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The 2nd/3rd Sg. Endings of the Future Passive Imperative in Latin*

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In this paper I provide a comprehensive analysis of the 51 instances I have found of the future passive imperative in Latin, offering new suggestions about the chronology of the creation of the three different 2nd/3rd singular endings, *-tō*, *-minō*, and *-tor*, and their usage. The data suggest that *-minō* is the most archaic ending attested for the 2nd/3rd sg. future passive imperative. I argue that the preserved instances of passive use of the ending *-tō* represent a more recent development rather than deriving directly from the situation reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European. In Latin, this use seems instead to be a transfer of the active ending onto deponents via common verbs. Further, the lack of transparency of the ending *-minō* has several consequences for this verbal category in Latin, such as the creation of a more clearly marked passive ending *-tor*. I consider also whether the situation in Latin reflects a paradigmatic gap.

1 Introduction

Two types of imperatives are found in Latin: the imperative proper and the future imperative, often termed imperative II or the imperative in *-to*. The Latin future

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imperative is a command for the non-immediate future, applicable to a certain point in time after the situation in which it is uttered.¹ See examples (1) and (2):

- (1) Pl. *Mos.* 578–9²

*Abi quaeso hinc domum ... **Redito** huc circiter meridie.*

Please go home ... Return here around midday.

- (2) Pl. *St.* 148³

Si a viro tibi forte veniet nuntius, facito ut sciam.

If by chance a message will come to you from your husband, make sure I know.

The future imperatives *redito* and *facito* in (1) and (2) are both active. However, the future imperative in Latin could also be used for deponent verbs or as a true passive. Throughout the history of Latin, there is a competition between three different endings (*-tō*, *-minō*, and *-tor*) which could be used to denote 2nd/3rd sg. endings of the future passive imperative.

In this paper, I provide a comprehensive analysis of the 51 instances I have found of the future passive imperative, and I propose a new chronology for the development and use of these different singular endings. Section 2 reviews the Indo-European evidence for this verbal category (mainly Vedic and Latin), section 3 presents the Latin data; section 4 focuses on verbal voice; section 5 treats classical and later usage. In section 6, I consider whether the Latin situation reflects a paradigmatic gap before concluding and summarizing in section 7.

2 The future imperative in Indo-European, Latin, and Vedic

Only one ending, **-tōd*, is reconstructed for the future imperative in Proto-Indo-European. This ending is thought to be originally the ablative of the demonstrative pronoun **-to*. As an ablative, it would have meant something akin to ‘from this moment on; after; thereafter’ (Szemerényi 1953:946; Weiss 2020:449). Based on Vedic, it seems this verbal category was undifferentiated for person, number and

1 The future imperative is also commonly found in instructions as these describe a time-point that is only relevant under particular conditions; hence it is common in didactic and legal texts. See Risselada 1993:128–9.

2 Trans. de Melo 2011:375.

3 Trans. de Melo 2013:33, slightly adapted

voice (although cf. Szemérenyi 1953).⁴ Apart from Vedic, the future imperative is best preserved in Latin. Table 1 shows the endings of the future imperative in both languages.

Table 1. The future imperative in Vedic and Latin (adapted from Weiss 2020:450)

	Vedic			Latin		
	Athem.	Them.	Med.-pass.	Athem.	Them.	Med.-pass.
2nd/3rd sg.	<i>itāt</i>	<i>bhāratāt</i>	<i>-tāt</i>	<i>ītō</i>	<i>agitō</i>	<i>ūtītō(d), fruiminō, ūtitor</i>
2nd pl.	[<i>itāt</i>]	<i>bhāratāt</i>	<i>-tāt</i>	<i>ītōte</i>	<i>agitōte</i>	
3rd pl.	—			<i>euntō</i>	<i>aguntō</i>	<i>ūtuntō(d), ūtuntur</i>

In Vedic, the same ending (*-tāt*) is used in both the 2nd and the 3rd sg., as well as in the 2nd pl., both as an active and as a medio-passive ending. Latin, however, has a range of different endings: the 2nd/3rd sg. endings *-tō(d)*, *-minō*, and *-tor*, the 2nd pl. *-tōte*, and the 3rd pl. *-ntō(d)* and *-ntor*. Generally, the plural endings in Latin are thought to be analogical creations specific to Latin (adapted from Weiss 2020: 451):

(3)		Indicative	Future imperative
	3rd sg.	<i>agit</i>	<i>agitō(d)</i>
	3rd pl.	<i>agunt</i>	<i>X → aguntō(d)</i>
(4)		2nd sg.	2nd pl.
	Imperative proper	<i>age</i>	<i>agite</i>
	Future imperative	<i>agitō</i>	<i>X → agitōte</i>

4 There is some question as to whether a 3rd pl. future imperative in **-ntōd* ought to be reconstructed for PIE. Latin has 3rd pl. endings in *-ntō(d)* and *-ntor*. In Greek, some 3rd pl. dialectal endings could be traced back to an inherited form in **-vτov*. This is the ending found in Attic-Ionic, Thera, Kyrenaian, Cretan, Delphian, and possibly Elean while Mainland Doric, Arkadian, and Lokrian have a form in *-vτω* (also found in Rhodian and Koan). In Boiotian, this has been altered to *-vθω*. However, Lesbian and (colonial) Rhodian have an ending in *-vτov*, which in Pamphylian has become *-δov* by regular sound change. There is further Ionic *-τov* (*Od.* 1.273 *ἔστov*). Ringe (2024:231, 324–5) argues that the Lesbian and (colonial) Rhodian *-vτov* is the oldest given its distribution and thus not cognate with old Latin 3rd pl. *-ntōd*. He sees the other dialectal forms as secondary modifications or replacements. I find the distribution too inconclusive to decide between *-vτov* or *-vτov*, but follow the consensus that no 3rd pl. ending should be reconstructed.

As Ringe (2007:302) points out, *-tōte* must postdate the loss of word-final **-d* in the 3rd century BCE,⁵ thus making this ending relatively young.

The middle endings, however, are more complicated. The ending *-minō* is the most curious of these, with good recent treatment in Ringe 2007. It is generally accepted that it must be formed to the mediopassive/deponent indicative and imperative 2nd pl. form in *-minī* or its antecedent **-m(a)noi* (traced back to PIE **mh₁no-*).⁶ As Ringe (2007) theorises and Weiss (2022:451) accepts, it is easiest to conceive of the creation of *-minō(d)* if it took place before *-tō(d)* became specialized for the active singular. During a period in which Latin had only a form *-tō(d)* with no formal distinction for person, number and voice, the creation of a form in **-m(a)nōd* would have rationalized the odd-looking paradigm. Example (5) is an adapted presentation of the analogy suggested by Ringe (2007:304).

(5)	2nd sg.	2nd pl.	Future imperative
Active	*-∅	*-te	*-tōd
Mediopassive	*-so	*-m(a)noi	*-tōd → *-manōd

While Ringe's analogy looks convincing, matters are complicated by the evidence preserved in Sabellic. The Sabellic languages Oscan and Umbrian have mediopassive future imperative endings similar to Latin *-minō*. The Umbrian ending is *-mu* (e.g., **pesnimu** 'you shall pray' *Tab. Ig. Ia 6*; **persnimu** 'he shall pray' *Tab. Ig. VIa 55*; **eturštamu** 'you shall banish' *Tab. Ig. Ib 16*.) and the Oscan ending is *-mur* (e.g., **censamur** 'he shall be assessed', *Tab. Bantina 19*). The final *-r* in Oscan is likely a replacement of an original *-d* (**-mud*).⁷

Importantly, the similarity between these endings and Latin *-minō* raises the question whether they can be traced back to a shared Proto-Italic innovation. We could thus attempt to unify the endings by reconstructing Proto-Italic **-manōd*, giving Proto-Sabellic **-mnōd*, remade to **-mōd* to better match the active **-tōd*.⁸ However, Weiss thinks the possibility of **-mh₁no-* yielding **-mo-* in Sabellic is excluded by the fact that we have several preserved clusters in *-mn-*, both primary and by syncope.⁹ He thus believes the only way to unify the Italic forms is an alternative analogy:¹⁰

5 Weiss 2020:167–8.

6 See Sommer 1948:520; Cowgill 1987:81–2 and Weiss 2022:120.

7 Cowgill 1987.

8 Weiss 2020:414.

9 Weiss 2022:120.

10 Weiss 2022:120.

(6)	Active	2pl. *-t-e	future imperative: *-t-ōd
	Mediopassive	2pl. *-m-anōi	future imperative: X → *-m-ōd

The Sabellic forms can easily be derived from the posited outcomes of the analogy in (6), with regular sound-changes. However, to derive the Latin ending *-minō*, one would need to suggest additional analogical repair based on the 2nd pl. ending *-mini*. This additional repair would counteract the analogical repair underlying the analogy in (6), as laid out in Figure 1 below. The second repair needed for Latin is awkward. It seems neither of the two analogies unify the Italic forms feasibly. If one believes the endings are truly a shared innovation, variation between **-manōd* and **-mōd* needs to be posited already at the Proto-Italic stage.

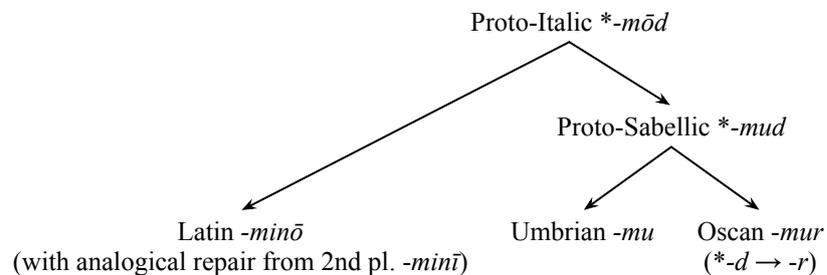


Fig. 1. Potential development of Latin *-minō*, Umbrian *-mu*, and Oscan *-mur*

That is somewhat tempting as the analogical creation of a singular form based on a plural form is peculiar. Yet, an example from Vedic provides typological support for independent innovations.

As shown in Table 1, the medio-passive ending in Vedic is *-tāt*, found in late Vedic texts: *mriyatāt* (JB 2.269:10 ‘she shall die’), *ā-khyāyatāt* (passive, JB 1.210:5.8 ‘it shall be called’). However, there is also an alternative form in Vedic, *vāryadhvāt* (2nd pl.) which is a variant of *vārayatāt* (MS 4.13.4 = KS 16.21 = AB 2.6.14 = TB 3.6.6.2; see Forssman 1985:182 n. 10 and Kulikov 2012:662). Interestingly, *vāryadhvāt* appears to be created on a similar model as Ringe posited for the creation of **-manōd*. Kulikov (2012:662 n. 2078) mentions the creation of *-dhvāt* as a probable middle counterpart to *-tāt*:

(7)	3rd pl. imp.	Future imp.
Act.	-ta	-tāt
Med.	-dhvam	X → -dhvāt

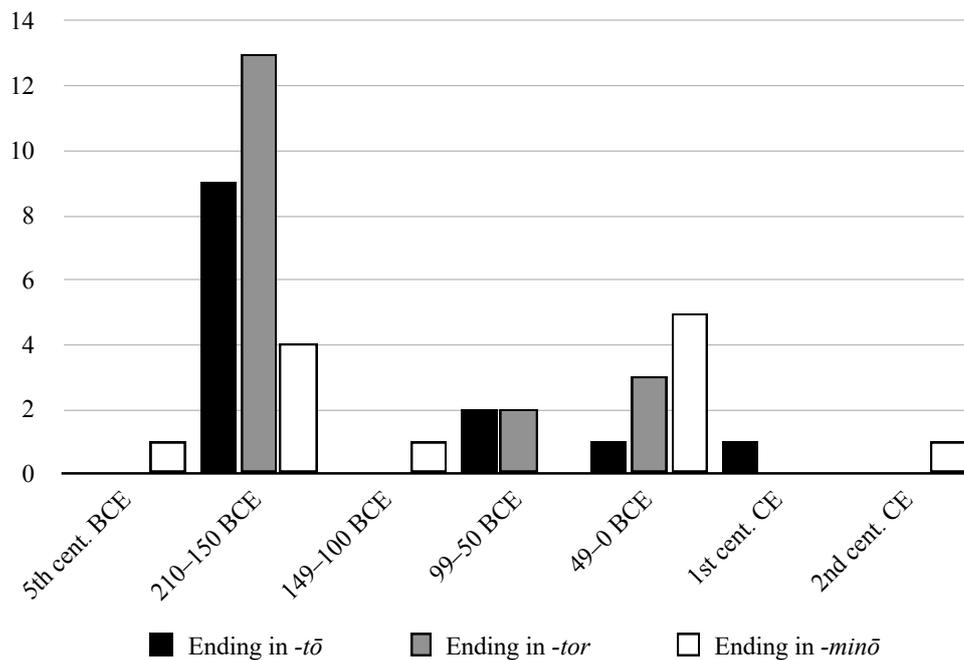
Further, there is another attested Vedic form that would make the analogy even more straightforward: the 2nd pl. imperative form *yajadhva* (RV 8.2.37), which yields the perfect four-part analogy *-ta : -tāt :: -dhva : -dhvāt*.¹¹

It thus seems that if one wanted to posit independent developments in Latin and in Sabellic, there might be a parallel in Vedic. However, the evidence currently available seems too inconclusive to tell whether the developments are independent or shared. The question will thus be left open here. Let us now turn to the data for the three endings in Latin.

3 The data: 2nd/3rd sg. future passive imperatives in Latin

The Latin examples are given in a numbered list in the appendix to this paper: 2nd/3rd sg. forms in Appendix A and plural usages in Appendix B, to which I will refer when discussing particular instances. Chart 1 below shows the chronological distribution of the instances of the different singular endings:

Chart 1. Chronological distribution of the three singular endings



¹¹ Many thanks to Michael Weiss for pointing the potential analogical parallel in Vedic out to me and to Jay Jasanoff for bringing the form in *yajadhva* to my attention, which is also mentioned by Szemerényi (1953:943 n. 2).

The time-period covered by each column is not completely equal. The first column (depicting one instance from the fifth century BCE) is separated from the second (covering years 210–150 BCE) by a long gap, and the final two columns each span a century, not fifty years.

The earliest attested ending appears to be *-minō*. Unfortunately, the instance of this ending is not preserved on an actual inscription but in a comment by the Latin 3rd–4th-century CE grammarian Porphyrio who cites it as the beginning of the *Laws of the Twelve Tables*, an inscription dated to 449 BCE but which may contain older oral material.¹²

The next column (210–150 BCE) shows instances of all three endings. The ending *-tor* is most common (13 instances), then the ending *-tō* (9 instances). Interestingly, these instances of *-tō* are relatively “late” for Early Latin, coming as they do mostly from Cato and a fragment by the playwright Titinius. In particular, Cato’s use is interesting. He mostly alternates between using *-tō* and *-tor*. His single use of the ending *-minō* (*praefamino* (19)) occurs immediately before a passage containing the prayer to Mars, which is generally thought to preserve very archaic Latin material.¹³

In addition to Cato’s *praefamino*, there are three instances of the ending *-minō* dated to the time period 210–150 BCE. They all come from Plautus: *arbitramino* (2), *opperimino* (4) and *progredimino* (10). Both *arbitramino* and *progredimino* are found at line ends, which is where archaisms in Plautus tend to cluster.¹⁴ Further, *progredimino* (10) is part of a speech delivered in mock legalese. This is relevant, since nearly all other instances of *-minō* are found in legal inscriptions (barring a 2nd-century CE use of *opperimino* by the archaizing Apuleius, perhaps copying Plautus’ use of the same verb).

In fact, it seems certain genres attract specific endings. Chart 2 shows the generic distribution of the 2nd/3rd sg. endings. Legal inscriptions almost always have the ending *-minō*. Comedy is strongly characterized by the ending *-tor* whereas the ending *-tō* is the most popular choice for didactic prose. Didactic poetry only contains the ending *-tor*. Philosophy, rhetoric and the novel yield too few examples for concrete conclusions. Overall, however, the generic differences are interesting. A complicating factor is that most instances are attributable to only a handful of

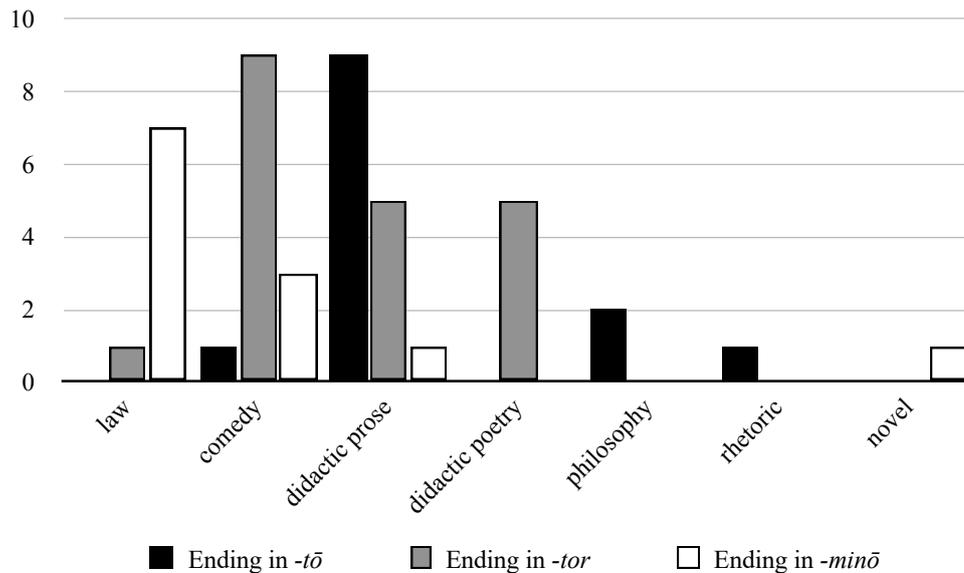
12 The manuscript reads *antestamin*, but a 17th-century emendation conjectured by J. Rutgers has found universal acceptance (Neue and Wagener 1897:212).

13 For the prayer to Mars, see Watkins 1995:197–213.

14 See, e.g., de Melo 2023:47–8.

Roman authors: mainly Cato for didactic prose, mostly Plautus and Terence for comedy.

Chart 2. Generic distribution of the three singular endings



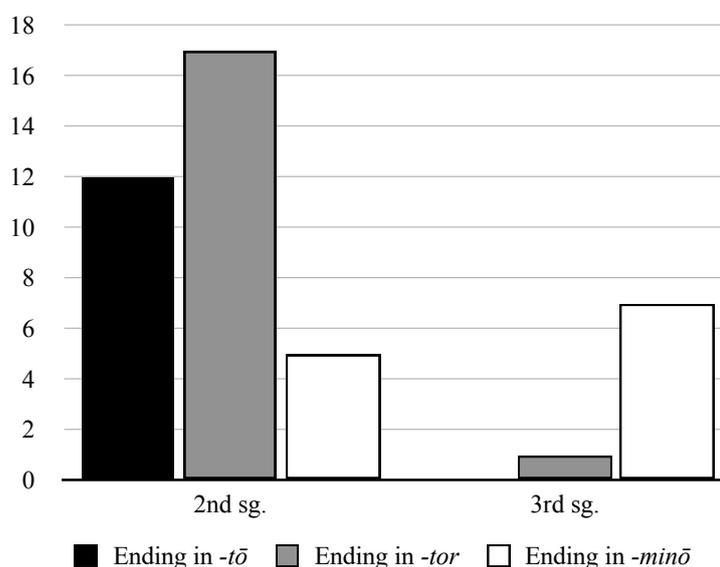
Individual preferences might therefore be at play, but it is difficult to separate these from genre.

In the remainder of this section, I discuss a series of factors which might influence the choice of ending. One is text type. Nikitina notes that the ending *-tor* is useful for preventing metrical hiatus in poetry.¹⁵ In the didactic poetry of Lucretius and Virgil, *-tor* is in all instances found in a position where it prevents metrical hiatus. Yet, the same patterning is not found in comedy. However, it is not impossible that the distribution of *-tō* and *-tor* as we have it in comedy (and in prose) might be corrupt. In verse, the ending *-tor* is guaranteed only before a vowel, not before a consonant where it scans heavy like *-tō*.¹⁶ Thus, only *-minō* is metrically guaranteed in all positions in verse; and naturally, no ending is guaranteed in prose. When the instances are examined by person, it is clear the 3rd sg. has a strong preference for *-minō*. See chart 3.

¹⁵ Nikitina 2015:180.

¹⁶ Originally, the ending *-tor* had a long *-ō-*, *-tōr*, but this was shortened along with other long vowels before final *-r* at the beginning of the 2nd century BCE.

Chart 3. Distribution of the three singular endings by person



However, the use of person is largely interwoven with genre since legal inscriptions are the only genre containing 3rd sg. future passive imperatives, making it difficult to state whether person influences the choice of the ending used.

Further, examining the data rules out the possibility that the transitivity and the telicity of the verbs themselves limited or influenced which ending was used. Since the same verb is found with different endings (*utor* with both *-tō* and *-tor*; *praefor* with both *-minō* and *-to*; *patior* with both *-tō* and *-tor*), these cannot have influenced which ending was used.

A further factor to consider is potential avoidance of homophony. Homophony, especially for such a rare verbal form, could naturally have caused confusion. For Latin verbs of the first conjugation, the ending *-tō* is homophonous to the ablative of the perfect participle and secondly, the ending *-tor* falls together with agent nouns in *-tor*. There is a good example of such a confusion in Latin scholarship: the instance of *librator* (16) in Cato, a rare example of a true passive use of the future passive imperative, is in the *TLL* listed under the lemma of the agent noun *librator*.¹⁷ It was only correctly identified as a future passive imperative in 1975, by Goujard in his Budé edition of Cato. However, several instances of *-minō* provide forms which are clearly differentiated from the ablatives of perfect participles and agent nouns: Plautus' *arbitramino* (2), Cato's *praefamino* (19) and

17 My thanks to James Clackson for bringing this to my attention.

denuntiamino (38) found in *CIL* VI 10298. But let us now look in more detail at verbal voice and variation.

4 Verbal voice and variation

In this section, I consider an underexplored feature of several Latin verbs that may have a bearing on whether we should interpret the early Latin instances of *-tō* as representing the most archaic ending for the future passive imperative in Latin, as Ringe (2007:304) indicates and Weiss (2020:451) accepts. The verbs in question are so-called *common* verbs (termed *verba communia* by the Latin grammarians): verbs that could be used variously with either active or passive (i.e., deponent) endings. This is relevant since most of the verbs used with the future passive imperative ending *-tō* were common verbs.

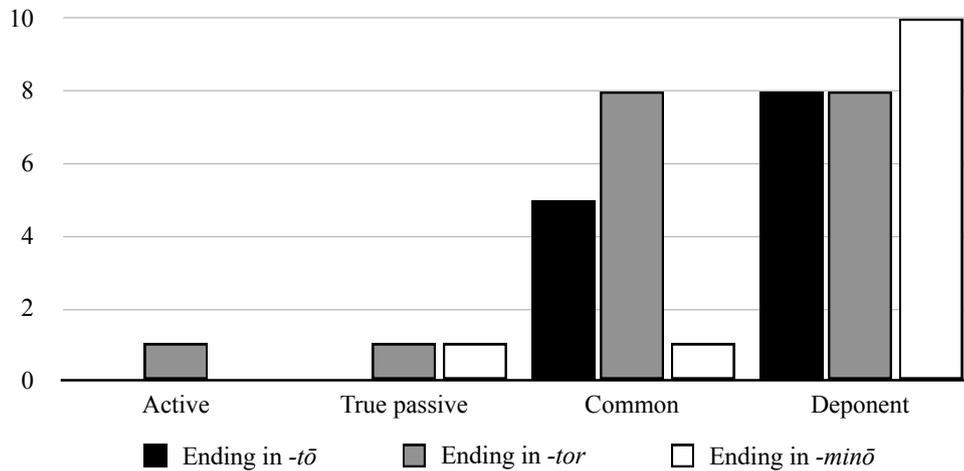
Recent research on standardization in Latin addresses verbs alternating between the active and the passive. Nikitina (2015) notes the lack of standardization between active and passive forms of certain verbs down into Classical Latin. This is relevant to some instances of the ending *-tō*, such as Cicero's *arbitrato* (33), since the verb *arbitror* is found as an active four times in Plautus. Similarly, Titinius' *contemplato* (11) comes from *contemplor*, which in Early Latin is usually active. Plautus uses it as an active verb twelve times and only thrice as a deponent. In fact, the only Early Latin instances of the ending *-tō* which are found on deponent verbs that never vary in voice are Cato's two usages of prefixed *sequito* (17) and (18), and his use of *utito* (21)–(24), which also varies with his use of the form *utitor* (25)–(27).¹⁸ For the plural, there is also the truly passive 3pl. *censento* (45) from *CIL* I 583, dated to 123–112 BCE.¹⁹

Chart 4 shows the distribution of the endings used by verbal voice. The instances of those verbs that could be found either as active or as deponent have been classified as *common*. Several observations are noteworthy. Firstly, several instances of the ending *-tō* are found on common verbs that vary between the deponent and the active voice for other verbal forms, these instances could be taken as active rather than as deponent or passive use of the ending *-tō*. Second, the ending *-minō* displays strong association with deponent verbs.

18 It is difficult to see what conditions Cato's use of *utito* on the one hand and *utitor* on the other. The only discernible pattern is that *utitor* occurs exclusively as the last word in a sentence, whereas *utito* can also appear in the middle of sentences.

19 Interestingly, Oscan *censamur* in the *Tabula Bantina* is a form of the same verb. The dating of the *Tabula Bantina* is debated, but it is likely from the end of the 2nd or early 1st century BCE. See Crawford 1996:274–6.

Chart 4. Distribution of the three singular endings by verbal voice



For instance, the Roman grammarian Festus, active in the second century CE, glosses the form *famino* as *dicito* (Paul. *Fest.* 62, 10, Th.); not as *fator* or *fatō* (even though we have, e.g., Cato’s *praefatō* (20)). Perhaps Festus considers *-minō* an ending intrinsic to the deponent verb *for*.

Based on the data, it seems to me that we need to modify the account of the chronological creation and interpretation of the attested forms in Latin. The deponent and passive future imperatives in *-tō* seem to be transfers of the active ending *-tō*, rather than instances preserving the original voice syncretism of PIE **-tōd*. The common verbs would have served as a gateway for this transfer. This suggestion is depicted in figure 2 below with the deponent/passive forms on the left and the active form on the right:

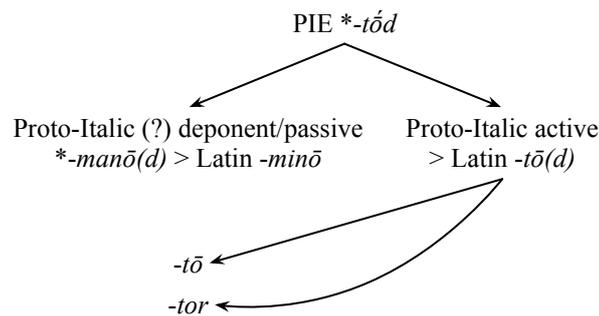


Fig. 2. Suggested development of the Latin endings *-minō*, *-tor* and *-tō*

According to this suggestion, the instances of deponent/passive use of the ending *-tō* in Latin do not go directly back to the PIE **-tód*, undistinguished for person, number or voice, but simply to a Latin active ending *-tō*. An earlier specification would already have yielded the deponent/passive ending *-minō*, which does not seem to have caught on, thus creating the conditions for the competition that we find throughout Latin. As already proposed by previous scholars (see, e.g., Weiss 2020:451), the ending *-tor* is clearly an analogical form based on the ending *-tō* with a middle-marking in *-r* (probably from 1st sg. **-ōr* besides 1st sg. *-ō*).

This proposal aligns with the unstandardised reality of Early Latin and the fact that most of the deponent verbs fluctuated in voice. It accounts for *-minō* as a relic form and the fact that the ending *-tō* does not behave like one. It also provides clearer motivation for the early analogical creation of *-tor*. If the ending *-tō* was perceived as active and not as being without formal voice distinction, there would have been a more pressing need for a clearly marked passive form.

We can also wonder whether later analogical creations within the paradigm had made the ending *-minō* less transparent. Once the 2nd pl. ending *-tōte* had been created, direct access to the analogy proposed by Ringe (shown in example (5) above) was lost. Searches on PHI shows that *-tōte* caught on quickly; there are a couple of instances in Cato (*Or.* 26.1, 237.1), one in Ennius (*Ann.* 1.101), one in Gracchus (*Or.* 27.7), and numerous examples in Plautus and Terence.

5 Classical and later usage

The main proposal of section 4 raises questions as to how classical and later examples of the future passive imperative ought to be interpreted. There is a famous example of an incorrect classical usage of the future passive imperative: Cicero's usage of *appellamino* (47) for a 3rd pl. (Powell 2005:137). Presumably this represents Cicero's misunderstanding of an archaic form, likely due to the lack of transparency of *-minō* as a singular ending. It is clear where Cicero might have encountered such forms: he says himself at *Leg.* 2.59 that Roman boys used to memorize the oldest Roman law code, the *Twelve Tables* (Langslow 2013:185). We can also wonder whether the other examples of the future passive imperative in Cicero represent true grammatical feeling or whether they are further examples of misunderstood archaisms, especially the series of 3rd. plurals in *-nto* (48)–(51).

The poets Lucretius and Virgil seem to rely purely on metrical convenience. Virgil's usage of *nutritor* (41) at *Georgics* 1.187 as an active ought to be considered

a mistake or a gross poetic licence, rather than the first indication that this verb could be used as a deponent.²⁰

Finally, the later Roman grammarians (Sacerdos, Diomedes, and others) give endings in *-minor* (*amaminor*, *moneminor*, etc.).²¹ There is no reliable evidence for this ending *-minor*, which seems to be entirely made up by the grammarians. However, this is a good further indication that the ending *-minō* was obscure and that speakers wanted an ending with a clear passive marker in *-r*. It provides further support for the proposal that classical and later authors did not have an intuition for which ending to use. In the next section, I discuss the linguistic notion of paradigmatic gaps and relate this to the Latin future passive imperative.

6 Paradigmatic gaps

Some earlier scholarship in Latin linguistics has noted that certain verbal and nominal morphological categories seem to have been avoided by Latin authors. Examples include Dickey 2000a on the avoidance of vocatives of nouns *-ius*, and Dickey 2000b on nouns in *-eus*. Holmes (2004:296–7) observes that Cicero and others avoided the 1st pl. indicative *ferimus*, perhaps because of influence from athematic forms within the same paradigm, *fers*, *fert*, and *fertis*. While an athematic *fermus* may have sounded wrong, *ferimus* may also have produced uncertainty. In Hilmarssdóttir 2024, I discuss Ovid’s avoidance of genitives of nouns in *-ius*.

Dickey explains the avoidance of vocatives in *-ius* with reference to the observations of Pinker 1999:125–31. Pinker had noted that certain irregular English verbs lack good past-tense forms, as their original irregular past-tense form might be familiar enough to ‘block a regular version, but not quite familiar enough to sound natural’ (1999:125). For instance, speakers are uncomfortable with both *stridden* and the regularized *strided*; the same applies to past-forms of the verb *for(e)go*: neither *for(e)went* nor *for(e)goed* sounds quite right (1999:126). Dickey relates avoidance of both original and regularized forms to periods of morphological regularization. This aligns well with the Latin vocatives and genitives of nouns in *-ius* and vocatives of nouns in *-eus*, which all end up becoming regularized.

From a synchronic perspective, during time periods when no good forms exist, languages can be said to display inflectional defectiveness: forms that are missing or considered ineffable. These missing forms are called paradigmatic gaps.²²

20 This is contra Mynors 1994:157.

21 See Neue and Wagener 1897:210.

22 See Sims 2015:1–12 for a helpful introduction to inflectional defectiveness and the theories linguists have used to explain this.

Speakers often attempt to fill such gaps, though they may be uneasy with the form(s) used. Sims (2015:53) gives examples of natural language data returned by a Google search:

- (8) a. *I got it installed, but I foregoed (forewent?) the IIS install for now.*
 b. *Because of the fussiness of the decals, I forgoed ... forewent ... *err* ... I didn't put on any of the small stencil decals.*

Clearly, neither of the two competing past forms of *for(e)go* sounds natural. Consequently, many might prefer to avoid the forms altogether by circumlocution.²³

For Latin, the future passive imperative is much rarer than the future active imperative in Latin. This is probably partly due to the marginality of usage, but it may also be a symptom that we should think of this verbal category as representing something similar to the paradigmatic gaps discussed in this section. The competition between the endings *-tō*, *-minō*, and *-tor* may have meant that Latin speakers were perpetually uncertain about which ending to use. An additional factor convincingly linked to defectiveness and paradigmatic gaps is homophony avoidance.²⁴ The most obviously passive sounding ending, *-tor*, may have suffered from being homophonous with agent nouns with the ending *-tor*, as was pointed out in section 3.

Nikitina (2015:181) already drew attention to the fact that CL authors mostly avoid using the future imperative for deponents, though without specific examples of such avoidance. We can, however, find clear instances of circumlocution in Latin, used to avoid the future passive imperative. One of these is in a letter by Cicero:

- (9) Cic. *Fam.* 14.7.3²⁵
*deinde, si tibi videbitur, villis iis **utere** quae longissime aberunt a militibus.*

Then, if you will agree, **use** the country houses which will be farthest away from the army units.

This is an interesting example because the verbal form *utere* is ambiguous. Shackleton Bailey states in his commentary (1977:496) that he considers *utere* to be an imperatival future indicative, not a present imperative, saying that if Cicero had used an imperative after *si videbitur*, “he would probably have used the future

23 Sims 2015:53.

24 See Baerman 2011.

25 Trans. Shackleton Bailey 2001:117, slightly adapted.

form (*utitor*).” However, Cicero never uses a future imperative of *utor* in his entire corpus. Most likely, Cicero uses the present imperative rather than the future one, in an attempt to avoid an ill-sounding passive form, even though this is strictly speaking an environment in which the future imperative ought to be used.

We also see a later author, Columella, avoiding the same exact form:

(10) Columella, *De Re Rustica* 12.50.5²⁶

Lauri turiones in hoc usu mittito, ut olivas deprimant. Post dies viginti utere.

[P]ut in young shoots of bay with the object of pressing the olives down. After twenty days you can use them.

Yet, Columella has no difficulty with using an active future imperative in the same exact environment:

(11) Col. 12.29²⁷

... tunc in piscinam frigidae et dulcis aquae totam amphoram mergito, ut nequa pars exstet; deinde post dies XL eximito: sic usque in annum dulce permanebit.

Then sink the whole flagon in a pool of cold, fresh water so that no part of it is above the surface. Then after forty days take it out of the water. The must will then keep sweet for as much as a year.

Cicero similarly uses the future imperative when he has active verbs following conditional clauses in the future tense:

(12) Cic. *Att.* 1.8.2²⁸

Si Lentuli navis non erit, quo tibi placebit imponito.

If a ship of Lentulus will not be available, put them aboard any which you will think fit.

7 Conclusions

In this paper, I have examined the usage of the future passive imperative in Latin. A closer look at the 51 instances of this verbal category suggests that in Latin, the ending *-minō* is the most archaic ending attested for the passive voice. I have argued that the preserved instances of a passive use of the ending *-tō* represent a more

26 Trans. Forster and Heffner 1968:307.

27 Trans. Forster and Heffner 1968:255.

28 Trans. Shackleton Bailey 1999:37, slightly adapted.

recent development, i.e., a transfer of the active ending onto deponents/passives via verbs that fluctuated between the deponent and the active. Consequently, the ending *-tor* was formed to mark the passive more clearly. It thus seems that the Latin situation does not ultimately derive directly from the situation which is reconstructed for PIE. Finally, I have raised the question whether the persistent competition between the different endings in Latin can be considered to reflect a paradigmatic gap.

Appendices

A Singular forms

<u>Example</u>	<u>Pers., num.</u>	<u>Verb</u>	<u>Voice</u>	<u>Author</u>	<u>Locus</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>Date</u>
(1) <i>antestamino</i>	3rd sg.	<i>antestor</i>	deponent	Porphyrio (<i>XII Tables</i>)	<i>Commentum in Horati</i> <i>Sermones</i> 1.9.76.6	legal	449 BCE
(2) <i>arbitramino</i>	2nd sg.	<i>arbitro(r)</i>	common	Plautus	<i>Ep.</i> 695	comedy	c. 205–184 BCE
(3) <i>gratulor</i>	2nd sg.	<i>gratulor</i>	deponent	Plautus	<i>Trin.</i> 579	comedy	c. 205–184 BCE
(4) <i>opperimino</i>	2nd sg.	<i>opperior</i>	deponent	Plautus	<i>Truc.</i> 197	comedy	c. 205–184 BCE
(5), (6) <i>patitor</i>	2nd sg.	<i>patior</i>	common	Plautus	<i>As.</i> 375 (2×)	comedy	c. 205–184 BCE
(7) <i>venator</i>	2nd sg.	<i>venor</i>	deponent	Plautus	<i>Mil.</i> 1029	comedy	c. 205–184 BCE
(8) <i>utor</i>	2nd sg.	<i>utor</i>	deponent	Plautus	<i>Ep.</i> 263	comedy	c. 205–184 BCE
(9) <i>amplexator</i>	2nd sg.	<i>amplexo(r)</i> / <i>plexo(r)</i>	common	Plautus	<i>Ps.</i> 292	comedy	191 BCE
(10) <i>progredimino</i>	2nd sg.	<i>progredior</i>	deponent	Plautus	<i>Ps.</i> 859	comedy	191 BCE
(11) <i>contemplato</i>	2nd sg.	<i>contemplo(r)</i>	common	Titinius	fr. 21	comedy	c. 170s BCE
(12) <i>largitor</i>	2nd sg.	<i>largio(r)</i>	common	Terence	<i>Ad.</i> 940	comedy	160 BCE
(13) <i>loquitor</i>	2nd sg.	<i>loquor</i>	deponent	Terence	<i>Hau.</i> 828	comedy	163 BCE
(14) <i>utor</i>	2nd sg.	<i>utor</i>	deponent	Terence	<i>Hau.</i> 972	comedy	163 BCE
(15) <i>circumplectito</i>	2nd sg.	<i>plecto(r)</i>	common	Cato	<i>Agr.</i> 21.2.5	didactic	c. 160 BCE
(16) <i>librator</i>	3rd sg.	<i>libro</i>	true passive	Cato	<i>Agr.</i> 22.1	didactic	c. 160 BCE
(17) <i>opsequito</i>	2nd sg.	<i>obsequor</i>	deponent	Cato	<i>Agr.</i> 5.6	didactic	c. 160 BCE
(18) <i>persequito</i>	2nd sg.	<i>persequor</i>	deponent	Cato	<i>Agr.</i> 49.2	didactic	c. 160 BCE
(19) <i>praeferamino</i>	2nd sg.	<i>praefero</i>	deponent	Cato	<i>Agr.</i> 141.2	didactic	c. 160 BCE

<u>Example</u>	<u>Pers., num.</u>	<u>Verb</u>	<u>Voice</u>	<u>Author</u>	<u>Locus</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>Date</u>
(20) <i>praeſato</i>	2nd sg.	<i>praeſor</i>	deponent	Cato	<i>Agr.</i> 134.1	didactic	c. 160 BCE
(21) <i>utitor</i>	2nd sg.	<i>utor</i>	deponent	Cato	<i>Agr.</i> 96.2	didactic	c. 160 BCE
(22) <i>utito</i>	2nd sg.	<i>utor</i>	deponent	Cato	<i>Agr.</i> 107.2	didactic	c. 160 BCE
(23) <i>utito</i>	2nd sg.	<i>utor</i>	deponent	Cato	<i>Agr.</i> 123.1	didactic	c. 160 BCE
(24) <i>utito</i>	2nd sg.	<i>utor</i>	deponent	Cato	<i>Agr.</i> 126.1	didactic	c. 160 BCE
(25) <i>utitor</i> ²⁹	2nd sg.	<i>utor</i>	deponent	Cato	<i>Agr.</i> 117.1	didactic	c. 160 BCE
(26) <i>utitor</i>	2nd sg.	<i>utor</i>	deponent	Cato	<i>Agr.</i> 119.1	didactic	c. 160 BCE
(27) <i>utitor</i>	2nd sg.	<i>utor</i>	deponent	Cato	<i>Agr.</i> 127.1	didactic	c. 160 BCE
(28) <i>frumino</i>	3rd sg.	<i>frutor</i>	deponent	inscription	<i>CIL</i> V 7749 = I 584	legal	117 BCE
(29) <i>amplexato</i>	2nd sg.	<i>amplexo(r)/</i> <i>plexo(r)</i>	common	Cicero	<i>Clu.</i> 124.10	rhetoric	66 BCE
(30) <i>nitito</i>	unclear	<i>nititor</i>	deponent	Cicero	<i>Rep. fr.</i> 2.1 (Diom. <i>GLK</i> I 340.2)	philosophy	c. 50s BCE
(31) <i>contemplator</i>	2nd sg.	<i>contemplo(r)</i>	common	Lucretius	2.114	philosophy/ didactic poet.	c. 50s BCE
(32) <i>contemplator</i>	2nd sg.	<i>contemplo(r)</i>	common	Lucretius	6.189	philosophy/ didactic poet.	c. 50s BCE
(33) <i>arbitrato</i>	2nd sg.	<i>arbitro(r)</i>	common	Cicero	<i>N.D.</i> 2.74.4	philosophy	45 BCE
(34), (35), (36), (37) <i>profitimino</i>	3rd sg.	<i>profiteor</i>	deponent	inscription	<i>CIL</i> I 593 (4×)	legal	45 BCE
(38) <i>denuntiamino</i>	3rd sg.	<i>denuntio</i>	true passive	inscription	<i>CIL</i> VI 10298	legal	c. 30 BCE–30 CE
(39) <i>contemplator</i>	2nd sg.	<i>contemplo(r)</i>	common	Virgil	<i>G.</i> 1.187	didactic poet.	29 BCE

29 Note for examples (25)–(27) that the Loeb edition follows Keil and prints *utito* although the manuscripts have *utitor*.

<u>Example</u>	<u>Pers., num.</u>	<u>Verb</u>	<u>Voice</u>	<u>Author</u>	<u>Locus</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>Date</u>
(40) <i>contemplator</i>	2nd sg.	<i>contemplo(r)</i>	common	Virgil	<i>G.</i> 4.61	didactic poet.	29 BCE
(41) <i>nutritor</i>	2nd sg.	<i>nutrio</i>	active	Virgil	<i>G.</i> 4.61	didactic poet.	29 BCE
(42) <i>adminiculato</i>	2nd sg.	<i>adminiculato(r)</i>	common	Columella?	<i>Arb.</i> 16.5	didactic	1st cent. CE?
(43) <i>opperimino</i>	2nd sg.	<i>opperior</i>	deponent	Apuleius	<i>Met.</i> 1.22.12	novel	late 2nd cent. CE
B Plural forms							
<u>Example</u>	<u>Pers., num.</u>	<u>Verb</u>	<u>Voice</u>	<u>Author</u>	<u>Locus</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>Date</u>
(44) <i>amplectitote</i>	2nd pl.	<i>amplexo(r)/ °plecto(r)</i>	common	Plautus	<i>Rud.</i> 816	comedy	c. 205–184
(45) <i>censento</i>	3rd pl.	<i>censeo</i>	true passive	inscription	<i>CIL</i> I 198.Z.77	legal	c. 123–112 BCE
(46) <i>utunto</i>	3rd pl.	<i>utor</i>	deponent	inscription	<i>CIL</i> I 589	legal	68 BCE
(47) <i>appellamino</i>	3rd pl.	<i>appello</i>	true passive	Cicero	<i>Leg.</i> 3.8.6	legal	c. 40s BCE
(48) <i>iniitanto</i>	3rd pl.	<i>iniitio</i>	true passive	Cicero	<i>Leg.</i> 2.9.21	legal	c. 40s BCE
(49) <i>partiuunto</i>	3rd pl.	<i>partio(r)</i>	common	Cicero	<i>Leg.</i> 3.7.7	legal	c. 40s BCE
(50) <i>patiuunto</i>	3rd pl.	<i>patio(r)</i>	common	Cicero	<i>Leg.</i> 3.4.11	legal	c. 40s BCE
(51) <i>tuentio</i>	3rd pl.	<i>tueor</i>	deponent	Cicero	<i>Leg.</i> 3.3.7	legal	c. 40s BCE

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