Conversational strategies in non-conversational texts: the communicative structure of Cicero's Fourth Catilinarian

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Conversational Strategies in Non-Conversational Texts: The Communicative Structure of Cicero's Fourth Catilinarian

Abstract: Cicero's fourth political speech against Catiline was held in 63 BCE and published in 60 BCE. Whether the original speech had been adapted before publication is a matter of debate among Latinists. In this article we adduce linguistic support for the hypothesis that the speech was indeed adapted, bringing together methodologies and concepts from both Conversation Analysis (CA) and Discourse Analysis (DA). We have analyzed the complete speech in CA-terms as a multi-unit-turn with many insert expansions and some pre-expansions. For each expansion, in turn, we have made a DA-analysis, in terms of the rhetorical function of the expansion and of references to common ground. The results of this combined analysis show that at least four substantial insert expansions cannot be logically analyzed as part of the 'conversation' of 63 BCE but are best explained as expanding another conversation, namely, as we know from other sources, a discussion in 60 BCE in which Cicero needed to defend himself from accusations related to his politics of 63 BCE. We will show that the four insert expansions fit perfectly as justifications triggered by an implicit second pair part (reactive move) in this conversation of 60 BCE.

Keywords: Conversation Analysis, Cicero's Fourth Catilinarian, Audience Design, Common Ground, Discourse Analysis

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1 Introduction

The absence of a speaking addressee is not a reason to ignore that person. On the contrary, addressees are present in every text and their cognitive processing needs are implicitly or even explicitly addressed by a competent speaker.[1] In this article, we discuss the possible traces of the addressee's presence in Cicero's speech *In Catilinam IV*, paying attention to communicative structure (i.e. sequences of communicative acts and moves at the local and global levels of discourse) and intersubjective elements (e.g. particles and demonstratives).

We are well aware of the dissimilar conversation dynamics of political speeches when compared to ordinary conversation: political speakers produce long, often prepared, multi-unit-turns in contrast to the spontaneous speech of conversations, which is generally unprepared and adapted to reactive moves.[2] Turn-taking (or interruptions by the addressee) is not expected, at least not in the setting of the Roman senate. Besides, the addressee is always a large, relatively heterogeneous group and not, as more prototypical for spontaneous conversation, one person or a small group. On the other hand, we can see how a political speech may display certain conversational features, such as a floor-taking phase, speaker-addressee alignment, and the projection of a response (reactive move).

Within the framework of Conversation Analysis, discourse types that differ from prototypical, ordinary conversation have been studied before, as in the case of classroom discourse, storytelling and courtroom discourse. Classroom discourse is similar to political speeches in the sense that usually a speaker addresses multiple addressees with didactic or persuasive intent and within an institutional setting.[3] Storytelling is similar to political discourse because there are, usually, multiple addressees, and it also has the form of a multi-unit-turn monologue.[4] Courtroom discourse has the most in common with political speeches, in that we can find multi-unit-turn monologues, multiple addressees, a persuasive aspect and an institutional setting.[5]

Our analysis of Cicero's speech has a twofold aim: first, to establish the usefulness and usability of the methodology and conceptual apparatus of Conversation Analysis in the study of non-conversational texts; and second, to contribute to the longstanding discussion about the alleged lack of internal coherence of Cicero's fourth Catilinarian, which has led some scholars to assume that in this speech Cicero in fact addresses two different audiences: not only the senators that were

1 E.g. already Bell (1984); see also van Gils and Kroon (2019).
2 See Selting (2000).
3 See Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) and Gardner (2013).
4 See Mandelbaum (2013).
5 See Komter (2013).

present at the delivery of the speech in 63 BCE, but also the readership of the speech when it was published three years later in the year 60 BCE.[6]

The unresolved question of the audiences of Cicero's fourth Catilinarian speech has recently been taken up again by Berry (2020) and Woodman (2021), who plead, respectively, for a reading of the text with the audience of 60 BCE as primary addressee, but based on parts of the speech designed for the audience of 63 BCE, and a reading with only the 63 BCE audience in mind. Their contrastive views are thoroughly based on rhetorical and historical arguments. With our paper, we add a linguistic dimension to this discussion.

2 Theoretical and Methodological Preliminaries

The analysis we want to present in this article is characterized by a mixed Conversation Analysis (CA) and Discourse Analysis (DA) approach. The CA approach is especially geared to describe and explain spontaneous conversation in terms of (communicative) *projects* that have the form of a sequencing of social actions. These social actions typically come in pairs, the so-called *adjacency pairs*, such as summons-answer, invitation-acceptance/declination, request for action-granting/denial, etcetera.[7] Schegloff (2007) has developed a systematic description of this conversational system, along the lines of Figure 1. This schema can be considered a universal infrastructure for social interaction.[8]

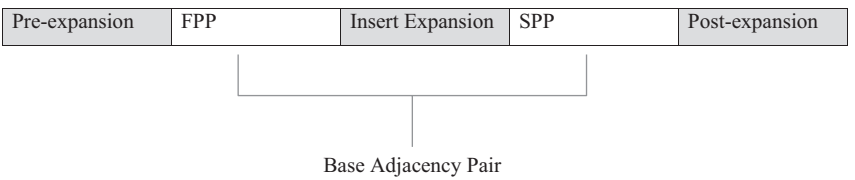

Figure 1: Descriptive schema developed by Schegloff (2007).

The basic unit of the system is the *base adjacency pair*, consisting of a *First Pair Part* (FPP) and a *Second Pair Part* (SPP), which can be expanded by an additional

6 E.g. Syme (1964: 106) and Dyck (2008: 207–209).

7 Schegloff and Sacks (1973).

8 This basic organization of conversation (with the possibility of recursion) is essentially universal, which is not to say that all interaction is made up of adjacency pairs and their expansions. See Kendrick et al. (2020).

communicative unit *before* the base adjacency pair (*pre-expansion*), the insertion of a unit *in between* the two parts of a base adjacency pair (*insert expansion*), and a unit *after* the base adjacency pair has been completed (*post-expansion*). It is to be noted that each of the slots in Figure 1 can be recursively elaborated in the form of embeddings (recursive application of sequences), which may result in sequences of considerable length.[9]

Cicero's fourth Catilinarian speech is obviously not a prototypical conversational text and hence it is not immediately clear how it could be analyzed in terms of sequence organization, based on adjacency pairs and their expansions. However, we do believe the speech can be usefully analyzed in terms of Schegloff's descriptive schema as illustrated in Figure 1. We will argue that it is conducive to the interpretation of the speech to approach it as essentially a First Pair Part (FPP) of a base adjacency pair, with a variety of expansions (both pre-expansions and insert expansions) that somehow pave the way for the preferred Second Pair Part (SPP), viz. the senators' assent to Cicero's proposal. This Second Pair Part is, of course, not part of the speech itself, and accordingly there is no post-expansion either, but an analysis along these conversational lines helps to see whether and how the various sequential elements cohere, and whether and how they work towards the projected Second Pair Part.

As we are dealing, in the case of speeches such as Cicero's fourth Catilinarian, with non-spontaneous, well-thought-out discourse involving a highly complex monological structure that only partially reflects the schema of a full-blown interactional exchange as given in Figure 1, it may be useful to combine Conversation Analysis with tools developed in the field of Discourse Analysis.[10] The DA approach helps us to map the argumentative coherence of the text (or lack of it) in a more detailed way than the CA approach would be able to, by uncovering how conversational *moves* (and *acts*) are argumentatively related to each other, both in the basic system as described above and in embedded exchanges.[11] Examples of such relations are *justification, elaboration, motivation, contrast, addition, frustration of expectation*, et cetera.

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9 See Levinson (2013).

10 Some key publications are: Sinclair and Coulthard (1975); Halliday and Hasan (1976); Roulet (1984); Roulet et al. (1985); Mann and Thompson (1988); Roulet et al. (2001); Hengeveld (2004). See also Kroon (1995; 1997 and 1998) for a DA approach in the field of Latin linguistics.

11 The notions Act, Move, Exchange and Transaction which are typical of DA approaches are not fully matched by comparable notions in CA. However, the DA notion of Act seems to be more or less coextensive with the notion Turn Construction Unit (TCU) in CA, whereas Exchange might be taken as covering what in CA is referred to as (base) Adjacency Pair. Likewise, the CA terms First Pair Part (FPP) and Second Pair Part (SPP) are more or less co-extensive with the DA terms Initiating Move and reactive Move, and the CA term Project with the DA term Transaction.

The partial overlap between the CA and the DA approaches becomes most clear in the study of *common ground management*, or, with another term, *communicative anchoring*, which is one of the more recent trends in pragmatically oriented Greek and Latin linguistic research, and which was also the theme of a workshop at the last ICLL in Las Palmas.[12] The term *common ground* refers to all knowledge, ideas, beliefs and attitudes that the speech participants assume to be mutually shared at a given moment in the discourse. Successful communicative interaction is for a large part dependent on common ground management, that is, interlocutors usually shape their contributions with their addressees in mind.[13] In other words, speakers tend to somehow anchor their communicative moves (including what counts as FPP or SPP in CA-terminology) in the common ground. Thus, common ground management may play an important role in forestalling the occurrence of a non-preferred Second Pair Part. As Risselada (2021) notices in her article on interactional common ground in Roman comedy, 'this was observed already in the sixties of the preceding century by Harvey Sacks, in his ground-breaking *Lectures on Conversation*, when he discussed what he called the fundamental principle of *recipient design*, paraphrased more recently by Pomerantz and Heritage in the *Handbook of Conversation Analysis* as follows: "One of the most fundamental principles for speakers' production of talk is *recipient design*, namely that speakers should orient to the recipients, in whatever ways are relevant for the matter at hand, in producing their talk and actions (Pomerantz and Heritage, 2013: 211)"'.

The assumption is that a speaker embeds various kinds of supportive expansions (justification, motivation, explanation etc.) with the cognitive needs of his addressee in mind. In prototypical conversation, the addressee may actually ask for required expansions, whereas in a monological context, like Cicero's speeches, the speaker *imagines* and hence *adds* what his addressees may need in terms of expansions.

The phenomenon of common ground management may be illustrated with example (1), taken from Sallust's *de coniuratione Catilinae*. It features Catiline addressing his followers:

(1) *verum enim vero, pro deum atque hominum fidem, victoria in manu nobis est, viget aetas, animus valet; contra illis annis atque divitiis omnia consenuerunt.* (SALL. Catil. 20, 10)
'But assuredly (by the faith of gods and men!) victory is within our grasp. We are in the prime of life, our resolve is strong; by contrast, as a result of years and riches, all the strength of our opponents has grown feeble.'[14]

12 Martin-Rodriguez (2021, Part 2).
13 Clark (1996).
14 Translation by Rolfe (2013).

With this sentence, Catiline tries to arouse his audience to action: a revolt against the leading politicians. In CA-terms, this can be seen as an insert expansion that supports the FPP (a few lines before: *nisi nosmet ipsi vindicamus in libertatem* '[our future condition of life is worthless] 'unless we ourselves assert our claim to liberty') and prepares for a preferred SPP (viz. the assent to Catiline's proposal). In DA-terms, it can be analyzed as an explanation that answers the implicit need of the addressees to understand why they should revolt against the political leaders of the state.

Catiline inserts this explanation because he needs his audience to feel themselves to be part of a strong and righteous group opposing a weak and despicable party. Common ground is marked by *enim*, reliability by *vero* and *pro deum atque hominum fidem*, the contrast between in-group and out-group marked by *nobis* and *illis* and underlined by the word order (fronting of *illis*), and the contrast is further elaborated by strength (*viget*, *valet*) vs. weakness (*consenuerunt*).[15]

In similar terms we will analyze the much more complex speech of Cicero known as the fourth Catilinarian. Before the actual analysis in terms of CA and DA with attention to Common Ground, we quickly go over some contextual background of the speech.

3 The Context of Cicero's *In Catilinam* IV

Cicero held his Fourth Catilinarian speech in the Senate on 5 December of the year 63 BCE, in order to decide the penalty for the conspirators who had been captured two days earlier. A few years later, in 60 BCE, Cicero writes to his friend Atticus (CIC. Att. 2.1) that he is sending him ten consular speeches, among which is the Fourth Catilinarian, for publication as a consular corpus.

The implications of this letter for our interpretation of the Fourth Catilinarian are discussed most recently in Berry (2020) and Woodman (2021).[16] Berry defends the position that in the year 60 BCE Cicero must have edited his speech rather drastically and points at inconsistencies and Cicero's insistence on ethos, which would

15 For *enim* as a marker of common ground, see Kroon (1995; 2021), for *vero* as a marker of speaker reliability, see Kroon (1995).

16 See also Dyck (2008).

fit better in the context of 60 BCE than that of 63 BCE.[17] Woodman shows how it is also possible to construct a 63-context for every passage in this speech.[18]

Both Berry and Woodman implicitly rely on the idea that Cicero's speech must have been relevant for a particular *audience* at a particular *moment* (the senators in 63 BCE or the general audience in 60 BCE). It might therefore be useful to analyze Cicero's speech in terms of a conversation with a specific addressee by making use of a combined toolkit taken from CA and DA, and by focusing especially on Cicero's common ground management. In the following we will give the first results of such an analysis, which will lead us to endorse Berry's stance in the discussion.

4 Analysis of Cicero's *In Catilinam* IV

In this section, we analyze the Fourth Catilinarian speech at the highest text structural level in the CA terms of a base adjacency pair and expansions. We claim that the speech is best analyzed as a First Pair Part which is, however, repeated six times in different terms and expanded with pre- and insert expansions. We further analyze these six rewordings of the FPP and several expansions in DA terms, and with special emphasis on common ground management.

4.1 Descriptive Schema of *In Catilinam IV*

On December 5th of 63 BCE, Cicero addresses the senate with a request: he asks the senators to vote in favor of the death penalty of Catiline's friends who have been taken prisoner. The preferred response to this request by the senators is, of course, their consent. This conversation could have taken the form of two lines forming the following base adjacency pair:

FPP (request): Please, vote today for the (death) penalty of the political prisoners.
SPP (preferred): We will indeed vote today for the death penalty of the political prisoners.

17 Berry (2020: 73–75) discusses the historical situations of 63 and 60 BCE, points to various inconsistent elements in the speech, and gives evidence for Cicero's practice of reworking his speeches before publication.

18 Woodman (2021) argues that the fourth Catilinarian is a conflation of two interventions by Cicero in 63 BCE, namely on the famous *Nonae* of December and also the day before.

However, Cicero does not address the senate with just one explicit request, but instead he holds an entire speech in which he repeats the more general request to vote that same day a number of times, and pushes his addressees with various expansions to understand the covert part of his request (to vote for the death penalty) and reach the preferred SPP. We do not have historical sources on the exact responses of the senators, but we know that the outcome was as Cicero had wished: they voted in favor of the death penalty to be executed that very day. In our view, the fourth Catilinarian can be analyzed as follows:

FPP:	to be found in sections 1, 3, 4, 6, 18 and 24.
SPP (preferred):	after the speech
pre-expansion:	to be found in 1, just before the first instance of the FPP
insert expansions:	to be found in 1–2; 3; 4–6; 6–17; 18–23 and 24.

In Section 4.2 we will discuss the six restatements of the FPP and show how Cicero's request becomes increasingly specific. In Section 4.3 the pre-expansion in the first paragraph is discussed and in Section 4.4 we go over various types of insert expansions in this speech.

4.2 The Dynamic Construction of the FPP Throughout the Speech

Three observations can be made about the combined set of FPP's in which the same communicative move is repeated: the FPP's are increasingly specific, the insert expansions between the FPP's increase in length, and no FPP explicitly asks to vote for the death penalty, but at its most specific for a quick verdict.

In the first paragraph, after a pre-expansion we will discuss below in Section 4.3, we find the first wording of Cicero's central request (2): he asks his audience not to worry about him, but about themselves and their families. The message is at the same time strong and indirect. The addressee is expected to be both frightened and curious.

(2) *Sed eam* [scil. *vestra erga me voluntas*] *per deos immortales deponite, atque obliti salutis meae de vobis ac de vestris liberis cogitate*. (CIC. Catil. 4, 1)
'But in name of the immortal gods lay it aside, forget my safety, and think of yourselves and your children.'[19]

19 Translations of the Latin text of the 4th Catilinarian used in this article are by MacDonald (1976).

Sed marks a transition in the discourse structure, and the imperatives and an emotive interjection make the recipient identify this unit as base FPP, here and in following instances. In (3) we see how Cicero, after an insert expansion, asks his audience again not to worry about him, but about themselves and their families, adding this time the fatherland and the fortune of the Roman people as proper objects of concern.

(3) *Qua re, patres conscripti, consulite vobis, prospicite patriae, conservate vos, coniuges, liberos fortunasque vestras, populi Romani nomen salutemque defendite; mihi parcere ac de me cogitare desinite.* (CIC. Catil. 4, 3)
'Take thought for yourselves, therefore, gentlemen; look to the preservation of your fatherland, save yourselves, your wives, your children and your fortunes, defend the name of the Roman people and their very existence; stop protecting me and cease your concern for me.'

In this second occurrence of the FPP, *qua re*, as an anaphoric expression, retrospectively marks the preceding unit as preparative for the upcoming, more central move, and as such enhances the expectation of the occurrence of an FPP. Other signals for an FPP-status of this unit are again imperatives, combined this time with a vocative.

In (4) Cicero asks his addressees to take full responsibility, as senators, for the wellbeing of the *res publica* and warns them of impending dangers in case they fail to do this. Note that personal concerns (the wellbeing of Cicero, themselves, their family and *patria*) have been replaced by public concerns for the *res publica*.

(4) *Qua re, patres conscripti, incumbite ad salutem rei publicae, circumspicite omnis procellas quae impendent nisi providetis.* (CIC. Catil. 4, 4)
'Devote your energies, therefore, gentlemen, to the salvation of the State, guard well against all the storms that threaten you unless you take precautions against them.'

Again we find *qua re* to suggest an important conclusion. Note, however, that there is no real argumentative conclusion: the discourse is cohesive, that is, contains cohesion markers, but is not necessarily coherent.[20] The FPP can be recognized again through the presence of imperatives and the vocative.

20 See Halliday and Hasan (1976) for the distinction cohesion vs. coherence.

In (5) Cicero asks his audience to take action in the form of a quick decision (*statuendum ante noctem est*). In the same paragraph this FPP is further specified in terms of *vindicare*.

(5) *Nunc quicquid est, quocumque vestrae mentes inclinant atque sententiae, statuendum vobis ante noctem est. (. . .) quaecumque ratione placet celeriter vobis vindicandum est.* (CIC. Catil. 4, 6)
'Now, whatever your decision is, wherever your intentions and your feelings take you, you must decide today, before nightfall. (. . .) your punishment, whatever form it takes, must be a swift one.'

Nunc marks the end of preliminary material (at least, retrospectively) and hence prepares for a possible FPP; *quicquid est* and *quocumque . . . sententiae* repeats the idea that the senators are responsible for a decision; gerundives continue the imperatives of earlier FPP's.[21] A new addition is the specification of time (*ante noctem*).

After as much as twelve paragraphs, Cicero comes back to his request and urges the senators to take responsibility that very day.

(6) *Quae cum ita sint, patres conscripti, vobis populi Romani praesidia non desunt; vos ne populo Romano desse videamini providete. […] Id ne umquam posthac non modo confici sed ne cogitari quidem possit a civibus hodierno die providendum est.* (CIC. Catil. 4, 18–19)
'Such being the case, gentlemen, the protection of the Roman people does not fail you; see to it then that you do not fail the Roman people. […] You must see to it this day that never again are citizens able even to think of this, much less to achieve it.'

The formula *quae cum ita sit* is comparable in function to earlier examples of *qua re*. Also, the vocative marks the FPP like before. This fifth manifestation of the central FPP is an appeal to a sense of responsibility for the wellbeing of the Roman people (*vos ne . . . providete*) made with repeated urgency (*hodierno die providendum est*).

At the end of the speech, Cicero once more repeats his request for a careful and brave decision:

(7) *Quapropter de summa salute vestra populique Romani, de vestris coniugibus ac liberis, de aris ac focis, de fanis atque templis, de totius urbis tectis ac sedi-*

21 See Risselada (1998) for *nunc* as discourse marker.

bus, de imperio ac libertate, de salute Italiae, de universa re publica decernite diligenter, ut instituistis, ac fortiter. (CIC. Catil. 4, 24)
'With the care, therefore, and the courage that you have displayed from the beginning, take your decision upon the salvation of yourselves and of the Roman people, upon your wives and children, your altars and hearths, your shrines and temples, the buildings and homes of the entire city, your dominion and your freedom, the safety of Italy and upon the whole Republic.'

The expression *quapropter* is similar to *qua re* and *quae cum ita sint* in earlier instances of the FPP in marking a transition from preliminary material to a conclusion. Again we also find imperatives and the senators are reminded – in the most complete list until now – of their responsibility for the wellbeing of themselves, their families, the Roman people and culture and the freedom of the Roman republic. Moreover, Cicero appeals to the senator's ethical standards (*diligenter* and *fortiter*) and their previous behaviour (*ut instituistis*). It is with these sentences that the central FPP of the speech reaches its most (though still not very explicit) wording.

4.3 Pre-expansions

The first sentence of a political (or juridical) speech will often not immediately contain its central request or standpoint. In fact, Cicero starts his speeches frequently by describing what his audience sees, feels or expects. Using the immediate physical context and relating it to subjective but shareable ideas about the situation and the expected speech is a quick way to create common ground. In CA terms, we could use the label pre-expansion to refer to this kind of content. The fourth Catilinarian starts with such a sentence, in which Cicero describes the gaze of his addressees and interprets their concerns. With this first sentence he claims the floor and creates a context for a more central move.

(8) *Video, patres conscripti, in me omnium vestrum ora atque oculos esse conversos, video non solum de vestro ac rei publicae verum etiam, si id depulsum sit, de meo periculo esse sollicitos*. (CIC. Catil. 4, 1)
'I see, gentlemen, that the faces and eyes of you all are turned upon me; I see that you are concerned not only at your own danger and that of the Republic but also, if that is averted, at my own.'

In this sentence Cicero refers to their shared situational context (*video, video, vestrum ora atque oculos esse conversos, patres conscripti* (vocative)*, vos esse sollicitos*), which is a way to create common ground in the discourse. Note the refer-

ence to *all* addressees (*omnium vestrum*) in order to reach out to each of his listeners. With the *si*-clause, Cicero points at the apparently shared ambition to avert impending danger ,and with the explicit reference to their gaze towards him (*in me esse conversos*) he creates an expectation about an intervention by himself.[22]

The remainder of the speech, that is, everything except what we have treated as FPP (examples 2–7) or pre-expansion (example 8), is in our view at the highest text-structural level best analyzed as insert expansion.

4.4 Insert Expansions

In this section we will discuss some formal and functional characteristics of insert expansions as we find them in the fourth Catilinarian. In general we can say that insert expansions typically contain linguistic markers of common ground, thus serving alignment between Cicero and the senators and minimizing the possible occurrence of a non-preferred SPP. Their function in the overall structure of the speech can be well described in discourse analytic terms of rhetorical relations such as justification, motivation, elaboration, and the like. Note that insert expansions may also expand other expansions instead of a base-FPP. In order to illustrate these points, we will discuss four examples.

Right after the first formulation of the FPP in the first paragraph (see 2), Cicero *justifies* his request not to think of his personal wellbeing but to think of the salvation of the state with an insert expansion, which is meant to lead his addressees towards a preferred (confirmative) SPP.

(9) *Mihi si haec condicio consulatus data est ut omnes acerbitates, omnes dolores cruciatusque perferrem, feram non solum fortiter verum etiam libenter, dum modo meis laboribus vobis populoque Romano dignitas salusque pariatur.* (CIC. Catil. 4, 1)
'For myself, if these were the terms on which I was given the consulship, that I should endure all the suffering, all the anguish and all the afflictions, I shall bear them bravely and even gladly, provided that my efforts secure for you and for the Roman people your authority and your salvation.'

In this justifying insert expansion Cicero refers to his sacrifices, gladly borne for the salvation of the Roman senators and people (*feram fortiter, libenter; vobis dignitas*

22 There is one more pre-expansion a bit later in the speech in which Cicero evaluates his previous discourse, announcing an upcoming new topic: *Sed ego institui . . . quae sunt consulis.* (CIC. Catil. 4, 6).

salusque pariatur), and objectifies his personal experience of distress as a political situation determined by fate (*si data est*).

The following example of an insert expansion starts with a reference to preceding information that was already an insert expansion. We can see how it is theoretically simple to use the CA-framework of adjacency pairs and expansions also for longer stretches of monologue, if we allow expansions to further expand.

(10) *Haec omnia indices detulerunt, rei confessi sunt, vos multis iam iudiciis iudicavistis, primum quod mihi gratias egistis singularibus verbis et mea virtute atque diligentia perditorum hominum coniurationem patefactam esse decrevistis, deinde quod P. Lentulum se abdicare praetura coegistis.* (CIC. Catil. 4, 5)
'The informants have disclosed all these facts, the accused men have confessed and you have already given your verdict in numerous decisions; firstly, you thanked me in unprecedented terms and proclaimed that by my courage and exertions a conspiracy of criminals had been revealed; secondly you forced Publius Lentulus to resign his praetorship.'

In this example, Cicero starts to summarize (*haec omnia*) preceding evidence for the conspirators' deeds. The tricolon *indices*, *rei* and *vos* is at first glance transparent, but with *vos . . . iudicavistis* the content changes from a list of already mentioned evidence to a list of arguments that support the main FPP, namely a request to vote for punishment of the prisoners. The passage that started as an expansion of an expansion, summarizing 'proofs of facts' subtly receives a new function, namely 'arguments for conviction', which lead the addressee directly to the preferred SPP. The factual nature of these 'arguments' is, however, maintained in the continuation (*primum quod – deinde quod*) in which Cicero points at concrete past events again.

It is possible to analyze the complete speech at the level of individual utterances if we use the recursive possibility to embed conversational schemes within each other. The following example is an insert expansion embedded in other expansions at the fifth level. In a discussion about two proposed decisions (*sententiae*), Cicero addresses some practical problems in case the senators choose the (implicitly) dispreferred one (*ista res*).

(11) *Habere videtur ista res iniquitatem, si imperare velis, difficultatem, si rogare.* (CIC. Catil. 4, 7)
'This is a course that appears to involve injustice, if you intend to command them to do it, and difficulty, if you only ask them.'

This is an insert expansion of an insert expansion (*municipiis dispertiri iubet*) of an insert expansion (*vincula vero . . . inventa sunt*) of an insert expansion (*itaque eam*

. . . libenter oppetiverunt) of an insert expansion (*alter intellegit mortem . . . quietem*) of an insert expansion (*Video duas adhuc esse sententias*) used to prepare for the preferred response (base SPP) to choose one specific *sententia*. Instead of marking certain content as common ground, Cicero creates a shared perspective as common ground by using cautious impersonal formulation (*habere videtur iniquitatem, difficultatem*) and leaving open the option to decide for this proposal (*si . . . velis*).

Our last example of an insert expansion (12) is relevant in terms of audience design, because this passage on cruelty (starting with *quamquam* in example 12) contradicts the content of the immediately preceding insert expansion (also quoted in example 12: *quam ob rem . . . fuisse*).

(12) *Quam ob rem, sive hoc statueritis, dederitis mihi comitem ad contionem populo carum atque iucundum, sive Silani sententiam sequi malueritis, facile me atque vos crudelitatis vituperatione populus Romanus liberabit, atque obtinebo eam multo leniorem fuisse. Quamquam, patres conscripti, quae potest esse in tanti sceleris immanitate punienda crudelitas? Ego enim de meo sensu iudico.* (CIC. Catil. 4, 11)
'If, then, you vote for Caesar's proposal, you will give me a companion at the public meeting who is popular with the people and welcome to them; but if you prefer to adopt the motion of Silanus the Roman people will readily release both you and myself from the accusation of cruelty and it will be easy for me to maintain that this motion was much more merciful. What cruelty, gentlemen, can there be in the punishment of a crime of such enormity? My view springs from what I feel.'

In the *quamquam*-sentence Cicero presents an unexpected viewpoint: this rhetorical question about *crudelitas* against serious crimes undermines the previous conclusion that judges should vote for *lenitas* and hence for the *sententia* of Silanus (death penalty), which is considered less cruel than Caesar's (life-long imprisonment). The sentence *quae . . . crudelitas* and the explicit pre-announcement that follows (*ego enim . . . iudico*) are both linguistically marked as anchored in common ground (rhetorical question and addition of *enim*, respectively). However, the argumentation seems to be inconsistent. Is *crudelitas* to be avoided or to be pursued? This inconsistency in the argumentation can, we think, be solved if – like Berry – we think in terms of two different audiences (one in 63 BCE and one in 60 BCE), involved in two different base adjacency pairs.

The insert expansion on *crudelitas* in (12) and another three insert expansions (on being *popularis*, on the *concordia ordinum*, and on himself) do not answer logical questions from the senators listening to the speech in 63 BCE. However, they would help the reading audience of 60 BCE in guiding them towards a specific SPP

in another base-adjacency pair, which was relevant only then, three years after delivery:[23]

FPP (accusation):	Cicero, you have unlawfully executed Roman citizens
SPP (dispreferred reaction):	No, it was not unlawful, but it was the senators' decision and it was the best decision to execute these Roman citizens.

Assuming the implicit presence of this adjacency pair, the insert expansions can be understood as justifications that prepare for the SPP: nothing could be cruel enough for these criminals, I served (and saved) the Republic and its senators, and everyone in Rome was united against the conspiracy.

5 Conclusion

In this paper we have analyzed Cicero's fourth Catilinarian as a complex type of multi-unit turn in an institutional conversation including a base FPP aimed at a preferred SPP. We have seen that Cicero as a speaker makes use of pre-expansion to take the floor and create or mark common ground. Moreover, the analysis shows that the base FPP in the Fourth Catilinarian is repeated in different wording at different points in the speech, including the first and last paragraphs. We have argued that the base FPP in this speech contains typically FPP features, like directives. The attention of the addressee in the base FPP is intensified through the use of vocatives and an abundance of deictic words referring to the here-and-now of the speech situation (i.e. 63 BC). The repeated and step-by-step more specified base FPP is usually presented as following logically from the preceding discourse (*qua re, quapropter*, etc.), which makes the text cohesive (but not per se coherent).

Most of this political speech consists of insert expansions that create alignment between speaker and addressee by marking common ground. They generally seem to be meant to lead the addressee to the preferred SPP. The precise request becomes clearer throughout the speech, though the preferred SPP is never made explicit by Cicero. The addressee is supposed to be able to draw his own conclusions and give the preferred SPP based on the many insert expansions. Cicero seems to take his addressees along cautiously in order not to lose them in a premature non-preferred reactive move.

23 The insert expansions can be found in 10 (on being *popularis*), in 12–13 (on *crudelitas*), in 15–17 (on *concordia*), and 20 (about himself, *de me pauca dicam*).

Interestingly, some of the insert expansions in the fourth Catilinarian seem unnecessary for or even at odds with the preferred SPP of this speech. We have argued that these insert expansions may support another, totally implicit base adjacency pair which was only relevant at the time of publication of the speech, namely the question whether Cicero had acted rightly. The fact that the two different base adjacency pairs (related to two different conversational situations, one in 63 BCE, the other in 60 BCE) are mixed up in this speech explains part of the inconsistencies and incoherence observed by Ciceronian scholarship. Our analysis can be seen as support for the view, most recently and clearly described by Berry (2020), that the fourth Catilinarian is largely based on his speech of December 5th in 63 BCE, but includes passages relating to the time of publication, i.e. 60 BCE.

More generally, our analysis has shown that a combined CA-DA-framework may help to better explain multi-turn-units like political speeches because of the focus on the addressee's implicit role. We combined the linear CA-analysis with a DA-approach, which focuses on rhetorical relations and the hierarchical structure of the discourse. As such, DA so to speak helped us to apply CA top-down instead of bottom up.

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