2. Praesens

This chapter is concerned with the use of the present tense in the Aeneid, focusing on present tense forms that are not part of direct and indirect speech. The total amount of indicative present tense forms in the Aeneid is 4879, of which 1318 present tense forms occur in direct speech. The remaining 3561 present tense forms form the subject of this chapter.

The present tense occurs in several discourse modes. The names of these modes are report, transposed report, registering, directing and transposed description. The semantic value of the present tense is, however, the same in all these modes.

The function of the present tense in the Latin tense system has been much debated the last few years. Some scholars assume that the present tense has its own semantic value (e.g. Pinkster), while other scholars deny such a semantic value (see below). I base myself upon the Latin tense system as proposed by Pinkster (1983, 1990).

2.1 Semantic Value of the Present Tense

According to Pinkster (1990:224), the present tense denotes a state of affairs that is contemporaneous with the moment of speaking, or, more precisely, to the speaker’s communicative situation (Pinkster 1999:709). In my view, a further specification can be made: the present tense denotes that a state of affairs is contemporaneous with the base of the speaker (Cutrer 1994).

The base is the vantage point, or deictic center, around which a tense system functions. In everyday language, this base coincides with what a speaker refers to as ‘now’. A speaker is, so to speak, ‘anchored’ in a base from which he may refer to his current situation, but also to past or future situations. The base is not only a temporal vantage point; it also functions as the centre for spatial adverbs, i.e. it is what a speaker refers to as ‘here’. The base is, in short, the hic et nunc of a speaker.

The so-called historical present, the future present and the general present appear in many grammars (e.g. Kühner-Stegmann). I will show in the next sections that these may all be explained from the semantic value of the present tense, as has already been shown by Pinkster (1998). Even in case of the historical present, the future present and the general present, the present tense denotes that the state of affairs is contemporaneous with the base of the speaker.

A different view of the present tense is based on a division of tense forms into morphologically marked and unmarked tense forms (e.g. Serbat 1976, Mellet et al. 1994, Touratier 1994). In this view, the present tense has no semantic temporal value, since it is not morphologically marked for tense: the present tense does not have a morpheme to mark its temporal meaning like the imperfect tense, for instance, has in the -ba-morpheme. Mellet et al. (1994:43) argue that the present tense is a non-temporal form which does not in itself refer to past, present or future and which may, therefore, be used to refer to all three, depending on...

33 The narrative mode is not discussed in this chapter because the present tense does not occur in this mode, dum-clauses excepted (13 instances).
34 As Cutrer (1994:383) puts it: “In the canonical case […] the BASE space is speaker reality’.
35 For examples see (Kühner-Stegmann 1912:II.1,114.) Pinkster (1983:310ff and 1990:224) also gives examples but shows that these different interpretations are, in fact, all connected to the semantic value of the present tense. 36 For a discussion of the future use of the present tense I refer to Pinkster (1983; 1998). The present tense is not used in this way in the Aeneid, with manent in 10.438 (example (39)) as a possible exception.
its particular context. They put that the morphological unmarkedness of the present tense parallels a temporal unmarkedness.

This view is refuted if we look at the use of the historical present in the Aeneid: a historical present always denotes that a state of affairs is contemporaneous with the base (§2.3). An important insight in this respect is the fact that the base is not always the same as the moment of speech, but that a speaker (or narrator) may choose another point in time as his base, and use the various tenses accordingly (see §1.2). In case of the historical present the base is positioned in reference time.

The sections below discuss the different discourse modes in which the present tense is used in the Aeneid. I start with the registering mode and the report mode, in which the base is positioned in the time of narration.

### 2.2 Report Mode and Registering Mode

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discourse Mode</th>
<th>Time of narration</th>
<th>Reference time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Report</td>
<td>Transposed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registering</td>
<td>Directing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrative</td>
<td>Transposed Narrative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Transposed Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the registering and report mode, the present tense refers to states of affairs obtaining in the time of narration (§1.1.3). The registering mode is concerned with those present tense forms that provide information about the immediate environment of the narrator at the time of narration. The report mode takes a wider scope: it contains present tense forms that are valid in, or even beyond the life time of the narrator. Both interpretations of the present tense result from its semantic value.

Present tense forms in the registering mode refer to states of affairs that the narrator perceives or is doing as he tells his story. *Arma uirumque cano* (1.1, *Arms and the man I sing*) explicates, for instance, the current activity of the narrator: the narrator registers that he is now singing. Explicit references to the time of narration, such as *cano*, are not frequent in the Aeneid: the main narrator uses the registering mode at only three occasions.37 Characters who tell a story refer slightly more often to their activity as a narrator.38 An example is the parenthetical clause *haud ignota loquor*, which interrupts Sinon’s story.

Example (1), 2.90 – 97

> inuidia postquam pellacis Vlixi 90 (haud ignota loquor) superis concessit ab oris, adfectus utam in tenbris luctuque trahebam et casum insonis mecum indignabar amici. nec tacui demens et me, fors si qua tulisset, si patrinos umquam remeassem uictor ad Argos, promisi ultorem et uerbis odia aspera moui.

But when through the malice of subtle Ulysses – not unknown is the tale I tell– he passed from this world above, I dragged on my ruined life in darkness and grief, wrathful in my heart over the fate of my innocent friend. Nor in my madness was I silent, but, if any chance should offer, if I ever returned in triumph to my native Argos, I vowed myself his avenger and with my words awoke fierce hate.

Example (2), 2.90 – 97

> inuidia postquam pellacis Vlixi 90 (haud ignota loquor) superis concessit ab oris, adfectus utam in tenbris luctuque trahebam et casum insonis mecum indignabar amici. nec tacui demens et me, fors si qua tulisset, si patrinos umquam remeassem uictor ad Argos, promisi ultorem et uerbis odia aspera moui.

States of affairs that are valid at the time of narration alone are part of the registering mode.

Those states of affairs that are valid in the time of narration simply because they are valid in the era of the narrator (and possibly beyond this era) are part of the report mode. Present tense forms in the report mode are much more frequent than those in the registering mode (see table 1 below). The Aeneid contains several remarks, for instance, which refer to the first century B.C, the time of Vergil and his audience. The state of affairs *manet* in (2) is valid in this first century B.C., as the adverb *nunc* and the words *Ardea nomen* also makes

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37 Aeneid 1.1; 7.44ff; 9.525.
38 Character narrators (including Aeneas) register what they experience 5 times by means of a present indicative, the main narrator of the Aeneid – who, of course, has far more text – only 3 times. The present subjunctive is used 6 times in the registering mode, all by character narrators (e.g. *eloquar an sileam* in 3.39).
clear. The state of affairs *manet* is, of course, not contemporaneous with the time of narration alone. Rather, it is valid in the era of the narrator.

Example (2), 7.406 – 413

As soon as she deemed that she had whetted enough the first shafts of frenzy, and had overturned Latinus’ purpose and all his household, forthwith the gloomy goddess flies hence on dusky wings to the walls of the bold Rutulian, the city which Danaë, they say, borne thither by the headlong South Wind, built with her Acrisian settlers. The place was once called Ardea by our forebears, and still Ardea stands, a mighty name, but its fortune is fled.

Since remarks referring to a real time outside the epic world clash with the epic conventions, the effect of such side remarks is striking (Williams 1983:165). This is especially the case when such a remark contains an *actual* present tense form and occurs within a sequence of *historical presents*, as is the case in the passage below in which the bracketed sentence is presented by means of the report mode.

Example (3), 1.108 – 112

Three ships the South Wind catches and hurls on hidden rocks – rocks the Italians call the Altars, rising amidst the waves, a huge ridge topping the sea. Three the East forces from the deep into shallows and sandbanks, a piteous sight, dashes on shoals and girds with a mound of sand.

It is the use of the report mode that has made modern editors put brackets around this “artistically planned footnote … reflecting the Alexandrian manner”, as Austin (1971 ad locum) calls it. He continues: “It is as if he [the narrator, SA] wishes to give his readers (‘Itali’) the pleasure of looking at a map with him and of identifying the place where these mythical events occurred; there is something of a historian’s manner”.

A similar use of the present tense in the report mode is found in constructions such as *dicunt* with an infinitive (see also §1.1.3 and §8.2.1). A remarkable feature of such constructions is that they may present a part of the story by means of the non-narrative discourse mode of *report*, as is the case in (4). Ascanius performs his first act of war by aiming an arrow at Remulus.

Example (4), 9.590 – 594

Then first, it is said, Ascanius aimed his swift shaft in war, till now used to scare wild beasts in flight, and with his hand laid low brave Numanus, Remulus by surname, who but lately had won as bride Turnus’ sister.

The state of affairs *sagittam intendere* happened in reference time, but is presented in a non-narrative way. This construction functions to emphasize the importance of the scene in marking the first time that Ascanius takes part in a war. As Conington (1963) puts it: “the historic mode of expression is used to give pomp to the occasion.”

Present tense forms are often contemporaneous with a larger period which includes the time of narration. The combination of a present tense and a specific context (report mode) evokes this interpretation. In example (4), for instance, the present tense form *dicunt* is not
merely interpreted as contemporaneous with the time of narration, but as extending beyond this time.

This also holds for present tense forms which represent universal truths: they are expressed by the present tense since they are valid in the time of narration, and we interpret them as generally valid because of the context (cf. Pinkster 1998:61). The present tense form in the example below, for instance, denotes a universally valid state of affairs about Allecto, because her features happen to be ‘universal’.

Example (5), 7.323 – 329
Haec ubi dicta dedit, terras horrenda petiuit;
       luctificam Allecto dirarum ab sede deearum
       infernisque ciet tenebris, cui tristia bella
       iareque insidiaque et crimina noxia cordi.
       odat et ipse pater Pluton, odere
Tartareae monstrum: tot sese uertit in ora,
tam saeuae facies, tot pullulat atra colubris.

When she had uttered these words, with awful countenance she came to earth, and calls baleful Allecto from the home of the Dread Goddesses and the infernal shades – Allecto, whose heart is set on gloomy wars, passions, plots, and baneful crimes. Hateful is the monster even to her sire Pluto, hateful to her Tartarean sisters; so many are the forms she assumes, so savage their aspect, so thick her black sprouting vipers.

Within the wonderful world of epic, Allecto exists and, moreover, she is immortal. Therefore, present tense forms that portray her eternal characteristics – such as odat, odere, uertit and pullulat – are interpreted as universally valid.39

A bit more complicated are present tense forms which describe universal patterns. An example of this is the passage below, which describes a certain pattern of events that occurs whenever Jupiter speaks (eo dicente).40

Example (6), 10.100 – 103
tum pater omnipotens, rerum cui prima potestas,
infit (eo dicente deum domus alta silescit
et tremefacta solo tellus, silet arduus aether,
tum Zephyri posuere, premit placida aequora pontus):

Then the Father Almighty, prime potentate of the world, begins; as he speaks, the high house of the gods grows silent and earth trembles from her base; silent is high heaven; then the Zephyrs are hushed; Ocean stills his waters to rest.

Present tense forms describing universal patterns are not valid at the time of narration in a strict sense. That is, these states of affairs do not necessarily occur at the time of narration. But, as Smith (2003:74) puts it, these states of affairs “are spatiotemporally located in the world: they hold at particular intervals and places, though these coordinates may not be specified in a given sentence”. The present tense refers in these patterns to universal states of affairs, which may not happen at the exact time of narration, but that still can be seen as contemporaneous with the time of narration since they are, in their specific way, always valid (cf. also Krifka 1995).

Recurring patterns can also be found in similes. Similes often have a universal appearance, although the contents may be elaborate and specific, like in the simile below in which Aeneas is compared to an oak (cf. Williams 1983:166).

39 Smith (2003:24) refers to sentences containing ‘universal’ present tense forms with the term generalizing sentence.
40 The perfect tense form posuere expresses a resulting situation that is contemporaneous with the states of affairs denoted by the present tense forms (see §3.4).
ac uelut annoso ualidam cum robore quercum
Alpini Boreae nunc hinc nunc flatibus illinc
eruere inter se certant; it stridor, et altae
cornemnut terram concussi stipite frondes;
ipsa haeret scopulis et quantum uertice ad auras
aetherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit:

Even as when northern Alpine winds, blowing now
hence, now thence, emulously strive to uproot an oak
strong with the strength of years, there comes a roar,
the trunk quivers and the high leafage thickly stews the
ground, but the oak clings to the crag, and as far as it
lifts its top to the airs of heaven, so far it strikes its
roots down towards hell.

The combination of *cum* and a present indicative indicates that the narrator is referring to a
universal pattern: ‘whenever x’. The *cum*-clause functions to mark the shift from the story
world to a universal world. As soon as the narrator has made this shift to a universal world
clear, he describes what may happen ‘whenever x’ in a specific and elaborate way (Bakker,
2001:21).

All similes in the *Aeneid* contain universal patterns, expressed by present tense forms.
However, there is one simile that deserves further attention since it may, at first sight, seem to
refer to a specific occurrence in a story world and not to a recurring pattern. In this particular
instance, the narrator compares Dido with Pentheus and Orestes, two literary characters.
However, he does not refer to the specific instances of Pentheus seeing the Bacchants’ bands
or Orestes fleeing from his mother in a mythical story world. Instead, the narrator refers to an
* enactment* in a theatre.

Scaenis in line 471 indicates that the narrator does not refer to the literary characters of
Pentheus and Orestes, but to their enactment in a theatre (Conington, 1963). Therefore,
these sentences represent a recurring pattern.

Apart from universal patterns, there is another specific type of universal sentences in the *Aeneid*
which deserves attention: sentences in which a single event is presented as a
universal image or as a characteristic of an object or person. The present tense form *redit* in
example (9), for instance, does not refer to the single event of Hector’s return from the
battlefield. Rather, it represents Aeneas’ image of the ‘returning Hector’.

Ah me, what aspect was his! How changed he was
from that Hector who returns after donning the spoils
of Achilles or hurling on Danaan ships the Phrygian
fires!

The present tense form *redit* should not be seen as a ‘historical present’. This statement is a
universal sentence, in that a single event has become a characteristic (Mackail 1930 ad

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42 There are alternative conjectures for *scaenis* (e.g. *furias, saevis* or *poenix*), but most commentaries reject these conjectures.
locum). The present tense form is contemporaneous with the base of the narrator as all present tense forms in universal sentences are.

Summarizing thus far we can say that the ‘actual’ present tense can be used in a number of ways. The present tense may be concerned only with the time of narration (the singing of the song), or with states of affairs that are valid during the lifetime of the narrator (e.g. references to Rome), or even valid beyond that life time (universal). The latter two uses of the present tense belong to the discourse mode of report. The states of affairs that are concerned with the time of narration alone form a separate group of registering states of affairs. An overview of the numbers of present tense forms evoking the discussed interpretations is given in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Registering</th>
<th>13</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Report (‘Life time’/ ‘universal’)</td>
<td>516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>529</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These 529 present tense forms make up only about 14 per cent of all present tense forms outside direct speech in the Aeneid (N = 3662). The so-called historical present, obtaining in reference time, is used far more often in the Aeneid. Below I will discuss the use of the present tense in relation to reference time as a base.

### 2.3 The Present Tense Contemporaneous with Reference Time

The function of the present tense is to indicate that the state of affairs expressed by it takes place in what the speaker has chosen to be his base (Cutrer 1994). This section aims to show that in case of a historical present the base is positioned in reference time. That is, a state of affairs expressed by a historical present is always contemporaneous with the reference time.

Of course, the notion of reference time is an abstract notion: the reference time with which a present tense form is contemporaneous is hardly ever explicitly expressed. Moreover, we usually define reference time by means of the state of affairs that takes place in it. An exception to this is found in book 8, when Vulcanus gets up to make a shield for Aeneas. Here, we find a reference time that is specified in a very elaborate manner: the reference time of surgit is the time in the morning (nec tempore segnior illo) at which a housewife stirs up the fire and starts her other daily tasks.

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43 The total amount of occurrences of this type is only five. The other instances are obtruncat in 2.663, dat in 9.266, generat in 8.141 and petit in 10.313. These instances fall, strictly speaking, outside my corpus since they occur in direct speech. They are therefore not included in the total amount of generalizing sentences in table 1. See also Pinkster (1999:714ff). He discusses the present tense forms in (9) and (9.266) along with 9.360 – 363. I will propose a different reading for 9.360 – 363 in §2.5 below.

44 An overview of the numbers is given in §2.8.

45 This use of the present tense is referred to in the literature by means of the term praesens historicum, historical present or narrative present. I will also refer to this phenomenon as the historical present by which I mean to refer to the use of the present tense to denote a state of affairs taking place in the reference time of a story (see §3.1).

46 For this opinion on the historical present see Kühner-Stegmann (1912:II.1:114), Chaussé-Laprée (1969:371), Pinkster (1990; 1999), Chafe (1994:208), and Kroon (2002). This opinion is in contrast to, for instance, Mellet (1985:152), who argues that the use of the present tense referring to a past story time proves that this tense is the unmarked tense of the system, with no ‘couleur actuel’ whatsoever. A strong argument against Mellet’s position is given by Pinkster (1998), who shows that the historical present may not replace all perfect and imperfect tense forms in a narrative.
Then, when repose had banished sleep, in the mid career of now waning night, at the time when a housewife whose task it is to eke out life with her distaff and Minerva’s humble toil, awakes the embers and slumbering fire, adding night to her day’s work, and keeps her handmade toiling by lamplight at the long task, so that she can keep her husband’s bed chaste and rear her little sons: just so, and not more slothful at that hour, the Lord of Fire rises from his soft couch to the work of his smithy.

The point in time at which Vulcan rises to start working on Aeneas’ shield is defined in no less than seven lines, to illustrate how early and, therefore, how eagerly Vulcan starts to fulfill his quasi-parental task. The present tense form *surgit* is contemporaneous with this elaborately described reference time.

All present tense forms in the *Aeneid* that are not part of the report or registering mode are contemporaneous with reference time. This becomes apparent when we consider environments in which other tenses are preferred to the present tense: in these environments the states of affairs are *not* contemporaneous with reference time (cf. Pinkster 1998). One of these environments is the end of direct speech. The perfect tense is preferred to the present tense to conclude speeches, even when other states of affairs in its environment are presented by present tense forms (Adema 2005). In these cases the perfect is used to indicate that the speech has come to an end: the state of affairs of speaking is no longer contemporaneous with reference time, but (now) anterior to it (see chapter 3). After the perfect tense form that concludes the direct speech, the story often continues with present tense forms, as is illustrated by the sequence of *dixit* and *eripit* in the example below.

Example (11), 4.571 - 583

Then indeed Aeneas, scared by the sudden vision, tears himself from sleep and bestirs his comrades. “Make haste, my men, … in the sky vouchsafe kindly stars!” He spoke, and from its sheath snatches his flashing sword and strikes the hawser with the drawn blade. The same zeal catches all at once; with hurry and scurry they have quitted the shore; the sea is hidden under their fleets; lustily they churn the foam and sweep the blue waters.

From the point of view of reference time, the state of affairs *dicere* is finished when the last word (*feras*) is uttered. It can, therefore, only be presented as anterior to the reference time which follows upon the reference time of the speech. This anteriority is expressed by means of the perfect tense.47

As said, the present tense is hardly ever used to conclude direct speech: only nine of the 333 speeches in the *Aeneid* are concluded with a *verbum dicendi* in the present tense. In six of these nine instances, the use of the present tense may be explained by the fact that the narrator pretends that more was said than he actually quotes: he employs so-called *free direct*

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47 This ‘conclusive’ use of the perfect is comparable to the use of the participle perfect and the pluperfect at the end of speeches. Pinkster (1999:707) mentions that the perfect may be equivalent to a pluperfect when the narrative is presented by means of the present tense. Please note that the perfect *deseruere* in example (11) is used in a way similar to the use of *dixit*. During the reference time following the reference time of *ruunt* the men had already left the coast. We get the impression that the narrator refrains from describing the action of departure, but instead describes the moment the men have already left and the ships are at sea. By this way of presentation the narrator seems to enhance the feverish pace of the events in the story world (see §3.4).
CHAPTER 2

discourse, a term introduced by Laird (1999: 89).48 We may, for instance, assume that in example (12) Dido continues talking after the words ‘sucurrere disco’ on account of the use of simul. The narrator prefers to present other events, which are taking place while Dido is speaking, instead of quoting more of Dido’s words.

Example (12), 1.630 – 632
Non ignara mali, miseris succurrere disco.”
Sic memorat; simul Aenean in regia ducit
tecta, simul diuum templis indicit honorem.

Memorat is contemporaneous with reference time, and Dido is still talking in reference time, but what she is saying after disco is not mentioned. This example shows that a present tense speech verb at the end of direct speech may indicate that the actual talking is indeed taking place in reference time, but that the narrator focuses on something else instead of quoting the talking character. As such, these ‘deviating’ present tense forms confirm that the present tense denotes states of affairs that are contemporaneous with reference time.49 However, there are no indications of free direct discourse in example (13), which contains the end of book 5 and the start of book 6.50

Example (13), 5.868 – 871, 06.1 – 2
…, et ipse ratem nocturnis rexit in undis
multa gemens casuque animum concussus amici:
‘o nimium caelo et pelago confise sereno,
nudus in ignota, Palinure, iacebis harena.’
Sic fatur lacrimans, classique immittit habenas
et tandem Euboicis Cumari adlabitur oris.

…, and himself steered her amid the waves of night,
often sighing and stunned at heart by his friend’s
mischance. “Ah, too trustful in the calm of sky and
sea, naked you will lie, Palinurus, on an unknown
sand!”
Thus he cries weeping, and gives his fleet the reins,
and at last glides up to the shores of Euboean Cumae.

I wish to argue that the narrator deliberately presents fatur as contemporaneous with reference time, despite its occurrence at the end of direct speech. By disregarding his own “custom” not to use the present when concluding direct speech, the narrator emphasizes that fatur is a constitutive event in the chain of events at the start of book 6. Fari, immittere and adlabi are successive events at the start of a new book, and the present tense forms emphasize that the story continues in the same reference time as the last reference time of the previous book.

Present tense forms in combination with adverbs such as iamdudum or conjunctions such as postquam represent another small group of present tense forms denoting states of affairs which seem anterior to reference time, but are, in fact, contemporaneous with reference time. As far as the adverb iamdudum is concerned, the combination with the present tense emphasizes both that the state of affairs was going on before reference time and that it is still going on in reference time.51 A similar interpretation should be assumed in those cases in which a present tense form is combined with a temporal conjunction such as postquam. In these cases, the conjunction seems to emphasize that the start of the state of affairs is anterior to reference time, whereas the state of affairs itself continues in reference time, as in example (14). Palinurus gives the sign that it is safe to sail out, postquam uidet.

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48 Unfortunately, in practice the occurrence of free direct discourse is sometimes hard to establish. Laird (1999:93) gives five criteria for free direct discourse, but he does not supply examples of every criterion. The only objectively measurable clues for free direct discourse are explicit indications that the quotation is repeated or lasts longer than presented. A very obvious example of free direct discourse is 5.741 – 745.

49 The other examples are 1.208; 1.410; 6.098; 8.79; 9.232.

50 Similar examples are 10.907 and 11.718.

51 iamdudum is combined with a present tense form at 4.362 and 11.837. It is more often combined with a participle (e.g. 5.513) or adjective (saucia in 4.1), or an imperfect tense form (e.g. 1.581, see §4.6.1).
Palinurus springs, alert, from his couch, tries all the winds, and with eager ear catches the breeze; he marks all the stars gliding in the silent sky, Arcturus, the rainy Hyades, and the twin Bears, and he scans Orion, girt with golden armor. When he sees that all is calm in a cloudless sky, he gives a loud signal from the stern; we break up camp, venture on our way, and spread the wings of our sails.

In my opinion, postquam uidet here denotes that the instantaneous event of ‘first catching sight’ is anterior to reference time, hence postquam, whereas the activity which follows, i.e. seeing, is contemporaneous with reference time, hence the present tense.\footnote{Cf. Vendler (1967:113\textit{ff}) on this ambiguity of the concept \textit{seeing}. With one exception (3.38) the other cases are verbs of seeing as well (12.861 with postquam; 11.703 with \textit{ubi}; 12.595 with \textit{ut}).}

The discussion above shows that the present tense can denote a state of affairs that is contemporaneous with the reference time of a story. Reference time functions as the base, and this base is used as a vantage point for the other tenses, as the following chapters will show (Ricoeur 1985: 88-93; 1988: 260).\footnote{In the coming chapters it will be argued that the perfect may be used in the \textit{Aeneid} to refer to states of affairs which are anterior to reference time (§3.4), the imperfect to a situation in the past of reference time (§4.6.1), and the future tense to a state of affairs which takes place long after reference time (§6.3).}

The use of reference time as a base is also reflected in the use of the present subjunctive in indirect speech, as is illustrated by the example below: the indirect question depending on edocet contains the present subjunctive constet.

According to the rule of the \textit{sequence of tenses}, this and other instances would rather call for an imperfect subjunctive. However, a tendency exists for the historical present to govern subordinate clauses which contain present or perfect subjunctives instead of imperfect or pluperfect subjunctives respectively (Kühner-Stegmann 1912:II.2 176). This tendency is very strong in the \textit{Aeneid}, as table 2 shows. The table makes clear that a main clause containing a present tense will most likely have present tense subjunctives in a subordinate clause: subjunctives in subordinate clauses almost always reflect the base of the main clause.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
Tense of subjunctive & Indirect speech/ thought & Final clause \\
\hline
Present & 62\footnote{Please note that some of the subordinate clauses containing a subjunctive present are not immediately governed by present tense, but by, for instance, a perfect tense form taking its base in reference time and denoting a state of affair that is anterior to reference time. See also chapter 3 on the perfect tense.} & 37 \\
Perfect & 10 & 0 \\
Imperfect & 0 & 2 \\
Pluperfect & 2 & 0 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Tense of subjunctive in subordinate clauses governed by present tense main clauses}
\end{table}

In addition to the 62 present subjunctives in indirect speech in subordinate clauses, there are seven present subjunctives in main clauses which represent the thoughts of a character. These subjunctives occur in three clusters, one of which is quoted below.\footnote{The others are found at 9.399 and 12.486.}
Example (16), 4.279 - 286
At uero Aeneas aspectu obmutuit amens, arrectaeque horrore come et uox faucibus haesit. ardet abire fuga duleisque relinquere terras, attonitus tanto monitu imperioque deorum. heu quid agat? quo nunc reginam ambire furentem audiat adfatu? quae prima exordia sumat? atque animum nunc huc celerem nunc diuidit illuc in partisque rapit uarias perque omnia uersat.

But in truth Aeneas, aghast at the sight, was struck dumb; his hair stood up in terror and the voice choked in his throat. He burns to flee away and quit that pleasant land, awed by that warning and divine commandment. Ah, what to do? With what speech now dare he approach the frenzied queen? What opening words choose first? And he casts his swift mind this way and that, takes it in different directions and considers every possibility.

The present subjunctives describe the doubts of Aeneas after Mercury’s warning that he should leave Dido. The base seems not just positioned in reference time, but also inside Aeneas’ head (so-called ‘free indirect speech’).56

In sum, the present tense is not used as a passepartout for any type of state of affairs on the time line of the story. Many scholars, such as Mellet (1985) and Fleischman (1990), suggest that the present tense simply functions as the basic tense of a narrative. However, even when the present tense is chosen as the basic narrative tense, there are restrictions to its use: the present tense is used to describe only those states of affairs that are contemporaneous with reference time.

Present tense forms that are contemporaneous with reference time occur in several modes: the directing mode, transposed description and transposed report. The use of the present tense in these modes will be discussed in §2.4, §2.5 and §2.6 respectively. First, I will address the question how we may distinguish between unbounded and bounded states of affairs (situations and events §1.1.1.1) since this distinction helps to recognize the discourse modes. Unbounded states of affairs are, for instance, a characteristic feature of (transposed) description (§2.6). Besides that, the distinction into bounded and unbounded is a necessary first step for an analysis of the advancement of reference time in the directing mode (see §2.4.1). As I explained in §1.1.1.1, events and starting situations usually advance reference time and situations are usually stationary or framing states of affairs. In §2.4.1, I will show that this also holds in case of the present tense in the directing mode.

2.3.1 The Present Tense: Telicity and Boundedness

In the particular case of the ‘historical’ present, a distinction can be made between situations and events.57 This distinction is based on two factors:

1) the Aktionsart of the predicate frame (verb and its arguments, cf. Pinkster 1990:221ff)

A bounded state of affairs usually has a telic predicate frame, an unbounded state of affairs usually has an atelic predicate frame58

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56 As such this is an example of focalization (De Jong 1987, Bal 1985).
57 In case of ‘real’ present tense forms a distinction into bounded and unbounded states of affairs is irrelevant: all states of affairs occurring ‘now’ are – with respect to this now – unbounded. This is different in case of the ‘historical’ present: as it describes states of affairs on the time line of a story, we may distinguish between states of affairs that have boundaries (they demarcate reference time) and states of affairs that do not (they exceed reference time), see §1.1.1.1.
58 Aktionsart may be assigned to verbs or even verb roots (cf. Oldsjö 2001:156) or to verbs in combination with the (occurring) arguments (Pinkster 1983:280). When investigating tense in a narrative text I think it is relevant to contrast the Aktionsart of a verb and its arguments (the predicate frame) with the duration of the state of affairs with respect to reference time (i.e. whether the state of affairs is a situation or an event, see below). Therefore, I have assigned the Aktionsart to the predicate frame (verb and arguments) as it occurs in the text. Thus, if a verb occurs with arguments that make the predicate frame telic, the Aktionsart of this predicate frame
2) the context in which the present tense form occurs

The context may ‘stretch’ a telic predicate frame to unboundedness or ‘push’ an atelic predicate frame into a bounded time slot

The term Aktionsart or lexical aspect refers to the categories of verbs Vendler (1967) first distinguished. These types are: activities, semelfactives, accomplishments, achievements and states. An accomplishment has a natural endpoint and may take some time. An example of an accomplishment is, for instance, *aliquid facere* in the sense of *making something*: it has a natural endpoint and may take some time. Achievements are like accomplishments in that they are telic: they have a natural endpoint. In contrast to accomplishment verbs, achievements are instantaneous, and do not take up any time: they mark the instantaneous change of one state into another (e.g. *frangere* or *sentire* in the sense of *recognizing*). The Latin verb *stare* is an example of a state verb. States are atelic: they do not have an endpoint as part of their meaning, but may continue ‘for ever’ like verbs such as *to hang* or *to be*. Activities are verbs which are atelic like states, but that have a certain dynamism and movement to them. The category of semelfactives was later added to Vendler’s categories, e.g. by Smith (1991:29ff). These are verbs that consist of multiple accomplishments or achievements, such as *coughing* and *scratching* (Latin examples are *refulgere* and *tonare*). The above is summarized in the chart (cf. Pinkster 1990:215):

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State of Affairs</th>
<th>Telic</th>
<th>Durative</th>
<th>Static</th>
<th>Dynamic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>accomplishment</td>
<td>......</td>
<td>.........</td>
<td>.......</td>
<td>........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activity</td>
<td>......</td>
<td>.........</td>
<td>.......</td>
<td>........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activity of telic events</td>
<td>......</td>
<td>.........</td>
<td>.......</td>
<td>........</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semelfactive</td>
<td>......</td>
<td>.........</td>
<td>.......</td>
<td>........</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

For the purpose of this section, our main interest is the distinction between telic predicate frames (achievements and accomplishments) and atelic predicate frames (state, activity, semelfactive).

As I will explain below, the context may play an important role with respect to the boundedness of a present tense state of affairs, but, in general, telic predicate frames expressed by present tense forms are bounded, and atelic predicate frames expressed by present tense forms are unbounded. This distinction is illustrated by example (17), in which Aeneas sends his friend Achates to the Trojan ships.

Example (17), 1.643 – 646

Aeneas (neque enim patrius consistere mentem passus amor) rapidum ad nauis praemittit Achaten, Ascanio ferat haec ipsumque ad moenia ducat; omnis in Ascanio cari stat cura parentis.

Aeneas – for a father’s love did not suffer his heart to rest – speedily sends Achates forward to the ships to carry this news to Ascanius and lead him to the city; in Ascanius all his fond parental care is centered.

is accomplishment and if it occurs without such arguments the Aktionsart is activity. In this way, the possible influence of a specific tense on the constitution of a state of affairs becomes clear.


60 Cf. also Sicking’s category ‘iterative’ containing verb such as ‘to drip’ (1971:39).
The present tense form *praemittit* represents a bounded state of affairs given that the begin-
and endpoint of this state of affairs are clear: reference time lasts exactly as long as it takes to
send someone away, i.e. to give someone the orders to leave. The state of affairs *praemittit* is
bounded, and this is in line with or, rather, due to the telic meaning of *aliaem praemittere:*
the predicate frame of *Aeneas Achaten praemittit* is an *accomplishment,* since sending
someone ahead, or away, has a natural endpoint and may take some time. The predicate frame
of *stat,* on the other hand, is unbounded: we assume that Aeneas’ parental care was focused
on Ascanius before this reference time and that it continues afterwards. The state of affairs
*stat* is unbounded, and this is due to the atelic *Aktionsart* of *stare* (state).\(^{61}\)

As is the case in the example above, the *Aktionsart* of the predicate frame often – but
not always! – corresponds with the boundedness or the unboundedness of a state of affairs as it
occurs in the text, as may be observed from table 3. This table illustrates the correlation
between *Aktionsart* and the boundedness of the state of affairs denoted by means of a
historical present in the *Aeneid.* It also shows, however, that there are some exceptions, thus
illustrating that telicity and boundedness are two separate notions (Depraetere 1995).
Moreover, we also need to consider historical presents that represent *starting situations,*
which are bounded at their start and unbounded at their end. These will be discussed under
example (21).

### Table 3: *Aktionsart* and constitution of states of affairs denoted by a historical present (indicative)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aktionsart</th>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Start of situation</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Achievement</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accomplishment</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1209</td>
<td>1403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activity/ Semelfactive</td>
<td>835</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1280</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>1496</td>
<td>3015</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A distinction may be made into situations and events on the basis of the *Aktionsart* of the
predicate frame and the *context* in which the present tense state of affairs occurs. As the table
shows, atelic predicate frames (activities and states) may sometimes occur in the text as
bounded states of affairs (events). In these cases, it is the *context* that is decisive for a
bounded interpretation. This can be clarified by means of example (18) in which the activity
verb *petere* is pushed in a bounded time slot by the context: *petit* in 7.512 denotes an event on
the time line of the story. The verb form *petit* starts in reference time, and denotes that Allecto
seeks an appropriate place (*ardua tecta*) to announce the start of the war.

Example (18), \(7.511 – 514\)

*At saeua e speculis tempus dea nacta nocendi ardua tecta petit stabuli et de culmine summo pastorale canit signum cornuque recuro Tartarea intendid uocem,*

*But the cruel goddess, espying from her watchtower the moment of mischief, seeks the steep farm roof, and from the topmost ridge sounds the shepherds’ call, and on the twisted horn strains her hellish voice,*

It becomes clear from *de culmine summo* that Allecto indeed reaches the *ardua tecta* and that
the state of affairs *petit* should, therefore, be read as a bounded state of affairs.

\(^{61}\) If this particular piece of the story was narrated in past tenses, the state of affairs *praemittit* could have been
presented by means of a perfect tense form and the state of affairs *stat* could have been presented by means of an
imperfect tense form (see §4.10.1). This contradicts the often expressed idea that that the historical present
seem to state explicitly that the present cannot replace an imperfect tense, but they only mention the alternation
of perfect and present, leaving the imperfect tense out of their discussion of the historical present (114.2ff).
Pinkster (1990:240ff) states that the “historic present predominantly occurs in predications where a perfect
would also have been possible”, but emphasizes that this is not always the case (cf. also Pinkster 1983:310).
An adverbial clause that accompanies the atelic state of affairs may also push the atelic predicate frame into a bounded time slot when this adverbial clause indicates the duration of the state of affairs. A present tense form of the state verb *silere* would normally indicate a situation on the time line, but *silet* in the example below, part of Sinon’s narrative, occurs in combination with *bis senos dies* which makes this a bounded state of affairs. The same holds for the activity verb *recusare*.

Example (19), 2.122 – 129

hic Ithacus uatem magnō Calchanta tumultu prostrahit in medios; quae sint ea numina diuum flagitat. et mihi iam multi crudеле canebant artificis scelus, et taciti uentura uidebant. *bis quinos silet ille dies tectusque recusat* prodere uoce sua quemquam aut opponere morti. uix tandem, magnis Ithaci clamoribus actus, composito rumpit uocem et me destinat arae.

On this the Ithacan with loud clamor drags the seer Calchas into their midst and demands what this is that the gods will. And now many predicated that I was the target of the schemer’s cruel crime and silently saw what was to come. Twice five days is the seer silent in his tent, refusing to denounce any by his lips or to consign to death. Reluctantly, at last, forced by the Ithacan’s loud cries. Even as agreed he breaks into utterance and dooms me to the altar.

Examples (18) and (19) show that atelic verb forms may denote events, when the context provides boundaries. The reverse also occurs: present tense forms of accomplishment and achievement predicate frames may, despite their telicity, be used to denote situations on the time line of the story. The situational interpretation may be evoked because of elements in the context that ‘stretch’ the states of affairs to a situational interpretation. One of these elements is negation: a predicate frame may denote an (instantaneous) change of one state to another, but if this change does not occur, the state of affairs described is a situation (e.g. *non concipit* in 4.502 and *nec occurrit* in 5.9). Apart from negation, a metaphorical use of the verb may result in a situational reading of an accomplishment or achievement predicate frame. The verb *incendere* is an achievement verb, denoting the change from a state in which there is no fire to a state in which there is. As such, a present tense form of *incendere* is expected to be an event, but in the example below it is used to represent a situation of screams heard throughout the city. These screams are a reaction to the death of Pallas.

Example (20), 11.145 – 147

contra turba Phrygum ueniens plangentia iungit agmina. quae postquam matres succedere tectis uiderunt, maestam *incendunt clamoribus urbem*.

Meeting them, the Trojan column unites with theirs its company of mourners. When the women saw them approach their homes, their shrieks set the city ablaze with grief.

The metaphorical use of the verb *incendere*, together with the plural ablative *clamoribus*, allows for a situational interpretation of the present tense form *incendunt*. It is the plural *clamoribus* which evokes the interpretation that this is a situation that starts right after *uiderunt* and continues until further notice. In this particular case the endpoint of the situation is left implicit as a scene about Euander starts in the next line.

We may conclude that, in the particular case of the historical present, the Aktionsart of the predicate frame used is a good indication to distinguish between bounded and unbounded states of affairs, but that the context has a say in this as well. States usually represent situations, as activities usually do as well. Achievements tend to represent events, since they denote an instantaneous change and therefore have an included beginning and end. Accomplishments also include a beginning and end in this way, and therefore often represent bounded states of affairs.

A category that has not been given attention yet is that of *starting situations*. In case of a starting situation, the starting point of a state of affairs becomes apparent from the context,
and the state of affairs may be considered left-bounded, so to speak. This may be illustrated by means of the verb form *exspectant*, as it occurs in the passage under (21). The passage is found right before the start of the boat race in book 5; the contesters take their places on the benches and await the starting signal.

Example (21), 5.136 – 138

*considunt transtris, intentaque bracchia remis; intenti *exspectant* signum, exsultantiaque haurit corda pauor pulsans laudumque arrecta cupidio.*

They man the thwarts, their arms strained to the oars; straining they await the signal, while throbbing fear and eager passion for glory drain each bounding heart.

Then, when the clear trumpet sounded, all at once shot forth from their starting places; the mariners’ shouts strike the heavens; as arms are drawn back the waters are turned into foam.

The combination *signum exspectare* is an example of a *state* predicate frame and, as such, the verb form *exspectant* is atelic. It does not denote a state of affairs that is unbounded, however. The beginning of this state of affairs is given in the context: as soon as the contesters have taken their seats, they start awaiting the signal. In other words we may say that the clear endpoint of the state of affairs *considunt*, meaning ‘they sit down’, provides the beginning of the reference time of the state of affairs *exspectant*. The endpoint of the state of affairs *exspectant* is not clear (yet); the reader’s expectation may be that this state of affairs will soon end, i.e. when the contest starts, but for ‘now’ the end of the state of affairs is not made explicit. The state of affairs *exspectant* is bounded at its start and unbounded at its end: it denotes the *start of a situation*.

2.3.2 Conclusion

Summarizing, the present tense may denote a situation or event that is contemporaneous with reference time or a situation that starts in reference time. The sections below and the following chapters will show that the narrator may use several discourse modes taking his base in reference time. These are counterparts of the discourse modes he uses when he takes the time of narration as a base and, therefore, they may be referred to by the same name, with the addition transposed. General statements with respect to the story world are, for instance, referred to with the term *transposed report* (see §2.5).

Present tense forms in transposed report all represent unbounded states of affairs. Present tense forms in transposed description also represent unbounded states of affairs: a description by definition consists of (‘visible’) situations in the story world. The directing mode (transposed registering) contains both bounded and unbounded states of affairs expressed by present tense forms.

### 2.4 Directing Mode

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discourse Mode</th>
<th>Time of narration</th>
<th>Reference time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Report</td>
<td>Transposed Report</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registering</td>
<td>Directing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrative</td>
<td>Transposed Narrative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Transposed Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The directing mode is the mode used most often in the *Aeneid*, and the present tense is the tense used most often within the directing mode (2674 occurrences). Moreover, the present tense is the key tense of the directing mode given that it is connected to two principal characteristics of the directing mode (§1.2.1):

1) simultaneous advancement of reference time, base and narrator

62 I explain in §2.4.1 that starting situations always advance reference time, since by starting a new situation they automatically indicate the start of this new reference time as well as the start of the situation.
2) the combination of the deixis of immediacy (e.g. the present tense) with the knowledge of displacement (displaced immediacy)

This section first elaborates on the role of the present tense with respect to the advancement of reference time in the directing mode (§2.4.1). Secondly, I discuss the use of the present tense in several narrative techniques in which we find explicit instances of displaced immediacy (§2.4.2).

2.4.1 The Present Tense and the Advancement of Reference Time

One of the typical features of the directing mode is that as reference time advances, the base advances as well, since the base is positioned in reference time. The narrator suggests that he gives a live report of what is going on as reference time and base advance. However, we have to bear in mind that this is a suggestion indeed, as explained in §1.2.1. Time may inevitably tick away in the real world, but reference time never moves ‘by itself’. It is the narrator who makes time tick. The question remains how such an introduction of a new reference time is achieved, and how a reader recognizes that ‘time has ticked’.

The advancement of reference time depends on several parameters. A first indication may be a sequence of two events, which in contrast to the sequence of two situations, usually counts as a strong indication for the advancement of reference time (Hinrichs 1986:68, cf. Depraetere 1995). This indeed holds for the present tense in the Aeneid, as illustrated in example (10) in §1.2.1, here repeated as example (22). In §1.2.1, the example was quoted in order to illustrate advancement of reference time, since it considers the subsequent finishing of three foot race contesters. In addition to using our knowledge about finishing, we may also determine the advancement of reference time by means of the linguistic notions event and situation: in this example, events advance reference time and situations are stationary.63

Example (22), 5.337 – 339
emicat Euryalus et munere uictor amici
prima tenet, plausuque uolat fremituque secundo.
post Helymus subit et nunc tertia palma Diore.

Euryalus darts by and, winning by the graces of his friend, holds first place, and flies on amid favoring applause and cheers. Behind come Helymus, and now Diore, third prize.

The verb form emicat is an event and introduces a new reference time, whereas the situations tenet and uolat do not introduce a new reference time, but give a further exemplification of the reference time of emicat. Since the situations do not have an endpoint in themselves, we may assume that the situations tenet and uolat continue after the reference time of emicat, until the unexpressed moment that Euryalus has come to a halt. We see Euryalus as he flies through the finish line and cannot stop yet, as is usually the case in foot races. Before Euryalus can stop himself running, the narrator switches to the finish of Helymus, thereby leaving the endpoint of Euryalus’ running implicit. Reference time advances with the next event: that of subit.64 This advancement of reference time is emphasized by means of the adverb post. The third advancement of reference time in this example becomes apparent from an adverb alone: nunc occurs without a verb form.

Example (22) consists of advancing events and stationary situations. Apart from these two categories, several other types of states of affairs which are involved with the advancement of reference time exist. In §1.1.1.1, a division is made into several types of

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63 For the distinction into advancing, stationary and framing states of affairs, see chapter 1.
64 The verb subire may be interpreted, depending on the context, as an activity verb meaning to follow or to approach (e.g. 2.725) or as an achievement verb meaning to enter or to occur (e.g. 2.562). In this example subit should be interpreted as an achievement, in the sense of to appear or to emerge in analogy with emicat. Cf. 12.408: iam puluere caelum/ stare uident: subeunt equites et spicula castris/ densa cadunt medius.
CHAPTER 2

states of affairs: advancing events, stationary situations, framing situations, starting situations et cetera. The present tense is used in almost all types of these states of affairs, as the table illustrates.

<p>| Table 4: Events and situations and temporal progression in the directing mode |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State of affairs</th>
<th>Advancing</th>
<th>Stationary</th>
<th>Frames</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Event</td>
<td>1445</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>565</td>
<td>1485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Start of situation</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Situation</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>849</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1731</td>
<td>884</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>2673</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The present tense is most often used for advancing events in the directing mode, although it is also used quite often to represent stationary situations. These types of states of affairs are illustrated in example (22) above. The examples below will discuss starting situations (examples 23-25), the exceptional category of advancing situations (example 26) and frames (example 27). An interesting category that does not become apparent from this table is formed by a group of 74 pairs of events that seem to advance reference time as a pair. I will discuss this category below (example 28-31), and pay attention to the concept of husteron proteron which has been attached to several of these pairs of events.

2.4.1.1 Starting Situations

States of affairs that are starting situations always advance reference time, since the start of a situation always takes place in a new reference time. The start of a situation (and of a new reference time) may be indicated, for instance, by an adverb such as inde or the combination tum uero. The interpretation of a state of affairs as a starting situation may also arise when the state of affairs is a reaction or an effect caused by the preceding state of affairs, as is the case in the example below. Aeneas tells how he ordered his men to leave the harbor:

Example (23), 3.289 – 293
linquere tum portus iubeo et considere transtris.
certatim socii feriunt mare et aequora uerrunt:
protinus aeras Phaeacum abscondimus arces
litoraque Epiri legimus portuque subimus
Chaonio et celsam Buthroti accedimus urbem.

Then I bid them quit the harbor and man the benches; with rival strokes my comrades lash the sea and sweep the waters. Soon we lose from sight the towering heights of the Phaeacians, skirt the shores of Epirus, enter the Chaonian harbor, and draw near Buthrotum’s lofty city.

The situation of feriunt is, of course, not simultaneous to iubeo, since it describes the effect of this order, thus implying a new reference time after the reference time of iubeo.

Such an interpretation of advancement may also be evoked when the situation is not a result or reaction, but otherwise pragmatically incompatible with the preceding state of affairs (Boogaart 1999:117): the reader derives from world knowledge that the two states of affairs could not have happened simultaneously and therefore assumes advancement of the reference time. The snakes in the example below, for instance, first glide towards the statue of Triton (effugium and petunt) and then hide under her shield: the situation of teguntur may not be interpreted as simultaneous to petunt since one first has to arrive somewhere in order to be kept hidden.

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65 These are present tense forms that are governed by a conjunction such as postquam, ut or ubi (see example (14)). The temporal clause provides a frame for the main clause.
66 The exceptional category of stationary events consists mostly of states of affairs that are explicitly made contemporaneous with the previous state of affairs by means of, for instance, the adverb simul (e.g. 4.499).
67 E.g. 5.224. The following adverbs may indicate the start of a situation (expressed by a present tense form) in the Aeneid: donec, ergo, extemplo, hinc, ilicet, inde, nunc, post, rursus, subito, tandem, tum uero.
PRAESENS

Example (24), 2.225 – 227
at gemini lapsu delubra ad summa dracones
*effugiant* saeuaeque *petunt* Tritonidis arcem,
sub pedibusque deae elipecique sub orbe *teguntur*.

But, gliding away, the dragon pair escapes to the lofty
shrines, and seek fierce Tritonia’s citadel, there to
nestle under the goddess’s feet and the circle of her
shield.

It may also be the preceding state of affairs that suggests an advancement of reference time:
*consurgunt* in the example below, for instance, is interpreted as reaching its endpoint in
reference time and, therefore, a reader will expect that the next state of affairs takes place in a
new reference time. Thus, the present tense form *consurgunt* introduces or ‘opens up’, as it
were, the following reference time, that of *morantur* (cf. Boogaart 1999:18).

Example (25), 5.207 – 209
*consurgunt* nautae et magno clamore *morantur*
ferratasque trudes et acuta cupidse contos
expeditiunt fractosque legunt in gurgite remos.

Up spring the sailors and hold her steady with loud
shouts, and get out iron-shod pikes and sharppointed
poles, or rescued from the flood their broken oars.

The reader assumes that the momentaneous event *consurgunt* is finished within the reference
time and that the shouting of the sailors takes place in an upright position. The situation of
*morantur* occurs in a new reference time, but it is not this situation that has caused an
advancement of reference time; rather, reference time advances because the preceding event
has concluded the former reference time and ‘opened up’ the next (cf. also example (23)).

2.4.1.2 Advancing Situations

Situations that advance reference time form an exceptional category. Despite the
unboundedness of the state of affairs, the idea of reference time progression is evoked because
the narrator focuses on a new reference time in which an unbounded state of affairs is already
going on. Such advancement of reference time may be indicated by particles such as *iam* or
*ecce*, which indicate that the narrator, so to speak, ‘plunges’ into a new reference time in
which a state of affairs is already in full course. The start of a new episode or book may also
evoke the interpretation that reference time has advanced, despite the occurrence of a
situation, as is illustrated in the example below. The narrator focuses in a new scene, and a
new book, on Dido, thereby introducing a new reference time.68

Example (26), 4.1 – 8
At regina graui iamdudum saucia cura
uulnus *alit* uenis et caeco *carpittur* igni.
multa uiri utiur animo multusque recessat
gentie honos; *haerent* infixi pectore uultus
uerbaque nec placidam membris *dat* curietem.

But the queen, long since smitten with a grievous
love pang, feeds the wound with her lifeblood, and is
wasted with fire unseen. Oft to her mind rushes back
the hero’s valor, oft his glorious stock; his look and
words cling fast to her bosom, and longing withholds
calm rest from her limbs.

The state of affairs *alit* is unbounded; the situation may have been going on beforehand and it
is not made clear when it will end. In comparison to the preceding reference time, in which
Aeneas ended his story, however, this is a new reference time: the narrator has advanced on
the time line from the moment in which Aeneas ends his story and everybody goes to sleep to
the situation of Dido alone, some time before dawn (line 6).

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68 The subject change itself may be marked by means of the particle *at* (Kroon 1995, 2006). This particle does
not contribute to the advancement of reference time, however; it often occurs when reference time does not shift
and the narrator focuses on what another character is doing in the already given reference time (e.g. 4.157).
2.4.1.3 Frames

Frames locate the next verb form in time and place. As becomes clear from table 4 above, frames rarely occur in the present tense; a more usual tense for frames is the imperfect tense (see chapter 4). In those cases in which a present tense form does represent a frame for another state of affairs, this is usually because it occurs in a subordinate clause with conjunctions such as *ubi* or *dum*, like *concitat* in the example below. First it is described how Turnus excites the Rutulians to defend Italy. This is then summarized in the *dum*-clause to indicate the change from Turnus and his Rutulians to what Allecto is doing in the mean time: the *dum*-clause provides the temporal frame for *concitat*.

Example (27), 7.471 – 479

haec ubi dicta dedit divosque in uota uocauit,
certatim sese Rutuli exhortantur in arma.
hunc decus egregium formae mouet atque iuuentae,
hunc atau reges, hunc claris dextera factis.

*Dum* Turnus Rutulos animis audacibus *implet,*
Allecto in Teucros Stygis se *concitat* alis,
arte noua, speculata locum, quo litore pulcher
insidiis cursuque feras agitabat Iulus.

When thus he spoke, and called the gods to hear his vows, the Rutuli vie in exhorting one another to arms. One is moved by the peerless beauty of his form and youth, one by his royal ancestry, another by the glorious deeds of his hands. While Turnus fills the Rutuli with daring courage, Allecto on Stygian wing speeds toward the Trojans, with new wiles spying out the place, where, on the shore, fair Iulus was hunting wild beasts with nets and steeds.

A *dum*-clause usually recapitulates the reference time of the preceding sentence and makes explicit that the present tense in the following main clause denotes a state of affairs that is *simultaneous* to the reference time of the preceding sentence, therewith providing a smooth connection between two or more states of affairs. 69

2.4.1.4 Pairs of Events advancing Reference Time and husteron proteron

In the *Aeneid* several *pairs of events* (74 occurrences) occur that seem to advance reference time together. These events are always coordinated by means of *et, -que* or *ac* (Norden 1957:378ff, cf. also Campbell 1996). Although the second state of affairs of these pairs does not mark an advancement of reference time on its own, it seems strange to categorize these present tense forms as stationary events. Rather, the *pair* of events introduces a new reference time, as may be illustrated by means of *diuidimus et pandimus* in the example below. The second present tense form does not mark the advancement to a reference time that follows that of *diuidimus*, but it is not a stationary event that shares the reference time of *diuidimus* either. Both states of affairs together mark the advancement from the reference time of *conclamant* to that in which the way for the horse is made free.

Example (28), 2.238-240

ducendum ad sedes simulacrum orandaque diuae
numina *conclamant.*

*diuidimus* muros et *moenia pandimus urbis.*

‘Draw the image to her house,’ all cry, ‘and supplicate her godhead.’… We part the walls and lay bare the city’s battlements.

In this sentence – which describes the acceptance of the horse into the city of Troy – *pandimus moenia urbis* specifies and elaborates *diuidimus muros* in that it emphasizes that by parting the walls the Trojans open up the city as a whole (cf. Austin 1964). Events that are, like *pandimus*, the second of a pair often are an elaboration or a specification of the preceding state of affairs (Page 1894:203), and in some cases it may seem as if the narrator says the

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69 That is, the *dum*-clause functions as a so-called recapitulating setting (Risselada 1997).
same thing twice. However, a closer look reveals that the second is usually more specific than the first.

In some of these pairs, the first state of affairs denotes an event which takes up more time than the specifying, second event, such as exsequitur iussa and reuisit in the example below. The state of affairs of Aeneas following the orders of Jupiter denotes a much larger task than classem reuisit – going back to the Trojan fleet: classem reuisit is only a first step of these iussa.

Example (29), 4.393 – 396
At pius Aeneas, quamquam lenire dolentem solando cupit et dictis auertere curas, multa gemens magnoque animum labefactus amore iussa tamen diuum exsequitur classemque reuisit. But loyal Aeneas, though longing to soothe and assuage her grief and by his words turn aside her sorrow, with many a sigh, his soul shaken by his mighty love, yet fulfills Heaven’s bidding and returns to the fleet.

The event of classem reuisit alone does not advance reference time since it takes place within the reference time of exsequitur, at the same time specifying this state of affairs and the reference time. Together, the two states of affairs advance reference time, and it is the specific classem reuisit that defines the exact reference time: this reference time cannot be paraphrased as the reference time in which Aeneas fulfils the orders of Jupiter (since that will take up the rest of the epic), but, rather, as the reference time in which Aeneas returns to his fleet, in order to start fulfilling his task.

A case similar to (29) has been described as an instance of so-called husteron proteron by, among others, Henry (1873). This example contains the start of the foot race in book five and describes how the contestants take their places, start running (enter the race track) after the signal and leave the starting line behind. The event of this leaving behind, relinquunt, is simultaneous to the reference time of the contesters running over the race track, corripiunt spatia, albeit that the reference time of the situation corripiunt spatia is slightly longer than it takes to leave the barrier behind.70

Example (30), 5.315 – 317
Haec ubi dicta, locum capiunt signoque repente corripiunt spatia audito limenque relinquunt, effusi nimbo similes.
This said, they take their place, and suddenly, the signal heard, dash over the cours, and leave the barrier, streaming forth like a storm-cloud.

This is not an example of husteron proteron, simply because relinquunt is not anterior to corripiunt. The state of affairs relinquunt may be anterior to most of corripiunt spatia, but this is merely because relinquunt is only simultaneous to the very first part of corripiunt.71 The new reference time is made explicit by means of both relinquunt and corripiunt, and, as such, they together advance reference time.

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70 Although the verb corripere usually occurs in an accomplishment predicate frame, the combination of corripere and the object spatia (like viam) is atelic and, therefore, this predicate frame denotes an activity. As such, this is an example of a situation denoting advancement of reference time because of an added adverbial clause, i.e. signo repente, indicating the start of the situation.

71 The same explanation may be given to the most cited example of so-called husteron proteron: moriamur et in media arma ruamus./una salus uictis nullam sperare salutem. (2.353 – 354). In several commentaries, the mistake is made that moriamur and ruamus represent two separate (future) events, one of dying and one of entering battle, which are placed in a reverse order in the text. However, we should rather read ruamus as falling inside the temporal frame set up by moriamur, like reuisit is the first step of iussa exsequitur in example (29): entering battle is the first step in moriamur.
CHAPTER 2

2.4.1.5 Conclusion on the Advancement of Reference Time

As far as the present tense having a base in reference time in the *Aeneid* is concerned, events usually advance reference time, starting situations always advance reference time and situations are often stationary or provide frames for the next state of affairs.

Whether reference time advances or not depends on several parameters, the most important of which is whether the state of affairs is an event, situation or starting situation. The sections above show how the context may suggest that an event is stationary or a situation is advancing. A summary of all this is given in the chart below.

Table 5: Advancement of reference time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State of affairs</th>
<th>Indication in context</th>
<th>Advancement of reference time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Event</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Advancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Explicit indication that it takes place in previous reference time</td>
<td>Stationary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Explicit indication that it is frame for next state of affairs</td>
<td>Frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Situation</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Stationary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Explicit new reference time, + incident</td>
<td>Frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Explicit new reference time, no incident</td>
<td>Advancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Starting situation</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Advancing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The alternation of these types is a tool for the narrator to create the desired tempo. He may, for instance, decide to linger in a particular reference time by means of several ensuing stationary situations (see §2.6). Alternatively, he may speed up the story by taking two or three events together, although they are separate in time, as he does in the example below: the narrator chooses to summarize the states of affairs of *equitare* and *circumferre* by means of the quantifying adverb *ter* (example (31)).

Thereby, the narrator avoids tedious repetition which would have destroyed the rapidity and dynamism of this scene in which Mezentius and Aeneas chase each other.

Example (31), 10.883 – 887

*inde aliud super atque aliud ligitque volatque ingenti gyro, sed sustinet aureus umbo. ter circum astantem laeuos equitauit in orbis tela manu iaciens, ter secum Troius heros immanem aerato circumfert tegmine siluam.*

then plants another and yet another, wheeling in wide circle; but the boss of gold withstands him. Thrice round his watchful foe he rode, turnign to the left and launching darts from his hand; thrice the Trojan hero bears round with him the dreadful growth of spears upon his bronze shield.

The combination of *ter* and the present tense form *circumfert* is an example of displaced immediacy: the immediate tense is used in combination with an adverb that shows that the narrator knows that this state of affairs takes place three times.

The co-occurrence of the quantifying adverb *ter* and the present tense is just one of the ways that shows the explicit artificiality of the directing mode. Other indications of displaced immediacy are discussed in the next section.

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72 Please note that the perfect tense is here used in the first of the quantified sentences to denote the anteriority of *equitavit* with respect to *circumfert* (see chapter 3). Other occurrences of a perfect – present sequence in combination with a quantifying expression are 8.231, 11.630 and 11.762. Constructions such as these usually contain two perfect tense forms (e.g. 3.566).

73 Cf. Bal (1985:74) who observes that a presentation which takes exactly as long as the ‘actual’ occurrence of the events would be seen as tedious and exceptionally slow paced. No examples of a verbal repetition of the same state of affairs occur in the *Aeneid*, although, for instance, the repetition of *miratur* in 1.421 is an example of very detailed story telling: first Aeneas admires the city as a whole, and then he turns to its specific parts. *Miratur molem Aeneas, magalia quondam, /miratur portas strepitumque et strata viarum.* (transl.: Aeneas marvels at the massive buildings, mere huts once; marvels at the gates, the din and paved high-roads.)
2.4.2 Displaced Immediacy

In the directing mode, the narrator combines the deixis of immediacy with the knowledge of displacement. This is specifically clear in those contexts in which the historical present (immediate deixis) is used in sentences that also contain specific indications that the narrator is omniscient about the past, present and future of reference time. An example of this is found at the event of the spontaneous self-combustion of an arrow shot by Acestes. The present tense form *obicitur* is a state of affairs that takes place in reference time, whereas the attribute of the subject *monstrum, magno augurio futurum*, contains information given from hindsight. *Magno augurio futurum* is explained in the next (reported) clauses.

Example (32), 5.522-528

hic oculis subitum _obicitur magnoque futurum augurio monstrum_; (docuit post exitus ingens seraque terrifici ecicinerunt omina uates.) namque uolans liquidis in nubibus arsit harundo signavitque uiam flammis tenuisque recessit consumpta in uentos, caelo ceu saepe refixa transcurrunt crinemque uolantia sidera ducunt.

On this a sudden portent meets their eyes, destined to prove of mighty consequence, as momentous events revealed later, when in after years fear-inspiring seers declared its import. For, flying amid the misty clouds, the reed caught fire, marked its path with flames, then vanished away into thin airs – as often shooting stars, unfastened from the firmament, speed across the sky, their tresses streaming in their wake.

The effect of this sentence, and comparable sentences, is striking. The reader cannot but hold his breath until he finally hears, after *namque* (cf. Kroon 1995: 148f), what sudden portent is meeting the eyes of the Trojans at this point in the story. In this case, the suspense is built up even more because of the reported clauses between *monstrum* and *namque*.

We also find the combination of the present tense with hindsight knowledge in so-called ‘if-not situations’ (De Jong 1987: 68ff), an example of which is found under (33). Aeneas and Turnus have just arrived at the battle field, and the narrator emphasizes the eagerness of both Aeneas and Turnus to start their battle: if the day had not come to its end at this moment in the story, Turnus and Aeneas would have immediately started fighting.

Example (33), 11.912-915

continuoque _in vein pugnas et proelia temptent, ni_ roseus fessos iam gurgite Phoebus Hibero tingat equos noctemque die labente reducatur. considunt castris ante urbem et moenia uallant.

And they would enter the fray at once and try the issue of battle, but ruddy Phoebus already bathes his weary team in the Iberian flood and, as day ebbs, bring back the night. Before the city they encamp and strengthen the ramparts.

By means of the present subjunctives, the narrator does not merely tell what happens in reference time, but adds his own reflections as to what could be happening as well.

74 For the possible meaning of this *monstrum* see Heinze (1915:164ff) and Williams (1960 ad locum).
75 In narratological terms, such a remark concerning a time after reference time is called ‘prolepsis’ (Genette 1980, Bal 1985). We also find words such as *nequiquam* (2.510) or *frustra* (c.g. 4.415) in combination with the present tense. These words suggest hindsight knowledge as well. Nevertheless, the latter cases may also be seen as cases of focalization in which a character already realizes that his action will be ineffective. Comparable sentences (all concerning omens!) are found at 2.200; 3.26; 12.245.
76 If- not situations may also be given by means of imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive forms (see §4.8 and §5.7). Other instances of present tense forms in if-not situations are found at 3.686; 5.230; 5.325; 5.347; 6.78; 6.293; 9.805; 12.733. Horsfall (2003) also mentions 1.58, but I would not consider these present tenses as historical presents; rather, they are ‘general’ presents, since they describe the situation of Aeolus preventing an outbreak of the winds, which is a generally valid situation within the reality of the epic genre. For the use of the present subjunctive instead of the imperfect subjunctive, cf. Kühner-Stegmann (1912: II.2,400) and Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr (1965:2.330).
The narrator of the *Aeneid* also adds his own reflections when he uses the historical present in rhetorical questions and apostrophes. A combination of this is found in the example below, in which the narrator asks Camilla whom she is killing.

Example (34), 11.664 – 667
Quem telo primum, quem postremum, aspera uirgo, *deicis? aut quot humi morientia corpora fundis?*
Eunaeum Clytio primum patre, cuius apertum aduersi longa transuerberat abiete pectus.

Fierce maiden, whom first, whom last do you strike down with your weapon? How many bodies do you lay low on the earth? First Euneus, son of Clytius, whose unguarded breast, as he faces her, she pierces through with her long pine-shaft.

The narrator uses the present tense, *deicis* and *fundis*, to ask Camilla these questions. It is almost as if he asks a character on stage to show him whom she is killing. On another level, these questions are devices that once again show the displaced immediacy of the directing mode. The narrator uses the questions to announce what he will tell next, thus revealing that he knows that the next part of the story will contain an enumeration of Camilla’s victims.

2.4.3 Conclusion
This section discussed the use of the present tense in the directing mode, and focuses on two main characteristics of the directing mode: the advancement of the base and displaced immediacy. A third characteristic of the directing mode is that the ‘stage’ seems to have three-dimensional proportions (see §1.2.1).

A few sequences of present tense forms in the *Aeneid* do not seem to meet this third characteristic: they consist of events only, and these events do not necessarily take place in the same place (‘stage’). The pace is higher in these sequences, and less attention is given to the physical features of the story world. Therefore, the metaphor of the directing of the story does not hold in these sequences. This use of the present tense is quite common in Livy (see §9.1), and has been described as the *annalistic present* or *praesens tabulare*. I propose to explain this use of the present tense by means of the idea of *retracing the steps of a story*. This means that, apart from the directing mode, another discourse mode exists in which base, narrator and reference time advance simultaneously: the *retracing mode*.

### 2.5 Retracing Mode

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discourse Mode</th>
<th>Time of narration</th>
<th>Reference time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Report</td>
<td>Transposed Report</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registering</td>
<td>Directing mode</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrative</td>
<td>Transposed Narrative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Transposed Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This section introduces a separate discourse mode for a specific type of sequences of present tense forms: the *retracing mode*. As is the case in the directing mode, base, reference time and narrator are inextricably linked in this mode and together move along the time line of the story. The main difference between these sequences and directed sequences is the pace of the text, which is much higher in the retracing mode. With respect to the time line of the story, this means that the reference times are much further apart. Another difference is that the narrator advances through the *time and space* of a made up story world in the directing mode: he and his readers envisage what happens on a three dimensional stage. In the retracing mode, the narrator takes large steps along a time line on which the main events of a relatively large span of time are represented. The passage below,
for instance, summarizes by means of a sequence of present tense forms what Aeneas has
done in book 8 (Heinze 1915:389).

Example (35), 10.146 – 147
Illi inter sese duri certamina belli contulerant: media Aeneas freta nocte secabat.
namque ut ab Euander castris ingressus Etruscis regem adit et regi memorat nomenque genusque
quidue petat quidue ipse ferat, Mezentius arma qua sibi conciliet, uiolentaque pectora Turni
edocet humanis quae sit fiducia rebus
admonet immiscetque preces, haud fit mora, Tarchon iungit opes foedusque ferit; tum libera fati
classem conscendit iussis gens Lydia diuum externo commissa duci. Aeneia puppis
prima tenet rostro Phrygios subiuncta leones,
imminet Ida super, profugis gratissima Teucris.

Thus they had clashed in stubborn warfare’s conflict: and Aeneas at midnight was cleaving the seas. For
when, leaving Euander and entering the Tuscan camp, he meets the king, and to the king announces his name
and his race, the aid he seeks, and the aid he himself offers; informs him of the forces Mezentius is
registering to his side, and the violence of Turnus’ spirit; then warns him, what faith may be put in things
human, and with pleas mingles entreaties – without
without delay Tarchon joins forces and strikes a treaty; when,
freed from Fate, the Lydian people embark under
heaven’s ordinance, entrusting themselves to foreign
leader. Aeneas’ ship takes the lead with Phrygian
lions beneath her beak; above them towers Ida, sight
most welcome to Trojan exiles.

Almost every state of affairs in this example entails a large advancement of reference time
and no time is taken to linger in reference time by means of stationary events or situations
which would provide a three-dimensional setting for these events. This mode is used to sum
up events from the past in an almost businesslike manner, and the particular use of the present
tense within this mode is, therefore, sometimes called the *annalistic present* or *praesens tabulare* (e.g. Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr 1972:306).

I explain this use of the present tense by means of a conceptual time line. In stead of
directing events that happen on a mental stage, the narrator *retraces* events positioned on a
time line. This use of the present tense is similar to the use of the present tense on actual time
lines, such as the time line in the appendix of Conte’s *Latin Literature* (1994:729ff). In the
section on Vergil Conte states “Publius Vergilius Maro *was* born near Mantua – the precise
location is controversial – on 15 October 70 B.C., to small landholders”(1994:262). In the
appendix, after the entry of the year 70 B.C. is given, it says: “Virgil *is* born near
Mantua”(1994:748).79

The *retracing mode* is, in my opinion, also used in an notoriously difficult sequence of
present tense forms (cf. Pinkster 1999: 715).

Example (36), 9.357 – 363
multa uirum solido argento perfecta relinquunt
armaque craserasque simul pulchrosque tapetas.
Euryalus phaleras Rhamnetis et aurea bullis
cingula, Tiburti Remulo ditissimus olim
quae mittit dona, hospitio cum iungeret absens,
Caedicus; ille suo moriens dat habere nepoti;
post mortem bello Rutulii capti:

Many a soldier’s arms, wrought in solid silver, they
leave behind – and bowls as well, and beautiful carpets.
Euryalus takes the trappings of Rhamnes and his gold
– studded sword belt, gifts that long ago wealthy
Caedicus sent to Remulus of Tibur, when plighting
friendship far away; he when dying gave them to his
grandson for his own; after his death the Rutulians
captured them in war and battle.

The narrator uses a short sequence of present tense forms in these verses to retrace, in very
‘large steps’, the history of the shield of Rhamnes. He has a time line of this history available
as an alternative base and uses this base to describe *mittit*, moves along the time line to *dat*

79 The retracing mode is found in Conte as well: “In 29, Octavian, returning victoriously from the East, *stops* at
Atella, in Campania, and *has* Virgil read to him the Georgics, which he had scarcely finished.” (Conte 1994:263)
(note that the indication of the year precedes the present tense form). In the appendix the entry is: “29: Virgil
reads the Georgics to Octavian as he returns from the East; he begins the *Aeneid.*” (Conte 1994:752)
and then rounds off the sequence from a base in his own time with the perfect tense form potiti. The retracing mode will be further discussed in §9.1 (Livy’s use of the historical present). Now, I will turn to the transposed counterpart of the report mode: transposed report.

### 2.6 Transposed Report Mode

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discourse Mode</th>
<th>Base Time of narration</th>
<th>Reference time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Report</td>
<td>Transposed Report</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registering</td>
<td>Directing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrative</td>
<td>Transposed Narrative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Transposed Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As I explained in §1.1.3, report and registering are related discourse modes since both are concerned with the time of narration. The registering mode consists of states of affairs that are immediately concerned with this time of narration: it consists of the states of affairs that may be perceived or experienced (‘registered’) in the time of narration. The report mode consists of those states of affairs that are related to the time of narration in a somewhat broader sense.

This difference also holds for the contrast between the directing mode (i.e. ‘transposed registering’) and transposed report: directed states of affairs are those states of affairs which are immediately relevant, and which the narrator pretends to experience on stage. Transposed report has a wider scope. Transposed report contains those present tense forms which describe states of affairs that are general within the boundaries of the story world, as is illustrated in example (37). The states of affairs of exercent and iuuat are valid in reference time, but are not restricted to reference time alone: we interpret them as characteristics of the Aequiculi, as the adverb *semper* indicates.

Example (37), 7.745 – 749

Vfens, insignem fama et felicibus armis, horrida praecipue cui gens adsuetaque multo uenatu nemorum, duris Aequicula glaebis. armati terram exercent semperque recentis conuectare iuuat praedas et uiuere rapto.

You too, Ufens, mountainous Nersae sent forth to battle, of noble fame and success in arms – whose clan, on the rough Aequian clods, was rugged above all others, and inured to hard hunting in the woods. In arms they till the earth, and it is ever their joy to bear away fresh booty, and to live on plunder.

In this example, the narrator uses the present tense to report characteristics of the Etruscans. This use of the present tense is similar to the use of the present tense in universal truths (see §2.2), with the difference that the states of affairs in (37) are universal within the boundaries of the story world. The present tense is used in transposed report to refer to states of affairs that are contemporaneous with reference time, merely because they are generally valid in the story world. A total number of 40 present tense forms occurs in transposed report. As many as 24 instances of the 40 present tense forms are, like in the example above, part of either the catalogue in book 7 or the catalogue in book 10. Within these catalogues the narrator gives extensive information about the participating peoples (cf. Williams 1967).

Transposed report is usually formally recognizable in that it occurs in clauses containing words such as *semper* in the example above, or *adsuetus* or *solitus*. Longer passages in the transposed report mode are usually signaled by means of, for instance, *nam*, *enim* or *quippe*, as is the case in the example below: the present tense forms *timet* and *urit* are valid in the story world as a whole and explain why Venus feels the need to take action.

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80 These states of affairs are longlasting situations. As such they are in opposition with situations in the directing mode, which are specific states of affairs that are by no means ‘generally’ valid in the story world as a whole.
PRAESENS

Example (38), 1.656 – 663
At Cytherea nouas artes, noua pectore uersat
Consilia, ut faciem mutatus et ora Cupido
pro dulci Ascanio ueniat, donisque furentem
incendat reginam, atque ossibus implicet ignem;
quipple domum timet ambiguam Tyriosque bilinguis;
urit atrox Iuno, et sub noctem cura recursat.
Ergo his aligerum dictis adfatur Amorem:

But the Cytherean revolves in her breast new wiles,
new schemes; how Cupid, changed in face and form,
may come in the stead of sweet Ascanius, and by his
gifts kindle the queen to madness and send the flame
into her very marrow. In truth, she fears the uncertain
house and double-tongued Tyrians; Juno’s fury chafes
her, and at nightfall her care rushes back. Therefore to
winged Love she speaks these words:

The explanation by means of two present tense forms which denote ‘general’ states of affairs
within the boundaries of the story world is set apart from the rest of the states of affairs by
means of quipple. With sub noctem recursat the narrator returns to the directing mode:
recursat is taking place in reference time and on the three dimensional mental stage. Ergo
marks the transition to the actual carrying out of Venus’ plan.

There is one present tense form in the Aeneid that refers to a state of affairs which will
take place later in the story, at a time indicated by mox, and which could even be seen as a
praesens pro futuro (cf. Pinkster 1990:225). Pallas and Lausus in this example fight in each
other’s proximity, but do not meet.

Example (39), 10.433 – 438
hinc Pallas instat et urget,
hinc contra Lausus, nec multum discrepat aetas,
egregii forma, sed quis Fortuna negarat
in patriam reditus. ipsos concurrere passus
haud tamen inter se magni regnator Olympi;
mox illos sua fata manent maiore sub hoste.

Here Pallas presses and strains; there Lausus confronts
him; the two were nearly matched in years, and
peerless in beauty, but to them fortune had denied
return to their homeland. But the king of great
Olympus did not permit them to meet face to face;
each has his own fate awaiting him soon beneath a
greater foe.

Mox manent refers to both the death of Lausus, inflicted by Aeneas, and that of Pallas,
inflicted by Turnus. Pallas’ death is recounted in 10.489, and Lausus’ death is not recounted
until 10.820. Mox manent sua fata is not only taking place in reference time, but takes a wider
scope and is therefore to be classified as transposed report.

Transposed report consists of states of affairs that are unbounded: these states of
affairs are generally valid in the story world. Another mode that consists of unbounded
situations is (transposed) description. The difference between transposed report and
transposed description lies in the visibility of these situations. Transposed description entails
sequences of situations that depict physical and visible objects in the story world, and
contains spatial adverbs, for instance. Transposed report is concerned with ‘invisible’ and
more general characteristics and contains adverbs such as semper or words such as nam,
quipple etc. (see above).
2.7 Transposed Description Mode

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Discourse Mode</th>
<th>Report</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Registering</td>
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<tr>
<td>Narrative</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When Aeneas arrives at the coast of Lybia, this is where he lands his ship:

There in a deep inlet lies a spot, where an island forms a harbor with the barrier of its sides, on which every wave from the main is broken, then parts into receding ripples. On either side loom heavenward huge cliffs and twin peaks, beneath whose crest far and wide is the stillness of sheltered water; above, too, is a background of shimmering woods with an overhanging grove, black with gloomy shade. Under the brow of the fronting cliff is a cave of hanging rocks; within are fresh waters and seats in the living stone, a haunt for nympha. Here no fetters imprison weary ships, no anchor holds them fast with hooked bite.

As explained in chapter 1, the term *description* is not just the colloquial expression to categorize passages such as these; I use it in the more technical sense as proposed by Smith (2003, cf. also Kroon 2007). As such, example (40) is a perfect illustration of the *description mode*: a mode in which all states of affairs are situations and spatial progression takes the place of temporal progression, as becomes clear from the occurrence of spatial adverbs.

A sequence in the description mode is not necessarily a ‘motionless’ sequence. Example (40), for instance, is, when we consider the iterative states of affairs that describe the breaking of ever flowing waves (*omnis frangitur* and *unda scindit*), less static than a quick first reading might suggest. As a matter of fact, a distinction may be made between dynamic and static descriptions in the *Aeneid*. Most present tense descriptions in the *Aeneid* are dynamic descriptions: 242 present tense forms occur in dynamic descriptions, against 60 in static descriptions. It is not only the occurrence of iterative states of affairs which makes descriptions dynamic; dynamic descriptions may also contain the simultaneous actions of different people who are part of a larger group. The example below describes how different groups of Carthaginians are each busy with their own chores as Aeneas is watching them.

Example (41), 1.421 – 429

Miratur molem Aeneas, magalia quondam,
miratur portas strepitumque et strata uiarum.

Instant ardentes Tyrii: pars ducere muros
molirique arcem et manibus subuoluere saxa,
pars optare locum tecto et concludere sulco.
Iura magistratusque legunt sanctumque senatum;

Aeneas marvels at the massive buildings, mere huts once; marvels at the gates, the din and paved highways. Eagerly the Tyrians press on, some to build walls, to rear the citadel and roll up stones by hand; some to choose the site for a dwelling and enclose it with a furrow. Here some are digging harbors, here

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81 See §1.2.3 and §4.3 for the ‘normal’ description mode, which differs from transposed describing in that the base is positioned in the time of narration. This results in the use of the imperfect tense. One could imagine that actual present tense forms are used in the normal description mode, when a description is given of an object or place that exists in the time of narration, but this does not seem to happen in the *Aeneid*. Of course, some descriptions are ambiguous: the base of description of scenery as in (40) could be reference time or the time of narration. The question remains whether Vergil has created this ambiguity on purpose. This indeed seems to be the case in Ovid’s Metamorphoses, as Kroon (2007) shows.

82 Another 34 present tense forms occur in the descriptional parts of an ekphrasis.

83 The dynamism of this passage is enhanced because of the use of historical infinitives (see chapter 7).
PRAESENS

hic portus alii effodiunt; hic alta theatris
fundamenta locant alii, immanisque columnas
rupibus excidunt, scaenis decora alta futuris.

others lay the deep foundations of their theatre and
hew out of the cliffs vast columns, fit adornments for
the stage to be.

Reference time does not advance in this passage; the narrator merely fills in the reference time
of miratur and describes what Aeneas and Achates see in different parts of the city.

As said, dynamic descriptions occur far more often than static descriptions in the
Aeneid. The static description in the example below may therefore be seen as an exception.

Example (42), 4.086 – 89
non coeptae adsurgunt turres, non arma iuuentus
exercet portusue aut propugnacula bello
tuta parant: pendent opera interrupta minaeque
murorum ingentes aequataque machina caelo.

No longer rise the towers begun, no longer do the
youth exercise in arms, or toil at havens or bulwarks
for safety in war; the works are broken off and idle—
great menacing walls and cranes that touch the sky.

The dynamic description of Carthaginians building their city is in this passage replaced by a
description from which every movement seems to be removed. This is achieved by means of
negations and the inherently static verb pendere, and even the metre sounds static (Austin
1955 ad locum). As such, this description may be contrasted with its dynamic counterpart
(41), thereby emphasizing the current inactivity of the Carthaginians.

Another type of present tense description worth mentioning occurs in ekphrasis.84 An
ekphrasis does not consist of description passages only; the process of making the object may,
for instance, be referred to as well.85 The parts that concern the making of the object are not
characterized by a spatial progression and a lack of advancement of reference time and,
therefore, are not presented in the description mode, but in, for instance, the narrative mode
(see §8.4). The description mode is used only in those parts in which the object of art or its
contents are described. As is illustrated in the example below, even in ekphrasis the narrator
may use dynamic descriptions. The use of the description mode becomes explicit in this
example from the use of the spatial expression hinc and parte alia.

Example (43), 8.678 – 684
hinc Augustus agens Italos in proelia Caesar
cum patribus populoque, penatibus et magnis dis,
stans celsa in puppi, geminas cui tempora flammas
laeta uomunt patriumque aperitur uertice sidus.
parte alia uentis et dis Agrippa secundis
arduus agmen agens, cui, belli insignis superbum,
tempora nauali fulgent rostrata corona.

On the one side Augustus Caesar stands on the lofty
stern, leading Italians to strife, with Senate and People,
the Penates of the state, and all the mighty gods; his
auspicious brows shoot forth a double flame, and on
his head dawns his father’s star. Elsewhere, favored by
winds and gods, high-towering Agrippa leads his
column; his brows gleam with his beaks of the naval
crown, proud token in war.

Vomunt and fulgent suggest movement and dynamism with respect to the shield itself, i.e. the
physical medium. The shield is sparkling. Movement on the shield – within the depiction – is
not suggested until the historical infinitives in 8.689 (see chapter 7). Nevertheless, the narrator
never forgets that he is describing rather than telling a story, as Fordyce (1977) and Conington
(1963) would have it; what he does is giving a dynamic description in stead of a static one, in
accordance with his preferred way of describing.

Summarizing, the main features of the transposed description mode is that reference
time does not advance. The narrator uses present tense situations and therewith ‘lingers’ in a

84 I reserve the term ekphrasis for the description of art, although in earlier literature this term has also been used
for descriptions of nature (cf. Putnam 1998:97). 34 present tense forms occur in the descriptonal parts of
85 See chapter 5.
certain reference time to sketch the scenery or to give a full blown portrayal of the appearance of a character or object in the story world. Such descriptions in the *Aeneid* usually are not static; they seem to contain a certain amount of dynamism and movement.

### 2.8 Conclusion

A present tense form is contemporaneous with the *base*, whether this base is the time of narration or reference time. A present tense form reflecting a base in the time of narration is a feature of the discourse mode *report*, in which, as further chapters will also show, the narrator presents the states of affairs in relation to a base in the time of narration. The present tense may also be interpreted as taking a narrow scope and only denote what is going on at the very moment of utterance (*registering*). Usually, however, it is interpreted as taking a somewhat wider scope as denoting, for instance, a state of affairs which is universally valid.

The present tense may also take its base in reference time. This is the use of the present tense known as the *historical present*. In the *Aeneid*, all discourse modes may be presented from reference time, and the present tense is found in almost all these ‘transposed variants’. In case of these ‘historical presents’ it is relevant to make a distinction between bounded and unbounded states of affairs, since it is (partly) on the basis of this distinction that we recognize the transposed discourse modes.

An important parameter for the distinction between bounded states of affairs (events) and unbounded states of affairs (situations) is *telicity*. If a state of affairs is telic, it usually is bounded, and if a state of affairs is atelic, it usually is unbounded. The factor of telicity may, however, be ‘overruled’ by the context: a certain context may, for instance, ‘stretch’ a telic state of affairs to an unbounded situation.

The most important mode which takes a base in reference time consists of an alternation of situations and events. This mode, the *directing mode*, is characterized by an advancement of reference time, base and narrator – since reference time, base and narrator are inextricably linked in this mode. This mode is of an artificial nature in that it combines immediate deixis (e.g. the present tense) with displaced knowledge. Another characteristic of this mode is what we may refer to as a threedimensional stage.

Not only the *directing mode*, but also the modes called *transposed report* and *transposed description* reflect a base in reference time. *Transposed report* contains present tense forms which denote unbounded situations that are generally valid within the story world. In the *transposed description mode*, the present tense is used to denote unbounded visual situations in the story world, often accompanied by spatial adverbs.

The interpretations of the present tense in the *Aeneid* are summarized in the following overview.

### Interpretations of the present tense

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