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AN OBSERVATION ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF CORRELATIVE RELATIVE CLAUSES IN CICERO*

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Abstract This contribution presents an observation on the distribution of sentences with correlative relative clauses (also known as correlative sentences or relative-correlative sentences) in Cicero's speeches: e.g. *quae semper in ciuili uictoria sensimus, ea te uictore non uidimus* ('The things which we have always experienced in a civil war victory, those things we did not see when you were the victor', Cicero, *Deiot.* 33). This construction occurs with considerably higher frequency in some speeches than others, and this variation turns out to be structured: in forensic speeches the frequency of the construction is inversely correlated with the length of the speech, while deliberative speeches may follow a different pattern. Focussing on forensic speeches in particular, this article argues that the distribution of correlative relative sentences in these speeches can be attributed to the way in which the construction helps to structure information, and the rhetorical purposes for which Cicero exploits this information-structuring device.

1 Introduction

This contribution presents an observation on the distribution of sentences containing correlative relative clauses in Cicero's speeches. A sentence of this type is also known as a relative-correlative sentence (especially in literature on Latin), and from now on we shall use the more succinct term correlative sentence. The construction begins with a relative clause, which lacks an external head noun (or pronoun) and is followed by a matrix or correlative clause; the latter contains a pronoun or noun phrase coreferential with (or "picking up") the relative clause. The criteria used to identify correlative sentences

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for the purposes of this study will be described in more detail in §2 below, but example (1) may serve as a first illustration of the construction (relative clause in bold, correlative clause in blue):

(1) ***Quae*** ***semper*** ***in*** ***ciuili*** ***uictoria***
REL.ACC.PL.N always in civil.ABL.SG.F victory.ABL.SG
sensimus, *ea* *te* *uictore* *non*
experience.PST.PFV.1PL them.ACC.PL.N you.ABL.SG victor.ABL.SG NEG
uidimus.
see.PST.PFV.1PL
'**The things which we have always experienced in a civil war victory**, them we did not see when you were the victor.' (Cicero, *Deiot.* 33)[1]

Interest in the correlative sentence in Latin has often focussed on its diachrony: it has long been observed that correlative sentences – and/or (more generally) relative clauses that precede their matrix clauses – appear to be at their most plentiful in early Latin texts, less common but still clearly present in classical texts,[2] and distinctly rare after the classical period.[3] This chronological distribution has been variously explained,[4] but all explanations need to address the fact that correlative sentences are better attested in some genres than others, and different genres of text are more plentiful at different periods. For this reason, it is worth investigating correlative sentences in one genre at a time, to build up a clearer picture of how, when, and by whom this construction is used. In this spirit, Probert & Dickey (2016: 396–401, 404–17) focussed on agricultural treatises. The present contribution arises out of an attempt to take the same investigation a step further by concentrating on oratory. In this connection, I wanted to find out (among other things) how often Cicero uses correlative sentences in his speeches – but it turns out that our construction varies widely in frequency from one speech to another within the work of this single well-attested orator. This result is of interest for two reasons.

Firstly, if the frequency of the construction is highly variable from one speech of Cicero's to another, any attempt to give an overall text frequency

1 Quotations from Cicero are from Clark & Peterson's *Oxford Classical Text* edition (1905–1918). Translations are mine, and deliberately follow the ordering of clauses seen in the Latin. Abbreviations for the titles of Cicero's speeches are those of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (4th edition). Interlinear glosses follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules.

2 See e.g. Bertelsmann (1885: 7, 55); Kroll (1910: 7–8; 1933: 11–12); Durante (1981: 60); Calboli (1987: 143); Lehmann (1979: 14–15); Pompei (2011a: 529, 532–3).

3 See Fruyt (2005: 34); Pompei (2011a: 535).

4 For some discussion, with bibliography, see Probert & Dickey (2016: 390–1).

for Cicero's use of the construction in his speeches simplifies the underlying reality so much as to be effectively meaningless.[5] More importantly, this point encourages us to be cautious about building too much on text frequencies of this construction for less well-attested authors: might their usage not have varied to a similar extent, even if the evidence we have does not allow us to see this? All this has consequences for our understanding of diachronic trends.

Secondly, given the scholarly interest in the diachrony of the correlative sentence, it is natural to ask whether the text frequency of the construction in Cicero's speeches is correlated with the date of the speech. Since Cicero's speeches were delivered over the course of a career spanning more than three and a half decades, it would not be surprising to find changes in his practice reflecting broader chronological trends, yet no chronological development of this kind turns out to be in evidence. (A bit more will, however, be said about the two earliest surviving speeches and the *Pro Q. Roscio Comoedo*, likely to be the next earliest.) On the other hand, the variation in the text frequency of the construction in Cicero's speeches turns out to be structured – not on diachronic lines, but on synchronic lines that do not suggest a construction in decline.

§2 explains the criteria used to define correlative sentences for the purposes of this study, §3 comments briefly on the way in which the frequency of this construction will be measured, and §4 explains the hypotheses tested and the methodology used for testing them. §5 presents the results, which show, above all, that the frequency of the construction in Cicero's forensic speeches is inversely correlated with the length of the speech. Considering the motivation for this distribution, §6 argues that this lies in the contribution which correlative sentences make to the structuring of information, and in the rhetorical purposes for which Cicero exploits this contribution. The full set of correlative sentences on which this study is based is available in Probert (2025).

5 The rough and ready figure which Probert & Dickey (2016: 418–19) give on the basis of Cicero, *In Catilinam I–IV* should be disregarded for this reason. Not only does the construction turn out to be considerably less frequent in the (deliberative) Catilinarian Orations than in some of Cicero's other speeches, as we shall see, but the result of any attempt to produce a revised figure would be highly dependent on which sample of speeches was chosen (even the whole corpus of Cicero's surviving speeches is only a sample of what he produced), and would conceal the more instructive variation in the frequency of the construction from speech to speech.

2 Defining correlative sentences for the purposes of this study

For the purposes of this study, correlative sentences will be taken to comprise a relative clause lacking an external head noun (or pronoun), followed by a syntactically complete matrix clause (the correlative clause) that contains an overt demonstrative pronoun or full noun phrase "picking up" the relative clause (the correlative pronoun or noun phrase).[6] Under this definition, sentence (1) and the bold and blue parts of sentence (2) are examples of correlative sentences. Within these correlative sentences, the bold part comprises the relative clause, the blue part the correlative clause, and the correlative pronouns are *ea* 'them' (1) and *eundem* 'the same person' (2). In Latin, a correlative sentence may comprise a complete sentence on its own, as illustrated by example (1), or it may be embedded in a larger syntactic structure – as illustrated by (2), where the correlative sentence comprises a purpose clause introduced by *ut* 'so that', itself embedded in a main clause.

(2) *Heredem* *testamento* *reliquit* *hunc*
heir.ACC.SG will.ABL.SG leave.PST.PFV.3SG this.ACC.SG.M
P. *Quinctium* *ut,* ***ad*** ***quem***
Publius.ACC.SG Quinctius.ACC.SG so-that to REL.ACC.SG.M
summus ***maeror*** ***morte*** ***sua***
greatest.NOM.SG.M grief.NOM.SG death.ABL.SG his.ABL.SG.F
ueniebat, *ad* *eundem* *summus*
come.PST.IPFV.3SG to same.ACC.SG.M greatest.NOM.SG.M
honos *quoque* *perueniret.*
honour.NOM.SG too come.PST.SBJV.IPFV.3SG
'He named this Publius Quinctius as his heir in his will, so that **the one whom the greatest grief was coming to on his death**, to that same person the greatest honour too would come.' (Cicero, *Quinct.* 14)

I adopt a deliberately narrow definition of 'correlative clause', for the sake of a dataset comprising sentences that are clearly and uncontentiously compa-

6 In the speeches considered for this study, the correlative expression almost always consists of a form of the weak demonstrative *is, ea, id* (sometimes called an 'anaphoric' pronoun, but not all its uses are anaphoric), a form of the proximal strong demonstrative *hic, haec, hoc*, a form of *idem, eadem, idem* 'the same, the very same', or a noun phrase with one of these pronominal forms as a determiner. In two instances (*Rab. Post.* 1; *Sest.* 105), the correlative expression consists of a form of the distal strong demonstrative *ille, illa, illud*, and in one instance (*Clu.* 112 = (5), on which see below) the adverb *tum* takes the place of a nominal correlative expression. I gloss forms of *is, ea, id* with 'he'/'she'/'it'/'they' (or oblique 'him'/'her'/'them'), forms of *hic, haec, hoc* with 'this/these', and forms of *idem, eadem, idem* with 'same'. On correlative pronouns in Latin more generally, see Pinkster (2021: 504), with further bibliography.

rable in structural terms to core examples such as (1) and (2). More specifically, since the present contribution aims to add a point to the discussion started in Probert & Dickey (2016), in order to maximise comparability between the results of the two studies I adopt the following further definitional features of 'correlative sentence' after Probert & Dickey (2016: 392):

- The concept 'correlative sentence' will be restricted to sentences in which the subordinate clause is a relative clause (defined as a clause with a relativised nominal expression), rather than some other subordinate clause type such as an indirect question, complement clause, comparative clause (e.g. with *quo* + comparative, picked up by *hoc* + comparative 'the more ... the more'), or adverbial clause (introduced e.g. by *ubi* 'where'), in the latter case subject to the caveat explained at the last bullet point below.
- Relatedly (and for the avoidance of doubt in some borderline cases), the concept will be taken to exclude all sentences in which the subordinate clause is introduced by *si* 'if', *si quis* 'if anyone' (and similarly with inflected forms of *quis*), *sicubi* 'if anywhere', *quod* meaning 'because', *ut*(*i*) 'as', and sentences in which both subordinator and correlative item convey an amount (e.g. *quantus* 'as much as' ... *tantus* 'so much' or *quot* 'as many times as' ... *tot* 'so many times').
- The concept will also be taken to exclude sentences such as (3), in which the 'correlative expression' consists solely of a word for 'all'.

(3) *quae* *de* *scripto* *aguntur,*
REL.NOM.PL.N about written.ABL.SG.N conduct.PRS.PASS.3PL
scripta *sunt* *omnia* ...
written.NOM.PL.N be.PRS.3PL all.NOM.PL.N
'those matters which concern things written are all written down ...'
(Cicero, *Mur.* 28)

In such cases I take the word for 'all' to modify the relative clause (as a 'floating quantifier') rather than resuming it. While this view cannot be defended in full here, in the corpus to be considered (3) is the only sentence to be excluded solely for this reason. The constituent order of the main clause speaks against taking *omnia* as an ordinary correlative item here, since correlative sentences normally have the correlative item very early on in its clause (as can be verified from the dataset in Probert 2025). Contrast the placement of *omnia* in (4), which I do take to be a correlative sentence: here *omnia* 'all' does not form a correlative

expression by itself but together with *eadem ista* 'those same things' (for further examples comparable to (4), see Cicero, *Div. Caec.* 3; *Clu.* 169).

(4) ***Quae*** ***iam*** ***diu*** ***comparantur***,
REL.NOM.PL.N now for-a-long-time prepare.PRS.PASS.3PL
eadem *ista* *omnia* ... *facile* ...
same.NOM.PL.N those.NOM.PL.N all.NOM.PL.N easily
comprimentur.
curb.FUT.PASS.3PL
'**The things which are long being prepared now**, all those same things ... will easily ... be curbed'. (Cicero, *Mur.* 85)

- The concept correlative sentence will, however, be taken to include sentences in which a typical relative clause is picked up by an adverbial correlate, as in (5), or (conversely) sentences in which a subordinate clause taking the form of an adverbial clause or one expressing an amount is picked up by a nominal correlate, as in (6).[7] In the corpus chosen for this study, only three examples come under this heading: (5), (6), and Cicero, *Quinct.* 53 (the latter with *cum* 'when' picked up by *eo tempore* 'at that time').[8]

(5) ***quo*** ***tempore*** ***Fidiculanius*** ***est***
REL.ABL.SG.N time.ABL.SG Fidiculanius.NOM.SG be.PRS.3SG
absolutus, *tu* ... *quid* *tum*
acquitted.NOM.SG.M you.NOM.SG what.ACC.SG.N then
esse *existimas* *iudicatum?*
be.INF.IPFV consider.PRS.2SG judged.ACC.SG.N

7 Compare Halla-aho (2018: 200–1) and Pinkster (2021: 505) for resumption of a relative clause by an adverb in Cato, in whose work this phenomenon is considerably more frequent than in Cicero.

8 Note that I take *quo tempore* (seen in 5) and *eo tempore* (seen at *Quinct.* 53) as synchronically retaining at least something of their status as nominal expressions (an indication in this direction is that both can be correlated not only with straightforwardly adverbial expressions but also with each other, e.g. *Clu.* 89: *Quo tempore ... eo tempore*). Differently, I take *quem ad modum* 'as' (whether printed as one word or three) to be synchronically an adverbial subordinator (a proximity search of the *Brepols Library of Latin Texts* suggests that in antiquity *quem ad modum* is never picked up by nominal expressions such as *ad hunc modum*). Thus instances of e.g. *quem ad modum ... sic* are excluded from my count of correlative sentences, on the basis that both the subordinator and the resumptive element are synchronically adverbial expressions. Different decisions could have been made on these borderline cases, and would not materially affect the argument.

'**At the time when Fidiculanius was acquitted**, what do you … consider to have been judged at that time?' (Cicero, *Clu.* 112)

(6) *tamen,* ***quanta*** ***est*** ***in***
nevertheless how-much.NOM.SG.F be.PRS.3SG in
adulescente ***auctoritas,*** *ea* *propter*
young-man.ABL.SG authority.NOM.SG it.NOM.SG.F on-account-of
tantam *coniunctionem* *adfinitatis* *minor*
so-great.ACC.SG.F tie.ACC.SG kinship.GEN.SG less.NOM.SG.F
est *putanda* …
be.PRS.3SG to-be-considered.NOM.SG.F

'And yet, **however much authority there is in the young man**, it must be considered less on account of so great a tie of kinship …' (Cicero, *Dom.* 118)

One change that will simplify the discussion without materially affecting the results will, however, be made by comparison with Probert & Dickey (2016). In sentences such as (7), opinions will differ as to whether the noun *homines* 'people' belongs to the relative clause or not (bold and blue colour given here illustrate an analysis on which *homines* would indeed belong to the relative clause, and on which we would thus have a correlative sentence):

(7) ***Homines*** ***quos*** ***ceteris*** ***uitiis*** ***atque***
people.ACC.PL REL.ACC.PL.M other.ABL.PL.N offence.ABL.PL and
omni ***dedecore*** ***infamis***
every.ABL.SG.N dishonour.ABL.SG disgraced.ACC.PL.M
uidebant, *eos* *hac* *quoque*
see.PST.IPFV.3PL them.ACC.PL.M this.ABL.SG.F too
subscriptione *notare* *uoluerunt* …
official-note.ABL.SG brand.INF.IPFV want.PST.PFV.3PL

'**The people whom they saw disgraced through other offences and every dishonour**, them they wanted to brand with this official note [of an offence] too …' (Cicero, *Clu.* 130)[9]

Although *homines* here precedes the relative pronoun in linear order, the relative pronoun is not always the first word of its clause in Latin, and in this instance it is not clear how (if at all) we can decide whether the noun belongs syntactically to the relative clause or is an external head noun modified by the

9 Clark (in Clark & Peterson 1905–1918: I,150) prints a comma after *homines*, but I suppress this to make the possibility of two different analyses clearer (we do not have punctuation going back to the authors of Latin literary texts).

relative clause.[10] Probert & Dickey (2016) provide figures with and without examples of this type, but such examples are very rare in the texts considered for the present study.[11] For simplicity, where they do occur they have not been included in the counts of correlative sentences to be presented below.

3 Measuring the frequency of correlative sentences

The frequency of correlative sentences has traditionally been considered as a question of its incidence relative to that of other Latin relative clause structures.[12] However, not all relative clause structures have the same semantics and pragmatics, and for this reason they cannot be considered to constitute a linguistic variable in the sense 'two or more ways of saying the same thing' (for a critical discussion of this notion, see Kiesling 2011: 13–25).[13] Moreover, as discussed in more detail in Probert & Dickey (2016: 397, 404–15), other structures with relative clauses are by no means the only candidates for ways of 'saying the same thing' as a correlative sentence: in specific uses their competitors include conditional sentences with *si* (cf. Iordache 1994), sentences

10 For this type of problem, see Vonlaufen (1974: 25–30); Touratier (1980: 150–6); Pompei (2011a: 468–472); Probert & Dickey (2016: 393–4); Halla-aho (2016: 371–2; 2018: 52–6); (Pinkster 2021: 504). On the related problem of when to recognise 'inverse case attraction', i.e. an external head noun 'attracted' into the case of the relativised constituent (this does not arise in relation to 7), see Vonlaufen (1974: 25–30); Touratier (1980: 147–61); Pompei (2011a: 468–72); Halla-aho (2018: 52–6); Pinkster (2021: 504).

11 In addition to example (7), an instance occurs at *Div. Caec.* 56 (*pecuniam quam … eam …* 'the money which … it …'), one by conjecture in Clark's *Oxford Classical Text* at *Mur.* 8 (*labores quos … eos …* 'the labours which … them …'), and arguably one at *Mur.* 37 (*L. Luculli exercitus qui … idem …* 'the army of Lucius Lucullus which … the same one …'), although an item as heavy as *L. Luculli exercitus* 'the army of Lucius Lucullus' in this position may be better taken as external to the relative clause.

12 See e.g. Bertelsmann (1885), Lehmann (1979: 14–15); Pompei (2011a: 519, 529, 532).

13 Semantically, the closest neighbours of correlative sentences are other structures with a syntactically *autonomous* relative clause, in the classification of Pinkster (2012; 2021: 474): structures in which the relative clause does not modify a noun external to itself but has the distribution of a determiner phrase (DP). Autonomous relative clauses belong to the category of maximalising relative clauses described by Grosu & Landman (1998), and share the semantic features of these relative clauses (see Pompei 2010; 2011b; 2011c: 72–4; 2011a: 462–4, 497, 498; Probert & Dickey 2016: 404–5). Pragmatically, however, correlative sentences give rise to a clearly-articulated topic-comment structure (cf. Lehmann 1979: 10; 1984: 350–1; 2008: 217–18), and this is not always true of other sentences with autonomous relative clauses. For this reason, the distribution and use of correlative sentences is worth investigating in its own right (as well as under the umbrella of autonomous relative clauses, but that is not the subject of the present study). See Pinkster (2021: 475–6) for figures showing that the proportions of autonomous, adnominal, and connective relative clauses, counted relative to one another, vary depending on the author and the type of text. For further bibliography, including further studies providing frequency data, see Pinkster (2021: 475 n. 10).

with *si quis*, and sentences with a circumstantial participle. For these reasons, I consider it more informative for present purposes to consider the frequency of correlative sentences per 1,000 words of text rather than in comparison with other relative clause structures.

4 Origins of the hypotheses tested and methods of testing them

As mentioned already in §1, the study presented here emerges out of an attempt to investigate a somewhat different question. While the details of a study that was not ultimately pursued need not detain us, the statistical character of the argument to be made here makes it essential to distinguish between two groups of speeches: a first group which was studied before the hypotheses to be tested were formulated, and which formed the basis for those hypotheses, and a second group which was studied only after the formulation of the hypotheses in question, specifically in order to test them.[14] Both groups are listed in the first column of 1, and an asterisk distinguishes those in the first group.[15]

Impressionistically, and as visualised in Figures 1 and 2, those speeches studied at the first exploratory stage are suggestive firstly of a difference between deliberative speeches and forensic speeches (even though both these categories are broad, and encompass speeches delivered in various settings before various audiences, as acknowledged at Table 1, column 4), with correlative sentences being generally infrequent in deliberative speeches (under one instance per thousand words in those considered here, except for the *Post Reditum ad populum*) but much more varied in frequency in forensic speeches. Secondly, for the four forensic speeches in this group (with the *De domo sua* included under this heading), in both Figure 1 and Figure 2 the frequency of correlative sentences would appear to decrease as one reads from left to right. That is to say, the frequency of the construction would appear to decrease both with the date of the speech (the later the speech, the less frequent the construction) and with its length, the list of speeches *Pro Quintio*,

14 For a brief discussion of why this matters, see Andrade (2021) on "HARKing (Hypothesising After the Results are Known)".

15 For transparency, the specific speeches in this first group were chosen because the original plan had been to study the same selection of speeches as Adams (2021: 405) uses for a different purpose. By the time I decided to pursue the distribution of correlative sentences in Cicero's forensic speeches, instead of my original question, I had collected the correlative sentences occurring in the asterisked speeches listed in Table 1. The change of plan led me then to abandon the remaining speeches in Adams' list (*De prouinciis consularibus*, *In Pisonem*, and *Philippics* 1–6), none of which is a forensic speech, and to investigate a further selection of the extant forensic speeches instead. For factors influencing the selection of speeches for this second group, see below with n. 16.

Speech	Date	Type[a]	Audience[b]	Words[c]	N	F
* ***Quinct.***	81 BC	forensic	law court[d]	8,631	30	3.48
* ***Rosc. Am.***	80 BC	forensic	law court	13,290	24	1.81
Div. Caec.	70 BC	forensic	law court	5,865	10	1.71
Verr. I	70 BC	forensic	law court	4,626	6	1.3
Clu.	66 BC	forensic	law court	20,886	19	0.91
* ***Cat. I***	63 BC	deliberative	Senate	3,350	3	0.90
* ***Cat. II***	63 BC	deliberative	popular assembly	3,111	1	0.32
* ***Cat. III***	63 BC	deliberative	popular assembly	3,210	3	0.93
* ***Cat. IV***	63 BC	deliberative	Senate	2,889	2	0.69
Mur.	63 BC	forensic	law court	10,590	15	1.42
Arch.	62 BC	forensic	law court	3,139	6	1.91
* ***Red. sen.***	57 BC	deliberative	Senate	4,411	3	0.68
* ***Red. pop.***	57 BC	deliberative	popular assembly	2,684	6	2.24
* ***Dom.***	57 BC	forensic-like[e]	Pontifices	15,343	15	0.98
* ***Sest.***	56 BC	forensic	law court	17,004	14	0.82
Vat.	56 BC	forensic	law court	4,580	7	1.53
Cael.	56 BC	forensic	law court	8,573	12	1.40
Balb.	56 BC	forensic	law court	6,791	13	1.91
Rab. Post.	54/53 BC[f]	forensic	law court	4,060	5	1.23
Mil.	52 BC	forensic	law court[g]	10,566	15	1.42
Deiot.	45 BC	forensic	Julius Caesar[h]	3,932	9	2.29

Table 1 Speeches studied, with date, type of speech, body/person before whom the speech was delivered, word count, absolute (N) and relative incidence (F, per 1,000 words) of correlative sentences.

* speech studied at the first exploratory stage of research

[a] Speeches are classified as per van der Blom (2022: 264–6).

[b] Unless otherwise specified, law court speeches were heard by a panel of judges.

[c] Word counts are those of the *Brepols Library of Latin Texts*, except for the four speeches *In Catilinam* and for *In Verrem I*. The *Brepols Library of Latin Texts* gives combined word counts for the speeches *In Catilinam* and for those *In Verrem*, but does not break this down into word counts for the individual speeches. Word counts for these speeches have been arrived at by copying the text of Clark & Peterson's *Oxford Classical Text* edition (1905–1918) for each speech from the *Perseus Digital Library* into a Word file, removing all section and paragraph numbers, and running the word count tool in Word.

[d] This case was heard before a sole judge, Gaius Aquilius.

[e] For the point that this speech resembles a forensic speech, see van der Blom (2022: 258).

[f] For the purposes of Figure 3 below, the date of this speech has been treated as '53.5' BC.

[g] However, the surviving version of the speech was written up by Cicero after the trial, and is known to have differed substantially from the version he actually delivered (see Keeline 2021: 37–44).

[h] Caesar was the sole judge for this case and the venue was his home (see Gotoff 1993: xxxvii–xl).

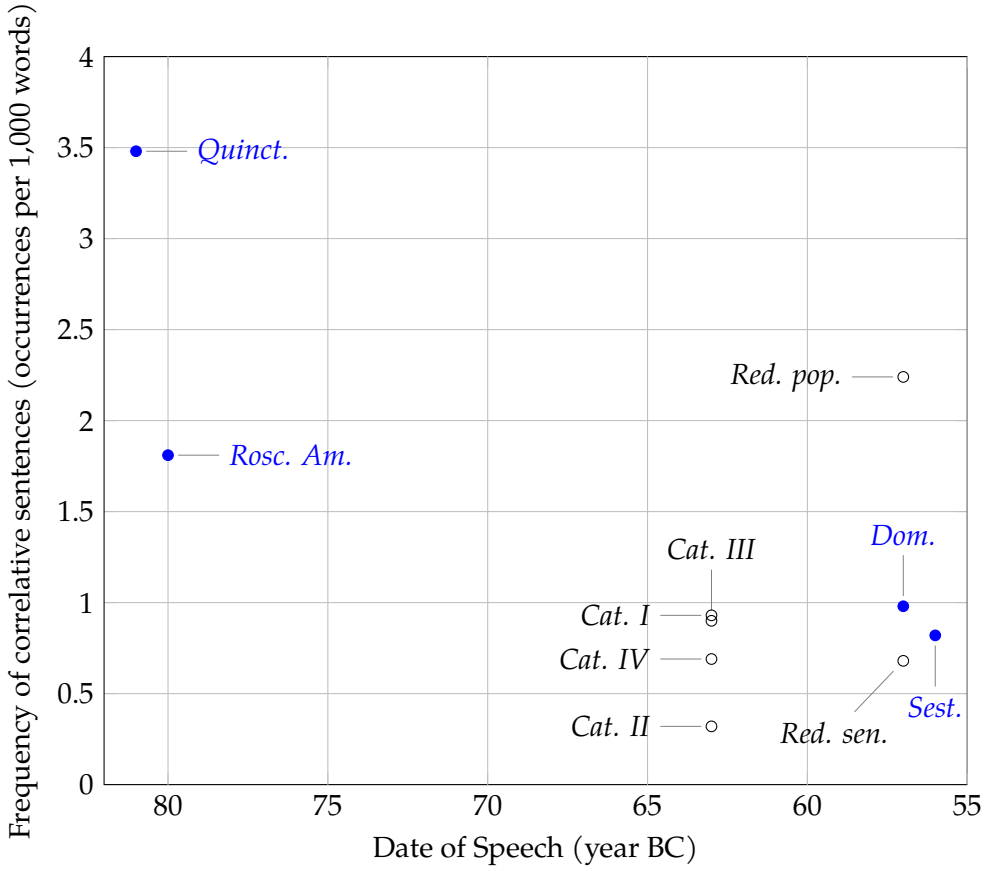

Figure 1 Frequency of correlative sentences plotted against the date of the speech, for those speeches studied at an exploratory stage of research. (Solid blue circles = forensic speeches; outline black circles = deliberative speeches.)

Pro S. Roscio Amerino, *De domo sua*, and *Pro Sestio* being (as it happens) both in chronological order and in increasing order of length.

Taken by itself, this impression could simply reflect random variation in the frequency of the construction in any given forensic speech. Alternatively, for forensic speeches it could suggest either (a) a correlation with the date of the speech, with Cicero's use of the construction in forensic speeches decreasing over the course of his career (i.e. a 'positive' correlation with the

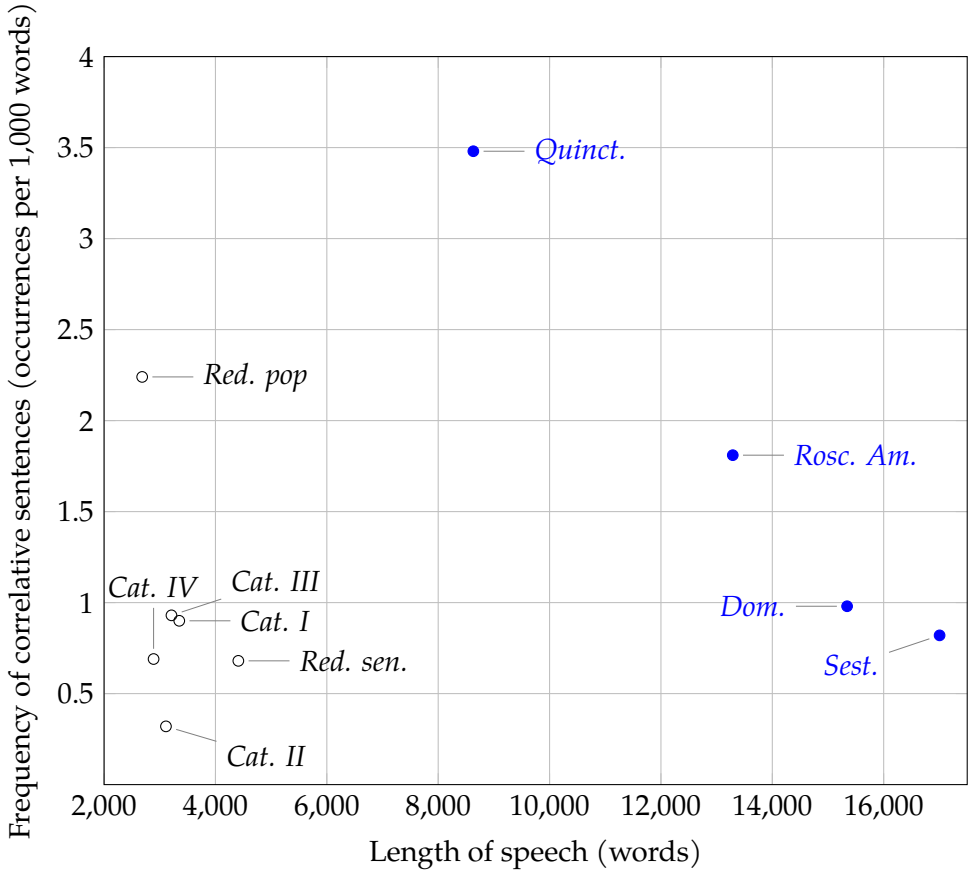

Figure 2 Frequency of correlative sentences plotted against the length of the speech, for those speeches studied at an exploratory stage of research. (Solid blue circles = forensic speeches; outline black circles = deliberative speeches.)

BC date), and/or (b) an inverse correlation with the length of the speech. Of the latter two possibilities, the first might seem more likely, given that correlative sentences appear to decline in frequency over the history of the Latin language, as has long been noted (see §1). On the other hand, it is difficult to see how a gradual decline of this kind would be reflected so neatly in the four speeches in question, given that the *Pro Quintio* is very close in date to the *Pro S. Roscio Amerino*, and the *De domo sua* to the *Pro Sestio*. Nevertheless, the forensic speeches studied at this first stage provide a *prima facie* case for

testing each of the following hypotheses against the null hypothesis that there is no correlation between the frequency of correlative sentences and the date or (as the case may be) the length of the speech.

HYPOTHESIS 1: In Cicero's forensic speeches, the frequency of correlative sentences decreases over the course of his career.

HYPOTHESIS 2: In Cicero's forensic speeches, the frequency of correlative sentences is inversely correlated with the length of the speech.

In order to test these hypotheses against a larger body of evidence, and especially against evidence which did not contribute to their formulation in the first place, eleven further forensic speeches were selected for study; these comprise the second group, listed without an asterisk in Table 1. Unlike the forensic speeches in the first group, these do not simply increase in length as time goes on; for this reason, they provide a chance to distinguish between evidence supporting HYPOTHESIS 1 and evidence supporting HYPOTHESIS 2.[16]

Cicero's *Pro Q. Roscio Comoedo* is a forensic speech which was not included in the main study presented here, because its date is disputed[17] and because it survives in a substantially incomplete state (see n. 16); as such, the frequency of correlative sentences cannot be plotted with any confidence against either the date of this speech or its (original) length. The results from the speeches selected for study, however, made it of interest to find out how frequently correlative sentences occur in the *Pro Q. Roscio Comoedo*, and this was done after the data for the other speeches selected had been collected and analysed. The reason for collecting this information, and the result of doing so, are discussed in §5.

The hypothesis that deliberative speeches do not follow the same pattern as forensic speeches, while attractive on the basis of the speeches in group 1, has not been pursued further for this study; it remains a hypothesis that could be tested in the future.

For all speeches considered (including those in the first group), correlative sentences were collected from Clark & Peterson's *Oxford Classical Text* edi-

16 The following further considerations influenced the selection of speeches for the second group: (a) speeches of uncertain date (notably the *Pro Q. Roscio Comoedo*) were avoided; (b) speeches surviving in a substantially less than complete state (e.g. the *Pro Scauro*, and again the *Pro Q. Roscio Comoedo*) were likewise avoided; (c) the *Diuinatio in Caecilium*, *In Verrem I* (unique among the speeches against Verres in that a version was actually delivered), and *In Vatinium* were included, to ensure representation of forensic speeches (of various kinds) in which Cicero attacks someone, alongside defence speeches (most of Cicero's surviving forensic speeches fall into the latter category).

17 See e.g. Landgraf (1878: 47); Axer (1979: 54–6); von Albrecht (2003: 101 n. 36).

tion (1905–1918). This was done manually, by means of reading each speech, and then cross-checked via electronic searches for the letter sequences <qu> and <cui> (which between them pick up all forms of the Latin relative pronoun *qui, quae, quod*, as well as complex relativisers such as *quisquis* 'whoever'), which were in turn sifted manually. These two methods of searching – fully manual and partly automated – each picked up occasional correlative sentences that had not been picked up via the other.

5 Results

For all fifteen forensic speeches studied (the four in the first group and the eleven in the second), Figures 3 and 4 show the frequency of correlative sentences plotted against the date and the length of the speech, respectively.

Figure 3 suggests that the speeches considered lend no particular support to hypothesis 1, "In Cicero's forensic speeches, the frequency of correlative sentences decreases over the course of his career" – except that by any measure the very earliest speech studied, the *Pro Quinctio*, has an unusually high frequency of correlative sentences (we shall return to this point). Figure 4, on the other hand, is indeed suggestive of a tendency for Cicero to use correlative sentences more frequently in his shorter forensic speeches than his longer ones.

For the eleven forensic speeches that were not part of the data used to develop the hypotheses being tested (i.e. those shown without an asterisk in Table 1), a linear regression analysis of the correlation between the length of the speech and the frequency of correlative constructions gives a correlation coefficient (r) of -0.631 and a p-value of 0.037,[18] a significant result at the 5% level. Notably, though, when all fifteen forensic speeches are considered (i.e. including the four listed in Table 1), we see a clear drop in both the strength of the inverse correlation and its statistical significance ($r = -0.434$, $p = 0.11$). This effect can be attributed entirely to the remarkably high frequency of correlative sentences in the *Pro Quinctio*, which appears as a clear outlier in Figure 4. If this speech is disregarded, we obtain a correlation coefficient (r) of -0.668 and a p-value of 0.009. As we shall see in §5, this point may be linked to external evidence for a change in Cicero's style postdating his two earliest surviving speeches, the *Pro Quinctio* and the *Pro. S. Roscio Amerino*, and indeed significance increases still further if the *Pro. S. Roscio Amerino* as well as the *Pro Quinctio* is disregarded ($r = -0.752$, $p = 0.0030$).

18 The correlation coefficient was calculated in Excel, and the p-value retrieved via the Social Science Statistics online tool provided by Jeremy Stangroom.

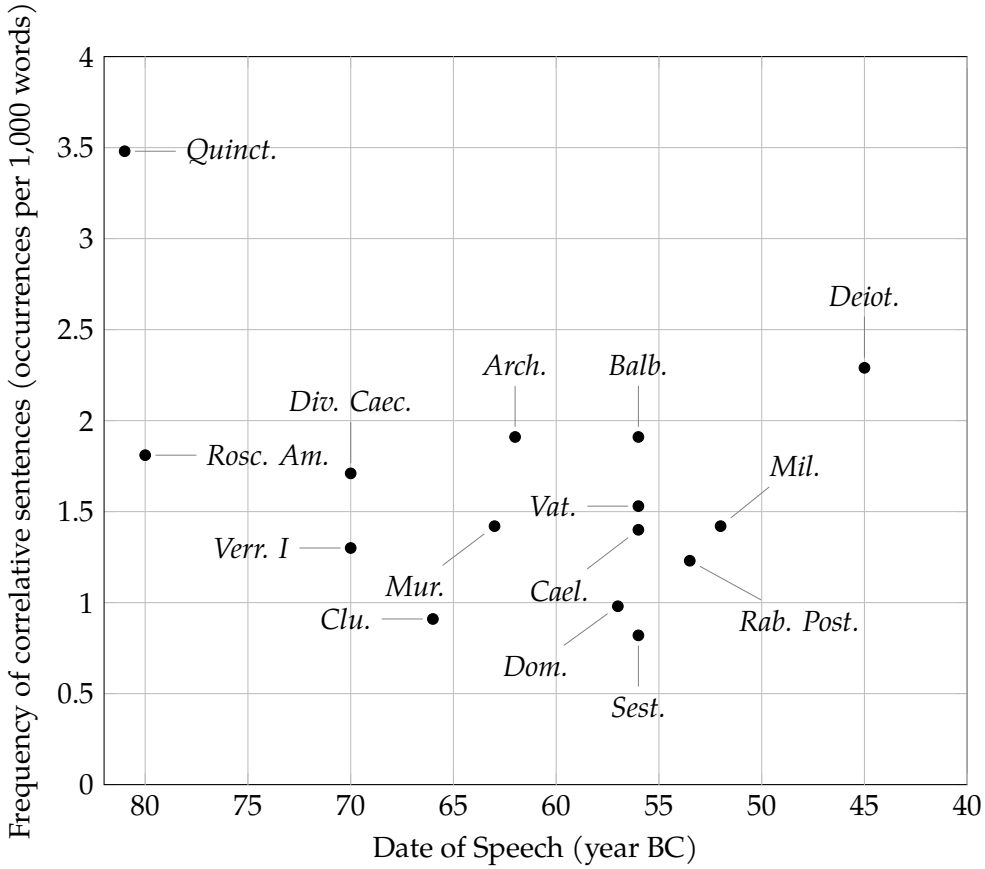

Figure 3 Frequency of correlative sentences plotted against the date of the speech, for the forensic speeches listed in Table 1.

6 Discussion

In order to understand why Cicero uses correlative sentences more frequently in his shorter forensic speeches than in his longer ones, it is worth pausing first of all on three speeches which do not neatly fit the trend shown in Figure 4: the *Pro Quinctio*, *Pro S. Roscio Amerino*, and *Pro Rabirio Postumo*. As already noted, the *Pro Quinctio* has an unusually high frequency of correlative sentences, and the *Pro S. Roscio Amerino* also has a somewhat higher frequency of correlative sentences than we might by now expect from its length. The *Pro Rabirio Postumo*, on the other hand, has a somewhat lower frequency of correlative sentences than we might expect from its length. While we should

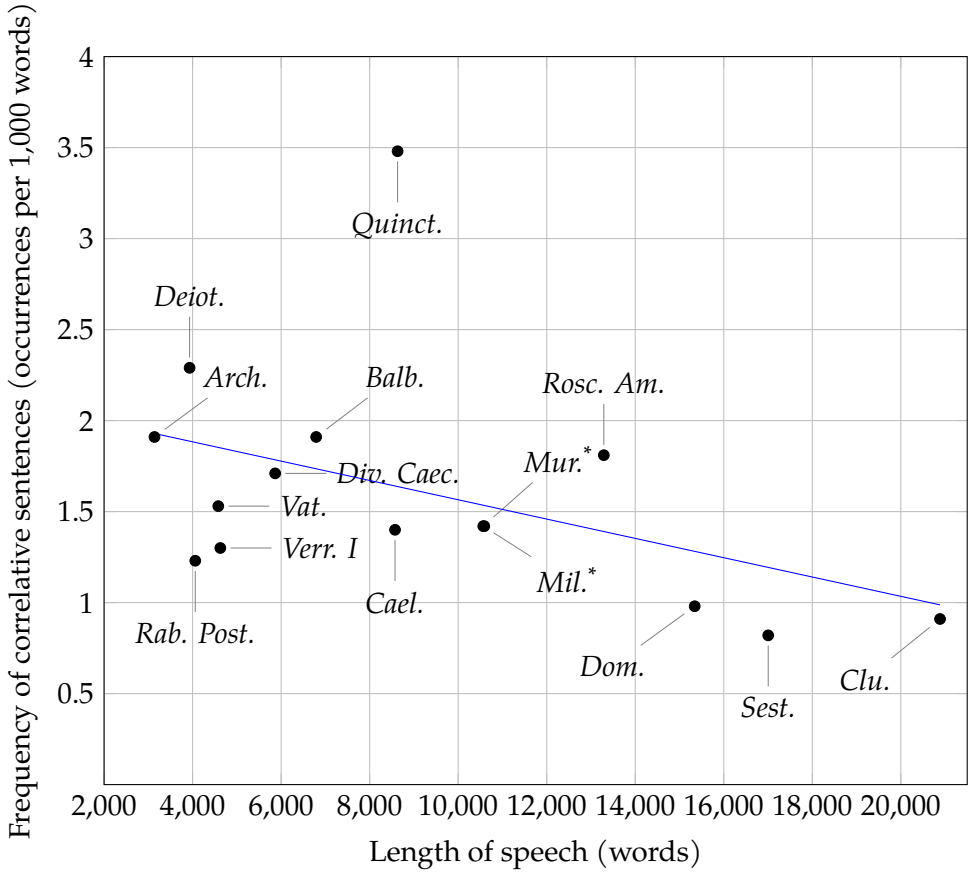

Figure 4 Frequency of correlative sentences plotted against the length of the speech, for the forensic speeches listed in Table 1. The blue line is a simple (least squares) linear regression line drawn (on the basis of all these forensic speeches) with the LaTeX package `pgfplotstable`.

* Note that data points for the *Pro Milone* and *Pro Murena* coincide closely, so as to look like one point instead of two.

not expect to be able to explain every deviation from a trend of this kind, the results for these particular speeches may suggest that the correlative sentence belongs to Cicero's resources for packing a rhetorical punch – for the spoken equivalent of banging his fist on a table. In the *Pro Rabirio Postumo*, Cicero notably does less of this than usual: Klodt (1992: 20) speaks of a relatively sober style ("relativ nüchterne Stil"), while arguing that this style is well suited to

the particular case; Steel (2002/2003: 238) writes that the speech "lacks much in the way of rhetorical fireworks". The *Pro Quinctio* and *Pro S. Roscio Amerino*, on the other hand, belong to a period in which Cicero later characterised himself as given to youthful lack of rhetorical restraint; subsequently, in 79–77 BC, he studied with Molon of Rhodes, who he suggests exercised a restraining influence.[19] Modern scholars have indeed identified rhetorical resources that Cicero uses with less restraint in these speeches than in his later fully-preserved speeches,[20] and the rather high frequency of correlative sentences may be a further example, albeit subtle, of the rhetorical resources that come under this heading.

Modern scholars have also identified the partially-preserved *Pro Q. Roscio Comoedo* as a further speech in which Cicero's style is similar in its 'abundance' to that of the *Pro Quinctio* and *Pro S. Roscio Amerino*[21] – even though the *Pro Q. Roscio Comoedo* almost certainly belongs to a period after Cicero's study with Molon (albeit not long after, in the view of most scholars).[22] Von Albrecht (2003: 101) calls the *Pro Q. Roscio Comoedo* the "most Asiatic" of Cicero's speeches (the scare quotes are von Albrecht's). In this light, if abundantly-used correlative sentences indeed belong to those features that Cicero used with particular abundance in the *Pro Quinctio* and *Pro S. Roscio Amerino*, we might expect the frequency of the construction in the *Pro Q. Roscio Comoedo* also to be rather high. The *Pro Q. Roscio Comoedo* could not be included in the main study presented here, for the reasons explained in §3, but a count of correlative sentences in the surviving portion of this speech reveals a text frequency of 2.94 per 1,000 words (14 correlative sentences, available at Probert (2025), in 4,770 surviving words). Of all the speeches investigated for this study, this speech thus has the second-highest frequency of correlative sentences, after the *Pro Quinctio* (see Table 1). In relation to the trend shown in Figure 4, this frequency would be high even for a speech comprising only

19 See Cicero, *Brutus* 314–16, with e.g. Landgraf (1878: 4–5); Klingner (1953: 3–15); Davies (1968: 303); von Albrecht (2003: 101–3). While the scholars cited read the passage of the *Brutus* somewhat differently from one another, all allow for some degree of change in Cicero's style occasioned by his study with Molon (even if this consists of increased restraint rather than a new stylistic ideal, as per Klingner).

20 For features under this heading that relate to syntax and to the structuring of discourse (including figures of repetition and verbal parallelism), see Landgraf (1878: 8–10, 19–20, 35–46); Davies (1968); von Albrecht (2003: 100–1). In relation to the *Pro S. Roscio Amerino*, Dyck (2010: 13) suggests that the "exuberant use of wordplay" is the most prominent element that Cicero toned down later on, but he also notes that the speech is rich in anaphora (Dyck 2010: 15–16), and that balance and parallelism of form do not always match the content as closely as they do in later speeches (2010: 14).

21 See e.g. Landgraf (1878: 47–8); Norden (1915: 227–9); Klingner (1953: 5–6); Axer (1979: 9–13); von Albrecht (2003: 101–3).

22 See Klingner (1953: 5).

4,770 words – and even more so for a speech that was longer than this, as the *Pro Q. Roscio Comoedo* must originally have been. Regardless of the reasons for Cicero's choice of style in the *Pro Q. Roscio Comoedo*,[23] this result strengthens the likelihood that the correlative sentence should be counted among Cicero's resources for lending particular force to a point – something he did with less restraint in the *Pro Quinctio*, *Pro S. Roscio Amerino*, and *Pro Q. Roscio Comoedo* than in his other preserved speeches.

If the correlative sentence indeed belongs to Cicero's resources for packing a punch, I suggest that Cicero's shorter forensic speeches tend to be somewhat more 'punchy' than his longer ones, and that this explains the general inverse correlation between the length of the speech and the frequency of correlative sentences. While a proper demonstration of this point requires a literary analysis of the speeches going well beyond the role of correlative sentences (or other structures with relative clauses), and well beyond the scope of this paper, I suggest that what makes his longer forensic speeches longer is at least in part that he devotes more time to explaining the details of complicated cases, but these are not the points at which he typically delivers a punchline, or where a correlative sentence is most likely to appear.

Correlative sentences lend themselves to rhetorical high points because they give rise to a clearly articulated topic-comment structure, which Cicero exploits to make forcefully clear who or what a particular point applies to. Probert & Dickey (2016: 418) note that among other uses of the construction are those illustrated by examples (8) and (9). In the first of these uses, the correlative sentence makes a sententious generalisation, while in the second the construction pointedly compares and/or contrasts two points applying to the same item, person, or group of items or people (in 9, a group of people).[24]

(8) ***qui*** *enim* ***credit***, *is* *ad* *scientiam* *uenit*
REL.NOM.SG.M for believe.PRS.3SG he.NOM.SG.M to knowledge.ACC.SG come.PRS.3SG
'for **he who believes**, he arrives at knowledge' (Marius Victorinus *Ad Ephesios I*, *Patrologia Latina* 8.1269 C, fourth century AD = example (16) in Probert & Dickey 2016)

23 For a range of views, see e.g. Landgraf (1878: 49); Axer (1979: 13, 57–8); von Albrecht (2003: 101, 102–3).

24 As Probert & Dickey (2016: 418) put it, our example (9) illustrates a use of correlative sentences to "sententiously equate one item or group with another". I would now rephrase this, because the correlative clause does not necessarily pick out an item or group with some independent existence, which can be equated with the item or group that the relative clause picks out. Rather, the correlative sentence pointedly brings out that the content of the correlative clause applies to the very item or group picked out by the relative clause.

(9) ... ***quos*** ***ferro*** ***trucidari***
REL.ACC.PL.M iron.ABL.SG slaughter.INF.IPFV.PASS
oportebat, *eos* *nondum* *uoce*
be-necessary.PST.IPFV.3SG them.ACC.PL.M not-yet voice.ABL.SG
uolnero!
wound.PRS.1SG
'...**[those] who ought to have been put to death by the sword**, them I am not (even) wounding with my voice yet!' (Cicero, *Cat. I* 9 = example (1) in Probert & Dickey 2016)

In Cicero's forensic speeches, correlative sentences are used both to make sententious or pointed generalisations, as in examples (10) and (11), and to compare or contrast two points applying to a specific item, person, group of items, or group of people, as in (12) and (13).

(10) *Proposita* *inuidia*, *morte*, *poena*
held-out.ABL.SG.F ill-will.ABL.SG death.ABL.SG punishment.ABL.SG
qui ***nihilo*** ***segnius*** ***rem publicam***
REL.NOM.SG.M nothing.ABL.SG more-sluggishly state.ACC.SG
defendit, *is* *uir* *uere*
defend.PRS.3SG he.NOM.SG.M man.NOM.SG truly
putandus *est*.
to-be-thought.NOM.SG.M be.PRS.3SG
'When ill will, death, and punishment are on the table, **he who no less energetically defends the state**, he is truly to be thought a man.' (Cicero, *Mil.* 82)

(11) ... *et* *hoc* *cotidie* *fieri* *uidemus* *ut*
and this.ACC.SG.N daily occur.INF.IPFV see.PRS.1PL that
reo *damnato* *de* *pecuniis*
defendant.ABL.SG convicted.ABL.SG.M of money.ABL.PL
repetundis, ***ad*** ***quos*** ***peruenisse***
to-be-restored.ABL.PL.F to REL.ACC.PL.M reach.INF.PFV
pecunias ***in*** ***litibus*** ***aestimandis***
money.ACC.PL in lawsuit.ABL.PL for-assessment.ABL.PL.F
statutum ***sit***, *eos*
established.NOM.SG.N be.PRS.SBJV.IPFV.3SG them.ACC.PL.M
idem *iudices* *absoluant* ...
same.NOM.PL.M judges.NOM.PL acquit.PRS.SBJV.IPFV.3PL
'...and we are seeing this occurring daily: that when a defendant has been convicted of extortion, **those to whom it has been established**

in a suit for damages that money came, them the same judges acquit ...' (Cicero, *Clu.* 116)

(12) ... ***quem*** ***ipsi***, ***cum*** ***cuperent***,
REL.ACC.SG.M self.NOM.PL.M although desire.PST.SBJV.IPFV.3PL
non ***potuerunt*** ***occidere***, *eum*
NEG be-able.PST.PFV.3PL kill.INF.IPFV him.ACC.SG.M
iugulandum *uobis* *tradiderunt*.
for-slaughtering.ACC.SG.M you.DAT.PL hand-over.PST.PFV.3PL
'...**[the man] whom they could not kill by themselves, although they desired to**, him they handed over to you for slaughtering.' (Cicero, *Rosc. Am.* 29)

(13) ... ***quem*** ***nunc*** ***interficere*** ***nefarie*** ***cupis***,
REL.ACC.SG.M now kill.INF.IPFV abominably desire.PRS.2SG
eum *tum* *pudenter* *appellare*
him.ACC.SG.M then reticently summon.INF.IPFV
nolebas.
not-want.PST.IPFV.2SG
'...**the man whom you now abominably desire to kill**, out of reticence you did not want to summon him [to pay his debt] at that time.' (Cicero, *Quinct.* 39)

Whether or not a generalisation is made, in some instances Cicero uses a correlative sentence to underline what he presents as an intrinsic connection between the content of the relative clause and that of the correlative clause.[25] Examples with the character of maxims, like (10), may be considered special cases of this kind: the evaluation 'he is truly to be thought a man' is presented as intrinsically linked to the behaviour mentioned in the relative clause. But an intrinsic connection between the content of the relative clause and that of the correlative clause is also suggested by an example such as (12), in which Cicero presents the accusation of Sextus Roscius as an attempt to murder him, intrinsically linked to the accusers' inability to kill him on their own.

In many other instances, Cicero exploits correlative sentences (whether or not they make a generalisation) to draw attention to two points he presents as contradictory: two points that we should not expect to apply to the same item, person, group of items or group of people.[26] In example (11), he uses a

25 For some further clear examples of this type, see Cicero, *Quinct.* 69 (the second correlative sentence in this section), 99 (two examples); *Rosc. Am.* 131; *Div. Caec.* 53, 54, 65; *Clu.* 54, 118; *Mur.* 28, 29; *Arch.* 21; *Dom.* 98; *Sest.* 138, 139; *Cael.* 11; *Balb.* 5; *Rab. Post.* 19; *Mil.* 105.

26 For some further clear examples of this type, see Cicero, *Quinct.* 4, 45 (two examples), 50 (three examples), 86; *Rosc. Am.* 12, 42, 62, 63, 77; *Div. Caec.* 4; *Verr. I* 20; *Clu.* 35, 119, 120,

correlative sentence in this way to draw attention to an incongruity in the behaviour of law courts nowadays. In (13), he suggests that Sextus Naevius has treated Publius Quinctius in two contradictory ways. Often, as in both these examples, the suggestion is that the contradiction is outrageous: it should not exist.

Instances of the correlative construction sometimes come in pairs (or threes or fours), whose topics are to be compared or contrasted, as in examples (14) and (15).[27] In (14), the content of each correlative sentence is presented as intrinsically linked to that of its relative clause, while in (15) the content of each correlative sentence is presented as incongruous with that of its relative clause, but in both examples the topic of the second correlative sentence contrasts with that of the first.

(14) *Ego* *sic* *existimo,* *qui* *quaeri*
I.NOM.SG thus reckon.PRS.1SG REL.NOM.SG.M question.INF.IPFV.PASS
uelit ***ex*** ***eis*** ***quos***
want.PRS.SBJV.IPFV.3SG from them.ABL.PL.M REL.ACC.PL.M
constat, ***cum*** ***caedes*** ***facta***
be-established.PRS.3SG when murder.NOM.SG done.NOM.SG.F
sit, ***adfuisse,*** *eum* *cupere*
be.PRS.SBJV.IPFV.3SG be-present.INF.PFV him.ACC.SG.M desire.INF.IPFV
uerum *inueniri;* ***qui*** ***id***
truth.ACC.SG find.INF.IPFV.PASS REL.NOM.SG.M it.ACC.SG.N
recuset, *eum* *profecto,* *tametsi* *uerbo*
refuse.PRS.SBJV.IPFV.3SG him.ACC.SG.M indeed even-if word.ABL.SG
non *audeat,* *tamen* *re* *ipsa*
NEG dare.PRS.SBJV.IPFV.3SG yet deed.ABL.SG itself.ABL.SG.F
de *maleficio* *suo* *confiteri.*
concerning offence.ABL.SG his.ABL.SG.N confess.INF.IPFV
'I reckon as follows: that **he who wants questions to be asked of those who it is established were present when a murder was committed**, he wants the truth to be found; **he who refuses that**, he confesses about his offence by his very deed, even if he does not dare to confess in words.' (Cicero, *Rosc. Am.* 123)

129 (the first correlative sentence in this section), 186; *Mur.* 13, 89; *Arch.* 10; *Dom.* 4, 9, 101 (two examples), 102, 109, 126; *Sest.* 2 (two examples), 128; *Vat.* 3 (two examples), 17, 22, 41 (three examples); *Cael.* 23, 54 (four examples), 70, 78; *Balb.* 16, 25, 26, 54 (the first correlative sentence in this section); *Rab. Post.* 35; *Mil.* 2, 13, 16, 18, 41 (two examples), 48; *Deiot.* 3, 15, 16, 23, 34.

27 For successive correlative sentences with parallel rather than contrasting topics, see e.g. the first two correlative sentences at Cicero, *Vat.* 41 (to some extent the third correlative sentence here further continues the parallelism), or the sequence of four correlative sentences at *Cael.* 54.

(15) *est* *igitur* *ridiculum,* ***quod*** ***est***
be.PRS.3SG therefore absurd.NOM.SG.N REL.NOM.SG.N be.PRS.3SG
dubium, *id* *relinquere* *incertum,*
doubtful.NOM.SG.N it.ACC.SG.N leave.INF.IPFV uncertain.ACC.SG.N
quod ***nemini*** ***dubium*** ***potest***
REL.NOM.SG.N nobody.DAT.SG doubtful.NOM.SG.N be-able.PRS.3SG
esse, *id* *iudicare*
be.INF.IPFV it.ACC.SG.N judge.INF.IPFV
'It's absurd, therefore, on the one hand, **as regards what's uncertain**, to leave that uncertain; (but) **as regards what can be uncertain to nobody**, to pass judgement on that.' (Cicero, *Mur.* 68)

In some other instances, a correlative sentence forms a parallel or contrasting pair with a sentence taking a slightly different structure, as in example (16). In this instance, the structure *qui* ... *comparat* involves a relative clause preceding its main clause, or rather three relative clauses (shown in bold) preceding a main clause they share (in blue), but it does not involve a correlative sentence under the definition adopted for this study (see §2), because there is no overt correlative pronoun or noun phrase in the main clause *iure praesidium comparat*. Nevertheless, this structure prepares the ground for the correlative sentence (*qui uulneribus ... putas*) that follows, and the relative clause of the correlative sentence again provides a topic that contrasts pointedly with the topic conveyed by the three relative clauses of the structure *qui ... comparat*.[28]

(16) *An* ***qui*** ***sua*** ***tecta*** ***defendit,***
or REL.NOM.SG.M his.ACC.PL.N house.ACC.PL.N defend.PRS.3SG
qui ***ab*** ***aris*** ***focis*** ***ferrum***
REL.NOM.SG.M from altar.ABL.PL hearth.ABL.PL iron.ACC.SG
flammam=que ***depellit,*** ***qui*** ***sibi***
flame.ACC.SG=and drive-away.PRS.3SG REL.NOM.SG.M self.DAT.SG
licere ***uult*** ***tuto*** ***esse*** ***in***
be-permitted.INF.IPFV want.PRS.3SG safe.DAT.SG.M be.INF.IPFV in
foro, ***in*** ***templo,*** ***in*** ***curia,***
forum.ABL.SG in speaking-platform.ABL.SG in senate-house.ABL.SG
iure *praesidium* *comparat:* ***qui***
right.ABL.SG security.ACC.SG get-ready.PRS.3SG REL.NOM.SG.M

28 See also e.g. Cicero, *Rab. Post.* 1, for a similar example but with the correlative sentence proper comprising the first member of the contrasting pair; *Clu.* 120, for a correlative sentence whose topic contrasts with that of a preceding structure of the form *si quem ... is*.

uulneribus, ***quae*** ***cernit*** ***cotidie***
wound.ABL.PL REL.ACC.PL.N perceive.PRS.3SG every-day
toto ***corpore***, ***monetur*** ***ut*** ***aliquo***
whole.ABL.SG.N body.ABL.SG warn.PRS.PASS.3SG that some.ABL.SG.N
praesidio ***caput*** ***et*** ***ceruices*** ***et*** ***iugulum***
security.ABL.SG head.ACC.SG and neck.ACC.PL and throat.ACC.SG
ac ***latera*** ***tutetur***, *hunc* *de*
and side.ACC.PL defend.PRS.SBJV.IPFV.3SG this.ACC.SG.M of
ui *accusandum* *putas*?
violence.ABL.SG to-be-accused.ACC.SG.M think.PRS.2SG

'Or is it the case that **one who defends his house, who fends off the sword and fire from his altars and hearths, who wants it to be permitted for himself to be safe in the forum, on the speaking platform, in the Senate-house**, is justified in getting a security squad ready, while **one who is warned, by the wounds which he perceives every day with his whole body, to defend his head, neck, throat, and sides through some security**, do you think *this* man should be accused of violence?' (Cicero, *Sest.* 90)

It would be wrong to suggest that every instance of a correlative sentence is there to pack a rhetorical punch, but punchy uses of the correlative sentence are well represented in Cicero: he exploits the clearly-articulated topic-comment structure of a correlative sentence to point up an intrinsic link between topic and comment, or conversely – and often – to point up an incongruous or paradoxical relationship between the two. In some instances, he delivers a more complex punch-line by means of two or more correlative sentences with parallel or contrasting topics, or by means of a correlative sentence whose content is to be compared or contrasted with that of another fairly similar structure.

I have suggested that the reason why the frequency of correlative sentences is inversely correlated with the length of the speech – in Cicero's forensic speeches – is because Cicero tends to make punchy points more frequently in his shorter forensic speeches than in his longer ones. This is only a tentative interpretation of the finding presented here, and others may be able to demonstrate that a different interpretation is preferable.[29] But if the interpretation put forward here is accepted, it should also be noted that the number

29 One of the journal's anonymous readers suggests that one ought to consider why Cicero might have chosen the correlative sentence over competitor constructions to a greater degree than in longer speeches than in shorter ones. For an attempt to identify constructions (not limited to relative clause types) that compete with correlative sentences in a different genre, agricultural treatises, see Probert & Dickey (2016: 404–15). For Cicero, a comparison along similar lines (*mutatis mutandis*) may be worth attempting, but nothing leads me to predict that Cicero's

of punches Cicero packs per minute (as it were) is not tied mechanically to the length of the speech. As we have seen, the construction has a notably high frequency in the *Pro Quinctio*, *Pro S. Roscio Amerino*, and P*ro Q. Roscio Comoedo* (in absolute terms for the *Pro Quinctio* and *Pro Q. Roscio Comoedo*, and relative to its length for the *Pro S. Roscio Amerino*), and a notably low frequency in the *Pro Rabirio Postumo*. If the correlative sentence is correctly interpreted as a resource for packing a punch, these results are consistent with scholarship pointing out (as we have seen) that the first three speeches just mentioned are 'abundant' in style, while the *Pro Rabirio Postumo* is stylistically rather sober. One of the journal's anonymous readers suggests that it would be better to talk about the stylistic force or elaboration of a speech rather than its length – and if the interpretation put forward is on the right lines, then the text frequency of correlative sentences may actually provide us with a proxy for something like the stylistic force of a speech. Further work would be needed to test this conclusion further: for example, does the text frequency of correlative sentences in Cicero's forensic speeches correlate with that of other features plausibly interpreted as resources for packing a punch? For instance, in the corpus of Cicero's forensic speeches as a whole, does the frequency of the correlative sentence correlate with that of other features (such as figures of repetition and verbal parallelism) which have been seen as contributing to stylistic 'abundance' in Cicero's early speeches (see above)? Further work would also be needed to find out if the same conclusion holds for any bodies of text other than Cicero's forensic speeches.

Be this as it may, the correlative sentence serves very specific synchronic purposes in Cicero, and it appears that these lead its frequency to vary in a structured way across his speeches. All this provides little reason to think that for Cicero the correlative sentence had the status of an archaism in decline. Even Cicero's rather frequent use of the construction in his earliest surviving speeches is best understood as part of the overall exuberant style of those speeches, rather than as an archaism destined to be gradually abandoned over time.

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choice of strategy for expressing the same content should have differed according to the length of the speech. My tentative suggestion is that the inverse correlation between the frequency of the correlative construction and the length of the speech is due to subtle differences in the overall make-up of shorter and longer speeches (with punchy points being made more frequently in the shorter speeches), and hence to differences in the content itself. Differently, and as argued above, I take the high incidence of correlative sentences in the *Pro Quinctio*, the *Pro S. Roscio Amerino* (relative to its length), and the *Pro Q. Roscio Comoedo* to reflect Cicero's choice of a less restrained style for these speeches: a style in which he more readily casts a point as a punchy one, and hence turns more readily to a correlative sentence over its competitors (which, once again, will not always be other structures involving relative clauses).

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