

Vergil's Vocatives

Vocative usage in the *Aeneid*

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1 Introduction

1.1 Purpose

The aim of this dissertation is to give a somewhat more linguistically rigorous and comprehensive treatment of a Latin author's usage of the vocative than has been attempted to date. Work on the vocative is quite scarce, both in general linguistic study and in the study of Latin literature specifically. The grammarians are obliged to make some mention of it, and do so to varying degrees of accuracy and informativeness, to the extent that students do not necessarily gain as full an understanding of how the vocative functions as they might in respect to the other five cases.

To remedy this it is hoped that as a by-product of describing vocative usage in the *Aeneid* there will arise a useful set definitions, tools, and techniques for understanding the function of the vocative. If successful this research will provide a blueprint for a method of comparing vocative usage between authors, genres, and registers, and to illustrate some criteria and possible approaches for interpreting anomalous usage. There is plenty of opportunity to collate evidence in this area in order to qualify some of the remarks which are sometimes made in grammars and other general works about "poetic" and "vulgar" usage, &c. Working from a corpus allows us to justify claims of peculiarity to certain literary categories in terms of statistics. Vergil is a good starting point because he is both writing poetry and using a high register, so that comparisons may already begin to be made with the few existing reports in this area, which have so far been fairly generalizing.

To achieve this there has been some considerable emphasis on first laying out clear definitions for dealing with the often fine distinctions involved in describing the vocative. Then the first part of the analysis covers in some detail some basic aspects of vocative usage in the *Aeneid*, which are compared to characteristics identified by other scholars. The final section demonstrates, to the extent that space allows, some areas in which vocative usage is exceptional or interesting and seems to be peculiar whether to Vergil, his poem, poetry in general, or to some other aspect of his writing.

1.2 Previous scholarship

In what scholarship there is on the vocative there have been two main concerns: the peculiar syntax of the vocative, of which an explanation has been attempted at various points in time in several journal articles, and the content and address-function of the vocative, which is discussed mainly in a single book-length publication. In terms of syntax, there has been a fairly recent attempt to clarify the mechanisms of the vocative case with the help of modern linguistic tools. This trend seems to begin with an article by Robert O. Fink which proposed an interpretation of the vocative “as a form expressing primarily person and number but not case” in an attempt to explain the peculiar function of a “case” which signifies no syntactic relation to other parts of speech but has an undeniable second person characteristic. Helene Vairel presented a more satisfying and rigorous explanation of the problems which Fink identified, defin-

ing more clearly what a case is and admitting the vocative once more to that title. In place of Fink's concept of the function of the vocative, that it could operate as, say, the subject of a verb, or indeed occupy any nominal position, Vairel proposed that the vocative "denotes that the referent of the noun [in the vocative case] assumes the role of hearer in the situation of utterance."¹ It is in this more linguistically technical manner that Ashdowne continues, making a more thorough investigation of how words in the vocative case are arranged about other words in the sentence which are some second person form and have a co-referent with the word in the vocative, introducing some more important distinctions, and demonstrating the usefulness in working from a corpus where his predecessors worked on the basis of discrete examples. Ashdowne proposes a few special terms which seem to have cognates elsewhere in linguistics, and so some reference is made to an article by Andrea Moro which deals with modern romance languages and the vocative case in perhaps more accepted linguistic terms. Moro's article demonstrates that some of the issues around the vocative are concerns about syntax in general and not just Latin syntax. But discussion of this topic has still been restricted to journal articles; it has not enjoyed full treatments such as those given other grammatical cases.

In parallel with this refinement of syntactic understanding Eleanor Dickey has produced the most substantial work not so much on the vocative as a case but on address usage in general; both in Latin and in Greek. Dickey's work considers the semantic content of the actual

¹Vairel, 440

noun phrases which make up addresses and also some socio-pragmatic issues about when vocatives are uttered and how their wording is chosen; as Ashdowne notes, "it is indeed not often that one wants to address a table."², but the situation does occasionally arise,³ and when it does a good speaker of Latin will know the appropriate words.

Dickey's corpus encompasses all evidence dated up to the end of the second century A.D., and Ashdowne takes a sampling of literary works from different genres and different authors before Vergil, whereas this work is based only on the *Aeneid*. Between them Dickey and Ashdowne have set up an apparatus for describing the vocative usage of any Latin author. Vergil will be an instructive test case: the nature of the vocative means that many of the instances in Vergil will simply reflect normal practice; but Vergil is also a poet, and so we might also expect to see him push that practice to its limits. And indeed we do: the *Aeneid* supplies firstly enough vocatives to make a good comparison with the findings of Dickey and Ashdowne and secondly many interesting examples which deviate from these generalities.

1.3 Research Method

The data were obtained by searching the text by hand, with the assistance of a computer in collating them into their various categories. A first pass of the text was made counting only those vocatives which occurred in speeches, with the aid of Hightet's appendices, followed by a more

²Ashdowne, 143

³see Huxley's humorous monograph

meticulous second pass including also vocatives uttered by the narrator⁴, as well as verifying the data obtained in the first pass. The main criteria were around identifying addresses, since searching only by overt vocative case markings would certainly have disregarded a large part of the data.

Since context would often be necessary in determining whether a phrase was a vocative and in investigating various aspects such as placement within the sentence, any sentence which seemed as if a part of it either could behave as a vocative or carried the vocative case marking was copied down and that relevant part highlighted. The list generated by this method was then refined by stripping from it all data which were considered not to be vocatives in the strict sense defined below. The tables within the text and Appendices A and B were derived from this refined list with the help of a computer; the remaining appendices categorize some of the data which were stripped from the original list.

⁴Vergil in every book except the second and third, where it is Aeneas

2 Definitions

The syntax at least of the vocative is an area which calls for many distinctions, so it will be useful to begin with some definitions; and important also, since for each study of the phenomena surrounding the vocative there are as many terminologies. In general, preference is given to the terms given by the most linguistically-oriented and so generally applicable explanation; usually Moro's.

2.1 Address

It is important to remember that Dickey's work is on addresses, not vocatives. And while she restricts herself to the consideration of "only free forms of address (ie. vocatives and nominatives clearly acting as vocatives)"⁵ she also excludes syntactic considerations from the scope of her study which we can afford to retain in the present work, and so is not so much interested in vocatives as she is in "free addresses", which in the case of Latin only happens to usually mean vocatives. Since vocatives are our subject rather than addresses this term will not be used frequently and if it is it may be used loosely; nevertheless we note the definition which Dickey quotes from Braun: "In a linguistic sense, '**address**' is 'a speaker's linguistic reference to his/her collocutor(s).'"⁶ Such a definition is quite broad and includes parts of speech which are clearly not vocatives and which are best avoided in a work of this scope, parts of speech such as the second person pronoun *tu*, or, indeed, any of its other

⁵Dickey, 22

⁶Dickey, 5

forms. For this reason we persist in a more restricted definition of a vocative, beginning with the distinction between vocative case and a vocative phrase.

2.2 Case

The *OED* gives two definitions for grammatical case:

- a. In inflected languages, one of the varied forms of a substantive, adjective, or pronoun, which express the varied relations in which it may stand to some other word in the sentence, e.g. as subject or object of a verb, attribute to another noun, object of a preposition, etc.
- b. But as many modern languages have nearly or quite lost these variations of form, case is sometimes loosely used for the relation itself, whether indicated by distinct form or not.

Since Latin is an inflected language we will use the word **case** in the first sense, in spite of the fact that many talk about Latin cases in the second.

2.3 Vocative case

Vocative case, then, is strictly the morphological marking, without saying anything about what that marking signifies. It is quite acceptable that the vocative case be indistinguishable from another case in some or even most instances; so that just as *patribus* can be considered to be in either the dative or ablative case, so *pater* may be either nominative or vocative. Determining whether an ambiguous form is nominative or vocative demands the same judgement as any other such decision, and Ashdowne

puts forward three tests which can be used for identifying vocative case to varying degrees of reliability, concluding, “that it is possible to gather evidence for the use of the vocative case, not just where we find the *-e* or *-i* ending, but sometimes also where the form is not distinct.”⁷

2.4 Vocative Phrase

Vocative Case is a(n overt) morphological mark assigned to a Vocative Phrase; a Vocative Phrase, instead, is a noun phrase which does not belong to the thematic grid of the predicate and is used to attract someone’s attention, in a broad sense.

Moro, 248

While the vocative’s characteristic independence from the syntax of the sentence had been noted by anyone giving it any but the briefest of consideration, this specific distinction between form and function seems first to have been explored by Vairel in response to Fink’s encouraging but confused solution to “Is the vocative a case?”. In the morphological sense which Moro gives, and which is intended to be understood in the present work, Vairel agrees that since the vocative exhibits some distinct variation in form it is indeed a case, but acknowledges that there is often another interpretation:

From the syntactic point of view, on the other hand, we may call ‘cases’ the inflectional forms in their role as indicators of the function fulfilled by the noun in the sentence, ie. the position it occupies in the syntactic structure and its relationship

⁷Ashdowne, 144; although note that the *-i* ending which marks vocative case in second declension nouns ending in *-ius* is not as unambiguous as Ashdowne seems to imply, since it may conceivably be confused with the genitive

to the other constituents. If the word 'case' is used in this sense, the vocative is not a case.

Vairel, 441

And while this analysis goes back to the sense differences given in the *OED*, it also raises an important issue about the function which vocative case signifies: the inflection for the vocative case conveys a different kind of information to the other cases in Latin. The nominative, accusative, ablative, and dative cases express a relationship with the verb, the genitive case expresses a relationship with another noun or noun phrase; but the vocative case does not express a relationship with any other sentence constituent, instead it “denotes that the referent of the noun [in the vocative case] assumes the role of hearer in the situation of utterance.”⁸; another way of saying that it signifies a phrase which “is used to attract someone’s attention, in a broad sense.” This type of phrase, which indeed does not depend on any other phrasal structure in the sentence, will be called the **vocative phrase**, as distinct from vocative case. Note also the difference between a vocative phrase and an address: second person pronouns such as *tu* are addresses but not vocative phrases, hence we usually prefer the more restricted term.

2.5 *nominatiuus pro uocatiuo et uice uersa*

In fact, while it is usual for vocative case to occur with vocative phrase, two phenomena arise when they do not coincide:

⁸Vairel, 440

'Nominative for vocative' is a construction in which a word that has a distinct vocative form is found in the nominative as a free form of address, as *animus* for *anime*. 'Vocative for nominative' is the use of the vocative case when the word concerned ought, from the syntax of the sentence, to be in the nominative.

Dickey, 6

In a book about Vergil's syntax, Ferdinand Antoine offers his own explanation: the vocative "*nihil aliud est quam nominatiuus sine ulla ad praedicatum relatione*"; noun phrases which have as their referent the subject of the sentence and are "*attributa . . . tanquam epitheta*" belong in the vocative case, whereas those which refer "*ad praedicatum, id est, ad uerbum ipsum*" belong in the nominative case; "*sed apud poetas inuertitur saepe constructio*".⁹ And although this analysis is accurate to varying degrees,¹⁰ Antoine points out an important criterion for determining whether a word is appropriately in either the nominative or vocative case: whether that word is part of the predicate or not.

2.6 "Vocative" as a substantive

We may therefore think of the above phenomena as different combinations of vocative case and vocative phrase: vocative case without vocative phrase results in *uocatiuus pro nominatiuo*; vocative phrase without vocative case results in *nominatiuus pro uocatiuo*. When we use the word

⁹Antoine, 30

¹⁰As noted above, Vairel points out that the vocative phrase is not *nihil aliud ... quam* any other noun phrase but has a unique function in the sentence; although Antoine may only be referring to the fact that internally all noun phrases behave similarly

vocative by itself then, ie. as a substantive, we mean the coincidence of vocative case and vocative phrase. It is important to recognize the strict meaning we give this word since it will frequently be used by itself and is not to be confused with either vocative case or vocative phrase, which are only one half each of a vocative as defined here.

2.7 *uocatiuus anonymus*

There is one final anomaly which occasionally occurs, and that is a vocative phrase which does not include any words which might be marked for vocative case. It is impossible to truly call such a phrase a vocative, since there is no opportunity for vocative case, but since it exhibits vocative behaviour it gets the name **uocatiuus anonymus**.

To clarify these last four definitions, an example of each situation is given below where overt nominative/vocative case marking makes the differences obvious:

vocative *improbe* Amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis! (4.412)

nominatiuus pro uocatiuo semper honore meo, semper celebrabere donis, / corniger Hesperidum *fluuius* regnator aquarum. (8.77f)

uocatiuus pro nominatiuo quo *moriture* ruis? (10.811)

uocatiuus anonymus sequor omina tanta, / *quisquis in arma uocas*. (9.21f)

2.8 Infradeictic and extradeictic

Another distinction which Moro makes is between **extradeictic** and **infradeictic** vocatives; vocatives phrases whose referent is the same as either no or some other word in the sentence. One of the points with which Vairel refutes Fink's argument for "the vocative as a form expressing primarily person and number but not case" is that "Fink's terms (the vocative is 'linked with,' 'paired with,' 'combines with') lack precision; they give no hint of the difference between syntactic relationship and co-referentiality."¹¹ And although the fact that two noun phrases have the same referent has nothing to do with their syntactical relationship, it is nevertheless the case that vocatives often occur in some kind of relation to second-person forms within the sentence. This is the main topic of Ashdowne's discussion; what he calls "the external syntax of the vocative phrase, ie. how it is connected with and interacts with the syntax of any utterance with which it occurs."¹² Ashdowne's terms "directional" and "quasi-appositional" correspond to extradeictic and infradeictic: vocatives which "point to" some referent not in the sentence, and those which "point to" some referent inside the sentence.

An example of each: *tibi* and *Eryx* have the same referent in *hanc tibi, Eryx, meliorem animam pro morte Daretis / persoluo* (5.483f), and *Eryx* "points to" *tibi*, another word in the sentence, without having any syntactic relation to it, whereas in the case of *nate, Iliacis exercite fatis, / sola mihi talis casus Cassandra canebat*. (3.182f) there is no other word in the

¹¹Vairel 443

¹²Ashdowne, 146

sentence which has a co-referent with *nate*, *Iliacis exercite fatis*, and so the vocative phrase *nate* &c. “points to” somebody (Aeneas) outside the sentence; the first is an instance of infradeictic vocative usage, and the second extradeictic.

2.9 Oath and isolative ; exclamation

Besides “quasi-appositional” and “directional”, which are dealt with by the above definition, Ashdowne suggest two other categories of vocative. “Oaths” do not occur in the *Aeneid*, perhaps by virtue of the register in which it is delivered, and so they are not considered in this work. In any case it seems that oaths may be only a special case of extradeictic reference, although Ashdowne is right to point out the distinction: his example, *di immortales, non Charinus mihi hic quidem, sed Copiast* (Plaut. *Pseud.* 736), may at first seem comparable with, say, *di, prohibete minas; di, talem auertite casum / et placidi seruate pios* (3.265f), but it is clear that in the first example the gods are not intended to hear the statement, while in the second they certainly are; species of the first type simply do not occur in the *Aeneid*.

What Ashdowne calls “isolative” vocatives might arguably be classed as a subset of exclamations: they are defined as those which stand independent of a sentence, with the possibility of an attendant particle such as *o* or *euge*. The examples Ashdowne cites are all chosen for overt vocative case marking, but the only instances evident in the *Aeneid* are ambiguously marked and may equally be called nominatives. Antoine¹³

¹³Antoine, 68

remarks that, like the prose writers, Vergil may use nominative, vocative, or accusative case in exclamations, and so in these isolative instances, where the head of the noun phrase is not the addressee of the speech, they are understood to be in the nominative case and exclamations, and so they are excluded from the lists.¹⁴

Alternatively, some isolative vocatives may be interpreted as extradeictic vocatives. Ashdowne's example, *euge, homo lepidissime* (Plautus, *Pseudolus*, 323), is the only utterance made; but where another sentence follows or precedes a potential isolative vocative there may be a case for arguing that it simply extradeictic. So in the *Aeneid* when Iris exclaims, *o patria et rapti nequiquam ex hoste penates, nullane iam Troiae dicentur moenia?* (5.632f), depending on whether her question is actually being posed to the *patria et . . . penates* themselves, line 632 may be an extradeictic vocative attracting the attention of the gods or else an isolative vocative; although if forced to concede the latter case one would be able to resort to the argument above and decide that *patria* and *rapti . . . penates* are not vocatives but nominatives and/or the line is an exclamation, not a vocative phrase. For the purposes of this study the former viewpoint has been adopted in the case of this line.

In any case there is really only one probable instance of isolative vocative in the *Aeneid*, and it occurs in the description of a Bacchant, *'euhoie Bacche' fremens* (7.389). Clearly the vocative case is present, clearly the phrase is intended to capture the attention of the referent, Bacchus; so

¹⁴for an interesting relationship which sometimes arises between exclamations and vocatives see p.40

we are dealing with a vocative phrase, it would seem, but there is no other sentence to which the phrase might attach, so we are forced to either accept the phrase as isolative or face the perhaps difficult task of arguing that it is an exclamation.

The relative absence of any isolative vocatives or oaths from our corpus, however, indicates that the limits of their discussion have already been reached.

3 Basic Aspects

The first part of this research involved obtaining a basic idea of Vergil's vocative usage, and performs two functions: firstly to provide a comparison of this particular work with the more general findings of the other scholars who have contributed to this area, and secondly to provide a basis from which to measure the more eccentric usages which are the topic of the second part of this study. These basic aspects may be broadly divided into the syntactic category of distributions and word arrangement; the semantic category of vocative content; and a pragmatic category considering the circumstances in which vocatives occur.

3.1 Distribution

In the whole of the *Aeneid* there are 432 vocatives in the strict sense outlined above, that is, 432 instances of vocative phrase and vocative case coincidence.¹⁵ Most of these, as might be expected, occur in direct speech: 87 per cent. According to Highet there are 333 speeches in the *Aeneid*, amongst which 377 vocatives occur, giving an average of 1.1 vocatives per speech. There are 79 speeches in which no vocative occurs, and so the average number of vocatives in a speech which contains at least one vocative is 1.5; the only speech with more than 5 vocatives is Anchises' at 6.756-853, where in the course of illustrating the future of Rome for his son he points out several dwellers of the underworld, calling many by name and thus notching up a total of eight vocatives in one speech.

¹⁵Dickey finds 606 addresses across Vergil's entire literary output (Dickey, 25)

The remaining 55 vocatives are uttered by the narrator, who most of the time is Vergil, but in books II and III it is for the purpose of this analysis Aeneas.¹⁶ In the second and third books Aeneas utters seven vocatives which are not quotes within his narrative. These may reasonably fall under the category of vocatives uttered by the narrator since in the absence of Vergil's voice they align themselves with the types of vocatives uttered by him elsewhere in the narrative, with the possible exception of *regina* (2.3), where the vocative might be construed as part of a reply to Dido's request rather than part of the narrative proper.

It makes less sense to count the frequency of vocatives which occur in narrative and not direct speech, since the narrative is effectively one continuous speech. More instructive is to consider that Hightet asserts that there are 3,667 lines of speech, in which 373 vocatives occur, and so 55 vocatives occur in the remaining 6,216 lines of narrative. This amounts to 0.1 vocatives per line of direct speech, 0.009 vocatives per line of narrative, and 0.04 vocatives per line of the poem. It is clear that vocatives are rare in general and about eleven times more likely to occur in direct speech than in narrative.

Table 1 illustrates the propensity for several characters to utter a vocative. It can be seen that the character likely to utter more vocatives per speech is not necessarily the character with the highest frequency of vocatives per line. So Dido, who utters an average of about two vocatives per speech, only utters 0.12 vocatives per line, compared to Camilla, who ut-

¹⁶See Hightet's first appendix for a discussion on whether to count Aeneas' narrative as a speech or not

ters half as many vocatives per speech but twice as many per line. This is probably a function of length of speech, since long speeches require only a peppering of vocatives to sustain them, whereas several short speeches may each require their own vocative, which will take up a good part of the speech itself.

Of all the vocatives in the *Aeneid* Aeneas and the narrator utter the largest proportions of the total, but these are also the most loquacious speakers; the narrator may have the lowest average per line but he outstrips all the rest put together in terms of lines uttered. Aeneas is probably the best example of the average utterer of vocatives: his average per speech equals that of the overall average and his average per line is only slightly above average; the high proportion of the vocatives which he takes is in accord with the high proportion of speech which is his.

Table 2 illustrates the distribution of vocatives amongst the twelve books which comprise the *Aeneid*. Exceptional books are those in which there is a significant difference between the weightings of speeches and vocatives, or, alternatively, where the number of vocatives per speech reaches its extreme values. The fourth book is probably such an instance on account of Dido's propensity for the vocative, the eleventh on account of the several exchanges during the meeting of the Latins each requiring a vocative, and the fifth on account of the fact that amongst themselves during the games the Trojans have less need for vocatives. Without a detailed analysis of each book, however, these explanations of course remain conjectures.

Table 1: Distribution of vocatives by speaker

Speaker	Vocatives per speech	Vocatives per line	Proportion of total
Narrator	n/a	0.009	12.7%
Aeneas	1.1	0.138	16.9%
Anchises	1.6	0.114	6.9%
Anna	2.5	0.152	1.2%
Ascanius	0.8	0.122	1.2%
Camilla	1.0	0.250	0.9%
Deiphobe	0.8	0.064	2.3%
Dido	2.2	0.121	6.5%
Euandrus	2.0	0.073	3.7%
Iuno	0.6	0.045	1.9%
Iuppiter	0.6	0.048	1.4%
Latinus	1.5	0.080	2.1%
Nisus	0.8	0.123	1.6%
Turnus	1.2	0.146	7.9%
Venus	1.3	0.065	3.2%

Table 2: Distribution of vocatives across the *Aeneid*

Book	Speeches	Vocatives	Vocatives per speech
1	24	28	1.2
2	24	31	1.3
3	20	25	1.3
4	21	37	1.7
5	34	32	0.9
6	36	52	1.4
7	18	24	1.3
8	20	28	1.4
9	35	42	1.2
10	42	49	1.2
11	26	45	1.7
12	33	39	1.2

3.2 Placement

3.2.1 Within a speech or section of narrative

Within a speech, the most likely place to find a vocative is in the first sentence, clause, or question. 224 speeches have a vocative before the first sententious pause, meaning that 67 per cent of speeches begin with a sentence including a vocative. In 28.5 per cent of these instances that vocative is the first word or phrase in the sentence. When the vocative is uttered by the narrator it usually marks either an invocation of the muses, so *Musa, mihi causas memora* (1.8), *Pandite nunc Helicon, deae, cantusque mouete* (7.641), &c., or else a more removed level of narrative, an authorial commentary on the happenings within the epic, often in the form of an exclamation, so:

quis tibi tum, *Dido*, cernenti talia sensus,
quosue dabas gemitus, cum litora feruere late
prospiceres arce ex summa, totumque uideres
misceri ante oculos tantis clamoribus aequor!
improbe Amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis!

4.408ff

In fact, Dickey recognizes this last usage as a specific type, called the variational vocative, “a vocative from a poet to a character in his poem, or an object or place mentioned in it, which is used for poetic variation or metrical reasons in place of a reference in another case.”¹⁷

Indeed, besides the frequent reference to characters,¹⁸ Vergil also refers to

¹⁷Dickey, 35

¹⁸the example just given contains an instance of reference both to a conventional character (*Dido*) and to a character who is a personified abstraction (*Amor*)

places, so *Mantua* (10.200), and Aeneas in his role as narrator to objects, so *Iliaci cineres et flamma extrema meorum* (2.431), and abstractions which are not personified, so *auri sacra fames* (3.57). Moreover, the fact that the variational vocative occurs in such passionate narratorial outbursts implies that it is often not just variation or metrical convenience which promote this usage but also the effect which is gained by having the voice of the narrator break through on a personal level.

Within a speech where there are more than one vocative, consecutive vocatives may either help to propel a long speech, so *Anna (fatebor enim)*... (4.20) revives the lengthy speech from Dido to her sister which began, *Anna soror* (4.9); or else a second or third vocative may mark a shift in addressee; so in *quare agite, o tectis, iuuenes, succedite nostris* (1.627) Dido moves from addressing Aeneas (*nate dea* (1.615)) to addressing his superset, the Trojans in general.

3.2.2 Within a sentence

Since the vocative phrase is syntactically free it can occur in a variety of different positions within the sentence. But Ashdowne points out¹⁹ that unlike other utterances, such as cries of pain, to give his example, vocative placement is not free in practice, in spite of its syntactic liberty. Of Ashdowne's corpus 76 per cent of vocatives occur in either sentence-initial, second, or sentence-final position; in the *Aeneid* that figure is 44 per cent; 25 per cent of all vocatives are sentence-initial, 11 per cent are second in the sentence, and 8 per cent are sentence-final. This count

¹⁹Ashdowne, 154ff

ignored the particle *o* but otherwise applied a strict criterion for first and second placed words, so that cases such as *sed fugite, o miseri* (3.639) are excluded from the 44 per cent in spite of the fact that they may “feel second placed” and only occur later because of overruling tendencies for other words in the sentence to fill the first or second places. Otherwise the difference between this and Ashdowne’s figure must be explained by the corpus, implying that Vergil experimented more with the placement of vocatives than the comedists or Cicero in his letters, who probably exhibit more normal usage.

Besides absolute position the other important factor in vocative placement is proximity to a co-referring expression. This is the aspect of syntax which Ashdowne acknowledged as “quasi-apposition”²⁰, and usually occurs between a vocative and some second person form such as a second person pronoun, adjective, or verb ending. However, Ashdowne’s insistence that a quasi-appositional vocative be accompanied by an “overt second person element”²¹ may lead to some trouble: consider *nate dea, quae nunc animo sententia surgit?* (1.582), where if *animo* were supplied with the possessive *tuo* the vocative would change its class from directional to quasi-appositional. However, one must be careful in supplying new words or rewriting sentences: at the very extreme, **any** vocative phrase might be supplied with a co-referring expression. For example, a clear case of extradeixis such as *nate dea, quo fata trahunt retrahuntque sequamur* (5.709) might be supplied with the imperative *gnosce* or some such word,

²⁰Ashdowne, 147

²¹Ashdowne, 148

to the effect that the interpretation would be, "Know, goddess-born, that whither fates compel or drag back we follow,"²² and the vocative phrase would thus become infradeictic. This particular method of rewriting a sentence as a command or request was a casual proposal by Bertrand Russel which Hamblin in his book on imperatives makes a convincing argument against;²³ indeed, to treat any given utterance in this fashion would ignore the distinction which certainly does exist between vocatives in sentences with and without co-referring expressions.

Nevertheless there are a few conventions in Latin which lead to the omission or periphrasis of words which would otherwise have a co-referent with a vocative phrase: infradeixis, as opposed to quasi-apposition in the sense given by Ashdowne, allows co-referring expressions to adopt any form, and may thus be stretched to include suppressed or implied forms, within reason. Some examples of different forms which can function as the object of infradeixis:

second person pronoun *Cuncta equidem tibi, rex, fuerit quodcumque, fatebor* (2.77)

second person adjective *Tuus, o regina, quid optes / explore labor; mihi iussa capessere fas est* (1.76f)

imperative verb ending *uigilate, uiri, et considite transtris* (4.573)

second person verb ending *quae, Tiberine, uidebis / funera, cum tumulum praeterlabere recentem!* (6.873f)

²²note that the plural ending of *sequamur* does not in this case include Aeneas

²³Hamblin, 97

first person plural verb ending bellum importunum, ciues, cum
gente deorum / inuictisque uiris *gerimus* (11.305f)

impersonal verb construction with an understood *tibi* or *uobis*
non pudet, o Rutuli, pro cunctis talibus unam / obiectare
animam? (12.229f)

Of all the vocatives 400 occur in a sentence which includes a co-referring expression, making up the overwhelming majority at 93 per cent. However, of these only 243 occur in close proximity to that co-referring expression, that is, either immediately juxtaposed as in *tibi, rex* above or *nate, tibi* at 2.704, or else with some inconsequential word interceding, as in *tibi tum, Dido* at 4.408ff. In other words, infradeixis only seems to have primary effect on the placement of 56 per cent of vocatives in the corpus; nevertheless playing a considerable part. When the object of the infradeixis seems to affect where a vocative falls it is in 36 per cent of cases a second person pronoun, in 9 per cent a second person possessive adjective, in 20 per cent a second person verb ending, in 35 per cent an imperative verb ending, and twice a first person plural verb ending. Vocatives tend to follow second person pronouns and imperatives and precede second person possessive adjectives and second person verbs.

There seem to be a few regular practices concerning the various relationships between absolute positioning, “quasi-appositional” positioning, and the type of sentence the vocative occurs in or its purpose in that sentence. When a vocative begins a sentence the function seems mainly to be to acknowledge, indicate, or call upon either a new addressee or one

whose attention has not already obviously been gained. This is common in prayers, commands, reports, or answers to questions, so: *Iuppiter, hospitibus nam te dare iura loquuntur, / hunc laetum Tyriisque diem Troiaque profectis / esse uelis, nostrosque huius meminisse minores* (01.731ff), *nate, Iliacis exercite fatis, / sola mihi talis casus Cassandra canebat* (03.182), *sate sanguine diuum, / Tros Anchisiade, facilis descensus Auerno...* (06.125ff). Where this is not the case, the vocative usually precedes a question or command. In the case of questions, the vocative seems equally able to fall either in the beginning, middle, or end, though vocatives beginning a question seem larger and more complicated than those ending or falling in the middle of the question, probably because in this position they perform the additional function of capturing the addressee's attention. In a command the vocative may precede but often follows the imperative, sometimes ending the sentence, although often another imperative verb follows, usually expanding on the first, as, *procurate, uiri, et pugnam sperate parari.* (09.158), *da iungere dextram, / da, genitor, teque amplexu ne subtrahe nostro* (6.697f), and many other examples.²⁴ As with questions, when a command does happen to begin with a vocative, that vocative is frequently embellished to some extent; indeed, most vocatives beginning a sentence seem more eloquent on the whole.

²⁴also note, *i decus, i, nostrum* (06.546) where the vocative phrase not only splits two imperatives but also is itself split

3.3 Content

3.3.1 Size

The size of a vocative phrase may be interpreted in terms of number of words or number of lines; Table 3 gives an indication of the proportion of vocatives of a given word length.

Table 3: Vocatives of a given length

Number of Words	1	2	3	...	≥ 5	≥ 7
Percentage of Vocatives	58	18	3.7	...	15.5	9.5

There are 41 vocative phrases which break the line in their continuity and a further 19 which are made up of discontinuous parts occurring in different lines. Taking the union of these two figures, ie. counting each vocative only once towards the total, we conclude that 54 or 13 per cent of all vocatives spread themselves over more than one line. Longer vocatives tend to fill lines, so that vocatives with many words but which do not break the line usually take up the whole line, and vocatives which do break the line have a tendency to conclude at the end of a line, so:

*Iliaci cineres et flamma extrema meorum,
testor...*

2.431f

*Troiugena, interpres diuum, qui numina Phoebi,
qui tripodas Clarii et laurus, qui sidera sentis
et uolucrum linguas et praepetis omina pennae,
fare age...*

3.359ff

adloquitur Venus: “*o qui res hominumque deumque
aeternis regis imperiis, et fulmine terres,
quid...*”

1.229ff

However, line breaks are not always indicative of a particularly large vocative, so *o gens / infelix* (5.624f) is an example of a vocative of the shortest possible length²⁵ which can still be split over two lines.

3.3.2 Reference and referents

Every vocative phrase is a noun phrase and so has a referent, and because in the case of the vocative that referent is usually the person being addressed, the speaker usually knows something about the referent and thus has some idea of how to refer to him/her/it²⁶. Dickey finds that in her corpus 39 per cent of addresses are by name only and 44 per cent include a name.²⁷ The difference between Dickey’s definition of an address and our definition of a vocative²⁸ may account for Dickey finding 24 per cent of addresses in the *Aeneid* to be by name only²⁹ and our count of 106 vocatives consisting of only single word names, or 25 per cent. Dickey records a 5 point jump from 39 to 44 per cent when addresses which incorporate names are included as well as those which are only names, whereas that jump in the *Aeneid* is nearly three times as great; there are

²⁵only two words, once *o* is dismissed

²⁶see the section on the *uocatiuus anonymus* for exceptions

²⁷Dickey, 41

²⁸see p.13

²⁹Dickey, 42

170 vocatives in which the referent is mentioned by name, or 39 per cent, compared to the 25 percent which consist in a single word name.

Dickey also notes that while the drop in vocative usage by name only might be attributed to the difference between poetry and prose, it may also be affected by the type of poetry; so in the *Aeneid* name-only address is below the average about as much as the *Eclogues* are above it, with 66 per cent consisting only of a name.³⁰ But where the *Aeneid* drops significantly below the average in the case of name-only addresses, it reaches much closer towards the average in the case of all vocatives which incorporate a name, indicating that perhaps, while bare names may not occur as often in this type of epic poetry, they are able instead of being avoided to be amplified by the addition of an adjective or other method of expanding the vocative phrase. This is in agreement with the tendency for vocatives to be embellished somewhat in the *Aeneid*; a phenomenon discussed in the second half of this work.

Other data may be gathered in terms of frequencies of certain lexical items; for instance, *uiri* occurs 9 times in a vocative as opposed to *socii*, a similar term, which occurs only 5 times. Further, investigation may be made into the relationship between certain words and certain referents; so for example, Aeneas is the referent of 66 vocatives: 10 times he is referred to by his own name, *Aenea*, and 11 times by *nate dea*; a proportion of roughly a sixth each. These symptoms may occur for various reasons ranging from metrical preference (likely the explanation behind the former example) to any socio-linguistic rules of address which might apply

³⁰Dickey, 42

(perhaps a factor in the latter). Table 4 is a list of all single word vocatives which occur more than once and their frequencies.

Table 4: Single word vocatives which occur more than once

Vocative	Frequency	Vocative	Frequency
Aenea	7	Anna	2
Cytherea	2	Drance	2
Euryale	3	Latini	2
Neptune	2	Nise	3
Palinure	3	Palla	3
Panthu	2	Rutuli	3
Teucris	4	Tiberine	2
Troiane	2	Turne	13
Tyrii	2	alma	2
amice	2	ciues	7
crudelis	4	deae	2
demens	3	di	2
diua	4	genitor	8
germana	4	hospes	3
infelix	3	inuicte	2
iuuenes	4	matres	3
miseri	2	nate	16
pater	11	perfide	2
puer	5	pueri	2
regina	4	socii	3
soror	6	uenti	2
uirgo	7	uiri	9

It is also worth noting who or what the referent of a vocative phrase is in broad terms of divinity, gender &c. Of all the vocatives 71 per cent refer to human beings and 23 per cent to divine beings. These two main groups may be subdivided: 61 per cent of vocatives refer to male humans or groups of males, while only 9 per cent to females, and 16 per cent are used by human characters to refer to divinities, while only

7 percent are used by divinities to refer to each other. Other notable referents include one animal, Mezentius' horse Rhaebus, at 10.861; four inanimate objects such as *Iliaci cineres* (2.431) and Turnus' spear (12.95); one intangible entity not personified as a deity, *auri sacra fames* (3.57), 7 place names (excluding the Tiber, who usually acts as a god), and several referents who are not actually present to hear the speech, as *o Danaum fortissime gentis / Tydide* (1.96).³¹

These data seem to agree with Dickey's findings, which state that "the most common address situation in Latin literature is an interaction between two unrelated adult men who know each other."³² Of course, one must keep in mind that what these numbers really represent is the number of times a situation requiring a vocative occurs, and from there the referent is usually already determined; in other words, it should perhaps come as no surprise that in a poem whose characters are predominantly male, so too are the referents of vocative phrases. However, the one does not necessarily follow the other: to investigate the conditions which permit or provoke the occurrence of a vocative we must turn to pragmatics.

3.4 Pragmatics

Two pragmatic areas of vocative usage are of some interest: the socio-linguistic factors which influence vocative occurrence and form, and the types of speech act in which vocatives occur. Firstly in terms of speech acts: of all the vocatives which occur in direct speech there is a roughly

³¹cf. the variational vocative mentioned above, p.23

³²Dickey, 233

equal likelihood that a vocative will occur inside a question, command, or statement of fact; these categories making up 26, 25, and 24 per cent of the total respectively. Other speech acts in which vocatives occur include prayer, with 18 per cent, and exclamations, with 4 per cent.

From these data it is clear that vocatives are normally called for in exchanges which require some response from the addressee: either to provide an answer in the case of a question, or to carry out some action in the case of a command or prayer. Those vocatives which occur with a statement of fact may also imply that some response is desired of the addressee, so *nox ruit, Aenea; nos flendo ducimus horas* (6.539), where the implication is that Aeneas ought to bid Deiphobus farewell; but this is exceptional: such vocatives are usually sentence-initial and serve mainly as a method of capturing the attention of the addressee.

But it is not always that a vocative phrase is “necessary”, as such. Many situations occur in the *Aeneid* where the speaker cannot be speaking to anybody else and so a vocative phrase is in some sense superfluous. Such a situation might occur when there are only two characters present, as the conversation which opens the fourth book, where Anna and Dido exchange four vocatives; or when a vocative has already been used and there is no reason to suspect that the addressee has changed, as:

*Iuppiter omnipotens, precibus si flecteris ullis,
aspice nos, hoc tantum, et si pietate meremur,
da deinde auxilium, pater, atque haec omina firma.*

2.689ff

or where a vocative is part of a reply to a question, so that there

is no doubt that the answer is directed towards the person who asked the question, as the Sybil's reply to Aeneas' request to enter Hades: *sate sanguine diuum, / Tros Anchisiade, facilis descensus Auerno* (6.125f).

Rather there is some other force which requires a vocative in cases such as these, a demand for politeness towards or at least acknowledgement of an addressee which manifests itself in the form of a vocative phrase. Such a force also seems to influence the form which that vocative phrase might take, implementing factors such as the relationship between speaker and addressee, the speaker's attitude, the setting or context, and the register. So humans address gods with long, elaborate, and reverent vocative phrases, such as, *Sol, qui terrarum flammis opera omnia lustras / tuque harum interpres curarum et conscia Iuno, / nocturnisque Hecate triuiis ululata per urbes / et Dirae ultrices et di morientis Elissae, / accipite haec...* (4.607ff). On the other hand, even when both participants are divinities one may be considerably more obsequious if in a position of supplication, so in the first book Venus appeals to Jupiter using such vocatives as *o qui res hominumque deumque / aeternis regis imperiis, et fulmine terres* (1.229f), *genitor* (1.237), and *rex magne* (1.241), whereas Jupiter only replies with the simple *Cytherea* (1.257). It is clearly Venus' supplicant position which contributes to her reverent diction, and not just Jupiter's supreme rank, for Jupiter can appear in the same position, going to Juno of his own accord, *ultro*, and calling her by *o germana mihi atque eadem gratissima coniunx* (10.607); nevertheless, his status combines with his relationship with Juno so that she too responds humbly, *summissa*, calling him by *o pulcherrime coniunx*.

Sometimes it is difficult to tell whether sustained vocative use is of the polite or mandatory type described above or whether it performs some other practical function besides capturing the attention of the vocative's referent. For example, during Aeneas' visit to the underworld he and his father make many exchanges, most of which include a vocative near the beginning of the direct speech; *(g)nate* when Anchises speaks, and either *genitor* or *pater* when Aeneas speaks. This may either be a symptom of some socio-linguistic custom which encourages each speaker to continue to address the other, or it could function as an aid for the reader in keeping track of who is speaking during the series of exchanges. This last explanation is made more appealing by the lack of punctuation in the original, since elements of direct speech, such as vocatives, may conceivably have behaved as markers for direct speech in the absence of quotation marks. However, it would seem a poor idea to rule out the possibility that in their conversation Aeneas and his father actually did continue to address each other out of some custom or politeness, or, indeed, emotion, simply because the phenomenon is able to be interpreted as a superficiality imposed by the author to improve readability. It could be that one explanation haply entails the other, or that each explanation is to some extent jointly responsible for the effect. Further study in this particular area could yield better ideas of just what motivates vocative usage where it is either unnecessary or has multiple possible explanations.

The content of a vocative is also dependent on the register and genre in which it occurs, so that *mi*, the vocative of the first person possessive

adjective *meus*³³ so common in epistolary literature, is never used in the *Aeneid*, and Juppiter and Juno call each other *coniunx* rather than *uir* and *uxor*; and also on the attitude of the speaker, so that Dido calls Aeneas on separate occasions both *nate dea* (1.615) as well as *perfide* and *crudelis* (4.305, 311), depending on her feelings towards him. Indeed, the same vocative can perform two very different functions depending on the circumstances in which it is uttered, so that when Dido calls Aeneas *hospes* (1.753) in the first book it is a neutral or welcoming term, but when in the fourth book (4.323) it is “a sad word”,³⁴ since Dido believes her relationship with Aeneas had progressed beyond that of host and guest, and conveys pointedly the rift between the two collocutors. Other feelings such as anger and pity tend in the *Aeneid* to lead to addressees being referred to by simple adjectives such as *demens* and *infelix*.³⁵

This issue of what form vocatives take and under which circumstances is the main emphasis of Dickey’s work, and her table of normal usage is indispensable for case by case reference. The findings of the present research in this area agree with hers in terms of most relationships and circumstances, allowing for poetic embellishment, register, and diction.

³³In practice; not in origin, as Dickey points out and refers to other scholarship (Dickey, 214)

³⁴Austin, *ad loc.*

³⁵Three occurrences each, see Table 4

4 Other aspects

Part of the interest in studying vocative usage in the *Aeneid* is that besides offering enough data to confirm the basic behaviour of the vocative it also offers some quite exceptional examples. Some of these more unusual phenomena are: repetition in vocative phrases, the presence or absence of particles, the *uocatiuus pro nominatiuo*, *nominatiuus pro uocatiuo*, and *uocatiuus anonymus*, expansion of the vocative phrase by various methods, and the appending or insertion of various types of additional clauses. To investigate each of these in depth would be outside the scope of this dissertation, rather an indication of where further study might be possible is briefly outlined for some of these categories.

4.1 Particles

SIR HUGH EVANS

41 Leave your prabbles, 'oman. What is the focative
42 case, William?

WILLIAM PAGE

43 O,—vocativo, O.

SIR HUGH EVANS

44 Remember, William; focative is caret.

MISTRESS QUICKLY

45 And that's a good root.

Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, IV. i.

One of the first things learnt about the vocative case is that in the paradigms it is distinguished from the nominative sometimes by a dif-

ferent ending but always by the preceding *o*. In fact this particle was used much less frequently than its Greek counterpart $\acute{\omega}$ ³⁶ and certainly was not required accompaniment for a word in the vocative case. In our corpus it occurs in 87 vocatives or 20 per cent of the total. The particle may also be used in exclamations, as *o terque quaterque beati...* (1.94) or inserted between repetition, as *sic o sic positum adfati discedite corpus* (2.644), which can sometimes lead to confusion over which capacity it is operating in in examples such as *procul, o procul este, profani* (6.258), where *o* may be understood either as separating the repetition of *procul* or as separated from the vocative *profani*. This ambiguity may even extend to cases without repetition, such as *uos o potius miserescite, uenti*, where *o* might conceivably be understood to belong to *potius* than to the vocative *uenti* from which it is separated.

When it does occur with a vocative *o* acts as a marker indicating as much. Dickey points out that this can be useful, especially in poetry, for signalling large and elaborate vocatives which contain many words not in the vocative case and so might not otherwise be recognized as a vocative by the reader, such as *o mihi sola mei super Astyanactis imago* (3.489), or indeed for providing evidence of the *uocatiuus anonymus*, as *o qui res hominumque deumque / aeternis regis imperiis, et fulmine terres* (1.229f).³⁷

Other particles which occur in the *Aeneid* attendant on vocatives are *heu* ten times, *en* four times, *heus* and *euho* once each.

³⁶Dickey, 225

³⁷Dickey, 228; for the *uocatiuus anonymus*, see p.48

4.2 Vocatives succeeding exclamations

Sometimes Vergil will have a character produce an utterance which at first seems as if it could be a vocative but which turns out to be an exclamation since it does not perform the function of a vocative phrase, only to follow this exclamation with a similar phrase which turns out to actually be a vocative. There are two good examples:

talìa uoce refert: "o terque quaterque beati,
quis ante ora patrum Troiae sub moenibus altis
contigit oppetere! o Danaum fortissime gentis
Tydide! Mene Iliacis occumbere campis
non potuisse, tuaque animam hanc effundere dextra,
saeuus ubi Aeacidae telo iacet Hector, ubi ingens
Sarpedon, ubi tot Simois correpta sub undis
scuta uirum galeasque et fortia corpora uoluit?"

1.94ff

"o miserae, quas non manus" inquit "Achaica bello
traxerit ad letum patriae sub moenibus! o gens
infelix, cui te exitio Fortuna reseruat?"

5.623ff

Notable similarities are the use of the particle *o* in both exclamation and vocative; the infradeictic character of the vocative, having as a co-referent a form of the second person pronoun; and the general theme of the speech in terms of lamenting more fitting deaths than that which is the current threat. Such similarities and at the same time the uniqueness of this phenomenon may indicate that it is peculiar to a very particular set of circumstances.

4.3 *uocatiuus pro nominatiuo*

It has already been noted in the section on definitions that the phenomena of mismatched vocative case and vocative phrase are a poetic anomaly. Preference for either vocative or nominative forms may be determined by such circumstances as metrics or euphony, but the employment of a *uocatiuus pro nominatiuo* construction can have an interesting effect in relation to tense. Some of the instances of vocative case excluded from the class of vocative phrases include future forms, such as *miserande iaceres* (10.327) and *quo moriture ruis?* (10.811). Interestingly this type of example seems mainly confined to martial contexts. The problem with calling such words vocatives is that they call their referent by a term which does not yet apply. So Aeneas calls the still live Lausus by *moriture* (10.811) in spite of the possibility of his escape; the effect, of course, is that Aeneas strongly implies that his impending death is a certain fact. Indeed, sometimes a future participle in the vocative case becomes part of the predicate, so *huc periture ueni* (11.856) means not “Come here, man who is about to die!”, but “Come here and die!” or “Come here to die!”; the word in the vocative case does not perform the function of the vocative phrase but contributes to the meaning of the verb.

The purpose, rather, in electing the vocative case in such circumstances, is to give an epithet a more charged effect; hence the propensity for this usage in the case of either expressions of pity or the issuing of taunts or insults. Probably the most famous example of this type of *uocatiuus pro nominatiuo* construction is the final instance of vocative case

in the *Aeneid*: just before killing Turnus, Aeneas asks, *tunc hinc spoliis indute meorum / eripiare mihi?* (12.947f), “Shall you now be snatched away from me, even as you wear the spoils of one of my own?” Regardless of whether there is any metrical benefit in preferring the vocative, using this form of address rather than the nominative form *indutus* which the syntax demands injects vigor and immediacy into the question, emphasizing both Aeneas’ anger and the difficult moral decision with which he is faced. This is the height of the effect which may be achieved by experimenting with different case forms

4.4 Expansion of the vocative phrase

One of the characteristics of vocative use in poetry is the propensity to expand a more basic vocative phrase into something more grand or impressive. This practice is in keeping with the epic tradition and is not peculiar to just vocative phrases, but includes any kind of description in general; the epic genre calls for lengthy and full depiction of detail, and one need only observe his lavish description of the beginning of the hunt at 4.129-150, the detail of Aeneas’ shield in the ecphrasis at 8.626-728, or an extended simile such as that likening the Carthaginians to a busy swarm of bees at 1.430-6 to see that Vergil is a master of this type of expanded and detailed description.

A vocative phrase is just a noun phrase, and so all the usual opportunities for the expansion of a noun phrase are also available for the vocative phrase. The simplest embellishment which can be added is some form of

adjective. This may be either an actual adjective or another substantive in the genitive or ablative case, so *pater optime* (3.710), *deae pelagi* (9.117), and *nate dea* (8.59). Also possible are other substantives in apposition, as *Acca soror* (11.823), participles, as *Iuppiter omnipotens* (2.689), and gerundives, as *uenerande puer* (9.276). There are 75 vocatives which occur as a simple one word vocative amplified by another single word in this way, making up 17 per cent of the total vocatives, but any of the above possibilities may be combined with another, producing slightly more intricate examples such as *o Danaum fortissime gentis / Tydide* (1.96)³⁸, or *nate, Iliacis exercite fatis* (3.182).

Vocatives may also be expanded by joining multiple vocatives together to form a larger vocative phrase. The conjuncts of this larger phrase may have the same or multiple different referents: in the former situation the conjunction is usually by apposition, as *o Maeoniae delecta iuuentus, / flos ueterum uirtusque uirum* 8.499f, whereas in the latter it is by either a regular conjunction, as *Iliaci cineres et flamma extrema meorum* (2.431) or by the clitic conjunction added to a second person form, as *felices animae tuque optime uates* (6.669). Extensions of this principle of expansion are repetition and the addition of other clauses which give further information about the core vocative phrase; these are described below.

4.5 Repetition

Wills indicates that repetition of vocatives was mostly avoided in Latin poetry: “in fact, in several cases it seems only to be Greek precedent

³⁸an example also notable for the arrangement of its words

which has authorized their use in a poetic otherwise inclined to avoid them."³⁹ The *Aeneid* conforms to this analysis in producing only five examples of a repeated vocative within the same vocative phrase. The data also agree with Wills' conclusion that when repetition is present in poetry it is usually not of the simplest type; straight gemination; but is distinguished by the variation or separation of the second repetition; there is not a single case in the *Aeneid* of the simple form *Voc. Voc.*

The examples are few enough to be listed here; they are:

Nate, meae uires, mea magna potentia, solus / *nate* patris
summi qui tela Typhoia temnis (1.664)

nate ... *nate* (2.733)

di ... *di* (3.265)

nate, mihi uita quondam, dum uita manebat, / care magis,
nate Iliacis exercite fatis (5.724)

Nymphae, Laurentes *Nymphae*, genus amnibus unde est, / tuque,
o Thybri tuo genitor cum flumine sancto (8.71)

Clearly the word most often repeated in a vocative phrase is *nate*, nor is it always in reference to Aeneas; in the first example the son is Venus', Amor. The other two examples are of invocations, which is a common place to find gemination; but this fact in itself is a deterrent: Plautus mocks the fashion, *io / io te te, turrane, te te, ego...* (Plaut. *Pseud.*, 702ff). In fact, whether the example at 3.265 is indeed repetition might

³⁹Wills, 58

be questioned, since in the context of the sentence each instance earns its own (or even two) imperatives: *di, prohibete minas; di, talem auertite casum / et placidi seruate pios*. However, the two instances of *di* clearly have a common referent; Anchises is not appealing to different gods to perform each request; and so the sentence is semantically equivalent to *di, di, prohibete minas, talem auertite casum, et placidi seruate pios*: *di* is clearly anaphoric.

Wills cites the final example as the only instance of tricolon crescens, but similarities can be seen in the first and fourth. *Nate, meae uires, mea magna potentia*⁴⁰ is nearly an instance of the same type of neat full-line tricolon crescens seen at *Nymphae...*, and, just as *Nymphae...*, this initial vocative phrase is supplemented in the following line by another vocative phrase which could also stand alone. In the latter case the referent is a conjunct, a new entity integrated into the vocative phrase, but in the former the referent of the first and second half are the same, being elaborated by a relative clause⁴¹ the second time around rather than apposition. The anaphora of *nate* at the beginning of the line, Wills notes, is another method “of recapturing the insistence of identical repetition, while maintaining separation.”⁴²

The example at 5.724 is also a tricolon but with the most amplified component occupying the centre and the repetitions not both line-initial. And in the example at 2.733 the words of the actual speaker conform to

⁴⁰adopting the punctuation which Austin recommends *ad loc.*, since if *solus* is not part of the relative clause it is an instance of *nominatiuus pro uocatiuus*

⁴¹see below

⁴²Wills, 57

the usual means of separation, ie. by a single word: *nate, fuge, nate!*; but the actual line reads, "*nate,*" *exclamat, "fuge, nate! ..."*, so that even in separating geminated vocatives to avoid cliché Vergil also avoids to some extent the standard methods of this kind of separation.

4.6 Relative clauses

Another way in which vocative phrases may be expanded is by the relative clause. The form is usually a noun or noun phrase in the vocative case followed by a relative pronoun agreeing in number and gender. There are 22 vocatives, or 5 per cent of the total, which are extended by means of an attached relative clause. Most only go as far as a single relative clause, but there are a few instances of multiple clauses, whether the repeated relative pronoun simply acts as a conjunction, as in *Troiugena, interpretes diuum, qui numina Phoebi, / qui tripodas Clarii et laurus, qui sidera sentis / et uolucrum linguas et praepetis omina pennae* (3.359), or whether it is varied in case, as in *summe deum, sancti custos Soractis Apollo, / quem primi colimus, cui pineus ardor aceruo / pascitur, et medium freti pietate per ignem / cultores multa premimus uestigia pruna ... pater ... omnipotens* (11.785).

As with some noun phrases⁴³ there may be some difficulty in determining whether the relative clause belongs to the vocative phrase and not some other part of the sentence. Some cases may be ambiguous, and so it is important to remember our definition for a vocative phrase in determining whether or not any relative clause belongs inside or outside

⁴³e.g., *fauentes* at 1.735 cannot belong to the vocative phrase *o ... Tyrii* because it is predicative, that is, it is to be understood closely with the verb, ie. *celebrate fauentes, Tyrii*, rather than *celebrate, Tyrii fauentes*

a vocative phrase whose head is its antecedent, or, in the case of multiple candidates for the antecedent, whether the vocative is indeed the antecedent.

In cases such as *o regina, nouam cui condere Iuppiter urbem / iustitiae dedit gentes frenare superbas*(1.522f) it seems probable that the relative clause is to be taken with *regina* rather than with *te* in line 524: the content of the relative clause seems more likely to relate not to Dido as the object of the Trojans' supplication but to her status as queen of Carthage, and including the relative clause in the vocative phrase allows the vocative to fill out the lines which it occupies; a tendency of the vocative noted earlier (p.29). On the other hand, in cases such as "*Oebale, quem...*" (7.734ff) it is unlikely that the ten lines which follow are to constitute an extended vocative phrase. Here we argue that the relative pronoun goes with *tu* in the previous line and that *Oebale* is isolated from the rest of the sentence. The relative pronoun must be acting in an anaphoric manner here and not as a subordinator to the vocative. Vergil is saying that Oebalus will not go unsung in his poem, hence everything which follows *quem* fulfills this promise, whereas if we were to take *quem* as dependent on the vocative, all this content would "not belong to the thematic grid of a predicate" (p.11), undermining Vergil's intent. If we are to take Vergil at his word, if Oebalus is really not to go unsung, we must agree that in this case the relative clause is not part of the vocative phrase.

4.7 “Whoever you are”: the *uocatiuus anonymus*

Two further points of interest in relative clauses and vocatives are the absence of any antecedent, ie. a relative clause which seems to behave as a vocative phrase by itself, and the use of the general relative when the addressee is unknown to the speaker. In the first category are phrases such as *o qui res hominumque deumque / aeternis regis imperiis et fulmine terras* (1.229f), where the presence of *o* suggests the use of the vocative, and the relative clause seems likely to be part of a vocative phrase, but where the vocative phrase has no head which the relative clause might call its antecedent. Further, it is not that Venus does not know who it is that governs the affairs of men and gods with his thunderbolt, but rather that it is this aspect of Jupiter which she wishes to emphasize: he has total power, so he can grant her her wish for Aeneas’ safety. And rather than alter the sense of the question by a rephrasing which would make *te* in the following line the antecedent for the relative clause⁴⁴, we may if an antecedent is insisted upon supply an unexpressed “*Iuppiter,*” “*genitor,*” or something similar,⁴⁵ and thus consider *o*, this suppressed antecedent, and the relative clause to be a complete vocative phrase. Nevertheless, because of our strict definition we cannot go further and call this a vocative, since there is no opportunity for the vocative case; rather it is an instance of *uocatiuus anonymus*.

On the other hand, a clause such as *qui potes* (10.632) could possibly

⁴⁴the sense is not, “What [offence] has my Aeneas committed against you who rule...&c.?” but “Oh, you who rule... , what [offence] has my Aeneas committed against you?”

⁴⁵although **not** “*tu*”

be considered a vocative phrase, since it follows directly after a second person form *tua*, as has been noted vocatives are wont to do, and also because there is some isolation from the rest of the sentence; the sentence would be complete without these two words; but the sense this clause has of being parenthetical is caused not by the fact that it is an address, but rather an adjunct. So here the gist of the sentence is, "Would that you would change your words for the better; you are able to, after all," and not, "You who are able to, would that you would change your words for the better." So it seems that in this case there is no vocative phrase and that the antecedent for the relative clause must be the understood subject of *reflectas*. In fact, Harrison *ad loc.* mentions that this is "suasive prayer language", that is, it is a formulaic addition to a prayer used to emphasize the ability of the supplicated to perform the request; here, as with *Oebale* above, the relative pronoun is anaphoric and not subordinating.

Another interesting use of a relative clause as part of a vocative phrase is that introduced by the general relative. In contrast to relative clauses introduced by the regular relative, the antecedent is with the general relative omitted far more often, so *o quicumque es* (8.122). Of course, it seems natural that when the addressee is unknown the antecedent should be omitted, since to use an appropriate noun in the vocative case would require more knowledge of that addressee. Unlike the situation in the first example for this section, this is *uocatiuus anonymus* by necessity.

However, in some cases such an antecedent may be found, so *sancte deorum, / quisquis es* (4.576), where Aeneas has seen in his dream a vision *omnia Mercurio similis* (4.558), but is unsure that it is indeed that god.

Here the general relative is appropriate, since Aeneas is either unsure of the true identity of his vision or unsettled by the fact that the god appeared to him in the murk of a dream rather than *manifesto in lumine* (4.358), as he had on his first visit. It would be inappropriate though to address a deity with this construction alone, as in the example above, which occurs between two human characters, or Venus' address to her son, *quisquis es*(1.387), when she meets him in disguise. So, since Aeneas has at least for certain that the apparition was god-like, Aeneas can employ the broadly applicable *sancte deorum* for the head of the vocative phrase and antecedent to the general relative.

A similar case, this time between two mortals, is at 10.739f. Here the defeated knows not his conqueror, and so addresses him with *quicumque es*, but also as *uictor*, as befits the situation. This same issue as discussed above is present here also; whether to take the relative clause with the vocative *uictor* or with the inflection on *laetabere*, indeed whether *uictor* is vocative at all. The sentence may be read either as, "My conqueror, whoever you are, you will rejoice in me neither unavenged nor long," or as, "You, my conqueror, whoever you are, will rejoice, &c.", or indeed as, "Whoever you are, my conqueror, you will rejoice, etc." Perhaps this last seems the most appealing, but the fact that even in English these three permutations have the same semantic value and that any pragmatic information is really conveyed by tone rather than word order indicates the difficulty in determining whether a phrase is intended as an address or not.

The problem lies in the fact that general relatives can have a concessive

quality rather than perform the usual reference function. So when Pallas tells Aeneas to *egredere o quicumque es* (8.122) he may use the general relative either because he does not yet know Aeneas personally or because in light of the fact that Aeneas has declared himself a Trojan he is willing to welcome him whoever he might be. So too in the case of Venus' address to Aeneas: the sentence-initial position of her words *quisquis es* (1.387) may suggest the vocative, as in her first words, *heus iuuenes*, or Aeneas' *o dea* (1.372) just previously, or it may have a concessive quality after Aeneas' reply. Aeneas has just said, "*sum pius Aeneas*" (1.378), so it seems more likely that Venus means, "Well, whoever you are you must have someone looking out for you." Of course, she is pretending ignorance of his name here to maintain her disguise, but the irony seems more biting if the general relative is understood in the latter concessive sense.

Even if in most cases a clause introduced by a general relative is excluded from the vocative phrase itself, the presence of that clause usually offers some interesting information about the relationship between speaker and addressee, as well as the attitude or intent of the speaker.

4.8 Adverbials and explained vocatives

To mention one final type of appended clause, a vocative phrase is occasionally attended by some form of parenthetical explanation, usually marked by a word such as *nam* or *enim*. As with relative clauses, it is often difficult to determine whether this explanatory phrase belongs inside

the vocative phrase or not, but unlike relative clauses there is no syntactic linkage such as that between the relative pronoun and its antecedent to evaluate. Rather the adverbial nature of this type of additional clause often modifies the entire vocative phrase itself, or the act of uttering it, and may in this sense be said to stand outside the phrase while nevertheless being an important phenomenon to notice occurring around a vocative. For example, *uere* describes the aptness of *Phrygiae* as a term of address in *o uere Phrygiae, neque enim Phryges* (9.617), and *neque enim Phryges* clarifies that the aptness is particularly in the inflection. In fact, the question may become not whether the adverbials belong to the vocative phrase, but whether even *Phrygiae* is vocative or also a part of the adverbial phrase; but it is clear that here a vocative is intended and the form it should take is known: an example where this is not the case will be described below.

Choice of diction is a common motive for an explanatory phrase, so above, but also *o socii—neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum— / o passi grauiora* (1.198), where Aeneas chooses *socii* over, say, *uiri* to emphasize their collective suffering, or *hospes / (hoc solum nomen quoniam de coniuge restat)* (4.323), where Dido famously draws attention to the only word left to her for describing Aeneas once he intends to leave her. Another name for Aeneas is explained at 3.374ff: *Nate dea (nam te maioribus ire per altum / auspiciis manifesta fides; sic fata deum rex / sortitur uoluitque uices, is uertitur ordo)* refers to the common perception that Aeneas on his journey must be accompanied by divine protection, hence he must be of divine stock, *nate dea*. This is an observation that Venus makes when she meets her son in disguise in the first book; Aeneas on the other hand is unsure about

the diction which he should adopt in addressing her, since he believes her to be more than she appears: *o quam te memorem, uirgo? namque haud tibi uoltus / mortalis, nec uox hominem sonat ; o, dea certe—* (1.327f).

Deciding whether the alternatives which follow: *an Phoebi soror? an nympharum sanguinis una?* (1.328f) are intended as vocatives or not is another question altogether. Indeed, even *uirgo* and *dea* might not necessarily be as clearly vocative as they may at first seem; consider this interpretation: "Oh how shall I call you? Are you a maiden?—but your appearance, your voice are hardly mortal; no, you must be a goddess: but are you Phoebus' sister, or one of the nymph-folk?" It is unclear how one ought to refer to vocatives in Latin, whether to put quotation marks around *euhoe Bacche* at *euhoe Bacche fremens* (7.389) or not, or, if we are to interpret Aeneas' question as "How shall I call you? Girl? Goddess, surely! but Phoebus' Sister? or Nymph?", whether the alternatives should be accusatives in agreement with *quam* or vocatives as the appropriate form of an answer to a question about how to perform a vocative act. Rather than attempt to neatly resolve each of these ambiguous terms into a certain case it is better to recognize the effect brought about by the confusion: Aeneas senses that his collocutor is more than she seems and so struggles to address her with a fitting term, at least seeking to elevate the term into the area of divine meaning; his open confusion and ignorance contrast sharply with Venus' withheld knowledge in terms of appropriate forms of address and thus heighten the irony surrounding the scene.

Besides explaining the words with which the addressee is referred

to, sometimes an additional phrase will explain the choice of addressee. This usually occurs in religious ceremony, where the speaker identifies the qualities of a specific deity as reasons for calling on that deity, so *Iuppiter, hospitibus nam te dare iura loquuntur* (1.731) explains why Jupiter is the specific deity blessing whose blessing is being sought. Sometimes such a phrase may also refer to choice of human referent, so *Anna (fatebor enim)* (4.20); Anna is Dido's confidante, and so the fact that Dido "shall confess" is reason to select her sister as addressee. This function of an explanatory phrase is similar to that performed by some relative clauses, eg. *di, quibus imperium est pelagi, quorum aequora curro* (5.235), where the relative clauses both identify that subset of the gods upon whom the speaker is calling but also imply the reason for his beseeching that subset.

Also of interest are the two instances of a *dum* clause, which both fall into the first category of explaining choice of diction: *dulces exuuias, dum fata deusque sinebat* (4.651) and *nate, mihi uita quondam, dum uita manebat, / care magis, nate Iliacis exercite fatis* (5.724f). These both express the fact that some aspect of the vocative phrase just uttered is no longer applicable: *dulces* in the first case, since Aeneas' belongings are now bitter reminders of his betrayal for Dido, and the comparison with *uita* in the second, since now that Anchises is dead it does not mean the same thing to say that his son is dearer to him than life. But explanatory phrases may also hint at future modifications to a vocative phrase, so *o tandem magnis pelagi defuncte periclis / (sed terrae grauiora manent)* (6.83), where Aeneas is identified as having survived the dangers of the sea, but it is hinted that at some point in the future he may be referred to as *magnis pelagi*

terraeque defunctus periclis.

In terms of conjunctions, while *dum* and possibly *sed* seem confined to specific purposes, it seems as if *enim* might be predisposed to perform the former main function of elucidating choice of diction, while *nam* or *namque* the latter of elucidating choice of referent, but this does not always hold, nor does there seem to be any reason it should. In all there are only eleven vocatives of this type, making up only 2.5 per cent of all vocatives.

5 Conclusion

While most of Vergil's vocative usage is in accordance with normal usage he is as a poet free to experiment with the construction. This can mean challenging the strict syntactical relationship of the vocative phrase with the rest of the sentence, whether by inverting nominative and vocative forms for euphonic, metrical, or expressive reasons, or by pushing the limits of strict independence from the rest of the sentence. It can mean using the vocative phrase as a vehicle for extra description, either of the referent of the phrase, or of the speaker's respect or disrespect for them by avoidance of or adherence to an appropriate form of address. It can mean provoking a re-interpretation of what the vocative case denotes by applying it to a future tense form. And while these extensions and innovations are not necessarily peculiar to Vergil or this poem, by using a text as rich in these interesting usages as the *Aeneid* it is hoped that further research will be encouraged into how the various types of usage are distributed across different authors genres and registers and that some guidelines governing the appropriate employment of them might thus be developed. To address a table in itself might produce a comical effect; to lavish heaped up adjectives, extended and multiple relative clauses, and explanatory phrases upon that address might raise the effect to the absurd, or it might indicate that the utterance belongs in a serious epic poem: this study has hoped to be a step in the direction of understanding these implications. The existing work on the vocative has so far been rather generalizing, and while somewhat scant, by these few

good treatments a degree of accurate understanding has been reached, so that there are a reliable set of criteria against which exceptional usages might be measured. A more elaborate work might include expanding the corpus to include works of a given genre or register and to extend the conclusions which Dickey has already outlined in respect of these more complex constructions, or else to investigate those areas which Dickey has excluded from the scope of her study, such as vocatives or addresses in prayer or later Latin literature.

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Appendices

A Table of Vocatives

First line	Vocative	Speaker	Referent
01.008	Musa	Vergilius	Musa
01.065	Aeole, namque tibi diuom pater atque hominum rex / et mulcere dedit fluctus et tollere uento	Iuno	Aeolus
01.076	o regina	Aeolus	Iuno
01.096	o Danaum fortissime gen- tis / Tydide	Aeneas	Diomede
01.133	uenti	Neptunus	Winds
01.140	Eure	Neptunus	East Wind
01.198	o socii–neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum– / o passi grauiora	Aeneas	Trojans
01.229	o qui res hominumque deumque / aeternis regis imperiiis, et fulmine terres	Venus	Iuppiter
01.237	genitor	Venus	Iuppiter
01.241	rex magne	Venus	Iuppiter
01.257	Cytherea	Iuppiter	Venus
01.321	heus ... iuuenes	Venus	Aeneas and Achates
01.327	uirgo	Aeneas	Venus
01.372	o dea	Aeneas	Venus
01.407	crudelis	Aeneas	Venus
01.459	Achate	Aeneas	Achates
01.522	o Regina, nouam cui condere Iuppiter urbem / iustitiaque dedit gentis frenare superbas	Ilioneus	Dido
01.555	pater optime Teucrum	Ilioneus	Aeneas
01.562	Teucri	Dido	Trojans
01.582	Nate dea	Achates	Aeneas

Continued on Next Page...

Appendix A—continued

First line	Vocative	Speaker	Referent
01.597	o sola infandos Troiae miserata labores, / quae nos, reliquias Danaum, ter- raeque marisque / om- nibus exhaustos iam ca- sibus, omnium egenos, / urbe, domo socias ... Dido	Aeneas	Dido
01.615	nate dea	Dido	Aeneas
01.627	o ... iuuenes	Dido	Trojans
01.664	Nate, meae uires, mea magna potentia solus, / nate, patris summi qui tela Typhoia temnis	Venus	Amor
01.684	puer	Venus	Amor
01.731	Iuppiter, hospitibus nam te dare iura loquuntur	Dido	Iuppiter
01.735	o ... Tyrii	Dido	Tyrians
01.753	hospes	Dido	Aeneas
02.003	regina	Aeneas, narrator	Dido
02.042	o miseri ... ciues	Laocoon	Trojans
02.048	Teucri	Laocoon	Trojans
02.056	Priamique arx alta	Aeneas, narrator	Troy
02.077	rex	Sinon	Priam
02.117	Danai	Sinon	Greeks
02.154	aeterni ignes ... arae ens- esque nefandi, / quos fugi, uittaeque deum, quas hos- tia gessi	Sinon	Eternal fires
02.281	o lux Dardaniae, spes o fidissima Teucrum	Aeneas	Hector
02.282	Hector	Aeneas	Hector
02.289	heu ... nate dea	Hector	Aeneas
02.322	Panthu	Aeneas	Panthus
02.348	iuuenes, fortissima frustra / pectora	Aeneas	Trojans
02.373	uiri	Androgeos	Trojans as Greeks

Continued on Next Page...

Appendix A—continued

First line	Vocative	Speaker	Referent
02.387	o socii	Coroebus	Trojans
02.429	Panthu	Aeneas, narrator	Panthus
02.431	Iliaci cineres et flamma extrema meorum	Aeneas, narrator	Ashes
02.519	miserrime coniunx	Hecuba	Priam
02.594	nate	Venus	Aeneas
02.619	nate	Venus	Aeneas
02.657	genitor	Aeneas	Anchises
02.664	alma parens	Aeneas	Venus
02.668	uiri	Aeneas	Trojans
02.689	Iuppiter omnipotens	Anchises	Iuppiter
02.691	pater	Anchises	Iuppiter
02.702	di patrii	Anchises	Gods
02.704	nate	Anchises	Aeneas
02.707	care pater	Aeneas	Anchises
02.712	famuli	Aeneas	Slaves
02.717	genitor	Aeneas	Anchises
02.733	nate ... nate	Anchises	Aeneas
02.777	o dulcis coniunx	Creusa	Aeneas
03.041	Aenea	Polydorus	Aeneas
03.057	auri sacra fames	Aeneas, narrator	Greed
03.085	Thymbraee	Aeneas	Apollo
03.089	pater	Aeneas	Apollo
03.094	Dardanidae duri	Apollo	Trojans
03.103	o proceres	Anchises	Trojans
03.182	nate, Iliacis exercite fatis	Anchises	Aeneas
03.248	Laomedontiadae	Celaeno	Trojans
03.265	di ... di	Anchises	Gods
03.311	nate dea	Andromache	Aeneas
03.319	Hectoris Andromache	Aeneas	Andromache
03.359	Troiugena, interpretis diuum, qui numina Phoebi, / qui tripodas Clarii et laurus, qui sidera sentis / et uolucrum linguas et praepetis omina pennae	Aeneas	Helenus

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Appendix A—continued

First line	Vocative	Speaker	Referent
03.374	Nate dea (nam te maioribus ire per altum / auspiciis manifesta fides; sic fata deum rex / sortitur uoluitque uices, is uertitur ordo)	Helenus	Aeneas
03.435	nate dea	Helenus	Aeneas
03.475	coniugio, Anchisa, ueneris dignate superbo, / cura deum, bis Pergameis erepte ruinis	Helenus	Anchises
03.487	puer	Andromache	Ascanius
03.489	o mihi sola mei super Astyanactis imago.	Andromache	Ascanius
03.528	di maris et terrae tempestatumque potentes	Anchises	Gods
03.539	o terra hospita	Anchises	Italia
03.560	o socii	Anchises	Trojans
03.601	Teucri	Achaemenides	Trojans
03.620	di	Achaemenides	Gods
03.639	o miseri	Achaemenides	Trojans
03.705	palmosa Selinus	Aeneas, narrator	Selinus
03.710	pater optime	Aeneas, narrator	Anchises
04.009	Anna soror	Dido	Anna
04.020	Anna (fatebor enim)	Dido	Anna
04.027	pudor	Dido	Pudor
04.031	o luce magis dilecta sorori	Anna	Dido
04.047	soror	Anna	Dido
04.206	Iuppiter omnipotens, cui nunc Maurusia pictis / gens epulata toris Lenaeum libat honorem	Iarbas	Iuppiter
04.208	genitor	Iarbas	Iuppiter
04.223	nate	Iuppiter	Mercurius
04.305	perfide	Dido	Aeneas
04.311	crudelis	Dido	Aeneas

Continued on Next Page...

Appendix A—continued

First line	Vocative	Speaker	Referent
04.323	hospes / (hoc solum nomen quoniam de coni- uge restat)	Dido	Aeneas
04.334	regina	Aeneas	Dido
04.366	perfide	Dido	Aeneas
04.386	improbe	Dido	Aeneas
04.408	Dido	Vergilius	Dido
04.412	improbe Amor	Vergilius	Amor
04.416	Anna	Dido	Anna
04.420	soror	Dido	Anna
04.421	Anna	Dido	Anna
04.424	soror	Dido	Anna
04.478	germana	Dido	Anna
04.492	cara ... germana	Dido	Anna
04.541	perdita	Dido	Dido
04.549	germana	Dido	Anna
04.560	nate dea	pseudo-Mercurius	Aeneas
04.562	demens	pseudo-Mercurius	Aeneas
04.573	uiri	Aeneas	Trojans
04.576	sancte deorum, / quisquis es	Aeneas	pseudo-Mercurius
04.596	infelix Dido	Dido	Dido
04.607	Sol, qui terrarum flammis opera omnia lustrasi, tuque harum interpres curarum et conscia Iuno, / noctur- nisque Hecate triuiis ulu- lata per urbes / et Dirae ul- trices et di morientis Elis- sae	Dido	Gods
04.622	o Tyrii	Dido	Tyrians
04.625	aliquis ... ultor	Dido	Hannibal
04.634	cara mihi nutrix	Dido	Barce
04.651	dulces exuuiae, dum fata deusque sinebat	Dido	Aeneas' belongings
04.675	germana	Anna	Dido

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Appendix A—continued

First line	Vocative	Speaker	Referent
04.681	crudelis	Anna	Dido
04.682	soror	Anna	Dido
05.014	pater Neptune	Palinurus	Neptunus
05.017	magnanime Aenea	Palinurus	Aeneas
05.045	Dardanidae magni, genus alto a sanguine diuum	Aeneas	Trojans
05.080	sancte parens ... recepti / nequiquam cineres ani- maeque umbraeque pater- nae	Aeneas	Anchises
05.123	Romane Cluenti	Vergilius	Cluentius
05.166	Menoete	Gyas	Menoetes
05.190	Hectorei socii, Troiae quos sorte suprema / delegi comites	Mnestheus	Trojans
05.195	Neptune	Mnestheus	Neptunus
05.196	ciues	Mnestheus	Trojans
05.235	di, quibus imperium est pelagi, quorum aequora curro	Cloanthus	Gods
05.349	pueri	Aeneas	Trojans
05.383	nate dea	Dares	Aeneas
05.389	Entelle, heroum quondam fortissime frustra	Acestes	Entellus
05.465	infelix	Aeneas	Dares
05.474	nate dea, uosque ... Teucri	Entellus	Aeneas and Trojans
05.483	Eryx	Entellus	Eryx
05.533	pater	Aeneas	Acestes
05.564	Polite	Vergilius	Politus
05.624	o gens / infelix	Iris	Trojans
05.632	o patria et rapti nequiquam ex hoste penates	Iris	Gods
05.646	matres	Pyrgo	Trojans
05.671	heu miserae ciues	Ascanius	Trojans
05.687	Iuppiter omnipotens	Aeneas	Iuppiter
05.690	pater	Aeneas	Iuppiter

Continued on Next Page...

Appendix A—continued

First line	Vocative	Speaker	Referent
05.709	nate dea	Nautes	Aeneas
05.724	nate, mihi uita quondam, dum uita manebat, / care magis, nate Iliacis exercite fatis	Anchises	Aeneas
05.733	nate	Anchises	Aeneas
05.782	Neptune	Venus	Neptunus
05.800	Cytherea	Neptunus	Venus
05.840	Palinure	Vergilius	Palinurus
05.843	Iaside Palinure	Somnus	Palinurus
05.870	o nimium caelo et pelago confise sereno ... Palinure	Palinurus	Palinurus
06.031	Icare	Vergilius	Icarus
06.052	Tros ... Aenea	Deiphobe	Aeneas
06.056	Phoebe, grauis Troiae semper miserate labores, / Dardana qui Paridis derexti tela manusque / corpus in Aeacidae	Aeneas	Deiphobe
06.065	o sanctissima uates, / praescia uenturi	Aeneas	Deiphobe
06.074	alma	Aeneas	Deiphobe
06.083	o tandem magnis pelagi defuncte periclis / (sed ter- rae grauiora manent)	Deiphobe	Aeneas
06.104	o uirgo	Aeneas	Deiphobe
06.117	alma	Aeneas	Deiphobe
06.125	sate sanguine diuum, / Tros Anchisiade	Deiphobe	Aeneas
06.189	Misene	Aeneas	Misenus
06.196	o ... diua parens	Aeneas	Venus
06.251	Proserpina	Vergilius	Proserpina
06.258	o ... profani	Deiphobe	profani
06.261	Aenea	Deiphobe	Aeneas

Continued on Next Page...

Appendix A—continued

First line	Vocative	Speaker	Referent
06.264	Di, quibus imperium est animarum, umbraeque silentes / et Chaos et Phlegethon, loca nocte tacentia late	Vergilius	Gods
06.318	o uirgo	Aeneas	Deiphobe
06.322	Anchisa generate, deum certissima proles	Deiphobe	Aeneas
06.341	Palinure	Aeneas	Palinurus
06.348	dux Anchisiade	Palinurus	Aeneas
06.365	inuicte	Palinurus	Aeneas
06.373	o Palinure	Deiphobe	Palinurus
06.456	infelix Dido	Aeneas	Dido
06.460	regina	Aeneas	Dido
06.500	Deiphobe armipotens, genus alto a sanguine Teucri	Aeneas	Deiphobus
06.507	amice	Aeneas	Deiphobus
06.509	o ... amice	Deiphobus	Aeneas
06.529	di	Deiphobus	Gods
06.539	Aenea	Deiphobe	Aeneas
06.544	magna sacerdos	Deiphobus	Deiphobe
06.546	decus ... nostrum	Deiphobus	Aeneas
06.560	o uirgo	Aeneas	Deiphobe
06.562	dux inclute Teucrum	Deiphobe	Aeneas
06.669	felices animae tuque op- time uates	Deiphobe	Spirits and Musaeus
06.689	nate	Anchises	Aeneas
06.693	nate	Anchises	Aeneas
06.695	genitor	Aeneas	Anchises
06.698	genitor	Aeneas	Anchises
06.719	o pater	Aeneas	Anchises
06.722	nate	Anchises	Aeneas
06.781	nate	Anchises	Aeneas
06.832	pueri	Anchises	Trojans
06.834	genus qui ducis Olympo	Anchises	Trojans

Continued on Next Page...

Appendix A—continued

First line	Vocative	Speaker	Referent
06.841	magne Cato	Anchises	Cato
06.841	Cosse	Anchises	Cossus
06.844	Serrane	Anchises	Seranus
06.845	Fabii	Anchises	the Fabii
06.851	Romane	Anchises	Aeneas
06.863	pater	Aeneas	Anchises
06.868	o gnate	Anchises	Aeneas
06.871	superi	Anchises	Gods
06.873	Tiberine	Anchises	Tiberinus
06.882	miserande puer	Anchises	Marcellus
07.001	Aeneia nutrix ... Caieta	Vergilius	Caieta
07.037	Erato	Vergilius	Erato
07.041	diua	Vergilius	Erato
07.049	Saturne	Vergilius	Saturnus
07.097	o mea progenies	Faunus	Latinus
07.120	fatis mihi debita tellus ... - que ... o fidi Troiae ... pe- nates	Aeneas	Italia and gods
07.124	nate	Anchises	Aeneas
07.195	Dardanidae (neque enim nescimus et urbem / et genus, auditique aduertitis aequore cursum)	Latinus	Trojans
07.213	rex, genus egregium Fauni	Ilioneus	Latinus
07.260	Troiane	Latinus	Ilioneus
07.318	uirgo	Iuno	Lauinia
07.331	uirgo sata Nocte	Iuno	Allecto
07.360	o genitor	Amata	Latinus
07.400	io matres ... ubi quaeque, Latinae	Amata	Latin women
07.421	Turne	Allecto	Turnus
07.441	o mater	Turnus	Allecto
07.596	o miseri	Latinus	Latins
07.596	Turne	Latinus	Turnus
07.641	deae	Vergilius	Musae
07.645	diuae	Vergilius	Musae

Continued on Next Page...

Appendix A—continued

First line	Vocative	Speaker	Referent
07.684	diues Anagnia [et] Amasene pater	Vergilius	
07.734	Oebale	Vergilius	Oebalus
07.745	Ufens	Vergilius	Ufens
07.797	Tiberine	Vergilius	Tiberinus
08.036	o sate gente deum, Troianam ex hostibus urbem / qui reuehis no- bis aeternaque Pergama seruas, / exspectate solo Laurenti aruisque Latinis	Tiberinus	Aeneas
08.059	nate dea	Tiberinus	Aeneas
08.071	Nymphae, Laurentes Nymphae, genus amnibus unde est, / tuque, o Thybri tuo genitor cum flumine sancto	Aeneas	Nymphs and Tiberinus
08.112	iuuenes	Pallas	Trojans (strangers)
08.127	optime Graiugenum, cui me Fortuna precari / et uitta comptos uoluit prae- tendere ramos	Aeneas	Euandrus
08.154	fortissime Teucrum	Euandrus	Aeneas
08.188	hospes Troiane	Euandrus	Aeneas
08.273	o iuuenes	Euandrus	Trojans
08.293	inuicte	Salii	Hercules
08.301	uera Iouis proles, decus addite diuis	Salii	Hercules
08.364	hospes	Euandrus	Aeneas
08.377	carissime coniunx	Venus	Vulcanus
08.396	diua	Vulcanus	Venus
08.440	Aetnaei Cyclopes	Vulcanus	Cyclopes
08.470	maxime Teucrorum ductor, quo sospite numquam / res equidem Troiae uictas aut regna fatebor	Euandrus	Aeneas

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Appendix A—continued

First line	Vocative	Speaker	Referent
08.496	Aenea	Euandrus	Aeneas
08.499	o Maeoniae delecta iuuen- tus, / flos ueterum uir- tusque uirum, quos iustus in hostem / fert dolor et merita accendit Mezentius ira	Haruspex	Etruscans
08.513	o Teucrum atque Italum fortissime ductor	Euandrus	Aeneas
08.532	hospes	Aeneas	Euandrus
08.538	Turne	Aeneas	Turnus
08.540	Thybri pater	Aeneas	Tiberinus
08.569	nate	Euandrus	Pallas
08.572	o superi [et] maxime rector / Iuppiter	Euandrus	Gods and Iuppiter
08.578	Fortuna	Euandrus	Fortuna
08.581	care puer, mea sola et sera uoluptas	Euandrus	Pallas
08.613	nate	Venus	Aeneas
08.643	Albane	Vergilius	Albanus
08.668	Catilina	Vergilius	Catilina
09.006	Turne	Iris	Turnus
09.018	Iri, decus caeli	Turnus	Iris
09.036	o ciues	Caicus	Trojans
09.051	iuuenes	Turnus	Rutulians
09.077	o Musae	Vergilius	Musae
09.083	nate	Cybele	Iupppiter
09.094	o genetrix	Iuppiter	Cybele
09.114	Teucri	Cybele	Trojans
09.117	deae pelagi	Cybele	Goddesses
09.146	o lecti	Turnus	Rutulians and Latins
09.158	uiri	Turnus	Rutulians and Latins
09.185	Euryale	Nisus	Euryalus
09.200	Nise	Euryalus	Nisus
09.217	puer	Nisus	Euryalus
09.235	[o] Aeneadae	Nisus	Trojans

Continued on Next Page...

Appendix A—continued

First line	Vocative	Speaker	Referent
09.247	di patrii, quorum semper sub numine Troia est	Aletes	Gods
09.252	uiri	Aletes	Nisus and Euryalus
09.258	Nise	Ascanius	Nisus
09.271	Nise	Ascanius	Nisus
09.276	uenerande puer	Ascanius	Nisus
09.320	Euryale	Nisus	Euryalus
09.376	uiri	Volcens	Nisus and Euryalus
09.390	Euryale infelix	Nisus	Euryalus
09.404	dea ... astrorum decus et nemorum Latonia custos	Nisus	Moon
09.428	o Rutuli	Nisus	Rutulians
09.446	Fortunati ambo	Vergilius	Nisus and Euryalus
09.481	Euryale	Euryali mater	Euryalus
09.483	crudelis	Euryali mater	Euryalus
09.492	nate	Euryali mater	Euryalus
09.494	o Rutuli	Euryali mater	Rutulians
09.495	magne pater diuum	Euryali mater	Iuppiter
09.525	o Calliope	Vergilius	Calliope
09.529	[diuae]	Vergilius	Musae
09.560	demens	Turnus	Lycus
09.599	bis capti Phryges	Numanus	Trojans
09.617	o uere Phrygiae, neque enim Phryges	Numanus	Trojans
09.625	Iuppiter omnipotens	Ascanius	Iuppiter
09.641	puer / dis genite et geni- ture deos	Apollo	Ascanius
09.653	Aenide	Apollo	Ascanius
09.656	puer	Apollo	Ascanius
09.783	o ciues	Mnestheus	Trojans
09.787	segnes	Mnestheus	Trojans
10.006	caelicolae magni	Iuppiter	Gods

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Appendix A—continued

First line	Vocative	Speaker	Referent
10.018	o pater, o hominum rerumque aeterna potestas / (namque aliud quid sit quod iam implorare queamus?)	Venus	Iuppiter
10.045	genitor	Venus	Iuppiter
10.062	pater	Venus	Iuppiter
10.139	Ismare	Vergilius	Ismarus
10.163	deae	Vergilius	Musae
10.185	Ligurum ductor fortissime bello ... Cunare et paucis comitate Cupauo	Vergilius	Cunarus and Cupauus
10.188	Amor	Vergilius	Amor
10.200	Mantua	Vergilius	Mantua
10.228	deum gens, / Aenea	Cymodocea	Aeneas
10.252	alma parens Idaea deum, cui Dindyma cordi / turrigeraeque urbes biugique ad frena leones ... diua	Aeneas	Cymodocea
10.280	uiri	Turnus	Rutulians and Latins
10.294	o lecta manus	Tarchon	Etruscans
10.302	Tarchon	Vergilius	Tarchon
10.316	Phoebe	Vergilius	Phoebus
10.325	infelix ... Cydon	Vergilius	Cydon
10.369	socii	Pallas	Arcadians
10.390	gemini ... Daucia, Laride ThyMBERque, simillima proles, / indiscreta suis gratusque parentibus error	Vergilius	Laridus and ThyMBER
10.394	ThyMBre	Vergilius	ThyMBER
10.395	Laride	Vergilius	Laridus
10.402	optime Teuthra	Vergilius	Teuthras
10.411	Palla	Vergilius	Pallas
10.421	Thybri pater	Pallas	Tiberinus
10.430	o GraiS imperdita corpora, Teucri	Vergilius	Trojans

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Appendix A—continued

First line	Vocative	Speaker	Referent
10.461	Alcide	Pallas	Alcidus
10.491	Arcades	Turnus	Arcadians
10.507	o dolor atque decus magnum rediture parenti	Vergilius	Pallas
10.514	Turne	Vergilius	Turnus
10.542	rex Gradiue	Vergilius	Gradius
10.557	metuende	Aeneas	Tarquitus
10.592	Lucage	Aeneas	Lucagus
10.598	uir Troiane	Liger	Aeneas
10.607	o germana mihi atque eadem gratissima coniunx	Iuppiter	Iuno
10.611	o pulcherrime coniunx	Iuno	Iuppiter
10.615	omnipotens	Iuno	Iuppiter
10.649	Aenea	Turnus	Aeneas
10.668	omnipotens genitor	Turnus	Iuppiter
10.676	o ... uenti	Turnus	Winds
10.737	uiri	Mezentius	Latins and Rutulians
10.740	uictor	Orodes	Mezentius
10.775	Lause	Mezentius	Lausus
10.793	iuuenis memorande	Vergilius	Lausus
10.825	miserande puer	Aeneas	Lausus
10.829	infelix	Aeneas	Lausus
10.846	nate	Mezentius	Lausus
10.851	nate	Mezentius	Lausus
10.861	Rhaebe ... fortissime	Mezentius	Rhaebus (Mezentius' horse)
10.878	saeuissime	Mezentius	Aeneas
10.900	hostis amare	Mezentius	Aeneas
11.007	magne ... bellipotens	Vergilius	Mars?
11.014	uiri	Aeneas	Trojans and Latins
11.042	miserande puer	Aeneas	Pallas
11.053	infelix	Aeneas	Pallas
11.055	Euandre	Aeneas	Euandrus
11.058	Ausonia [et] Iule	Aeneas	Italia and Ascanius
11.097	maxime Palla	Aeneas	Pallas
11.108	Latini	Aeneas	Latins

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Appendix A—continued

First line	Vocative	Speaker	Referent
11.124	o fama ingens, ingentior armis, / uir Troiane	Drances	Aeneas
11.152	o Palla	Euandrus	Pallas
11.158	o sanctissima coniunx	Euandrus	mater
11.164	Teucri	Euandrus	Trojans
11.169	Palla	Euandrus	Pallas
11.175	Turne	Euandrus	Turnus
11.243	o ciues	Venulus	Latins
11.252	o fortunatae gentes, Satur- nia regna, / antiqui Au- sonii	Diomedes	Latins
11.294	rex optime	Venulus	Latinus
11.302	Latini	Latinus	Latins
11.305	ciues	Latinus	Latins
11.344	o bone rex	Drances	Latinus
11.353	optime regum	Drances	Latinus
11.361	o Latio caput horum et causa malorum	Drances	Turnus
11.363	Turne	Drances	Turnus
11.378	Drance	Turnus	Drances
11.384	Drance	Turnus	Drances
11.392	foedissime	Turnus	Drances
11.399	demens	Turnus	Drances
11.410	pater	Turnus	Latinus
11.459	o ciues	Turnus	Latins
11.463	Voluse	Turnus	Volusus
11.483	armipotens, praeses belli, Tritonia uirgo	Turnus	Minerua
11.502	Turne	Camilla	Turnus
11.508	o decus Italiae uirgo	Turnus	Camilla
11.536	o uirgo	Diana	Opis
11.557	alma ... nemorum cultrix, Latonia uirgo	Amasenus	Diana
11.560	diua	Amasenus	Diana
11.588	nympha	Diana	Opis
11.664	aspera uirgo	Vergilius	Camilla

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Appendix A—continued

First line	Vocative	Speaker	Referent
11.686	Tyrrhene	Camilla	Ornytus
11.705	femina	Auni filius	Camilla
11.715	uane Ligus frustra que ani- mis elate superbis	Camilla	Auni filius
11.732	o numquam dolituri, o semper inertes / Tyrrheni	Tarchon	Etruscans
11.785	summe deum, sancti custos Soractis Apollo, / quem primi colimus, cui pineus ardor aceruo / pascitur, et medium freti pietate per ignem / cultores multa premimus uestigia pruna ... pater ... omnipotens	Arruns	Apollo
11.823	Acca soror	Camilla	Acca
11.841	uirgo	Opis	Camilla
12.013	pater	Turnus	Latinus
12.019	o praestans animi iuuenis	Latinus	Turnus
12.032	Turne	Latinus	Turnus
12.048	optime	Turnus	Latinus
12.050	pater	Turnus	Latinus
12.056	Turne	Amata	Turnus
12.062	Turne	Amata	Turnus
12.074	o mater	Turnus	Amata
12.075	Idmon	Turnus	Idmon
12.095	o numquam frustrata uoca- tus / hasta meos	Turnus	Turnus' spear
12.142	nympha, decus fluuiorum, animo gratissima nostro	Iuno	Iuturna
12.146	Iuturna	Iuno	Iuturna
12.178	Saturnia coniunx ... tuque inclute Mauors	Aeneas	Iuno and Mauors
12.179	diua	Aeneas	Iuno
12.180	pater	Aeneas	Mauors
12.197	Aenea	Latinus	Aeneas

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Appendix A—continued

First line	Vocative	Speaker	Referent
12.229	o Rutuli	Iuturna	Rutulians
12.261	o miseri, quos improbus aduena bello / territat inu- alidas ut auis, et litora ues- tra / ui populat	Tolumnius	Rutulians
12.359	Troiane	Turnus	Eumedes
12.428	Aenea	Iapyx	Aeneas
12.435	puer	Aeneas	Ascanius
12.504	Iuppiter	Vergilius	Iuppiter
12.538	Graium fortissime Cretheu	Vergilius	Cretheus
12.542	Aeole	Vergilius	Aeolus
12.572	o ciues	Aeneas	Trojans
12.625	Turne	Iuturna	Turnus
12.632	o soror	Turnus	Iuturna
12.646	o ... Manes	Turnus	Gods
12.653	Turne	Saces	Turnus
12.676	soror	Turnus	Iuturna
12.679	germana	Turnus	Iuturna
12.693	Rutuli [et] Latini	Turnus	Rutulians and Latins
12.777	Faune ... tuque optima ... Terra	Turnus	Faunus and Terra
12.793	coniunx	Iuppiter	Iuno
12.808	magne ... Iuppiter	Iuno	Iuppiter
12.872	Turne	Iuturna	Turnus
12.883	frater	Iuturna	Turnus
12.889	Turne	Aeneas	Turnus
12.895	ferox	Turnus	Aeneas

B Factors in Vocative placement

Line numbers refer to vocatives as given in Appendix A. Vocatives which are marked as infradeictic with an asterisk are infradeictic but not what Ashdowne calls “quasi-appositional”, that is, the vocative is not placed in relation to some second person form; see p.26.

Line	Type	Dominant influence on placement
01.008	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
01.065	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
01.076	infradeictic	Second person possessive adjective
01.096	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
01.133	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
01.140	infradeictic	Second person possessive adjective
01.198	extradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
01.229	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
01.237	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
01.241	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
01.257	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
01.321	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
01.327	infradeictic	n/a
01.372	infradeictic*	n/a
01.407	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
01.459	infradeictic*	n/a
01.522	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
01.555	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
01.562	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
01.582	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
01.597	infradeictic*	Initial attention-seeking
01.615	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
01.627	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
01.664	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
01.684	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
01.731	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
01.735	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
01.753	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
02.003	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
02.042	infradeictic*	Initial attention-seeking
02.048	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending

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Appendix B—continued

Line	Type	Dominant influence on placement
02.056	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
02.077	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
02.117	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
02.154	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
02.281	infradeictic*	Initial attention-seeking
02.282	infradeictic	n/a
02.289	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
02.322	extradeictic	n/a
02.348	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
02.373	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
02.387	infradeictic*	n/a
02.429	infradeictic	Second person possessive adjective
02.431	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
02.519	infradeictic*	n/a
02.594	infradeictic*	Initial attention-seeking
02.619	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
02.657	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
02.664	infradeictic	n/a
02.668	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
02.689	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
02.691	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
02.702	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
02.704	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
02.707	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
02.712	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
02.717	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
02.733	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
02.777	infradeictic*	n/a
03.041	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
03.057	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
03.085	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
03.089	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
03.094	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
03.103	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
03.182	extradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
03.248	infradeictic	n/a

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Appendix B—continued

Line	Type	Dominant influence on placement
03.265	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
03.311	infradeictic	n/a
03.319	infradeictic	n/a
03.359	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
03.374	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
03.435	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
03.475	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
03.487	infradeictic	n/a
03.489	infradeictic	Second person possessive adjective
03.528	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
03.539	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
03.560	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
03.601	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
03.620	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
03.639	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
03.705	infradeictic	n/a
03.710	infradeictic	n/a
04.009	extradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
04.020	extradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
04.027	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
04.031	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
04.047	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
04.206	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
04.208	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
04.223	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
04.305	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
04.311	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
04.323	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
04.334	infradeictic	n/a
04.366	infradeictic	n/a
04.386	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
04.408	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
04.412	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
04.416	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
04.420	extradeictic	n/a
04.421	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending

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Appendix B—continued

Line	Type	Dominant influence on placement
04.424	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
04.478	extradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
04.492	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
04.541	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
04.549	infradeictic	n/a
04.560	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
04.562	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
04.573	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
04.576	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
04.596	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
04.607	infradeictic	(Second person pronoun)
04.622	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
04.625	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
04.634	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
04.651	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
04.675	infradeictic*	n/a
04.681	infradeictic	n/a
04.682	infradeictic	n/a
05.014	infradeictic	Second person possessive adjective
05.017	extradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
05.045	infradeictic*	Initial attention-seeking
05.080	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
05.123	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
05.166	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
05.190	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
05.195	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
05.196	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
05.235	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
05.349	infradeictic	n/a
05.383	extradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
05.389	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
05.465	infradeictic*	Initial attention-seeking
05.474	infradeictic	(Imperative verb ending)
05.483	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
05.533	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
05.564	infradeictic	Second person possessive adjective

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Appendix B—continued

Line	Type	Dominant influence on placement
05.624	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
05.632	extradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
05.646	infradeictic	n/a
05.671	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
05.687	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
05.690	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
05.709	extradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
05.724	extradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
05.733	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
05.782	extradeictic	n/a
05.800	infradeictic	n/a
05.840	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
05.843	infradeictic*	Initial attention-seeking
05.870	infradeictic	Second person possessive adjective
06.031	infradeictic	Second person possessive adjective
06.052	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
06.056	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
06.065	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
06.074	infradeictic	n/a
06.083	extradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
06.104	extradeictic	n/a
06.117	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
06.125	extradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
06.189	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
06.196	infradeictic	Second person pronoun / Imperative verb ending
06.251	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
06.258	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
06.261	infradeictic*	n/a
06.264	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
06.318	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
06.322	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
06.341	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
06.348	infradeictic	n/a
06.365	infradeictic	n/a
06.373	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
06.456	infradeictic*	Initial attention-seeking

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Appendix B—continued

Line	Type	Dominant influence on placement
06.460	infradeictic	Second person possessive adjective
06.500	infradeictic*	Initial attention-seeking
06.507	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
06.509	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
06.529	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
06.539	infradeictic*	n/a
06.544	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
06.546	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
06.560	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
06.562	extradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
06.669	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
06.689	infradeictic	Second person possessive adjective
06.693	infradeictic*	n/a
06.695	infradeictic	Second person possessive adjective
06.698	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
06.719	extradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
06.722	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
06.781	infradeictic	n/a
06.832	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
06.834	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
06.841	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
06.841	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
06.844	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
06.845	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
06.851	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
06.863	extradeictic	n/a
06.868	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
06.871	infradeictic	n/a
06.873	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
06.882	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
07.001	infradeictic	(Second person verb ending)
07.037	infradeictic	n/a
07.041	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
07.049	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
07.097	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
07.120	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending

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Appendix B—continued

Line	Type	Dominant influence on placement
07.124	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
07.195	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
07.213	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
07.260	infradeictic	n/a
07.318	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
07.331	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
07.360	infradeictic	n/a
07.400	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
07.421	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
07.441	infradeictic	n/a
07.596	infradeictic	(Second person verb ending)
07.596	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
07.641	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
07.645	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
07.684	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
07.734	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
07.745	infradeictic	n/a
07.797	infradeictic	Second person possessive adjective
08.036	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
08.059	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
08.071	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
08.112	infradeictic*	Initial attention-seeking
08.127	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
08.154	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
08.188	extradeictic	n/a
08.273	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
08.293	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
08.301	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
08.364	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
08.377	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
08.396	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
08.440	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
08.470	extradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
08.496	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
08.499	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
08.513	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending

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Appendix B—continued

Line	Type	Dominant influence on placement
08.532	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
08.538	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
08.540	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
08.569	infradeictic	Second person possessive adjective
08.572	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
08.578	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
08.581	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
08.613	infradeictic	n/a
08.643	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
08.668	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
09.006	infradeictic*	Initial attention-seeking
09.018	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
09.036	extradeictic	n/a
09.051	infradeictic*	n/a
09.077	infradeictic	n/a
09.083	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
09.094	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
09.114	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
09.117	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
09.146	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
09.158	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
09.185	infradeictic*	n/a
09.200	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
09.217	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
09.235	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
09.247	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
09.252	infradeictic	n/a
09.258	infradeictic	n/a
09.271	infradeictic	Second person possessive adjective
09.276	infradeictic	n/a
09.320	infradeictic*	Initial attention-seeking
09.376	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
09.390	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
09.404	infradeictic	Second person pronoun / Imperative verb ending
09.428	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
09.446	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking

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Appendix B—continued

Line	Type	Dominant influence on placement
09.481	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
09.483	infradeictic	n/a
09.492	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
09.494	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
09.495	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
09.525	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
09.529	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
09.560	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
09.599	infradeictic*	n/a
09.617	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
09.625	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
09.641	infradeictic*	n/a
09.653	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
09.656	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
09.783	infradeictic	Second person possessive adjective
09.787	infradeictic*	n/a
10.006	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
10.018	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
10.045	infradeictic	n/a
10.062	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
10.139	infradeictic	n/a
10.163	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
10.185	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
10.188	infradeictic	Second person possessive adjective
10.200	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
10.228	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
10.252	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking ... Imperative verb ending
10.280	infradeictic*	n/a
10.294	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
10.302	infradeictic	Second person possessive adjective
10.316	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
10.325	infradeictic	n/a
10.369	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
10.390	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
10.394	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
10.395	infradeictic	Second person pronoun

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Appendix B—continued

Line	Type	Dominant influence on placement
10.402	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
10.411	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
10.421	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
10.430	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
10.461	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
10.491	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
10.507	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
10.514	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
10.542	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
10.557	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
10.592	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
10.598	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
10.607	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
10.611	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
10.615	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
10.649	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
10.668	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
10.676	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
10.737	extradeictic	n/a
10.740	infradeictic	n/a
10.775	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
10.793	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
10.825	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
10.829	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
10.846	infradeictic*	n/a
10.851	infradeictic	Second person possessive adjective
10.861	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
10.878	infradeictic	n/a
10.900	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
11.007	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
11.014	infradeictic*	n/a
11.042	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
11.053	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
11.055	infradeictic	n/a
11.058	infradeictic	Second person pronoun / Second person verb ending
11.097	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending

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Appendix B—continued

Line	Type	Dominant influence on placement
11.108	infradeictic	n/a
11.124	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
11.152	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
11.158	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
11.164	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
11.169	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
11.175	infradeictic	n/a
11.243	infradeictic*	First person plural verb ending
11.252	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
11.294	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
11.302	extradeictic	n/a
11.305	infradeictic*	n/a
11.344	infradeictic	n/a
11.353	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
11.361	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
11.363	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
11.378	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
11.384	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
11.392	extradeictic	n/a
11.399	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
11.410	infradeictic	Second person possessive adjective
11.459	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
11.463	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
11.483	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
11.502	extradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
11.508	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
11.536	extradeictic	n/a
11.557	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
11.560	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
11.588	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
11.664	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
11.686	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
11.705	infradeictic	n/a
11.715	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
11.732	infradeictic*	n/a
11.785	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking ... Imperative verb ending

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Appendix B—continued

Line	Type	Dominant influence on placement
11.823	extradeictic	n/a
11.841	infradeictic	n/a
12.013	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
12.019	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
12.032	infradeictic	n/a
12.048	infradeictic	n/a
12.050	extradeictic	n/a
12.056	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
12.062	infradeictic	n/a
12.074	infradeictic	n/a
12.075	infradeictic	n/a
12.095	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
12.142	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
12.146	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
12.178	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
12.179	infradeictic*	n/a
12.180	infradeictic	Second person possessive adjective
12.197	extradeictic	n/a
12.229	infradeictic*	n/a
12.261	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
12.359	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
12.428	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
12.435	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
12.504	infradeictic*	n/a
12.538	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
12.542	infradeictic	n/a
12.572	extradeictic	n/a
12.625	infradeictic*	First person plural verb ending
12.632	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
12.646	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
12.653	infradeictic	Initial attention-seeking
12.676	infradeictic	n/a
12.679	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
12.693	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending
12.777	infradeictic	Imperative verb ending / (Second person pronoun)
12.793	extradeictic	n/a

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Appendix B—continued

Line	Type	Dominant influence on placement
12.808	infradeictic	Second person possessive adjective
12.872	infradeictic	Second person possessive adjective
12.883	infradeictic	Second person pronoun
12.889	infradeictic	Second person verb ending
12.895	infradeictic	n/a

C *nominatiuus pro uocatiuo*⁴⁶

Line	Context
06.835	proice tela manu, <i>sanguis meus!</i> –
06.845	quo fessum rapitis, Fabii? tu <i>Maximus</i> ille es,
06.846	unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem.
08.074	quo te cumque lacus miserantem incommoda nostra
08.075	fonte tenent, quocumque solo pulcherrimus exis,
08.076	semper honore meo, semper celebrabere donis
08.077	corniger Hesperidum <i>fluuius</i> regnator aquarum.
11.463	“tu, Voluse, armari uolscorum edice maniplis,
11.464	duc” ait “et Rutulos. equitem <i>Messapus</i> in armis,
11.465	et cum fratre <i>Coras</i> latis diffundite campis.

⁴⁶This and all following appendices list words or phrases which are not vocatives in the strict sense given on p.13 but have some of the same characteristics as regular vocatives; they do not count towards statistics concerned with normal vocative usage

D *uocatiuus pro nominatiuus*

Line	Context
02.282	quae tantae tenuere morae? quibus Hector ab oris
02.283	<i>exspectate uenis?</i>
03.381	principio Italiam, quam tu iam rere propinquam
03.382	uicinosque, <i>ignare</i> , paras inuadere portus,
03.383	longa procul longis uia diuidit inuia terris.
03.710	amitto Anchisen. hic me, pater optime, fessum
03.711	deseris, <i>heu, tantis nequiquam erepte periclis!</i>
04.265	continuo inuadit: "tu nunc Karthaginis altae
04.266	fundamenta locas pulchramque uxorius urbem
04.267	exstruis? <i>heu, regni rerumque oblite tuarum!</i>
07.425	i nunc, ingratis offer te, <i>inrise</i> , periclis;
07.426	Tyrrhenas, i, sterne acies, tege pace Latinos.
09.485	heu, terra ignota canibus <i>date</i> praeda Latinis
09.486	alitibusque iaces!
10.324	tu quoque, flauentem prima lanugine malas
10.325	dum sequeris Clytium infelix, noua gaudia, Cydon,
10.326	Dardania stratus dextra, securus amorum
10.327	qui iuuenum tibi semper erant, <i>miserande</i> iaceres,
10.328	ni fratrum stipata cohors foret obuia, Phorci
10.329	progenies, septem numero, septenaque tela
10.330	coniciunt; partim galea clipeoque resultant
10.331	inrita, deflexit partim stringentia corpus
10.332	alma Venus.
10.811	"quo <i>moriture</i> ruis maioraque uiribus audes?
11.855	"cur" inquit "diuersus abis? huc derige gressum,
11.856	huc <i>periture</i> ueni, capias ut digna Camillae
11.857	praemia. tune etiam telis moriere Dianae?"

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Appendix D—continued

Line **Context**

12.947 *terribilis: "tunc hinc spoliis indute meorum*
12.948 *eripiare mihi?*

E *uocatiuus anonymus*

Line	Context
01.229	adloquitur uenus: " <i>o qui res hominumque deumque</i>
01.230	<i>aeternis regis imperiis, et fulmine terres,</i>
01.231	<i>quid meus Aeneas in te committere tantum,</i>
01.232	<i>quid Troes potuere, quibus, tot funera passis,</i>
01.233	<i>cunctus ob Italiam terrarum clauditur orbis?</i>
01.597	<i>o sola infandos Troiae miserata labores,</i>
01.598	<i>quae nos, reliquias Danaum, terraeque marisque</i>
01.599	<i>omnibus exhaustos iam casibus, omnium egenos,</i>
01.600	<i>urbe domo, socias, grates persolvere dignas</i>
01.601	<i>non opis est nostrae, Dido, nec quicquid ubique est</i>
01.602	<i>gentis Dardaniae, magnum quae sparsa per orbem.</i>
02.638	exsiliumque pati. " <i>uos o, quibus integer aeui</i>
02.639	<i>sanguis," ait, "solidaeque suo stant robore uires,</i>
02.640	<i>uos agitate fugam.</i>
03.493	<i>"uiuete felices, quibus est fortuna peracta</i>
03.494	<i>iam sua: nos alia ex aliis in fata uocamur.</i>
04.578	adsis <i>o</i> placidusque iuues et sidera caelo
04.579	dextra feras." dixit uaginaque eripit ensem
06.194	"este duces, <i>o</i> , si qua uia est, cursumque per auras
06.195	derigite in lucos ubi pinguem diues opacat
06.196	ramus humum.
06.388	" <i>quisquis es, armatus qui nostra ad flumina tendis,</i>
06.389	<i>fare age, quid uenias, iam istinc et comprime gressum.</i>
09.021	palantisque polo stellas. sequor omina tanta,
09.022	<i>quisquis in arma uocas."</i>
10.739	ille autem exspirans: " <i>non me, quicumque es, inulto,</i>
10.740	<i>uictor, nec longum laetabere; te quoque fata</i>

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Appendix E—continued

Line	Context
10.741	prospectant paria atque eadem mox arua tenebis.”

F Exclamations in the vocative case⁴⁷

Line	Exclamation
01.094ff	o terque quaterque beati, / quis ante ora patrum Troiae sub moenibus altis / con- tingit oppetere!
01.437	o fortunati, quorum iam moenia sur- gunt!
02.241f	o patria, o diuum domus Ilium et incluta bello / moenia Dardanidum!
03.321ff	o felix una ante alias Priameia uirgo, / hostilem ad tumulum Troiae sub moenibus altis / iussa mori, quae sorti- tus non pertulit ullos / nec uictoris heri tetigit captiua cubile!
04.065	heu, uatum ignarae mentes!
05.623f	o miserae, quas non manus [...] Achaica bello / traxerit ad letum patriae sub moenibus!
07.389	euhoie Bacche
11.273f	heu, dira meorum / supplicia!

⁴⁷or which at first seem to be, usually on account of an attendant particle o