

# ENTRY-MARKING ἄλλὰ γάρ IN GREEK TRAGEDY AND COMEDY

A PARTÍCULA ἄλλὰ γάρ COMO MARCA DE INGRESSO EM CENA NA TRAGÉDIA E COMÉDIA GREGAS

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**Abstract:** *In Greek tragedy and comedy, a character arriving on stage may be announced by using the particle combination ἄλλὰ γάρ or καὶ μήν. Entry-marking ἄλλὰ γάρ is said by Denniston (1954) to be either “complex” (whereby ἄλλὰ goes with the main clause and γάρ with a dependent clause) or “simple” (both particles going with the main clause). Taking this as a starting point, all the instances of entry-marking ἄλλὰ γάρ are surveyed in the light of the PUSH and POP theory as expounded by Slings (1997). Similarities and differences between ἄλλὰ γάρ and entry-marking καὶ μήν are also pointed out, and brief conclusions are drawn thereof.*

**Keywords:** Greek particles; entry-marking ἄλλὰ γάρ; tragedy and comedy; καὶ μήν.

**Resumo:** *Na tragédia e comédia gregas, o ingresso de um personagem em cena pode ser anunciado com o uso da combinação de partículas ἄλλὰ γάρ ou καὶ μήν. Denniston (1954) afirma que ἄλλὰ γάρ pode ser classificado tanto como “complexo” (quando ἄλλὰ está ligado à oração principal e γάρ à oração subordinada) ou “simples” (ambas as partículas ligadas à oração principal). Tomando isso como ponto de partida, todos os exemplos de ἄλλὰ γάρ como anúncio de ingresso em cena são analisados à luz da teoria PUSH e POP exposta por Slings (1997). Semelhanças e diferenças entre ἄλλὰ γάρ e καὶ μήν também são apontadas, de onde se tiram breves conclusões.*

**Palavras-chave:** partículas gregas; ἄλλὰ γάρ; tragédia e comédia; καὶ μήν.

## 1. Ἄλλὰ γάρ as a “complex” combination

The entrance of a character upon the stage may be marked by the use of particles, the most common ones being καὶ μήν and ἄλλὰ γάρ. Denniston (1954: 98, 103-4) identifies two main constructions regarding ἄλλὰ

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γάρ, a “complex” one and a “simple” one. In the “complex” use ἀλλά and γάρ fulfil their functions independently, ἀλλά going with the main clause and γάρ with a dependent clause, while in the “simple” use both go with the main clause, whereby the collocation usually means “but, as matter of fact” (Denniston 1954: 101).

As regards the “complex” use, the passages where ἀλλά γάρ (or ἀλλά ... γάρ for that matter) signal an entrance on stage may be readily analyzed in terms of the PUSH and POP theory as expounded by Slings (1997). Let us take for instance Euripides *Hippolytus* 51. Upon seeing Hippolytus approaching, Aphrodite cuts short her speech and retires in order to shun an undesired encounter. The goddess marks his arrival by saying:

- (1) <sub>POP</sub> ἀλλ’ <sub>PUSH</sub> εἰσορῶ γάρ τόνδε παῖδα Θησέως  
 στείχοντα, θήρας μόχθον ἐκλελοιπότα,  
 Ἴππόλυτον, <sub>POP</sub> ἔξω τῶνδε βήσομαι τόπων.  
 ‘But now I see Hippolytus coming, finished with the toil of the hunt, and so I shall  
 leave this place.’<sup>2</sup> (E. *Hipp.* 51-3)

By means of <sub>POP</sub> ἀλλ’ Aphrodite dismisses the prospect of giving further details of events to come, announcing in its stead (and in the same breath) a course of action she will take: <sub>POP</sub> ἀλλ’ ... <sub>POP</sub> ἔξω τῶνδε βήσομαι τόπων ‘but ... I shall leave this place’. The PUSH following the first ἀλλά POP, marked by the inserted γάρ-clause, furnishes the reason why she will do so.<sup>3</sup> The same pattern recurs a few times, the bridging γάρ-clause (= PUSH) always giving grounds for the explicit action to be carried out by the speaker at the POP level. The three following examples are akin in their envisaged action, namely, to fall silent, with the reason to do so duly given in the PUSH construction between the two-layered POP level triggered

2 Translation David Kovacs (Cambridge, Mass.: Loeb, 1994-2002). The other translations from Euripides are also his. Translations from Sophocles are by Hugh Lloyd-Jones (Cambridge, Mass.: Loeb, 1994), from Aeschylus by Allan H. Sommerstein (Cambridge, Mass.: Loeb, 2008), and from Aristophanes by Jeffrey Henderson (Cambridge, Mass.: Loeb, 1998-2002). All boldface and italics are mine. Editions: *Euripidis fabulae*, ed. J. Diggle (Oxford, 1981-94); *Sophoclis fabulae*, ed. H. Lloyd-Jones and N. Wilson (Oxford, 1990<sup>2</sup>); *Aeschyli tragoediae: cum incerti poetae Prometheus*, ed. M.L. West (Stuttgart, 1998); *Aristophanis Fabulae*, ed. N.G. Wilson (Oxford, 2007).

3 Cf. Barrett 1964: 167. Entry-marking ἀλλ’ εἰσορῶ γάρ... occurs once in Aeschylus and seven times in Euripides (four times with an explicit action at POP level, three times without it), what has lead Taplin (1997: 269; 148 n.2) to consider it virtually a Euripidean formula (cf. Griffith 1983: 254; West 1987: 109). Taking into account also the probably spurious passages (see below), entry-marking ἀλλά γάρ occurs ten times in Euripides, twice in Aeschylus, once in Sophocles and four times in Aristophanes.

by sentence initial ἄλλά. Helen breaks off upon catching sight of Theoclymenus, whose entrance on stage she signals thus:

- (2) <sub>POP</sub> ἄλλ', <sub>PUSH</sub> ἐκπερᾷ γάρ δωμάτων ὁ τοὺς ἐμοὺς  
γάμους ἐτοίμους ἐν χεροῖν ἔχειν δοκῶν,  
<sub>POP</sub> σιγητέον μοι  
'But since he is coming out, the man who thinks he has me safely in his possession, I  
must say nothing.' (E. *Hel.* 1385-7)

The entry of Agamemnon in Euripides *Hecuba* 726 is announced as follows by the chorus leader:

- (3) <sub>POP</sub> ἄλλ' <sub>PUSH</sub> εἰσπορῶ γάρ τοῦδε δεσπότης δέμας  
Ἀγαμέμνωνος, <sub>POP</sub> τὸνθένδε σιγῶμεν, φίλοι.  
'But since I see Agamemnon, your master, approaching, let us now hold our peace.'  
(E. *Hec.* 724-5)

It is again the chorus leader who makes known the appearance of the Phrygian in Euripides *Orestes* 1369 – this time not upon seeing the new character, but upon hearing noises from inside the skene.<sup>4</sup>

- (4) <sub>POP</sub> ἄλλὰ <sub>PUSH</sub> κτυπεῖ γάρ κληῖθρα βασιλείων δόμων,  
<sub>POP</sub> σιγήσατ'· ἔξω γάρ τις ἐκβαίνει Φρυγῶν,  
οὐ πεισόμεσθα τὰν δόμοις ὅπως ἔχει.  
'But the bars of the palace gate are clanging. Hush, here comes one of the Phrygians, from  
whom we shall learn how matters stand indoors.' (E. *Or.* 1366-8)

The envisaged action within the POP level may comprise either a verbal adjective in -τέος (σιγητέον [ex. 2]), an exhortative subjunctive (σιγῶμεν [ex. 3]), an imperative (σιγήσατ' [ex. 4]), or a first person future (βήσομαι [ex. 1]). For the sake of thoroughness, let me quote one more example from the last three complements to <sub>POP</sub> ἄλλά – first person future, second person plural imperative, and verbal adjective in -τέος respectively. In all these examples, it must be borne in mind that the γάρ-clauses provide the reasons for the course of action to be undertaken: the same particle cluster accounts for a sudden shift of focus calling for action (<sub>POP</sub> ἄλλά ... <sub>POP</sub> [COMPLEMENT]) and furnishes the cause thereof (<sub>PUSH</sub> γάρ), namely, the perception of a (new) character on stage.

4 The passage may have been inserted by a later actor, to whom the pattern was familiar. It does not figure in Denniston's list of entry-marking ἄλλά γάρ.

Following a sorrow-laden choral song, the chorus leader signals the entry of Creon in Euripides *Phoenician Women* 1308 by vowing to put a stop to her weeping.<sup>5</sup>

- (5) <sub>POP</sub> ἀλλὰ <sub>PUSH</sub> γὰρ Κρέοντα λεύσω τόνδε δεῦρο συννεφεῖ  
πρὸς δόμους στείχοντα, <sub>POP</sub> παύσω τοὺς παρεστῶτας γόους.  
'But I see Creon coming to the palace with clouded brow: *I shall cease* from my  
present lamentations.' (E. *Ph.* 1308-9)<sup>6</sup>

Agave, showing clear signs of madness, arrives on stage announced by the chorus leader, who thereupon instructs her fellow revelers:

- (6) <sub>POP</sub> ἀλλ' <sub>PUSH</sub> εἰσορῶ γὰρ ἐς δόμους ὀρμωμένην  
Πενθέως Ἀγαθὴν μητέρ' ἐν διαστρόφοις  
ᾄσοις, <sub>POP</sub> δέχεσθ' ἐς κῶμον εὐίου θεοῦ.  
'But look! I see Pentheus' mother Agave coming toward the house, her eyes rolling in mad-  
ness! *Receive her* into the reveling band of the blissful god!' (E. *Ba.* 1165-7)<sup>7</sup>

When dawn rises on the first episode of Euripides' *Electra* (102-6), Orestes addresses Pylades and suggests stepping aside from the path and asking (105 ἱστορήσομεν) some farmer or slave woman whether his sister Electra lived in those parts. Upon seeing an approaching servant, he apparently changes his mind<sup>8</sup> and now wants to spy on her, who is none other than Electra herself and whose entry is thus announced:

- (7) <sub>POP</sub> ἀλλ' <sub>PUSH</sub> εἰσορῶ γὰρ τήνδε πρόσπολόν τινα  
πηγαῖον ἄχθος ἐν κεκαρμένῳ κάραι  
φέρουσαν, <sub>POP</sub> ἐζώμεσθα κάκπυθώμεθα  
δούλης γυναικός, ἦν τι δεζώμεσθ' ἔπος  
ἐφ' οἴσι, Πυλάδῃ, τήνδ' ἀφίγημα χθόνα.  
'Look! I see a slave woman here carrying her burden of water on her close-  
cropped head. *Let us crouch down*, Pylades, *and listen to her* on the chance that  
we might catch some word to further the purpose that brought us to this land.'  
(E. *El.* 107-11)

5 This passage may be spurious as well, but see footnote 25.

6 ἀλλὰ γὰρ as opposed to disjointed ἀλλὰ ... γὰρ is admittedly rarer in its "complex" use, but as the present examples shows they are perfectly similar and need not be distinguished (cf. already Wilamowitz 1895: 37; Mastrorade 1994: 515).

7 The passage is absent from Denniston's list.

8 Cf. Denniston 1939: 64.

Evidently not every instance of “complex” *ἀλλά γάρ* in tragedy (or in Euripides for that matter, for the seven examples above stem from him) announces the entry of a character, yet many occurrences of this cluster in other contexts display the same complements to *ἀλλά* POP, namely the subjunctive, the imperative, the future and the verbal adjective in *-τέος*. The pattern, as shown in the next four examples, one for each complement, is absolutely the same – bar the verb of seeing (*εἰσορῶ*, *λεύσσω*) and the deictic pronouns that are predictably widespread when it comes to an entry mark.

## (8) [SUBJUNCTIVE]

POP *ἀλλ’* PUSH *ἄξιός γάρ ὁ τε παρών ὁ τ’ οὐ παρών*  
*Ἀγαμέμνωνος παῖς, οὐπὲρ οὖνεχ’ ἤκομεν,*

POP *δεξώμεθ’* οἴκων καταλύσεις.

‘Well, since your present guest and the absent son of Agamemnon, for whose sake we have come, are his worthy guests, *let us accept* the lodging this house affords.’ (E. *El.* 391-3)<sup>9</sup>

## (9) [IMPERATIVE]

POP *ἀλλ’* PUSH *ἢ βία γάρ ταῦτ’ ἀναγκάζει με δρᾶν,*

POP *σύγγνωτε.*

‘but since a hard compulsion forces me to do this, *you must bear with me!*’ (S. *El.* 256-7)<sup>10</sup>

9 Cf. Ar. *Nu.* 798 POP *ἀλλ’* PUSH *οὐκ ἐθέλει γὰρ μανθάνειν,* POP *τί ἐγὼ πάθω;* ‘but he refuses to go to school, so *what can I do?*’ (N.G. Wilson prints a period after *μανθάνειν*; Denniston 1954: 99 prefers a comma, to my mind correctly); V. 318-9 POP *ἀλλ’* — PUSH *οὐ γὰρ οἶός τ’ εἶμ’ ἄδειν—* POP *τί ποιήσω;* ‘But since I can’t sing, *what am I to do?*’. In E. *El.* 1245-6 *σιγῶ* may of course be either indicative or subjunctive: POP *ἀλλ’* PUSH *ἄναξ γὰρ ἐστ’ ἐμός,* POP *σιγῶ* ‘But no, since he is my lord, *I hold my peace* [or *may I hold my peace*]’; compare with example (3).

10 A similar example, although with a different word order (the *ἀλλά* and *γάρ* clauses do not appear intertwined, they follow one another), is Ar. *Pax* 668-9 POP *ἀλλά* συγγνώμην ἔχε: PUSH *ὁ νοῦς γὰρ ἡμῶν ἦν τότ’ ἐν τοῖς σκύτεσιν* ‘but do pardon us: at that time our brains were in our shoe leather’. Other instances of imperative use (I confine myself to tragedy and comedy): S. *Ant.* 148-51 POP *ἀλλά* PUSH *γὰρ ἄ μεγαλόνομος ἦλθε Νίκη ...,* POP *ἐκ μὲν δὴ πολέμων τῶν νῦν θέσθε* (v.l. *θέσθαι*) *λησιμοσύναν* ‘But since Victory whose name is glorious has come ..., after the recent wars *let us be forgetful!*’ (as in example [5], *ἀλλά* and *γάρ* occur side by side, with no difference whatsoever to the disjointed *ἀλλά ... γάρ* instances); E. *Alc.* 422-4 POP *ἀλλ’*, PUSH *ἐκφορὰν γὰρ τοῦδε θήσομαι νεκροῦ,* POP *πάρεστε καὶ μένοντες ἀντιγῆσατε παιᾶνα τῷ κάτωθεν ἄσπονδον θεῷ* ‘But since I shall conduct the funeral, *attend me* here, and while you wait *sing* a hymn to the god below, a hymn unaccompanied by libations’; E. *Med.* 1344-6 POP *ἀλλ’* PUSH *οὐ γὰρ ἂν σε μυρίοις ὄνειδεσιν δάκοιμι· τοῖονδ’ ἐμπέφυκέ σοι θράσος;* POP *ἔρρ’, αἰσχροποιῆ καὶ τέκνων μαιφόνε* ‘But since ten thousand insults of mine would not fail to sting you – such is your native impudence – *be gone*, doer of disgraceful deeds and murderer of your children’; S. *OC* 624-5 POP *ἀλλ’* PUSH *οὐ γὰρ αὐδᾶν ἠδὸ τάκινητ’ ἔπη,* POP *ἔα μ’ ἐν οἴσιν*

## (10) [FUTURE]

POP ἄλλ' PUSH οὐ γὰρ εἰπὴν οὐτ' ἔμοι τόδ' ἀσφαλές  
 πικρὸν τε τοῖσι τὴν τύχην κεκτημένοις  
 πόλει παρασχεῖν φάρμακον σωτηρίας,

POP ἄπειμι.

'But it is unsafe for me to speak these words, and it will be galling to those who are touched by this fate that I should give the city its life-saving medicine: *I'm going away.*' (E. Ph. 891-4)<sup>11</sup>

## (11) [-τέος]

POP ἄλλ' PUSH εὖ γὰρ εἶπας, POP πειστέον.

'Well, your advice is good, and *I must take it.*' (E. IT 118)<sup>12</sup>

In all these examples, including the entry-marking ones we have seen so far, the shift of focus is accompanied by either a resolution or a command

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ἡρξάμην 'But since there is no pleasure in speaking words that should not be touched on, *leave me in the course I have begun*'; 797 POP ἄλλ' PUSH οἶδα γὰρ σε ταῦτα μὴ πείθων, POP ἴθι 'But I know that I cannot convince you; *go!*'; 1267 POP ἄλλ' PUSH ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ζηνὶ σύνθακος Ἰδῶν Αἰδῶς ἐπ' ἔργουσι πᾶσι, POP καὶ πρὸς σοί, πάτερ, παρασταθῆτω 'But since Mercy shares the throne of Zeus with regard to all his actions, *let her stand by you also, father!*' (755-7 would provide yet another example, but the verses are corrupt); S. OT 1409-12 POP ἄλλ' PUSH οὐ γὰρ αὐδᾶν ἔσθ' ἃ μηδὲ δρᾶν καλόν, POP ὅπως τάχιστα πρὸς θεῶν ἔξω με πού καλύψατ', ἢ φονεύσατ', ἢ θαλάσσιον ἐκρίψατ', ἔνθα μήποτ' εἰσόψεσθ' ἔτι 'But since it is hateful to speak of hateful deeds, as soon as possible, I beg you, *hide me somewhere abroad, or kill me, or hurl me into the sea, where you shall never again see me!*'; Ar. Th. 264-5 POP ἄλλ' PUSH ἔχεις γὰρ ὧν δέει, POP εἶσω τις ὡς τάχιστά μ' εἰσκυκλήσατω 'you have what you need. Now someone *roll me back inside, on the double!*'; S. Ph. 81-2 POP ἄλλ' PUSH ἦδὺ γὰρ τι κτῆμα τῆς νίκης λαβεῖν, POP τόλμα 'But – it is a pleasure to acquire a possession by a victory – *bring yourself to do it!*' (cp. Tyr. fr.11.1-2 W POP ἄλλ' PUSH Ἡρακλῆος γὰρ ἀνίκητου γένος ἔστε, POP θαρσεῖτ' 'Take courage, for your stock is from unvanquished Heracles').

11 Cf. S. El. 223-5 POP ἄλλ' PUSH ἐν γὰρ δεινοῖς POP οὐ στήσω ταύτας ἄτας, ὄφρα με βίος ἔχη 'But amid these dreadful things *I shall not hold back* from this ruinous action, so long as life maintains me!'

12 The "complex" use of the cluster, to be sure, does not limit itself to these four ἀλλά POP complement categories. Present, perfect, and imperfect indicative may also be employed, for instance: S. Ant. 392 POP ἄλλ' PUSH ἡ γὰρ εὐκτὸς καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδας χαρὰ εὐκρινὲς ἄλλῃ μῆκος οὐδὲν ἡδονῆ, POP ἥκω... 'But since the delight that one has prayed for beyond hope is unlike any other pleasure by a long way, *I have come...*'; Ph. 874-6 POP ἄλλ' PUSH εὐγενὴς γὰρ ἡ φύσις κάξ εὐγενῶν, ὃ τέκνον, ἡ σὴ, POP πάντα ταῦτ' ἐν εὐχερεῖ ἔθου... 'But since your nature is noble and sprung from noble ancestors, my son, *you made light of this!*'; E. Hipp. 923-4 POP ἄλλ' PUSH οὐ γὰρ ἐν δέοντι λεπτουργεῖς, πάτερ, POP δέδοικα μὴ σου γλώσσ' ὑπερβᾶλλῃ κακοῖς 'But since these fine-spun disputations of yours, father, are unseasonable, *I fear* that your misfortunes have caused your tongue to run amok'; Heracl. 480-2 POP ἄλλ' PUSH εἰμι γὰρ πῶς πρόσφορος... POP θέλω πυθέσθαι... 'but since I am in some way fit to hear this ..., *I wish* to ask...'; Cys. 432-4 POP ἄλλ' PUSH ἀσθενὴς γὰρ κάποκερδαῖνον ποτοῦ POP ὅσπερ πρὸς ἰξῶ τῆ κυκλῆι λελημμένος πτέρυγας ἀλύει 'but since he is weak and has been enjoying the wine too much, he sticks fast to the cup like a bird caught in bird lime, *flapping* his wings in vain.'

to put something into effect; the reason underlying this call to action – falling in silence included – is furnished simultaneously, whereby ἀλλὰ and γάρ clauses intermingle. Not every example, though, of the “complex” use of our ἀλλὰ γάρ cluster is so clear-cut, and Denniston himself (1954: 99) includes among them two passages that demand further discussion. In the first one, Euripides *Trojan Women* 706, ἀλλὰ γάρ may well have been taken as an entry mark, for Hecuba interrupts her speech when she sees “a servant of the Achaeans” approaching (actually Talthybius) and says:

- (12) ἀλλ' ἐκ λόγου γὰρ ἄλλος ἐκβαίνει λόγος,  
 τίν' αὖ δέδορκα τόνδ' Ἀχαικὸν λάτριν  
 στείχοντα καινῶν ἄγγελον βουλευμάτων;  
 'But now a new subject arises after the old: what servant of the Achaeans is  
 this I see coming to announce new edicts?' (E. *Ti.* 706-8)

The question is how to interpret ἀλλὰ γάρ in PUSH and POP terms. It cannot be that the γάρ clause (ἐκ λόγου ... ἄλλος ἐκβαίνει λόγος) furnishes the reason why the ἀλλὰ clause is uttered (τίν' αὖ δέδορκα τόνδ' Ἀχαικὸν λάτριν στείχοντα καινῶν ἄγγελον βουλευμάτων;). Quite on the contrary, it seems that the reason for claiming that “a new subject arises after the old” is precisely the fact that Hecuba makes out the servant coming. Here it seems that the cluster only operates at the POP level, the ἀλλὰ ... γάρ POP dismissing the encouragement Hecuba has been giving in the previous lines to Andromache and breaking off her speech when she catches the glimpse of an Achaean (Talthybius first entrance on stage was announced by entry-marking καὶ μὴν [230], on which more later). Apparently the example should have been understood as a “simple” construction, either as a breaking off device ([2.i] in Denniston’s classification, p.102) or even – but less likely – as an entry marking ([4.i], p.103). The next example seems also difficult to reconcile with the “complex” interpretation of the cluster (here we are not dealing with an entry mark). Polynices addresses Jocasta thus:

- (13) ἀλλ', ἐκ γὰρ ἄλγους ἄλγος αὖ, σὲ δέρκομαι  
 κάρα ξυρῆκες καὶ πέπλους μελαγχίμους  
 ἔχουσιν.  
 'But – here one grief crowns another – I see you with shorn head and garments  
 of black!' (E. *Ph.* 371-3)

The reason for Polynices seeing Jocasta in such a state is not because one grief piles upon another. Rather, it is precisely because he has in front of his eyes the wretched figure of his mother that he is prompted to assert his distress. He dismisses the account of his personal plights given in the previous lines, cutting it short to address her. Here, again, ἀλλὰ ... γάρ POP seems to fulfil this breaking-off function. Both last examples show the use of ἀλλὰ ... γάρ with almost idiomatic expressions, making up what seem to be self-contained phrases (ἀλλ' ἐκ λόγου γὰρ ἄλλος ἐκβαίνει λόγος and ἀλλ' ἐκ γὰρ ἄλγους ἄλγος αὖ) followed by independent clauses.<sup>13</sup>

Yet the picture may be more complicated. Let me quote one last example of the ἀλλὰ ... γάρ combination unrelated to entries of characters on stage. In Euripides *Iphigenia at Aulis* 506-12 Agamemnon thanks Menelaus for his conciliating speech but then breaks off, stressing the necessity of killing his own offspring:

- (14) ἀλλ' ἤκομεν γὰρ εἰς ἀναγκαίας τύχας,  
 θυγατρὸς αἱματηρὸν ἐκπρᾶξι φόνον.  
 'But we have reached the point where we are forced to commit the bloody  
 murder of my daughter.' (E. *IA* 511-12)

Two analyzes present themselves. Either ἀλλὰ ... γάρ, as in the last two examples, is regarded as a single unity at the POP level (<sub>POP</sub> ἀλλ' ἤκομεν γὰρ ... φόνον) or each particle fulfils its relevant function in a "complex" structure (<sub>POP</sub> ἀλλ' <sub>PUSH</sub> ἤκομεν γὰρ ... φόνον). In the second alternative, the return to the ἀλλὰ POP level after the intervening γάρ PUSH should be considered as suppressed, entailing a sort of ellipsis or aposiopesis. Indeed, the whole line 512 stays in apposition to ἀναγκαίας τύχας; strictly speaking, one might take γάρ as a PUSH particle and translate: "<sub>POP</sub> But <sub>PUSH</sub> since we have reached the point where necessity rules – necessity, that

13 For a similar use of such expressions, cf. E. *Tr.* 1118-22: ἰὼ ἰώ, καὶν' ἐκ καινῶν μεταβάλλουσαι χθονὶ συντυχία. λεύσσετε Τρώων τόνδ' Ἀστυάνακτ' ἄλοχοι μέλαι νεκρόν... 'Ah, ah! Our land's fortunes undergo one woeful change after another! Look, unhappy wives of the Trojans, at dead Astyanax!'. Here there is no particle involved, but the lines signal the entrance on stage of the body of Astyanax, and one may compare λεύσσετε (*Tr.* 1119) with δέδορκα (*Tr.* 707) and δέρομαι (*Ph.* 371). Cf. also E. *Or.* 1503-5 καὶ μὴν ἀμείβει καινὸν ἐκ καινῶν τόδε· ζυφηφόρον γὰρ εἰσορῶ πρὸ δωμάτων βαίνοντ' Ὀρέστην ἐπτοημένωι ποδί 'But see, one strange thing succeeds another: I see Orestes, armed with a sword, coming out in front of the house with agitation in his step.' I shall briefly discuss the relationship of entry-marking ἀλλὰ γάρ and καὶ μὴν in section 3 below.



is, to commit the bloody murder of my daughter,  $_{\text{POP}}\emptyset$ ...” What is omitted is the inevitable conclusion: “then let me do it” (πρακτέον, ἐκπραξόμεθα *vel sim.*). This will become clearer in passages where the verb εἰσορῶ is involved, and here I go back to the entry-marking cases.

## 2. Ἀλλὰ γάρ as a “simple” combination

Aeschylus’ Prometheus interrupts his conversation with the chorus upon seeing the god Hermes approaching.

- (15) ἄλλ’ εἰσορῶ γὰρ τόνδε τὸν Διὸς τρόχιν,  
τὸν τοῦ τυράννου τοῦ νέου διάκονον·  
πάντως τι καινὸν ἀγγελῶν ἐλήλυθεν.  
‘But I see Zeus’s message-boy is here, the servant of the new autocrat; he will certainly have something fresh to announce.’ (A. Pr. 941-3)

Denniston (1954: 104) hesitates over how to classify this instance of ἄλλὰ γάρ, whether “simple” or “complex”. Three hypotheses may be put forward:

- (i)  $_{\text{POP}}\text{ἄλλ’}_{\text{PUSH}}\text{ εἰσορῶ γὰρ τόνδε τὸν Διὸς τρόχιν, τὸν τοῦ τυράννου τοῦ νέου διάκονον.}_{\text{POP}}$   
πάντως τι καινὸν ἀγγελῶν ἐλήλυθεν.
- (ii)  $_{\text{POP}}\text{ἄλλ’ εἰσορῶ γὰρ τόνδε τὸν Διὸς τρόχιν, τὸν τοῦ τυράννου τοῦ νέου διάκονον.}_{\text{POP}}$  πάντως τι καινὸν ἀγγελῶν ἐλήλυθεν.
- (iii)  $_{\text{POP}}\text{ἄλλ’}_{\text{PUSH}}\text{ εἰσορῶ γὰρ τόνδε τὸν Διὸς τρόχιν, τὸν τοῦ τυράννου τοῦ νέου διάκονον}_{\text{POP}}\emptyset$ ... πάντως τι καινὸν ἀγγελῶν ἐλήλυθεν.

Hypothesis (i) may be ruled out, since it is not *because* Prometheus spots Hermes ( $_{\text{PUSH}}\text{ εἰσορῶ γὰρ}$ ) that the god approaches with a message ( $_{\text{POP}}\text{ ἀγγελῶν ἐλήλυθεν}$ ); hypothesis (ii) envisages the cluster as a “simple” one ( $_{\text{POP}}\text{ ἄλλ’ εἰσορῶ γὰρ...}$ ); hypothesis (iii) accepts in turn a “complex” structure with zero or implied complement ( $_{\text{POP}}\emptyset = \text{σιγητέον μοι, σιγῶμεν } \textit{vel sim.}$ ).

Both (ii) and (iii) are in principle acceptable, yet to my mind (iii) is to be preferred if we take into consideration that in examples (1), (3), (5), (6), and (7) above it is not the verb of seeing that accounts for the sudden shift of focus, which is conveyed rather by the complement to  $_{\text{POP}}\text{ ἄλλὰ}$ . In other

words, when a γάρ clause is present the verb of seeing only furnishes the reason for the sudden call to action (implied or not).<sup>14</sup>

Another entry-marking passage in which the cluster may be viewed either as simple or complex is Euripides *Heracles* 442. The chorus leader announces the entry of several characters as follows:

- (16) ἄλλ' ἔσορῶ γὰρ τούσδε φθιμένων  
 ἔνδυτ' ἔχοντας,  
 τοὺς τοῦ μεγάλου δὴ ποτε παῖδας  
 τὸ πρὶν Ἡρακλέους, ἀλοχόν τε φίλην  
 ἴπὸ σειραίοις ποσίν† ἔλκουσαν  
 τέκνα καὶ γεραῖον πατέρ' Ἡρακλέους,  
 δύστηνος ἐγὼ,  
 δακρῶν ὡς οὐ δύναμαι κατέχειν  
 γραίας ὄσσων ἔτι πηγάς.  
 'But look, I see the children here with the finery of the dead upon them,  
 children of Heracles once mighty, I see his dear wife moving the children  
 forward, as they cling to her legs that draw them like a trace horse, and the old  
 father of Heracles. Ah unhappy me, I cannot check the tears flowing from my  
 eyes!' (E. *HF* 442-50)

The zero or implied complement (<sub>POP</sub> ἄλλ' <sub>PUSH</sub> ἔσορῶ γὰρ ... πατέρ' Ἡρακλέους, <sub>POP</sub> Ø...) might be justified, on the one hand, by the sprawling description of the entering characters, at the end of which the ἄλλά complement would sound unnatural; and, on the other, by the very exclamation of vv. 448-50: the elderly coryphaeus bursts into tears against his will, and one might suppose that the call to action following <sub>POP</sub> ἄλλά would have hypothetically referred to it, e.g. "let me hold my tears in front of them".

A case where joy, not grievance, is involved is the following entry marking announced by Orestes:

- (17) ἄλλ' εἰσορῶ γὰρ τόνδε φιλιτατον βροτῶν  
 Πυλάδην δρόμοι στείχοντα Φωκέων ἄπο,

14 E. *Supp.* 794-7 is a somewhat different case; the chorus leader signals the entry of Adrastus and Theseus in the following way: ἄλλὰ τάδ' ἤδη σώματα λεύσσω τῶν οἰχομένων παιδῶν· μελέα πῶς ἄν ὀλοίμην σὺν τοῖσδε τέκνοις κοινὸν ἐς Ἄϊδην καταβᾶσα; 'But now I behold the bodies of our perished sons! O how I wish I could die with these children, treading with them the downward path to Hades!' Here there is no ἄλλά γάρ cluster and no call to action is at issue: πῶς ἄν ὀλοίμην, to which ἄλλά could be related, is merely a wish.

ἠδεῖαν ὄψιν· πιστὸς ἐν κακοῖς ἀνὴρ  
κρείσσων γαλήνης ναυτίλοισιν εἰσορᾶν.

‘But here I see Pylades, my dearest friend, coming at a run from Phocis! A welcome sight he is: when you are in trouble a loyal friend is a fairer sight than clear skies to a sailor.’ (E. *Or.* 725-8)

Pylades’ entry comes as a great surprise to Orestes; his hopes were gone since Menelaus had left the stage, breaking Orestes’ suppliant grasp in 716.<sup>15</sup> Now, putting in the shade his previous fears, he is thrilled at the sight of his friend, and the comparison in 727-8 might be said to have precluded, or at least left implicit, a call to action (e.g. “let me welcome him!”) resuming the <sub>POP</sub> *ἀλλά* after the intervening *γάρ* clause (“since I see him...”): <sub>POP</sub> *ἀλλ’* <sub>PUSH</sub> *εἰσορῶ γὰρ τόνδε φίλτατον βροτῶν Πυλάδην δρόμῳ στεῖχοντα Φωκέων ἄπο, ἠδεῖαν ὄψιν·* <sub>POP</sub> *Θ... πιστὸς ἐν κακοῖς ἀνὴρ...*

In Euripides’ *Heracles* a sense of foreboding from the chorus leader might be expected when he announces the entry of, Lycus, the usurper of the throne of Thebes:

(18) *ἀλλ’ εἰσορῶ γὰρ τόνδε δωμάτων πέλας  
Λύκον περῶντα, τῆσδε κοίρανον χθονός.*

But I see the country’s ruler, Lycus, approaching this house.’ (E. *HF* 138-9)

Here, too, as in example (15) above, the assumption of an ellipsis or aposiopesis is not out place: <sub>POP</sub> *ἀλλ’* <sub>PUSH</sub> *εἰσορῶ γὰρ τόνδε δωμάτων πέλας Λύκον περῶντα, τῆσδε κοίρανον χθονός.* <sub>POP</sub> *Θ...* (<sub>POP</sub> *Θ* = *σιγητέον μοι, σιγῶμεν vel sim.*).<sup>16</sup> The cluster *ἀλλά γάρ* POP would be ill-suited to signal the entry of a character when a verb of seeing is at issue, for the idea of replacing<sup>17</sup> conveyed by *ἀλλά* (a shift in the action is called for to replace a former one) has little to do with the act of seeing itself. In other words, the act of seeing is in an embedded sequence marked by the PUSH particle

15 In the lines preceding Pylades’ entry Orestes exclaims (722-4): οἴμοι, προδέδομαι, κούκέτ’ εἰσὶν ἐλπίδες ὅπῃ τραπόμενος θάνατον Ἀργείων φύγω· οὔτος (= Menelaus) γὰρ ἦν μοι καταφυγὴ σωτηρίας ‘Oh, I have been abandoned! I have no hope, no place I can turn to scape an Argive death! He was my life-saving refuge’.

16 Cf. Bond 1981: 101 (who apparently overlooks in his reckoning of entry-marking *ἀλλά γάρ* two Euripidean passages: *Ba.* 1165 and *Or.* 1366; the list provided by Mastronarde 1994: 515 is rather incomplete). Bond himself posits an ellipsis already suggested by Willamowitz (1895: ii 37). Other scholars have also drawn attention to this type of ellipsis without investigating it any further, e.g. Jebb (1900) on *S. Ant.* 148 (cf. Jebb [1899] on *S. OC* 988); Griffith (1983: 254 and 1999: 154); Allan (2008: 312).

17 For the term cf. Slings 1997, esp. 104-11.

γάρ and has a different frame of reference from the embedding sequence marked by the POP particle ἀλλά.<sup>18</sup>

Other instances of entry-marking ἀλλά γάρ that do not display a complement to <sub>POP</sub> ἀλλά nor a verb of seeing (or hearing) at the γάρ level can be interchangeably analyzed as examples of either “complex” or “simple” construction (= <sub>POP</sub> ἀλλά <sub>PUSH</sub> γάρ or <sub>POP</sub> ἀλλά γάρ respectively). Sophocles *Antigone* 155 is a case in point; Creon’s entry is thus announced by the chorus:

- (19) ἀλλ’ ὄδε γάρ δὴ βασιλεὺς χώρας,  
 †Κρέων ὁ Μενοικέως,† ... νεοχμὸς  
 νεαραῖσι θεῶν ἐπὶ συντυχίαις  
 χωρεῖ τίνα δὴ μῆτιν ἐρέσσω,  
 ὅτι σύγκλητον τήνδε γερόντων  
 προῦθετο λέσχην,  
 κοινῶ κηρύγματι πέμψας;  
 ‘But here comes the new king of the land, ... Creon, under the new conditions  
 given by the gods; what plan is he turning over, that he has proposed this  
 assembly of elders for discussion, summoning them by general proclamation?’  
 (S. *Ant.* 155-61)

These lines come at the end of the choral song, and it would not be stretching a point to suggest that a complement to <sub>POP</sub> ἀλλά has been left implicit (e.g. “but let us put a halt to this song, since here comes Creon...”).<sup>19</sup> Something similar would hold true for Aeschylus *Seven Against Thebes* 861, although the passage is most probably spurious, for Antigone and Ismene may have been added to the cast at a later date, when a reshaped ending was created to the play (the mss. usually ascribe to the sisters the responsive phrases beginning in 961).

18 Cf. examples (12) and (13) where the δέδορκα and δέρκομαι clauses go logically with the explanation provided by the previous γάρ: in (12) it is *because* Hecuba sees (δέδορκα) a servant of the Achaeans that she asserts that a new subject arises after the old (<sub>PUSH</sub> ἐκ λόγου γάρ ἄλλος ἐκβαίνει λόγος); in (13) it is *because* Polynices sees (δέρκομαι) Jocasta that he asserts that one grief crowns another (<sub>PUSH</sub> ἐκ γάρ ἄλλου ἐκβαίνει λόγος αὐ). If one is ready to accept this, then *ἀλλά γάρ* in example (12) could be regarded as an entry-marking instance with the following schema: <sub>POP</sub> ἀλλ’ <sub>PUSH</sub> ἐκ λόγου γάρ ἄλλος ἐκβαίνει λόγος. <sub>POP</sub>Θ... (<sub>POP</sub>Θ = σιγητέον μοι, σιγῶμεν *vel sim.*). Obviously the possibility of analyzing the sentence as <sub>POP</sub> ἀλλ’ ἐκ λόγου γάρ ἄλλος ἐκβαίνει λόγος (i.e. ἀλλά γάρ POP) cannot be ruled out and in my view should be preferred.

19 Wakker (1997: 228) perfectly catches the meaning in her translation of lines 155-6: “but enough about this for [ἀλλά ... γάρ] here comes – please note [δὴ] – the king of the land, Creon.”

- (20) ἀλλὰ <sub>POP</sub> γὰρ <sub>PUSH</sub> ἦκουσ' αἰδ' ἐπὶ πρᾶγος  
 πικρὸν Ἀντιγόνη τ' ἠδ' Ἰσμήνη; <sub>POP</sub>∅...  
 'But here come Antigone and Ismene to fulfil a bitter duty.' (A. *Th.* 861-2)

The lines are suspect not least for disregarding the use of the entry-marking ἀλλὰ γάρ cluster as a breaking-off device, which is common to every other instance in our corpus: the chorus only breaks off a hundred lines or so afterwards. In Aristophanes we find four times our cluster to signal the entrance of a character on stage, and in all of them an implicit "[but] enough of this, [for]..." or "[but] it doesn't matter, [for]" may be assumed.<sup>20</sup> That is to say that an outline such as <sub>POP</sub> ἀλλὰ ... <sub>PUSH</sub> γάρ ... <sub>POP</sub>∅ may be taken for granted.

- (21) ἀλλ' οἱ πρυτάνεις γὰρ οὔτοι μεσημβρινοί.  
 'Well, here are the Presidents – at noon!' (Ar. *Ach.* 40)
- (22) ἀλλ' ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος γὰρ Ἀμφίθεος ὀδί.  
 'But here comes Amphiteus, back from Sparta!' (Ar. *Ach.* 175)
- (23) ἀλλ' ὄδε φύλαξ γὰρ τῶν ἐκείθεν ἄγγελος  
 εἰσθεῖ πρὸς ἡμᾶς δεῦρο πυρρίχην βλέπων.  
 'But look, here's a guard coming on the run to report on events over there,  
 looking like a war dancer.' (Ar. *Av.* 1168-9)
- (24) ἀλλ' οὔτοι γὰρ αὐτίς ἔρχονται πάλιν  
 εἰς ταῦτόν. οὐκ ἐρρήσεται, ὦ μαστιγία;  
 'Hey, those slaves are back again! Get lost, you whip-fodder!' (Ar. *Lys.* 1239-40)

In (21) Dicaeopolis signals the entry of the Prytaneis after his introductory jeremiad on the woes of Athens. In (22) the same Dicaeopolis dismisses his sorrow over the loss of a savory dish (174 οἶμοι τάλας, μυττωτὸν ὄσον ἀπώλεσα 'Damn it all, what a good salad I've lost') by announcing the entrance of Amphiteus. In (23) Peisetaerus shrugs off the messenger's account of walls so quickly built, which he considers a fish story, upon seeing the approach of a second messenger. In (24) the Athenian Delegate breaks off his speech and, baffled as he is, signals the entry of the slaves who were chased off a few lines before (1224).

20 Denniston (1954: 103) refers also to Ar. *Ec.* 951, but wrongly so, for this is not really an entry mark. Epigenes, the young man whose entrance is allegedly signaled, is already on stage: his appearance was made known by the First Old Woman at 934 (ὀδί γὰρ αὐτός ἐστιν 'In fact, here he comes now!').

All in all it seems that every instance of entry-marking *ἀλλὰ (...)* γάρ may be viewed as “complex”, whereby the γάρ-clause explains the main clause introduced by *ἀλλὰ*, which in turn may be elliptical or not. Many instances of *ἀλλὰ γάρ* not marking an entrance-announcement in tragedy and comedy follow this “complex” pattern, either with non-elliptical POP *ἀλλὰ* (as seen in examples (8) to (11)) or with ellipsis (e.g. example (14)).<sup>21</sup> “Simple” *ἀλλὰ (...)* γάρ, I suggest, is only found where an entry is not involved, even though it may have a breaking-off function, as in Euripides *Ion* 144 where, as far as I can see, there is little possibility of taking γάρ as a PUSH particle even if one is ready to accept an ellipsis. Rather, the combination as a whole – as a “replacing” set formula – must be viewed as POP, for here γάρ hardly retains its explanatory force:

- (25) <sub>POP</sub> ἀλλ' ἐκπαύσω γάρ μόχθους  
 δάφνας ὀλκοῖς,  
 χρυσέων δ' ἐκ τευχέων ῥίψω  
 γαίης παγάν (...)  
 But I shall cease my labor of sweeping with these laurel branches, and from a  
 vessel of gold I shall cast the water the earth produces (...).<sup>2</sup> (E. *Ion* 144-7)

As for chronology, it is quite natural to suppose that an elliptical <sub>POP</sub> *ἀλλὰ ...* <sub>PUSH</sub> γάρ ... <sub>POP</sub>  $\emptyset$  pattern will have been the starting point for reanalyzing the collocation as <sub>POP</sub> *ἀλλὰ ... γάρ tout court*.

### 3. *Ἀλλὰ γάρ and καὶ μὴν*

Breaking-off is therefore one of the features that distinguish entry-marking *ἀλλὰ γάρ*. Yet this might also be a characteristic of some instances of entry-marking *καὶ μὴν*, and is it not always easy to say why one cluster is used instead of the other. Let us take Euripides *Orestes* 348 where the chorus leader, right after the strophic choral song, signals the entrance of king Menelaus as follows:

- (26) καὶ μὴν βασιλεὺς ὄδε δὴ στείχει  
 Μενέλαος ἄναξ, πολλὸς ἄβροσύνῃ,

21 Cf. Jebb (1899) on S. *OC* 899. He apparently envisages either an elliptical or a non-elliptical usage for the combination *ἀλλὰ ... γάρ*, but not a “simple” one (= <sub>POP</sub> *ἀλλὰ γάρ ...* as against the “complex” <sub>POP</sub> *ἀλλὰ* <sub>PUSH</sub> γάρ <sub>POP</sub>  $\emptyset$ ...). The same view is left implicit in Willamowitz’s commentary (1895: 37).

δηλος ὀραῖσθαι τοῦ Τανταλιδῶν  
 ἐξ αἵματος ὦν ὦ χιλιάων  
 στρατὸν ὀρμήσας ἐς γῆν Ἀσίαν,  
 χαῖρ’.

‘But look, here comes king Menelaus, resplendent in luxury: his looks mark him plainly from the blood of the sons of Tantalus. Leader of the thousand-ship fleet to Asia, hail!’ (E. Or. 348-53)

It is also the chorus leader who, again after a strophic choral song, announces the arrival of Lycus, himself a king – but this time ἀλλὰ γάρ is employed (see example (18)): ἀλλ’ εἰσορῶ γὰρ τόνδε δωμάτων πέλας Λύκον περῶντα, τῆσδε κοίρανον χθονός. ‘But I see the country’s ruler, Lycus, approaching this house’ (E. HF 138-9). What is the pragmatic difference between both?<sup>22</sup>

First it must be said that both ἀλλὰ γάρ and καὶ μὴν are used by either chorus leader or character to mark an arrival. But one may note that, at least in Euripides, when καὶ μὴν is used to announce the arrival of a character it is basically uttered by the chorus leader, and seldom by a character, whereas the split is not so clear-cut in Sophocles and Aeschylus (in Aristophanes it is in fact the characters who preferably utter entry-marking καὶ μὴν).

|  | Euripides | Sophocles | Aeschylus | Aristophanes | Total |
|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-------|
| chorus leader (or chorus) <sup>1</sup> | 25        | 5         | 1         | 2            | 33    |
| character <sup>2</sup>                 | 2         | 3         | –         | 4            | 9     |

Table 1 – Who utters entry-marking καὶ μὴν? (notas 1<sup>23</sup> e 2<sup>24</sup>)

The figures for entry-marking ἀλλὰ γάρ in Euripides do not show such an imbalance, and only characters utter them in Aristophanes.

22 A similar question seems to have puzzled Kamerbeek (1978: 60), who, commenting on S. *Ant.* 155, prefers not to delve into the problem: “Here the difference with καὶ μὴν is slight”. Cf. also Webster (1933: 119-20); his account on what he calls “the καὶ μὴν and the ἀλλὰ γάρ class” is nevertheless rather chaotic.

23 E. Alc. 507, 611, 1006; Heracl. 118; Hipp. 899, 1151, 1342; Andr. 494, 545, 879, 1166; Hec. 216, 665; Supp. 980, 1031; El. 339; Tr. 230, 1207; IT 236; Ph. 443; Or. 348, 456, 1012; IA 1619; [Rh.] 85; S. El. 1422 (chorus); Ant. 525, 1180, 1257; OC 549; A. Th. 372 (?semi-chorus); Ar. Lys. 1072, 1082.

24 E. Ion 1257 (Creusa); [Rh.] 627 (Athena); S. Aj. 1168 (Teucer); El. 78 (old slave); OC 1249 (Antigone); Ar. Ach. 908 (Dicaeopolis); Eq. 691 (sausage seller); Pl. 332 (Chremylus), 1038 (old woman). Denniston (1954: 586) is somewhat misleading when he says that καὶ μὴν is “often” used as the first words of a character.

|  | Euripides | Sophocles | Aeschylus | Aristophanes | Total |
|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-------|
| chorus leader (or chorus) <sup>3</sup> | 6         | 1         | 1         | –            | 8     |
| character <sup>4</sup>                 | 4         | –         | 1         | 4            | 9     |

Table 2 – Who utters entry-marking ἀλλὰ γάρ? (notas 3<sup>25</sup> e 4<sup>26</sup>)

There is no exception to the rule that entry-marking καὶ μὴν is uttered as the first words of character or chorus leader (or chorus). In its turn entry-marking ἀλλὰ γάρ is markedly used *not* as first words (13x), except when employed after a strophic choral song and uttered by the chorus leader (4x, all of them in Euripides).

As we have seen, examples (26: καὶ μὴν) and (18: ἀλλὰ γάρ) are very much similar in this regard, appearing as they do after a strophic choral song and being uttered by the chorus leader. In fact, as noted by Hamilton (1978: 72), entrances that immediately follow choral odes are not announced.<sup>27</sup> It is perhaps not without interest to note that, in the fewer instances when they are indeed announced, they tend to be accompanied – especially in Euripides – by one of our particle combinations. As regards the tragedians,<sup>28</sup> there are 87 unannounced entries of characters after (or else at the end of) strophic choral songs,<sup>29</sup> as against 30 announced ones. Of these, 15 employ καὶ μὴν and ἀλλὰ γάρ. If we discount three instances where a break-off is not involved – what may well have precluded the use of either of our particle collocations<sup>30</sup> – we end up with 15 out of 27 an-

25 E. Hec. 724; HF 138, 442; Ph. 1308 (probably spurious; for Mastronarde 1994: 512-4 lines 1308-53 are genuine); Or. 1366 (probably spurious); Ba. 1165; S. Ant. 155 (chorus); A. Th. 861 (probably spurious).

26 E. Hipp. 51; El. 107; Hel. 1385; Or. 725; A. Pr. 941; Ar. Ach. 40, 175; Av. 1168; Lys. 1239

27 Cf. Poe 1992: 130.

28 Data based mainly on Hamilton 1978: 73-80.

29 Aeschylus: 16x; Sophocles: 19x; Euripides: 52x.

30 In E. *Alc.* 232-3 Chorus A announces the arrival of Alcestis and Admetus, thereupon Chorus B and the chorus leader speak another ten lines, and only then Alcestis and Admetus begin to sing. Thus the announcement does not involve a break off, and both ἀλλὰ γάρ and καὶ μὴν would be ill-suited in this context. E. *IA* 590-7 are probably spurious and may belong to a second chorus, in which case they are followed by another nine lines (598-606) uttered by the chorus of women from Euboea, and only then Clytaemesta begins her speech. Again, the announcement does not involve a break off, hence our particles are not employed. The semi-chorus in Aeschylus *Seven Against Thebes* 369-71 heralds the arrival of the scout without the use of any particle; thereupon (372-4) the other semi-chorus announces that Eteocles is coming (372 καὶ μὴν ὄδ...). It appears that the use of καὶ μὴν is warranted in the second announcement, but not in the first, because only after the second announcement the chorus breaks off.



nounced entrances following choral songs (55%) using either καὶ μὴν or ἀλλὰ γάρ (in Euripides the percentage is 69%).<sup>31</sup>

|                       | Euripides | Sophocles | Aeschylus | Total |
|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------|
| overall               | 16        | 9         | 2         | 27    |
| καὶ μὴν <sup>5</sup>  | 7         | 2         | 1         | 10    |
| ἀλλὰ γάρ <sup>6</sup> | 4         | 1         | –         | 5     |

Table 3 – Announced entrances after (or at the end of) strophic choral songs(notas 5<sup>32</sup> e 6<sup>33</sup>)

As for the announced entries after strophic choral songs *without* the use of ἀλλὰ γάρ and καὶ μὴν, apart from the three instances mentioned above where a break-off does not occur, there are three further instances where either ἀλλὰ or μὴν is employed: S. *Ant.* 626 (μὴν); E. *Hipp.* 170 (ἀλλὰ); E. *IT* 456 (ἀλλὰ).<sup>34</sup> Most of the remaining cases display different constructions, of which Sophocles is particularly fond: S. *Ant.* 376-8, 801-5; *Tr.* 962-4; *OT* 1110-12; *OC* 1096-8; E. *Tro.* 1118-21; A. *Ag.* 489-94. In all these passages the entry announcement is couched in an explanation of sorts following upon a sentence. The use of καὶ μὴν is hence precluded, whereas the adversative character of ἀλλὰ γάρ would be out of place.<sup>35</sup>

- 31 The previous assertions correct and build upon Wilamowitz's claim (1895: 38) – rightly challenged by Bond (1981: 101) – that ἀλλὰ γάρ is customary "bei der überleitung vom gesange zum dialoge".
- 32 E. *Alc.* 1006; *Hipp.* 1151; *Andr.* 494; *Supp.* 980; *Tr.* 230; *Or.* 348, 1012; S. *Aj.* 1168; *OC* 1249; A. *Th.* 372.
- 33 E. *HF* 138, 442; *Ph.* 1308 (probably spurious); *Or.* 1366 (probably spurious); S. *Ant.* 155.
- 34 The break-off function is common to the three examples, and καὶ μὴν or ἀλλὰ γάρ might have been used as well, particularly in the last case, where ἀλλὰ ... γάρ would suit the context very well (\*<sub>POP</sub> ἀλλὰ ... <sub>PUSH</sub> γάρ ... <sub>POP</sub> σιγᾶτε ...). The most interesting example is of course E. *Or.* 1549-50, combining as it does ἀλλὰ and μὴν: ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τόνδε λεύσσω Μενέλεων δόμων πέλας ὀξύπου, ἠσθημένον που τὴν τύχην ἢ νῦν πάρα 'But here I see Menelaus approaching the house with hurried step: he must have heard about what has happened'. In this example one might argue that ἀλλὰ goes with lines 1551-2: (ἀλλὰ...) οὐκέτ' ἄν φθάνοιτε κληῖθρα συμπεραίνοντες μοχλοῖς, ὃ κατὰ στέγας Ἄτρεΐδαι '[But...] [γ]ου in the house, Atreus' descendants, it's high time you finished bolting the doors with bars!'
- 35 In A. *Ag.* 489-94 the announcement of arrival (κῆρυκ' ... τόνδ' ὄρω) follows, by way of explanation, the sentence in which the arrival itself is hinted at (τάχ' εἰσόμειθα...). Hence the adversative incision, so to say, that prevails in contexts where entry-marking ἀλλὰ γάρ and καὶ μὴν are used is absent (and καὶ μὴν at 493 would be anyway impossible for it would not figure as the *first words* spoken by the character (= Clytaemestra), the only place where it is found among the extant tragedies and comedies (cf. Denniston 1954: 586 and Meridor 1979). See E. *Med.* 1116-20, where καὶ δὴ is used: the context is similar, but Medea is certain of her success and only waits for confirmation (cf. Erp Taalman Kip 2009: 114), while Aeschylus' Clytaemestra is not, hence the use of καὶ δὴ in *Agamemnon* 493 would be unwarranted. Something

Still, though not uninteresting in themselves, these figures cannot account for the reason why *καὶ μὴν* is used in example (26) and *ἀλλὰ γάρ* in example (18). A possible explanation may be sought along pragmatic lines and has to do with text cohesion. In (26) the chorus had just mentioned appraisingly in their song the house of Tantalus (*Or.* 345-7 *τίνα γὰρ ἔτι πάρος οἶκον ἄλλον ἕτερον ἢ τὸν ἀπὸ θεογόνων γάμων, τὸν ἀπὸ Ταντάλου σέβεσθαι με χρή;* ‘But what other house shall I rather honor than this, the house of Tantalus, descended from marriage with the gods?’), and Menelaus’ entry announced by the chorus leader suits them very well: 350-1 *δηλος ὀράσθαι τοῦ Τανταλιδῶν ἐξ αἵματος ὧν* ‘his looks mark him plainly from the blood of the sons of Tantalus’. The topic of the house of Tantalus is carried on from the immediately preceding choral song to the announced entry of the Tantalid (*καὶ μὴν...*), and the praise heaped on him is all the more justified in light of it. Nothing similar can be said of example (18): the approach of Lycus (*ἀλλ’ ... γάρ*) signals an abrupt shift of focus – in fact, some anxiety is to be expected from the chorus’s leader upon seeing him, a true antagonist.

Entry-marking *καὶ μὴν*, I suggest, tends to be used where a topic is carried on (or else resumed) when announcing an arrival on stage, even though the shift of focus is inherent in its employment. Entry-marking *ἀλλὰ γάρ*, on the other hand, tends to signal a harsher shift of focus without explicit topic continuity. Perhaps this is best illustrated when comparing *E. Hec.* 724-5 (= example (3): *ἀλλ’ εἰσορῶ γὰρ τοῦδε δεσπότης δέμας Ἀγαμέμνωνος, τοῦνθένδε σιγῶμεν, φίλοι* ‘But since I see Agamemnon, your master, approaching, let us now hold our peace’) with the following:

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similar also could be said of the following: *S. Ant.* 376-8 (the announcement explains why the chorus is at a loss); *S. Ant.* 801-5 (for the tears that cannot be held in check when announcing new arrivals upon stage, cf. *E. HF* 442-50 [ex.16: *ἀλλὰ ... γάρ*], esp. 449-50); *S. Tr.* 962-4; and *OC* 1096-8. In *E. Tr.* 1118-21 the announcement explains why the chorus leader asserts that one woeful change follows another (cf. *E. Tr.* 706-8 [ex.12]: *ἀλλ’ ἐκ λόγου γὰρ ἄλλος ἐκβαίνει λόγος...*), and in *S. OT* 1110-12 the main clause *τὸν βοτήρ’ ὄραν δοκῶ* follows the conditional clause in which the conditions for its truth are specified, thus precluding any adversative incision typical of our particles. The case of *E. Tr.* 568-9 is a unique one: *Ἐκάβη, λεύσσεις τήνδ’ Ἀνδρομάχην ξενικοῖς ἐπ’ ὄχοις πορθημευομένην;* ‘Hecuba, do you see Andromache here carried on an enemy wagon?’ In our corpus, never is a verb of seeing (*λεύσσω*, *ὄρω*, *εἶ[σ]σορῶ*, *δέδορκα*, *δέρκομαι*, *βλέπω*) used in the second person singular with the particles *ἀλλὰ γάρ* or *καὶ μὴν* to announce a new arrival. Only the first person singular is attested (11x *καὶ μὴν*, 9x *ἀλλὰ γάρ*); the second person *λεύσσεις* seems to have blocked any possibility of employing either of the clusters.

- (27) καὶ μὴν περῶσα τυγχάνει δόμων ὑπο  
 ἦδ' (= Hecuba), ἐς δὲ καιρὸν σοῖσι φαίνεται λόγους.  
 'But here she comes out of the tent, appearing at *the right moment* to hear your  
 report.' (E. *Hec.* 665-6)

Hecuba is the main topic since line 658.<sup>36</sup> Her arrival is most suitable, and this is duly underlined by the chorus leader: she comes “at the right moment” (ἐς δὲ καιρὸν). Characters arriving at the right moment are indeed not infrequently announced with the use of καὶ μὴν, suggesting that the topic is being either resumed or carried on. In Euripides *Hippolytus* 899, Hippolytus is the main topic since line 885 and his arrival simply moves the topic forward, notwithstanding the break-off function inherent to καὶ μὴν. Again the right time (ἐς καιρὸν) is mentioned.

- (28) καὶ μὴν ὄδ' αὐτὸς παῖς σὸς ἐς καιρὸν πάρ  
 Ἴππόλυτος...  
 'Look! Your son Hippolytus is here himself, *a timely arrival!*' (E. *Hipp.* 899- 900)

An example of a topic being resumed is Sophocles *Ajax* 1168:

- (29) καὶ μὴν ἐς αὐτὸν καιρὸν οἶδε πλησίοι  
 πάρεισιν ἀνδρὸς τοῦδε παῖς τε καὶ γυνή,  
 τάφον περιστελοῦντε δυστήνου νεκροῦ.  
 'Yes, at this very moment here are this man's son and wife, come to adorn the  
 tomb of the hapless corpse.' (S. *Aj.* 1168-70)

Teucer had sent Tecmessa to fetch the child at 985-9;<sup>37</sup> now they make their entrance ἐς καιρὸν, announced by entry-marking καὶ μὴν.<sup>38</sup> Alternatively, entrances signaled by ἀλλά γάρ are never said to happen at the right time.<sup>39</sup>

36 The maidservant asks the chorus where Hecuba is at 658 (γυναῖκες, Ἐκάβη ποῦ ποθ' ἡ παναθλία 'women, where is Hecuba the utterly wretched...?') and explains why she does so at 663 (Ἐκάβη φέρω τόδ' ἄλγος 'it is to Hecuba that I bring this sorrow').

37 Cf. Erp Taalman Kip 2009: 113; Wakker 1997: 228.

38 Compare also A. *Th.* 372-3 καὶ μὴν ἄναξ ὄδ' αὐτὸς Οἰδῖπου τόκος (= Eteocles) εἰς ἀρτίκολλον, ἀγγέλου λόγον μαθεῖν 'And here is the king himself, the son of Oedipus, just at the precise time to learn what the messenger has to say'. At 369-71 a voice from the chorus (or the second half-chorus) had announced the entry of the scout, without particles; now Eteocles' entry is signaled alongside the remark that he has come “in the nick of time” to hear what the scout is about to say.

39 Rather, an element of surprise may be felt: the entrance of Amphiteus coming back so soon from Sparta (Ar. *Ach.* 175 = example 22) must surely have caused a mild astonishment to Dicaeopolis, for he had sent him on a diplomatic mission to the city at 130-2, barely forty-five

In Euripides *Heracl.* 118, Demophon is the main topic since 111:

- (30) καὶ μὴν ὄδ' αὐτὸς (= Demophon) ἔρχεται σπουδῆν ἔχων  
 Ἀκάμας τ' ἀδελφός, τῶνδ' ἐπήκοοι λόγων.  
 'Look! Here he comes himself in haste, and his brother Acamas with him, to  
 hear these words.' (E. *Heracl.* 118-9)

Here lies one of the main differences between καὶ μὴν and καὶ δὴ: the character whose arrival is signaled by καὶ μὴν may well have been the topic of the discussion that immediately precedes it, yet the arrival is not prepared for (when it is, καὶ δὴ is used).<sup>40</sup> But the crucial point is that entry-marking καὶ μὴν tend to enhance topic continuity, lending particular cohesion to an arrival on stage. A character arriving of his or her own accord, for instance, may be explicitly integrated into the plot in the following examples:

- (31) καὶ μὴν ὄρῳ καὶ Βλεψίδημον τουτονὶ  
 προσιόντα· δῆλος δ' ἐστὶν ὅτι τοῦ πράγματος  
 ἀκήκοέν τι τῆ βαδίσει καὶ τῷ τάχει.  
 'And here comes Blepsidemus too; the way he's striding and hurrying along,  
 he's obviously heard something about what's going on.' (Ar. *Pl.* 332-4)<sup>41</sup>
- (32) καὶ μὴν ὄρῳ τάλαιναν Εὐρυδικὴν ὁμοῦ  
 δάμαρτα τὴν Κρέοντος· ἐκ δὲ δωμάτων  
 ἦτοι κλυοῦσα παιδὸς ἢ τύχη περᾶ.  
 'Now I see the unhappy Eurydice close by, Creon's wife; she is coming from  
 the house, perhaps because she has heard about her son.' (S. *Ant.* 1180-2)<sup>42</sup>

A character may also arrive on stage after being summoned, and here καὶ μὴν may signal that a topic is being resumed.

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lines before! In Ar. *Ach.* 40 (= example 21) the Prytaneis were previously referred to, but the use of ἀλλὰ γάρ may well be sarcastic: "Look, what a surprise, here they come... at noon!" (they were expected long before that).

40 Cf. Erp Taalman Kip 2009: 120-1, 128.

41 Cf. Ar. *Pl.* 1038-9 καὶ μὴν τὸ μερᾶκιον τοδὶ προσέρχεται, ὄπερ πάλαι κατηγοροῦσα τυγχάνω (...). 'But look, here comes the young man now, *the very one I've been castigating*.' Example (30) is of course a suitable one as well.

42 Cf. E. *IA* 1619-20 καὶ μὴν Ἀγαμέμνων ἄναξ στείχει, τοῦσδ' αὐτοὺς ἔχων σοι φράζειν μύθους 'See, here comes lord Agamemnon, who has the same tale to tell you.' Cf. also E. *Or.* 1549-52 (already mentioned in footnote 34): ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τόνδε λεύσσω Μενέλεων δόμων πέλας ὄξυπουν, ἠϊσθημένον που τὴν τύχην ἢ νῦν πάρα. 'But here I see Menelaus approaching the house with hurried step: *he must have heard about what has happened*.'

- (33) καὶ μὴν ἀναξ ὄδ' ἡμῖν Αἰγέως γόνος  
 Θησεὺς κατ' ὀμφὴν σὴν ἀποσταλεῖς πάρα.  
 'See, here is our king, the son of Aegeus, Theseus, who was summoned  
 according to your words.' (S. *OC* 549-50)<sup>43</sup>

In Euripides' *Hippolytus*, Theseus commands the messenger to bring his son at 1265 (κομίζετ' αὐτόν); at 1342 Hippolytus' entrance is announced by the chorus leader thus: καὶ μὴν ὁ τάλας ὅδε δὴ στείχει (...) 'Look, here comes the unhappy man (...)'.<sup>44</sup> In Sophocles *Antigone*, Creon summons Ismene at 491 (καὶ νιν καλεῖτ') and the chorus leader's anapests announce her arrival at 525: καὶ μὴν πρὸ πυλῶν ἦδ' Ἰσμὴνη (...) 'See, here before the gates is Ismene (...)'.

Finally, a character's arrival may be hinted at by the plot. The actual arrival may be signaled by καὶ μὴν, whereby the previously mentioned topic is taken up. In Euripides *Alcestitis* 477, Heracles asks the chorus whether Admetus is at home;<sup>45</sup> some lines later (507-8) Admetus is announced as follows: καὶ μὴν ὄδ' αὐτὸς τῆσδε κοίρανος χθονὸς | Ἄδμητος ἕξω δωμαίων πορεύεται 'But here, Admetus, the king of this land, is himself coming out of doors'. Euripides *Andromache* 1166-7 (καὶ μὴν ὄδ' ἀναξ ἤδη φοράδην Δελφίδος ἐκ γῆς δῶμα πελάζει 'See, here is our lord, his body carried home from the land of Delphi') may be viewed either as a case of a topic being carried on or resumed, for at 1158-60 the messenger had told Peleus that Neoptolemus' body was being brought back to be mourned (cf. Erp Taalman Kip 2009: 116). In Sophocles *Oedipus at Colonus* 1249, Antigone announces the entry of Polynices (καὶ μὴν ὄδ' ἡμῖν, ὡς ἕοικεν, ὁ ξένος 'Why, here, it seems, is the stranger!'), who was the topic of the previous conversation between Oedipus, Theseus and Antigone (1150-1210) before the choral song.<sup>46</sup> The topic continuity is made explicit by Antigone: Oedipus asks her who that stranger might be (1252a) and she retorts (1252b-53): ὄνπερ καὶ πάλαι κατείχομεν | γνώμη, πάρεστι δεῦρο Πολυνεΐκης ὅδε 'The man who for some time has occupied our thoughts, Polynices has come here!'

43 Theseus was summoned by Oedipus himself at 455-6; cf. Erp Taalman Kip 2009: 113.

44 Cf. Erp Taalman Kip 2009: 116; 117 (on Eur. *Ion* 1257-8). In Euripides *Andromache* 545-6 (καὶ μὴν δέδορκα τόνδε Πηλέα πέλας, σπουδῆι τιθέντα δεῦρο γηραιὸν πόδα 'But look, I see Peleus nearby, hastening his aged steps hither'), Peleus enters accompanied by the maidservant sent by Andromache some 450 lines before (cf. vv. 79-90)!

45 Ἄδμητον ἐν δόμοισιν ἄρα κτεχνῶ;

46 Cf. Erp Taalman Kip 2009: 114.

#### 4. Conclusions

To sum up, it may be said that entry-marking ἀλλὰ (...) γάρ:

1. signals a strong or marked shift of focus;
2. may be accompanied by an explicit call for action (<sub>POP</sub> ἀλλὰ... <sub>PUSH</sub> γάρ... <sub>POP</sub> [SUBJUNCTIVE] [IMPERATIVE] [FUTURE] [-τεός]);
3. when a call to action is absent (<sub>POP</sub> ἀλλὰ [...] <sub>PUSH</sub> γάρ... <sub>POP</sub> ∅), it may be presumed, which is tantamount to say that there are only “complex” instances of the cluster, as against “simple” ones (<sub>POP</sub> ἀλλὰ [...] γάρ...) not related to entry announcements;
4. has a stronger break-off function when compared to entry-marking καὶ μήν, for more often than not it does not figure as first words of either character or chorus leader;
5. may be uttered likewise by either character or chorus leader (or even by the whole chorus).

In comparison, entry-marking καὶ μήν:

1. signals a light or unmarked shift of focus;
2. may be used to carry on a given topic, or else to resume a topic that has been dropped;
3. is normally uttered by the chorus leader in tragedy;
4. tends to appear – and the same may be said to a lesser extent of entry-marking ἀλλὰ γάρ – when an arrival is announced after strophic choral songs.

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