

This paper examines the role of the Classical Latin accent in Saturnian versification and proposes a syllabotonic Saturnian meter, with refinements to Latin accentuation rules. The quantitative-syllabic framework has dominated research on the Saturnian since Leo (Blänsdorf, Cole, Parsons, inter al.), which has been understandable given our familiarity with quantity and our expectation of metrical uniformity in stichic composition, to which expectation accentualist work has also been subject (Keller, Thurneysen, Lindsay, De Groot, inter al.). Mercado has shown statistically significant alignments both of quantity and of accent with verse position, yet neither a quantitative nor an accentual meter has been formulated to our satisfaction. Confirming that the verses together yield no predictable quantitative alternations and realizing that the Latin accent was quantity-sensitive, we are led to the conclusion that the accentualists are on the right track, and that we must also relax expectations of metrical uniformity.

From an examination of the Saturnian corpus as to the incidence of regular Classical (ante-) penultimate word stresses (Allen), the following theory emerges. The Saturnian was a thirteen-position stichos, divisible into cola, further subdivided into quarter-verses by Korsch's caesurae. Underlyingly, the verse's opening quarter can be filled by an accentual trochee + trochee or iamb + pyrrhic, and the line's remaining quarters by dactyl or amphibrach. Non-quarter-final positions can be resolved according to familiar restrictions (Ritschl, Hermann-Lachmann, Fraenkel-Thielfelder-Skutsch). The second colon can be acephalous, anaclastic, or both; the first colon can be anaclastic, its quarters inverted, or replaced by a second colon form; cephalous first and second cola can be inverted. Resolution and truncation are mutually exclusive. Monosyllabic words do not always make ictus, nor do polysyllables' secondary stresses, which can be accounted for by a more nuanced theory of accentuation (cf. Halle), and phrasal accentuation also played a role. The poets used only well-established licenses to achieve their verses, namely prosodic hiatus at the caesurae, (prod-) elision, and synizesis. Variation in the combination of lines according to colon type was systematic, and the complete epigraphic poems and longer literary fragments exhibit intricate patterns, suggesting composition may have also been stanzaic. Naevis' epitaph, a complete poem of four Saturnians, illustrates the theory:

¹ immortalēs mortālēs sī fóret fās flére	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘	---- --- - ˘ - - ˘ ˘
² flérent dívae Caménae Náevium poētām	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘	---- ˘ --- - ˘ - ˘ ---
³ itaque póstquam est Órchī tráditus thēsáurō	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ ˘ - --- - ˘ ˘ ---
⁴ oblítī sunt Rómae lóquier línguā Latínā	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘	--- --- ˘ --- ˘ ---

The text exhibits ictic secondary stress, non-ictic monosyllables, resolution, and caesural hiatus. The epitaph opens with a trochaic-amphibrachic line; its central verses take nearly identical shape, with dactyl instead of amphibrach in the third quarter; the final verse is an inverted form of the first. These alternations and patterns disappear under a quantitative-syllabic analysis.