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The word-order patterns *Troiae qui primus ab oris* and *summa cum dignitate* in Latin and Tocharian¹

1. Post-caesural fronting in Latin

Arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris ‘Arms and man I sing, who (made way) from the Trojan shore’ (Williams) is famous because it is the opening line of Vergil’s Aeneid. But at the same time, this line conceals and illustrates a metrical (and as I intend to show, linguistic) phenomenon, which has received much less attention. The constituent *Troiae* is moved out of the relative clause over the relative pronoun into clause-initial position. This poetic word-order deviation may seem trivial at first sight, but closer inspection reveals that it originated as a fronting strategy, which is well attested in prose and came to be extended to poetic texts as a (purely) demarcative strategy. In poetry, this type of fronting demarcates preceding caesurae, i.e. the left boundaries of metrical cola. Cross-linguistically, various fronting processes result in the prosodic alignment of fronted constituents with the (right or) left edge of either an intonation phrase or a prosodic phrase.² The phenomenon of post-caesural fronting dealt with in the present article is basically amenable to the analysis of focus-driven prosodic alignment as described by Féry (2013). The only difference is that in verse, post-caesural fronting may be employed solely to mark the left edges of metrical cola, and is no longer necessarily connected with a pragmatic function.

Latin hexameter poetry exhibits a tendency to front clause-internal constituents into immediate post-caesural position, with a marked predilection for the penthemimeral caesura in the middle of the verse. Representative examples are:

- (1) [⁵ = penthemimeral caesura/semiquinaria; [...]_i = intonation phrase]
[Arma virum=que cano]_i⁵ [Troiae qui primus ab oris]_i
 arms man=and sing:PRS.1SG Troy:GEN who first from shore:ABL.PL
 ‘Arms and man I sing, who (made way) from the Trojan shore.’
 (Verg. A. 1.1, Williams)
- [qualis mugitus]_i⁵ [fugit cum saucius aram]_i | taurus*
 like bellowing flee:PERF.3SG when wounded altar:ACC bull:NOM
 ‘Like a bellowing, when a bull has escaped the altar, wounded’
 (Verg. A. 2.223)

¹ I am indebted to Dieter Gunkel and Benedikt Peschl for many helpful comments and insightful criticisms, which have improved the present version of this article.

² For the three basic prosodic domains, prosodic word (ω), prosodic phrase (φ), intonation phrase (ι), see Féry (2013: 687f.).

The observation that the movement of constituents, as encountered in the preceding examples, corresponds to a tendency in Latin verse goes back to the German classicist Friedrich Marx (1922). Marx recognized that the *Troiae qui primus ab oris* type of word order recurs systematically in the Latin hexameter after the penthemimeral caesura. Marx's factual assessment, however, was erroneous. The fact that the *Troiae qui* type is especially frequent in metrical passages misled Marx to believe that *Troiae qui* was a purely metrical phenomenon, and to cast it as a purely metrically driven inversion or a metrical law:

- (2) Folgt auf die Semiquinaria ein Monosyllabon oder pyrrhichisches Wort verbunden mit einem spondeischen Wort und ist der Dichter durch Rücksichten auf Hiatus (oder auf geforderte Verlängerung einer Endsilbe durch Position) gebunden, so steht das spondeische Wort an erster Stelle. (Marx 1922: 198)

Put differently, a preceding penthemimeral caesura seems to invert a sequence of a monosyllable plus a spondaic word, e.g.

- (3a) $|^5 (+)_{\omega 1} (--)_{\omega 2} \rightarrow |^5 (--)_{\omega 2} (+)_{\omega 1}$
 $[|^5 = \text{penthemimeral caesura, } \omega 1 = \text{word 1, } \omega 2 = \text{word 2}]$
 $|^5 \text{ cum multa laude (Hor. sat. 1.10.48)} \rightarrow |^5 \text{ multa cum laude (Catull. 64.112)}$
 with much:ABL praise:ABL

as well as a sequence of a pyrrhic word plus a spondee, e.g.

- (3b) $|^5 (\#\#)_{\omega 1} (--)_{\omega 2} \rightarrow |^5 (--)_{\omega 2} (\#\#)_{\omega 1}$
 $*|^5 \text{ mare volvont} \rightarrow |^5 \text{ volvont mare (Verg. A. 3.196)}$
 sea:ACC stir.up:PRS.3PL

Two revisions of Marx's hypothesis turn out to be necessary. First, Marx reckoned with a metrically conditioned inversion. However, the cases dealt with by Marx are not confined to the inversion of adjacent constituents, but include movement over several constituents to clause-, phrase- or colon-initial position. Thus Latin clause-final constituents such as finite verbs permit fronting over the relative pronoun. Marx's collection (1922: 228) includes the following examples:

- (4a) $|^5 \text{ Rel X Verb}_i \# \rightarrow |^5 \text{ Verb}_i \text{ Rel X } t_i \#$
 $|^5 \text{ quae talia ... fatur}_i \# \rightarrow |^5 \text{ fatur}_i \text{ quae talia ... } t_i \#, \text{ i.e.}$
Deiphobe Glauci fatur quae talia regi
 Deiphobe:NOM Glaucus:GEN speak:PRS.3SG who such:ACC king:DAT
 'Deiphobe, daughter of Glaucus, who speaks thus to the king' (Verg. A. 6.36)

Filius huic contra torquet qui sidera mundi
 son:NOM she:DAT against turn:PRS.3SG who stars:ACC world:GEN
 'The son replied to her, he who moves the stars of the world.' (Verg. A. 9.93)

magnum auditorem posset qui ferre secundas (Hor. serm. 1.9.46)

hanc Furiam, hunc aliud iussit quod splendida bilis (Hor. serm. 2.3.141)

Likewise, clause-internal and -final constituents may be fronted over complementizers. Examples from Marx's collection (1922: 225f.) are:

- (4b) $|^5 \text{Comp X Verb}_i \# \rightarrow |^5 \text{Verb}_i \text{Comp X } t_i \#, \text{ i.e.}$
 $*|^5 \text{cum talia ... coepit}_i \rightarrow |^5 \text{coepit}_i \text{cum talia ... } t_i$
talia fatus erat $|^5$ coepit cum talia *uates*
 such:ACC spoken AUX:IMPF.3SG begin:PERF.3SG when such:ACC prophet:NOM
 'Thus he spoke, when the prophetess began to say the following' (Verg. A. 6.372)
scilicet expectem, $|^5$ *libeat* *dum proelia Turno* | ... *pati*
 perhaps wait.PRS.SBJ.1SG wish.PRS.SBJ.3SG until fights:ACC Turnus:DAT endure
 'Shall I wait perhaps, until Turnus wishes to endure the fight?' (Verg. A. 12.570)
ultor ibi expulsae, $|^5$ premeret cum *uiscera partus* | *matris* (Lucan 5.79)
uret cum terris, $|^5$ uret cum *gurgite ponti.* (Lucan 7.813)

Second, contrary to Marx, the *Troiae qui primus ab oris* word order pattern is not a purely metrical phenomenon. It is easy to show that the poetic fronting of constituents is not driven by metrical necessity, since Latin attests co-occurring verse types involving and lacking fronting, independent of metrical constraints. Contrast:

- (5a) without fronting
sacra Ioui Stygio, $|^5$ quae rite *incepta,*
 sacrifices:ACC Iuppiter:DAT Stygius:DAT which:ACC properly begun:ACC
paraui
 prepare:PERF.1SG
 'The sacrifices for the god of the underworld that I have properly initiated and prepared.' (Verg. A. 4.638)
- (5b) with fronting
magna pererrato $|^5$ statues quae *denique ponto*
 big:ACC wandered.through:ABL erect:FUT.2SG which:ACC finally sea:ABL
 'Big [walls], which you will finally erect after your wandering through the sea'
 (Verg. A. 2.295)
- (6a) without fronting
et, si fata deum, $|^5$ si mens *non laeua fuisset*
 and if destinies:NOM gods:GEN if mind:NOM NEG bad:NOM be:PLPF.SBJ.3SG
 'And, had it been destined by the gods, if our minds hadn't been blind' (Verg. A. 2.54)
- (6b) with fronting
deuenient. adero et, tua si mihi certa
 come:FUT.3PL be.there:FUT.1SG and your:NOM if me:DAT certain:NOM
uoluntas,
 will:NOM
 '[...] will get there. I shall be there, and if your assent is clear to me' (Verg. A. 4.125)

(7a) without fronting [= 3a]

haerentem capiti |⁵ *cum multa laude coronam.*
 sticking:ACC head:DAT with much:ABL praise:ABL crown:ACC
 ‘the crown over your head with much glory’ (Hor. sat. 1.10.49)

(7b) with fronting

inde pedem sospes |⁵ *multa cum laude*
 thence foot:ACC unharmed:NOM much:ABL with praise:ABL
reflexit
 bend.back:PERF.1SG

‘From there he, unharmed, bent back his foot with much glory.’ (Catull. 64.112)

In sum, it emerges that contrary to what Marx thought, the *Troiae qui primus ab oris* type is neither confined to inversion nor a purely metrical phenomenon, and that we need to look for an alternative explanation.

If fronting results in the alignment of focused constituents with the left edges of prosodic or intonation phrases, since prosodic phrases often coincide with metrical cola, the suggestion imposes itself that the phenomenon of post-caesural fronting is a related phenomenon copied or adapted from prose antecedents and involving the same fronting to the left edge of a prosodic or intonation phrase. While fronting serves pragmatic purposes in prose, it is functionally extended in verse to demarcate the boundaries of metrical cola and prosodic and intonation phrases.

Latin makes an intriguing case for the poetic exploitation of this type of fronting. An indication is offered by the Latin *magna cum laude* word order type, which derives from the co-occurring *cum magna laude* by the fronting of the adjective, and which is attested both in prose and in poetics, cf. Devine and Stephen’s (2006: 568–575, 591) account of the so-called pre-modifier hyperbaton as a focusing device, Clackson’s supposition that “the adjective had been fronted to the beginning of the phrase” (Clackson 2004: 398, cf. 396), and Fortson’s (2010: 126) demonstration that the *magna cum laude* word-order pattern derives from *cum magna laude* not by a prosodic rightward flip of the preposition, but by leftward fronting of the modifier around the preposition.

Crucially, both word-order patterns, *cum magna laude* and *magna cum laude*, occur in prose as well as in verse, but the indications are that they differ in function. In prose, the raising of the adjective clearly conforms to a pragmatically driven focusing strategy. This is borne out by contextual contrasts like the following (8)–(12), each involving syntactic and pragmatic factors triggering adjective fronting.

In (8a) the prepositional phrase (PP) *cum summa dignitate* is not preceded by a syntactic break. It is verb phrase-internal, and part of the climactic sequence that culminates in the superlative adverb *diligentissime*. There is no narrow focus on the PP *cum summa dignitate* or any of its constituents. In (8b), by contrast, *videor mihi* ‘and it strikes me, and I believe’ is followed by a syntactic break and serves to focus the PP, causing underlying *cum summa dignitate* to be converted into *summa cum dignitate* with fronted and focused *summa*.

- (8a) [...] _φ = prosodic phrase, [...] _{VP} = verb phrase, X_F = focused constituent
nisi iam tunc [omnia negotia [cum summa tua
 if.not already then all:ACC duties:ACC with highest:ABL your:ABL
dignitate] _φ *diligentissime confecissem]* _{VP}, *tametsi ...*
 authority:ABL most.diligently perform.PLPF.SBJ.1SG nevertheless
 ‘If I hadn’t already then fulfilled all my obligations with your supreme authority
 and most diligently, nevertheless ...’ (Cic. ad fam. 3.12.3)

- (8b) *etenim vel subire eas [videor mihi:]* _{focusing phrase}
 and.namely either undergo:INF these:ACC seem:PRS.1SG me:DAT
[[summa_F cum dignitate] _φ *vel declinare nulla cum molestia*
 highest:ABL with authority:ABL or divert:INF no:ABL with trouble:ABL
posse.] _i
 be.able:INF
 ‘Because either to endure these [fights] – as I believe: with greatest dignity – or to
 divert them with no trouble at all.’ (Cic. Att. 2.19.1)

Example (9) displays a similar correlation between syntax and pragmatics. In (9a), the prepositional phrase *cum magna dignitate* is clause-internal, i.e. not preceded by a syntactic break, and the “premodifier” *magna* has not been fronted. In (9b), by contrast, the prepositional phrase occupies a clause-initial position – there is a syntactic break after the presentational matrix clause *There was a sanctuary* – and *magna* has been fronted; the prepositional phrase functions as an added adjunct (disjunct):

- (9a) *semper quidem ea res cum magna dignitate ac*
 always however this thing:NOM with great:ABL authority:ABL and
maiestate agitur.
 greatness:ABL deal:PRS.3SG.MP
 ‘This concern has always been dealt with with great dignity and greatness.’
 (Livius 42.49).

- (9b) [...] _i = intonational phrase; X_F = focused constituent.
[Erat apud Heium sacrarium] _v
 be.IMP.3SG at Heius:ACC sanctuary:NOM
[magna_F cum dignitate] _i *in aedibus a maioribus traditum,*
 great:ABL with authority:ABL in temple:ABL by ancestors:ABL preserved:NOM
perantiquum ...] _i
 very.old:NOM
 ‘There was a sanctuary at Heius, preserved with great dignity in the temple by the
 ancestors, of great age ...’ (Cic. Verr. 2.4)

In the same vein, we encounter in (10) *cum summa gloria* with no preceding syntactic break (10a); but in a stylistically marked passage (10b), we find the parallelism of two consecutive adjuncts, [*mirifica hominum laetitia*], and [*summa cum gloria*]. The

parallelism causes underlying *cum summa gloria* to be converted into *summa cum gloria* with *summa* fronted and aligned with the left edge of the prosodic phrase:

- (10a) [*spero nos [aut cum summa gloria]*_φ
 hope:PRS.1SG we:ACC either with greatest:ABL glory:ABL
*[aut certe sine molestia]*_φ *discessuros.*₁
 or certainly without trouble:ABL part:INF.FUT
 'I hope we will get away either with greatest glory or [at least] certainly without any complications.' (Cic. Att 2.21.6)

- (10b) *Milo permansit ad meridiem,*
 Milo:NOM stay.PERF.3SG until noon:ACC
*[mirifica_F hominum laetitia]*_φ [*summa_F cum gloria*]_φ.
 stunning:ABL people:GEN joy:ABL greatest:ABL with glory:ABL
 'Milo stayed until noon, to the overwhelming joy of the people, [and] with greatest praise.' (Cic. Att. 4.3.4)

Example (11) exemplifies the same syntactic-pragmatic correlation, i.e. in (11a) the verb phrase-internal, unmarked word order *cum summa benevolentia*, as opposed to (11b) showing the stylistically marked order, instantiating the parallelism between two consecutive adjuncts, each with focused adjectival incipit (*attentissimis – summa*).

- (11a) [*me tui memoriam cum summa benevolentia tenere*]_{AcI}
 me:ACC your:GEN memory:ACC with greatest:ABL benevolence:ABL hold:INF
[tuas=que omnes res non minori mihi curae quam
 your:ACC.PL=and all:ACC.PL things:ACC NEG lesser:DAT me:DAT care:DAT than
*meas esse]*_{AcI}.
 my:ACC.PL be:INF
 'that I preserve the memory of you with greatest benevolence and that all your concerns are of no less importance to me than my own.' (Cic. ad fam. 6.2)

- (11b) *etsi me [attentissimis_F animis]*_φ [*summa_F cum*
 though me:ACC most.attentive:ABL.PL mind:ABL.PL greatest:ABL with
*benignitate]*_φ *auditis, iudices, tamen vereor ...*
 benevolence:ABL hear:PRS.2PL judges:VOC nonetheless fear:PRS.1SG
 'Although you listen to me, with your minds most concentrated, [and] with utmost benevolence, judges, nonetheless I fear ...' (Cic. Pro Sestio 31)

Another instructive example is the frequent phrase *ex hoc (ipso) loco*. It occurs in the neutral order if integrated into a nested PP [ab-cc'-b'a'], an AcI, or a conjunct phrase, i.e., if not preceded by a major syntactic break, and without narrow focus, e.g.

- (12a) *Atque illud in primis mihi laetandum iure*
 and that:ACC at first:ABL.PL me:DAT be.happy:GER right:ABL
esse video,
 be:INF see:PRS.1SG

quod [in hac insolita mihi ex hoc loco ratione
 that in this:ABL unfamiliar.ABL me:DAT from this:ABL place:ABL way:ABL
dicendi] causa talis oblata est ...

saying:GEN cause:NOM such:NOM offered:NOM AUX:PRS.3SG

‘And I see that I am especially justified in congratulating myself upon the fact, that, unfamiliar as I am with the style of speech, **from this platform** the cause I have to plead is such that ...’ (Cic. Imp. Pomp. 3)

... [L. Lucullum similiter ex hoc loco esse laudatum] _{AcI...}

L. Lucullus:ACC similarly from this:ABL place:ABL AUX:INF praised

‘... that L. Lucullus has been praised similarly from this platform ...’ (Cic. Imp. Pomp. 21)’

honorem autem [neque ab uno] [neque ex hoc loco],
 honor:ACC however neither from one:ABL nor from this:ABL place:ABL
sed eadem illa nostra laboriosissima ratione vitae ...
 but same:ABL that:ABL our:ABL most.laborious:ABL way:ABL life:GEN
consequemur.

reach.FUT.1PL

‘But we shall attain the favor not of any such man nor through speeches delivered from this platform, but from that self-same way of living of ours, devoted to the hardest work. (Cic. Imp. Pomp. 70)’

... [et ex hoc ipso loco] _φ permuta item contra eam legem verba fecisti.

‘... and from this very platform you spoke at length against the same law.’ (Cic. Imp. Pomp. 52)

But where it is focused and follows the honorific vocative *Quirites*, which serves as a focusing device, it exhibits the marked order *hoc ipso ex loco*, e.g.

(12b) *Iam quantum consilio, quantum dicendi gravitate et*
 already how.much counsel:ABL how.much saying:GEN power:ABL and
copia valeat ..., [vos] _v [Quirites] _v [[hoc
 richness:ABL be.worth:PRS.SBJ.3SG you:VOC.PL gentlemen.VOC this:ABL

ipso _F ex loco] _φ saepe cognovistis.] _i
 self:ABL from place:ABL often recognize:PERF.2PL

‘Further, how valuable he is through his counseling, the power and richness of his speech ..., you, gentlemen, – from this very place – have often had occasion to convince yourself.’ (Cic. Imp. Pomp. 42)

So much for prose. Turning to verse, both the *cum magna laude* type and the *magna cum laude* type may occur indiscriminately in the same post-caesural position with no syntactic or pragmatic contrast (collection in Drexler 1980: 100f.), as emerges from the comparison of (13a) and (13b).

(13a) The word-order pattern *cum magna laude* in verse, e.g.

non pudet, o Rutuli, |⁵ pro cunctis talibus unam (Verg. A. 12.229)
in scaenam missos |⁵ cum magno pondere versus (Hor. ars. 260)
haerentem capiti |⁵ cum multa laude coronam. (Hor. sat. 1.10.49)
nec, quas hortus alit, |⁵ cum sucis mitibus herbas. (Ov. met. 14.690)

However, the *magna cum laude* type is decidedly preferred and significantly more frequent in the immediate post-penthemimeral position. This observation makes sense in light of the hypothesis that versified language employs fronting as a strategy demarcating and highlighting caesurae. In sum, the originally pragmatically conditioned prose option of raising the adjectival determiner out of the prepositional phrase is adapted and expanded as a colon-marking device in verse. Cf.

(13b) The word-order pattern *magna cum laude* in verse, e.g.

quam mox emittat |⁵ pictis e faucibus currus (Enn. ann. 86)
olli cernebant |⁵ magnis de rebus agentes (Enn. ann. 555)
Illi indignantes |⁵ magno cum murmure montis (Verg. A. 1.55)
quaenam te genuit |⁵ sola sub rupe leaena (Catull. 64.154)
Hesperus, adveniet |⁵ fausto cum sidere coniunx (Catull. 64.329)
nulla remisisti |⁵ parvo pro munere dona (Martial 4.88.1)
ergo agimus laeti |⁵ tanto pro munere grates (Martial 12.9.3)
sentiet esse mihi |⁵ tanto pro corpore vires (Ov. met. 13.864)
inuigiles igitur |⁵ nostris pro casibus, oro (Ov. trist. 1.5.43)

2. Post-caesural fronting in Tocharian

The poetic exploitation of fronting to demarcate the onsets of metrical cola that are equivalent to prosodic phrases can be shown to recur cross-linguistically. It is so natural as to be independent of language and meter. A typological parallel can be found in Tocharian, an Indo-European language from Central Asia. Like Latin, Tocharian is underlyingly an SOV language, and it shows the fronting of clause and phrase internal constituents into clause- and colon-initial position. Unlike the Latin hexameter, Tocharian verses are not composed in quantitative meters but are based on syllable-count. The principle is isosyllabicity. Regardless of the metrical difference between the Latin moraic verse and the Tocharian syllable-counting meter, both metrical traditions share the fronting of nominal constituents over complementizers into post-caesural positions – cf. the following Latin-Tocharian parallels:

(14a) Latin

bacchatur uates, |⁵ magnum si pectore possit |
 rage:PRS.3SG prophetess:NOM big:ACC if breast:ABL can:prs.SBJ.3SG
excussisse deum
 shake.of.INF.PERF god:ACC

‘The prophetess is in rage, if she could shake off the mighty god ...’ (Verg. A. 6.78f.)

Tocharian, 14 syll. [7+7] = [4|3 + 4|3]

yamor keśä taṣṣeñica |⁷ se kr_ui sraukaṃ śamane
 deed:ACC into.account putting this:NOM if die:SBJ.3SG living
 ‘Taking into account the dharma (lit. deed), this one, if he is going to die, [is] still alive.’

(B255b3, verse 12d, trsl. my own, cf. Peyrot 2013: 326)

Compare, also, the fronting of a finite verb over a complementizer into post-caesural position:

(14b) Latin

talia fatus erat |⁵ coepit cum talia
 such:ACC spoken:NOM AUX:IMPF.3SG begin:PERF.3SG when such:ACC
uates
 prophetess:NOM

‘Thus he spoke, when the prophetess began to say the following.’ (Verg. A. 6.372)

Tocharian, 15 syll. [7+8] = [4|3 + 3|5]

mäkte wranta ckentameṃ |⁷ kārpaṃ kwri gāñkne aittanka
 like waters:NOM rivers:ABL descend:SBJ.3PL if Ganges:LOC towards
 ‘like the waters from the rivers, if they go down towards the Gaṅgā’

(B30a8, verse 27c)

The Tocharian phenomenon under discussion shares three traits with the Latin *Troiae qui primus ab oris* word order type. To begin with, the Tocharian poetic version of fronting selects colon-initial position as a landing site for the fronted constituents, i.e. (verse-initial position and) commonly the immediate post-caesural position in the middle of the verse. As with the Latin *Troiae qui primus ab oris* word order pattern, the Tocharian poetic version of fronting serves a demarcative function, which consists in highlighting the beginning of a new (post-caesural) colon. Second, while it has become customary in Tocharian studies to term the word-order permutations found in Tocharian verses as “inversions” (German “Inversionen”, e.g. Stumpf 1971: 74, 76), it is important to realize that poetic word movement in Tocharian verse is not restricted to the inversion of adjacent constituents but rather complies syntactically with fronting, since the displacement of constituents to (phrase and) clause-initial position operates over more than just one constituent. Thirdly, like in Latin, the Tocharian version of fronting is not purely metrically driven. In Tocharian, the fronting of clause- and phrase-internal constituents can be shown in many cases to operate independently of the colometric

verse division. Thus metrical texts may either maintain the clause-initial position of relative pronouns as in (15a), (16a) or raise clause internal constituents over the relative pronoun into colon-initial position as in (15b), (16b).

(15a) 14 syll. [7+7] = [4|3 + 4|3]

mā po mīsa perakä |⁷ *ket mā yäkne orttoträ*
 NEG all flesh:NOM trustworthy.NOM whose NEG way:NOM approve:PRS.3SG.MP
 ‘All flesh [the entire being] is not trustworthy, whose conduct is not approved of’
 (B255b1, verse 11b)

(15b) 15 syll. [7+8] = [4|3 + 3|5]

yāmi speltke po āñmtsā |⁷ *āñme ket tsälpātsi tākoy*
 make:OPT.3SG effort:ACC all self:PERL wish:NOM whose release:INF be.OPT.3SG
 ‘May he make effort wholeheartedly, whose wish may be to be released’
 (PKAS7Ha4, verse 1b).

Note that in (15b) above, there is no metrical necessity for *āñme ket* to occur in this order, since the reverse order *ket āñme* would also comply with the prescribed three-syllable colon.

(16) 15 syll. [7+8] = [4|3 + 3|5]

(16a) *pelaykneṣṣe yerkwantay* |⁷ *k_use westär darśanamārk*
 dharma.ADJ:ACC wheel:ACC which:NOM call:PRS.3SG.MP Darśanamārga
ñem
 name:NOM
 ‘The dharma-wheel, which is called Darśanamārga’ (B30b6, verse 31c)

(16b) *kāṣṣintse pūdñäktentse* |⁷ *patstsa k_use yamaṣām kṣāttre*
 teacher:GEN Buddha:GEN Stūpa:PERL who make:PRS.3SG umbrella:ACC
 ‘Of the teacher Buddha, over [his] Stūpa, who makes the gift of an umbrella’
 (PKAS7Ib4, verse 15d).

Note that in (16b) above, the order *patstsa k_use* could again be reversed without violating the mandatory three-syllable colon.

As was the case with the Latin word-order pattern *magna cum laude*, it is possible to view the Tocharian type of fronting in verse as the poetic adaptation and extension of the pragmatically driven fronting of prose texts. An example in prose is the fronting of finite verbs. Note that in prose, the default word order of declaratives is verb-final in Tocharian, but that prose VSO may also occur, if pragmatically marked, for instance to highlight new and important information. In declaratives, verb fronting may mark the beginning of a thematically new passage (type Skt. *āsīd rājā nalo nāma*; cf. Zimmer 1976: 34ff. on Tocharian):

(17a) Prose: *nesām upekṣ warpalñe te mant.*
 exist:PRS.3SG indifference:NOM sensation:NOM this like
 “‘There is indifference as sensation,’ thus.’ (B197a5)

Another prose example, from a sale contract, is:

nesām *Yurpaṣkaññe* *ṣamāne* *Abidharmike* *Budhavrād[dh]i*
 exist:PRS.3SG Yurpaṣka.ADJ:NOM monk:NOM Abidharmike Buddhavrāddhi
ñe[m] ...
 by.name

‘There is the monk of Yurpaṣka, (with the title) Abidharmike, called Buddhavrāddhi ...’ (Ching and Ogihara 2010: 104)

Tocharian metrical texts either maintain the default SOV word order of declaratives (17b) or (quite frequently) raise finite verbs to colon-initial position (17c). E.g.

(17b) SOV prose order maintained in verse:

14 syll. [7+7] = [4|3 + 4|3]
taik[n]jesā=k *ra* *kektseñi* |⁷ *kätsaitsäññe* *yünmāskem.*
 this.way:PERL=PTCL too bodies:NOM old.age:ACC reach:PRS.3PL
 ‘In this way also the bodies, they attain great age.’ (B5a8, verse 70b)

(17c) 14 syll. [7+7] = [4|3 + 4|3]

kokalentse *kautalñe* |⁷ *preksa* *poyśim* *[ot]* *walo*
 chariot:GEN breaking:ACC ask:PRT.3SG Buddha:ACC then king:NOM
 ‘About the breaking of the chariot, the king then asked Buddha.’ (B5a3f., verse 67b)

k[e]t *[e]ñkätkre* *sanuññe* |⁷ *ṣārṣṣām* *pārnaśc*
 whose in.deep:NOM hostility:NOM demonstrate:PRS.3SG outside:ALL
waṣāmñe
 friendship:ACC

‘Whose hostility is deeply engrained, but who demonstrates friendship to the outside.’ (B255a5, verse 9a)

rerinormem *ṣāñ ṣamnā* |⁷ *maitār* *ik(e)śc* *kekesoṣ*
 having.left:ABL own relatives:ACC go:PRT.3PL place:ACC extinguished:ACC
 ‘Having left their relatives, they went to the nirvāṇa.’ (B295a3, verse 2c)

wes *rano* *ñe* *mentsine* |⁷ *yamyem* *yesäñ* *[r]e[kisa]*
 we:NOM too now sorrow:LOC do:OPT.1PL you.PL:GEN word:PERL
 ‘We too now, in sorrow, may we act according to your word.’ (B295b8, verse 4d)

Note that in none of the preceding cases of (17c) is the raising of the verb dictated by the colon division; the disyllabic verbs can each be swapped with the ensuing disyllabic word without violating the four-syllable colon.

But the poetic version of raising finite verbs may go beyond the rules of prose grammar. For instance, metrical texts allow finite verbs (18a) and clause-internal nominal constituents (18b) to be raised over the complementizer (e.g. *kwri* ‘if’) into colon-initial position. Prose texts do not allow this.

(18a) Fronting of finite verb over the complementizer, which never occurs in prose:

15 syll. [7+8] = [4|3 + 3|5]

mākṭe wranta ckenṭameṃ |⁷ *kārpam* *kwri gāṅkne aittaṅka*

(see above (14b))

(18b) Raising of clause-internal nominal constituents over the complementizer into colon-initial position:

14 syll. [7+ 7] = [4|3 + 4|3]

i. verse-initially

anaiśai *kwri* *pa[pā]ṣṣoṣ* |⁷ *walke* *klyentār* *kokalyi*
 caringly if observed:NOM.PL long remain:PRS.3PL chariot:NOM.PL
 'If serviced diligently, long do the chariots remain (intact).' (B5b2, verse 71c)

mentsisā *kr_ui* *wikalle* |⁷ *tako_i* *lākle* *yesāñ*
 sorrow:PERL if avoid.GER.NOM be.OPT.3SG suffering:NOM you.PL:GEN
seṃ
 this:NOM

'If this your suffering could be avoided by sorrow' (B295b8, verse 4c)

ii. verse-medially

ścīre-reki *onolmi* |⁷ *māka* *kr_ui* *awnantrā* *nessi*
 hard-word:NOM.PL beings:NOM many:NOM if begin:PRS.3PL exist:INF
 'Harsh-worded beings, if they begin to be many/a lot'
 (PKAS7Hb4, verse 6a, trsl. my own, cf. Peyrot 2013: 688)

māntalñecci *no* *wnolmi* |⁷ *māka* *kr_ui* *awnantrā* *nessi*
 stirred.up:NOM.PL PTCL beings:NOM many:NOM if begin:PRS.3PL exist:INF
 'Ill-disposed beings, if they start being numerous'
 (PKAS7Hb6, verse 7c, trsl. my own, cf. Peyrot 2013: 688)

ketara *ṣāññe* *wnolmi* |⁷ *entseṣṣi* *kr_ui* *māka* *tākam*
 whose nature:NOM beings:NOM greedy:NOM.PL if many:NOM be:SBJ.3PL
 'Regarding somebody else's nature, if many beings are greedy for it'
 (PKAS7Hb5, verse 7a, trsl. my own, cf. Peyrot 2013: 688)

While prose noun phrase word order prescribes *determiner adjective noun* order (19a), metrical texts may either maintain this prose order (19b) or allow the adjective to be raised out of the noun phrase into either noun phrase or colon-initial position, which is also correct (19c); for a collection of cases and examples, see Stumpf (1971: 75–89). Contrast:

(19a) prose *determiner adjective noun*:

ceyna *yāltse* *trey* *jaṭil[ap]ūrvakaṃ* *ṣamāṇeṃ*
 DEM:ACC.PL thousand three jaṭila.previous:ACC.PL monk:ACC.PL
 'These thousand-and-three previously jaṭila-bearing monks' (B108b3)

(19b) prose word order preserved in verse:

18 syll. [7 + 7 + 4]

mäkte lyāka varddhane |⁷ *tetkāk ṣ ceyna orocceṃ* |¹⁴
 when see:PRT.3SG Varddhana:NOM suddenly and DEM:ACC.PL great:ACC.PL.
aṣanikaṃ
 venerable:ACC.PL
 ‘when Varddhana beheld suddenly these great venerables’ (B375b4)

(19c) verse: post-caesural fronting of adjective out of noun phrase

12 syll. [5 + 7]

āyor saimä ste |⁵ *snaitśñeṣṣai tãṁ* *proskai=ne*
 giving protection be:PRES.3SG poor:OBL.SG DEM:OBL.SG fear:OBL.SG=LOC
 ‘Giving [alms] is protection regarding the fear of poverty.’ (B23b2; Stumpf 1971: 78)

14 syll. [7 + 7] = [4|3 + 4|3]

tumem weña pūdñäkte |⁷ *saṅkaṣṣai tãṁ*
 then speak:PRT.3SG Buddha:NOM Saṅgha.ADJ:OBL.SG DEM:OBL.SG
wertsyai=ne
 assembly:OBL.SG.F=LOC
 ‘Then Buddha spoke within the assembly of the Saṅgha.’ (B5b7)

Post-caesural fronting of head noun out of a prepositional phrase:

13 syll. [5 + 8]

käṣṣi pūdñäkte |⁵ *rājagri=ne tãṁ*
 teacher:NOM Buddha:NOM Rājagṛha.city=LOC DEM:OBL.SG
māskītār
 reside:IMPF.3SG.MP
 ‘The master, Buddha, was residing at Rājagṛha.’ (B23b3)

The definite article *tãṁ* in (19c), last example, marks a topic known to the interlocutor, cf. Stumpf (1971: 73). The interpretation as an elided adverbial *tãṁ preściyaine* (Sieg 1949 translation ad loc.: 39 n. 8) has to be abandoned; cf. Latin:

inde pedem sospes |⁵ *multa cum laude reflexit* (Catull. 64, 112, see above 7b).

3. Conclusion

Post-caesural fronting occurs independently in Latin and in Tocharian verse. But a common denominator exists: in both languages the originally pragmatically driven fronting technique of prose is exploited in poetic metrical texts to set off preceding caesurae and mark the left margin of metrical cola, equivalent to prosodic phrases.

Poetic metrical language frequently does not arise *ex nihilo*, but is often anchored in and deduced from the underlying source structures of non-poetic language.

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