900: §452). The matter of the Old Indic passive in -yátē and its continuants is not at issue here, as it appears that -yátē was replaced by reflexes of *-yati at an early time, including western Middle Indic -ijja- and Shina -íij- (cf. Masica 1991: 315–321 and Radloff & Payne 2022).

Had the middle voice survived past the Middle Indic period, apocope of final syllables would subsequently have erased important distinctions such as third person singular -ti :: -tē. However, this talk will argue that traces of the middle voice remain in Khowar, a contemporary Indic language of Pakistan, specifically in the present tense inflection of the vestigial and exclusively intransitive u-conjugation, which contrasts with the default i-conjugation. This can be illustrated by cases such as the following, which do not follow any productive pattern and are best explained as direct reflexes of Old Indic middle/passive verb forms: Khowar *briúr* 'dies' < *mriyátē*, *asúr* 'is [animate]' < *ā́satē* (rather than < unattested **asati*, which, moreover, should give †*asír* and infinitive †*osík* rather than attested *asík*), and *čhiúr* 'breaks' < *chid{i}yatē* (contrast *čhin-ír* 'breaks' < *chidnati*). We argue that the i-conjugation is based on old active verbs in -ati with final -i conditioning early raising of ati > *eti > *iti > *iri > ir, as against atē > *are > *ar with a later regular change of a > u/_r# that is supported by evidence from nominal inflection. The a-conjugation of neighboring Kalasha arguably reflects the exact same trajectory, though no change of á > u took place in this language.

But within Khowar, a new category of unaccusative verbs appears to have arisen recently, featuring a productive vocalic template u–u in the verb stem and being derived from verbs with a template a–e; e.g., *undruír* 'becomes separated' is based off of *andréir* 'separates' < **antaráyati* (cf. *antárēti* 'comes between, separates'). The a–e template is itself analogically based on certain causative verbs, where the root–suffix–ending structure CaC-é(y)-ir (< *CaC-áy-ati) was reanalyzed as stem–ending CaCeC-ir. Cases such as *usukír* 'leaves mother's milk'—secondary after *awsekír* 'weans' (based on *apasakta- 'detached')—indicate that the synchronic accent is irrelevant. The surviving traces of the ancient middle voice and the evolution of this novel inflection pattern will be set forth in detail.

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