

Day watch or bay watch? A note on ἡμεροσκόπος (Ar. *Lys.* 849)

Mark Janse

In this short note I explore the possibility that Lysistrata's use of the military term ἡμεροσκόπος 'day watch' in the introduction to the (in)famous seduction scene between Cinesias and Myrrhine (829-953) is in fact a pun based on a well-documented feature of female speech in 5th-century Attic which must have been easily recognizable as such by the male audience: iotacism. I argue that ἡμεροσκόπος will have been pronounced as ἰμεροσκόπος 'lust watch', with a long close front unrounded [i:] instead of a long mid-open front unrounded [ɛ:]. By doing so, the military term, befitting the context of the occupation-plot, is perverted to a sexually charged word befitting the context of the strike-plot.¹ The remainder of this note is structured as follows: in §1 I sketch in more detail the military vocabulary associated with the occupation-plot which occasions the use of ἡμεροσκόπος; in §2 I describe the sexual vocabulary associated with the strike-plot which invites the perversion of ἡμεροσκόπος to ἰμεροσκόπος; in §3 I discuss the evidence for iotacism as a feature of female speech and the likelihood that it applies to ἡμεροσκόπος; in §4 I present some conclusions.

1. MILITARY TERMINOLOGY ASSOCIATED WITH THE OCCUPATION-PLOT

The first half of the play is centered on Lysistrata's first scheme: the seizure of the Acropolis. The vocabulary associated with the occupation-plot is unmistakably military. Lysistrata addresses the old women deployed to occupy the Acropolis as ξύμμαχοι 'allies' (456) and uses the military term λόχος 'company' to refer to them: καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν εἰσι τέτταρες λόχοι μαχίμων γυναικῶν ἔνδον ἐξοπλισμένων 'we also have four companies of fully armed combat women inside' (453-4).² The verb (κατα-)λαμβάνω 'occupy' is used five times in this context: καταληψόμεθα γὰρ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τήμερον 'we will seize the citadel today' (176), ταῖς πρεσβυτάταις γὰρ προστέτακται ... θυεῖν δοκούσαις καταλαβεῖν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν 'the elderly women have been ordered ... to seize the citadel while pretending to sacrifice' (177-9), αἱ γὰρ γυναῖκες τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τῆς θεοῦ ἤδη κατειλήφασιν 'the women have already seized the citadel of the Goddess' (241-2), γυναῖκας ... κατὰ μὲν ἅγιον ἔχειν βρέτας, κατὰ τ' ἀκρόπολιν ἐμὴν λαβεῖν, κληθοῖσι τ' αὖ καὶ μοχλοῖσι τὰ Προπύλαια πακτοῦν 'women ... hold the sacred image, and seized my citadel, and shut it off with bars and bolts' (260-5), τὴν Κραναῶν κατέλαβον, ἐφ' ὃ τὴν τε μεγαλόπετρον ἄβατον ἀκρόπολιν, ἱερὸν τέμενος 'they have seized the citadel of Cranaus, on the mighty rock, the restricted citadel, a holy precinct' (480-3). When Cinesias approaches the Acropolis, Lysistrata asks who is standing ἐντὸς τῶν φυλακῶν 'within the perimeter' (847), "as if the Acropolis were an armed garrison with sentries at its periphery".³ When Cinesias inquires: σὺ δ' εἶ τίς ἠκβάλλουσά μ'; 'who are you to throw me out?' (849a), Lysistrata replies: ἡμεροσκόπος 'daytime sentry' (849b). From the perspective of the occupation-plot, the use of the military term ἡμεροσκόπος, prepared by the preceding phrase ἐντὸς τῶν φυλακῶν, seems therefore entirely appropriate.

¹ The terms "occupation-plot" and "strike-plot" are taken from J. Henderson, *Aristophanes: Lysistrata* (Oxford, 1987) xvi-xvii; cf. A.H. Sommerstein *Aristophanes: Lysistrata* (Warminster, 1998²) 3-4.

² Greek quotations are taken from the Loeb edition of J. Henderson, *Aristophanes: Birds, Lysistrata, Women at the Thesmophoria* (Cambridge, MA, 2000) and the OCT edition of N.G. Wilson, *Aristophanis fabulae*. Vol. II (Oxford, 2007); all translations are my own.

³ Henderson, *Lysistrata* (n. 1), 175; cf. Sommerstein, *Lysistrata* (n. 1) 200.

2. SEXUAL VOCABULARY ASSOCIATED WITH THE STRIKE-PLOT

The seduction scene is the first of three episodes in which the ischemic priapic effects of the strike-plot on the Athenian and Spartan men are illustrated in an exceedingly graphic manner, the former being represented by Cinesias (706-80), the latter by the anonymous Spartan herald (980-1013) and both by the Spartan and Athenian delegates (1072-1188). Lysistrata describes the approaching Cinesias to the other women on the Acropolis as follows: ἄνδρα, <ἄνδρ'> ὁρῶ προσιόντα παραπεπληγμένον, τοῖς τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ὀργίοις εἰλημμένον 'a man, I see a man coming this way, palsy-stricken, possessed by the secret rites of Aphrodite' (831-2). Cinesias describes himself as being seized by ὁ σπασμός ... χῶ τέτανος 'spasms and cramps' (845-6). When Lysistrata asks Cinesias if he is a man (ἀνήρ; 848a), he retorts, "brandishing his phallus" as Henderson suggests in his Loeb edition:⁴ ἀνήρ δῆτα 'a man, duh' (848b). When asked in turn who she is, Lysistrata replies: ἡμεροσκόπος 'day watch' (849).

Cinesias is approaching the Propylaea from sanctuary of Demeter Chloe (835). As a ἡμεροσκόπος, Lysistrata is thus well positioned, not just to see him coming, but also to behold the sorry state he is in. Cinesias' inflated condition was obviously visible to the audience as well, as he was wearing a bigger-than-life comic phallus, like the Spartan herald and the Athenian and Spartan delegates later in the play. It is nevertheless remarkable how often explicit reference is made to the priapic state of the phalli by means of evidential particles such as δῆτα and deictic pronouns, often reinforced by the so-called deictic iota.

Cinesias points ostentatiously at his phallus on at least three occasions: ἀλλ' ἦ τὸ πέος τόδ' Ἡρακλῆς ξενίζεται; 'is this cock here then like Heracles being served?' (928), ἀλλ' ἐπῆρται τουτογί 'well, this one here is already up' (937), πῶς ταυτηνὶ [sc. ψωλὴν] παιδοτροφῆσω; 'how shall I raise this one [sc. hard-on] here?' (956). The Spartan herald is vividly described by Cinesias as Κονίσσαλος (982), an ithyphallic creature associated with Priapus. In what follows, he explicitly emphasizes the visibility of the Spartan's priapic phallus: κᾶπειτα δόρυ δῆθ' ὑπὸ μάλῃς ἤκεις ἔχων; 'and that's why you've come with that spear hidden under your arm, right?' (985),⁵ τί δὴ προβάλλει τὴν χλαμύδ'; ἢ βουβωνιάς ὑπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ; 'if not, then why are you holding your cloak in front of you? are your groins swollen from your journey?'; τί δ' ἐστὶ σοι τοδί; 'what's this then you've got here?' (991), χαῦτη 'στὶ σκυτάλη Λακωνικὴ 'then this here is a Spartan baton as well' (992),⁶ and concludes: ἀλλὰ ἔστυκας, ὦ μιαρῶτατε 'why, you've got a stiffy, you pervert!' (991). In a similar way, he points at the Spartan delegate's state of affairs: ἀπὸ τοῦ δὲ τουτὶ τὸ κακὸν ὑμῖν ἐνέπεσεν; 'who caused this evil here to fall upon you?' (997), who later on confirm its visibility: ὀρῆν γὰρ ἔξεσθ' ὡς ἔχοντες ἴκομεν 'you can see for yourselves how we're doing' (1077). Likewise the Athenian delegates: ὡς ἄνδρες ἡμεῖς οὐτοῦ τοιουτοῦ 'because we men here are such as you can see here' (1087).

These few references indicate that the φαλληφορία of the men is presented as a real φαλλοσκοπία by Aristophanes. Which brings me back to the Lysistrata's identification of herself to Cinesias as ἡμεροσκόπος, which I believe contains a pun on ἡμερος. This would turn Lysistrata the 'day watch' into Lysistrata the 'lust watch', as of course she should be, the men's desire for sex being exactly

⁴ Henderson, *Aristophanes* (n. 2) 381.

⁵ The term δόρυ is metaphorically used to refer to a huge erection, cf. J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse. Obscene Language in Attic Comedy* (Oxford, 1991²) 120; Henderson, *Lysistrata* (n. 1) 186. On the literal and figurative senses of the phrase δόρυ ὑπὸ μάλῃς cf. Sommerstein, *Lysistrata* (n. 1) 205.

⁶ On the interpretation of Laconian σκυτάλη / Attic σκυτάλη cf. Sommerstein, *Lysistrata* (n. 1) 205-6, who prefers to consider it "a distinctive type of walking-stick with a knobbed or twisted end ... a much apter false identification of an erect comic phallus with a prominent glans of the type often seen in vase-paintings of satyrs and other ugly males" instead of the "dispatch-stick", long and wrapped with leather, thus similar to the comic phallos" identified by Henderson, *Lysistrata* (n. 1) 186 and other editors.

what constitutes the strike-plot, as set out rather explicitly in the prologue (149-54). Ἴμερος is what Lysistrata bids Aphrodite and Eros to give to the women in order to produce τέτανον ... καὶ ῥοπαλισμούς ‘delightful cramps and clubisms’ (551-4).

This is of course reminiscent of that other famous example of ‘sexual manipulation of husbands by wives’:⁷ Hera’s seduction of Zeus (*Iliad* 14.153-353). Just as Lysistrata warns the Athenian and Spartan delegates that they should stop fighting each other, because the Persians are waiting to invade Greece again (1133), Hera wants the Greeks to regain the upper hand in the war against the Trojans. Like Lysistrata, she invokes the help of Aphrodite to give her φιλότητα καὶ ἴμερον ‘love and desire’ (198). Like Cinesias, Zeus is overpowered by the passion and desire provided by Aphrodite: καί με γλυκὺς ἴμερος αἰρεῖ ‘and sweet desire takes hold of me’ (14.328, the conclusion of Zeus’ hilarious catalogue of female conquests, surely the most original way ever to seduce your wife).

From the perspective of the strike-plot, therefore, a pun on ἡμεροσκόπος → ἴμεροσκόπος would fit the context perfectly and perversely well.

3. IOTACISM AS A FEATURE OF FEMALE SPEECH

For ἡμεροσκόπος to contain a pun on ἴμερος, the vowels should be very similar and, indeed, they are: at the time of the production of *Lysistrata*, <η> represented a long mid-open front unrounded [ɛ:], whereas the <ι> in ἴμερος is a long close front unrounded [i:]. Threatte, discussing *orthographic* confusion of <η> and <ι>, remarks that it is reasonable to assume that [i:] and [ɛ:] could be confused “by the semi-literate”.⁸ Interestingly, *Lysistrata* contains another example of a pun depending on the confusion of [ɛ:] and [i:], which also relates to the priapism of the men: ἀσκητικὸν τὸ χρῆμα τοῦ νοσήματος ‘a terrible athletic affliction’ (1083-5). It is generally acknowledged that ἀσκητικός puns on *ἀσκῖτικός, an otherwise unattested adjective derived from ἀσκίτης ‘dropsy’.⁹ There is, however, more than the indirect evidence of ἀσκητικός ~ *ἀσκῖτικός to make the case for a pun on ἴμερος in ἡμεροσκόπος.

In a famous passage in Plato’s *Cratylus*, Socrates asserts that, in his time, elderly people and even more so women were more conservative in their speech, with particular reference to the confusion of <η> and <ι> (418b9-c6):

οἴσθα ὅτι οἱ παλαιοὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι τῷ ἰῶτα καὶ τῷ δέλτα εὖ μάλα ἐχρῶντο, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα αἱ γυναῖκες, αἵπερ μάλιστα τὴν ἀρχαίαν φωνὴν σῶζουσι. νῦν δὲ ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ ἰῶτα ἢ εἴ ἢ ἦτα μεταστρέφουσιν, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ δέλτα ζῆτα, ὡς δὴ μεγαλοπρεπέστερα ὄντα. [...] οἷον οἱ μὲν ἀρχαιότατοι «ἰμέραν» τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάλουν, οἱ δὲ «ἐμέραν», οἱ δὲ νῦν «ἡμέραν».

‘You know that our elderly used the iota and the delta very well, and above all the women, who most of all preserve the old pronunciation. But nowadays they change <ι> into either <ει> or <η>, and <δ> into <ζ>, because they think they sound rather magnificent [...] For example, the elderly used to call the day ἰμέρα, others ἐμέρα, but the people of our day say ἡμέρα’.

⁷ Henderson, *Lysistrata* (n. 1) 178.

⁸ L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions*. Vol. 1: *Phonology* (Berlin, 1980) 165.

⁹ Cf. Henderson, *Lysistrata* (n. 1) 193; Sommerstein, *Lysistrata* (n. 8) 210. J. van Leeuwen, *Aristophanis Lysistrata* (Leiden, 1903) 148, sees a similar word play (*verborum eiusmodi ludus*) in ὀπις ~ ὀπίαν at *Wasps* 352-3 (cf. LSJ s.v. ὀπίας; A.H. Sommerstein, *Wasps* [Warminster, 1973] 178), but the pun cannot depend on the possible confusion of [ɛ:] and [i:], as the <ι> of ὀπίαν is short.

Clearly, the example quoted by Socrates is of particular interest for our purposes. From a historical point of view, his assertion does not make any sense, as ἡμέρα is obviously related to Doric ἀμέρα and ultimately to Arcadian ἄμαρ, Ionic ἡμαρ (Homer), Mycenaean *a-mo-ra-ma* /āmor-āmar/ ‘day after day’, from Proto-Greek *ām̥r, so the variant ἡμέρα could never have preceded ἡμέρα. Quite obviously, the opposite is true: Proto-Greek [a:] → Ionic-Attic [ɛ:] would soon change to [i:] “in the dialect of the majority of the Attic population in the period 400-340” according to Teodorsson.¹⁰ Threatte, on the other hand, contends that confusion of <η> and <ι> is “exceedingly rare in Attic inscriptions before ca. 150 AD”, which he takes as evidence of “η pronounced as ī [i:] (by this time spelled as I or EI)”.¹¹ This fits well with Teodorsson’s other conclusion with regard to the pronunciation of <η> in the first half of the fourth century BC: “However, the evidence of a close equality is also very strong, which shows that this was the pronunciation of a considerable part of the population”.¹²

These conclusions may seem contradictory, but Duhoux offers a tentative and, indeed, tempting, explanation: Teodorsson describes the sociolect of “la masse non cultivée”, Threatte the sociolect of “l’élite cultivée”,¹³ which explains, at least in part, their different conclusions as far as the chronology of the sound change [ɛ:] → [i:] is concerned. The key word is, of course, variation - but how to interpret the attested variation in terms of high and low prestige? And, more importantly, how does this tie in with Socrates’ characterization of female speech as being more μεγαλοπρεπής - surely the Greek equivalent of the modern sociolinguistic variable ‘high’?

In his magnificent study of the ‘languages’ of Aristophanes, Willi discusses a famous Aristophanic fragment (fr. 706):¹⁴

διάλεκτον ἔχοντα μέσην πόλεως
οὐκ ἀστείαν ὑποθηλυτέραν
οὔτ’ ἀνελευτέραν ὑπαγροικότεραν.

‘whose speech is the average style of the polis,
neither urbane and slightly female,
nor vulgar and somewhat boorish.’

The association of ἀστεία and ὑποθηλυτέρα (διάλεκτος) ties in very well with Socrates’ use of the word μεγαλοπρεπής. It suggests that Athenian elite women of the late fifth century were the avant-garde of socially prestigious innovations,¹⁵ in line with recent sociolinguistic research.¹⁶ Duhoux believes the women constituted “la minorité cultivée” and takes into consideration the evidence from the unpublished slates found in Plato’s Academy written by schoolboys belonging to the Athenian elite.¹⁷ These plates contain many examples of confusion between <η> and <ι>, e.g. ΑΘΙΝΑ, ΑΡΙΣ, ΔΙΜΟΣΘΕΝΙΣ. Threatte, dating them to the end of the fifth century, explains these as a consequence of “the boys’ incomplete mastery of the alphabet”.¹⁸ Duhoux, on the other hand, dating them to the

¹⁰ S.T. Teodorsson, *The Phonemic System of the Attic Dialect, 400-340 B.C.* (Lund, 1974) 287.

¹¹ Threattie, *Grammar* (n. 6) 165-6.

¹² Teodorsson, *Phonemic System* (n. 8) 287-8.

¹³ Y. Duhoux, ‘Le vocalisme des inscriptions attiques. Une question de méthodes’, *Verbum* 10 (1987) 186.

¹⁴ A. Willi, *The Languages of Aristophanes. Aspects of Linguistic Variation in Classical Attic Greek*. Oxford, 2002) 160-2.

¹⁵ Willi, *Languages* (n. 12) 162; *pace* A.W. Sommerstein, ‘The Language of Athenian Women’ in F. De Martino & A.H. Sommerstein (eds.), *Lo spettacolo delle voci* (Bari, 1995) 61-85.

¹⁶ J. Clackson, *Language and Society in the Greek and Roman Worlds* (Cambridge, 2014), 128-9.

¹⁷ Duhoux, ‘Vocalisme’ (n. 11) 189-91; cf. Teodorsson, *Phonemic System* (n. 8) 277 n. 272.

¹⁸ Threattie, *Grammar* (n. 6) 165.

second half of the fifth century with excavator Stavropoulos, considers them as early evidence for iotacism in Athens in this period.¹⁹ Following Teodorsson,²⁰ he concludes that the boys must have learned the iotacistic pronunciation from their mothers at home.²¹

This is entirely in line with Teodorsson's interpretation of the quoted passage from *Cratylus*: "the only possible interpretation is that there actually existed more than one pronunciation at the same time, and that the narrow quality [e:] or [i:] must have existed in the dialect of a part of the Attic population for a considerable length of time when Plato wrote his *Cratylus*".²² He points at Socrates' repeated use of οἴσθα "to indicate reality" and adds: "very few, if any, documents in our corpus [...] can have been written by women, and that the dialect of that half of the population cannot be studied by means of graphic material at all".²³ For this reason, Teodorsson takes the evidence from the quoted passage from *Cratylus* very seriously: the iotacistic pronunciation of <η> as [i:] by women is not conservative, but innovative, and the conservative pronunciation as [ε:] "was practised by educated people and taught at school".²⁴ Duhoux notes that the "réaction anti-iotaciste" is clearly reflected in Socrates use of οἱ δὲ νῦν «ἡμέραν» 'but the people of our day say ἡμέρα' (418c6), which would agree well with the dating of the schoolboys' iotacism to the second half of the fifth century.²⁵

At the end of his lucid article Duhoux wonders: "On peut, bien entendu, se demander pourquoi Aristophane, si prompt à la moquerie, n'a pas utilisé ces différences de prononciation comme matériel comique [...] les variétés subdialectales de l'attique ne faisaient peut-être pas partie des matières dont on riait à Athènes: on pouvait trouver amusante la prononciation des étrangers, Grecs ou Barbares; pas celle de ses concitoyens".²⁶ I believe ἡμεροσκόπος is a perfect example of a pun which exploits the well-known iotacistic pronunciation of <η> as [i:] by Athenian elite women.²⁷ It is surely no coincidence that Socrates, in one of his many notorious folk etymologies in *Cratylus*, explains the 'old' pronunciation of ἡμέρα as ἰμέρα with reference to, indeed, ἴμερος (418c8-d2):²⁸

οἴσθα οὖν ὅτι μόνον τοῦτο δηλοῖ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄνομα τὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ θεμένου; ὅτι γὰρ ἀσμένοις τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἰμείρουσιν ἐκ τοῦ σκότους τὸ φῶς ἐγίνετο, ταύτη ὠνόμασαν «ἰμέραν».

'You know, of course, that only the ancient word reveals the intention of the name-giver? That is, because the light comes out of the darkness to the joy of the people who long (ἰμείρουσιν) for it, therefore they called it ἰμέρα.'

¹⁹ Duhoux, 'Vocalisme' (n. 11) 190.

²⁰ Teodorsson, *Phonemic System* (n. 8) 277 n. 272.

²¹ Duhoux, 'Vocalisme' (n. 11) 195.

²² Teodorsson, *Phonemic System* (n. 8) 264, cf. 277.

²³ Teodorsson, *Phonemic System* (n. 8) 264 n. 254 & n. 255.

²⁴ Teodorsson, *Phonemic System* (n. 8) 277.

²⁵ Duhoux, 'Vocalisme' (n. 11) 192.

²⁶ Duhoux, 'Vocalisme' (n. 11) 195.

²⁷ It should be noted, however, that the only other example of a pun based on iotacism is ἀσκητικός (1083). This agrees with Socrates' observation that iotacism was characteristic of women and old people, but not with Willi's conclusion that women were the avant-garde of socially prestigious innovations (n. 13). Unless of course ἀσκητικός was uttered by the women's and not by the men's leader, as the two semi-choruses are united into a single chorus at this point, but this seems highly unlikely.

²⁸ Rejecting, as he does, the alternative etymology (*Crat.* 418d4-6): νῦν δὲ γε τετραγωδημένον οὐδ' ἂν κατανοήσαις ὃ τι βούλεται ἡ «ἡμέρα». καίτοι τινὲς οἴονται, ὡς δὴ ἡ ἡμέρα ἡμέρα ποιεῖ, διὰ ταῦτα ὠνομάσθαι αὐτὴν οὕτως 'but now, of course, it is all dressed up and you wouldn't know what ἡμέρα wants to convey. And yet some think that since the day makes things gentle (ἡμέρα), it was called that way because of that.' It should be added that this alternative etymology was, for other reasons, entertained at *Timaios* 45b4-6.

The repetition of ὄτι indicates that Socrates assumes that Hermogenes knows (οἶσθα, 418c8) this popular etymology, probably because it was around in circles of educated Athenian men at that time. If this assumption is correct, it makes the pun on ἡμερος in ἡμεροσκόπος even more likely.

4. CONCLUSION

In this short note I have argued that the military term ἡμεροσκόπος ‘day watch’ at *Lysistrata* 849 is in fact a pun on the sexually charged word ἡμεροσκόπος ‘lust watch’. It is used by Lysistrata at the turning point of the transition from the occupation-plot (254-705) to the strike-plot (706-1013): ἡμεροσκόπος fits the military context of the former perfectly well, ἡμεροσκόπος the sexual context of the latter. The evidence for the iotacistic pronunciation of <η> as [i:] instead of [ɛ:] as a feature of female speech is obviously scanty and indirect, but nevertheless significant. Socrates testimony, in particular, is extremely relevant, as it indicates that Athenian men were aware of this pronunciation particularity and suggests that educated men even knew about the folk etymology of ἡμέρα as being related to ἡμερος. The predominantly male audience²⁹ would not have missed this feature of female speech – a feature, indeed, that Duhoux believed was missing altogether from Aristophanes’ ‘women comedies’. In light of the numerous characteristics of female speech in Aristophanes uncovered in recent scholarship,³⁰ it would have been a missed opportunity not to make use of this particular one. Aristophanes was of course an extremely creative punster and would not miss an opportunity if he had one, or better: if he could create one.³¹ And we should not forget what Henderson reminded us of with reference to Aristophanes’ audience: “The Greeks’ great interest in the significance of words and enjoyment in revealing unexpected connections among them made them much more enthusiastic punsters than we are”.³²

Ghent University / Harvard University

MARK JANSE

mark.janse@ugent.be

²⁹ Recent scholarship seems to agree that the audience was predominantly male, e.g. H. Foley, ‘Performing Gender in Greek Old and New Comedy’ and E. Hall, ‘Comedy and Athenian Festival Culture’, both in M. Revermann (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Comedy* (Cambridge, 2014) 260 & 317 respectively; B. Zimmermann, ‘Aristophanes’, in M. Fontaine & A.C. Scafuro (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Comedy* (Oxford, 2014) 146. For opposing views see the still relevant discussions by J. Henderson, ‘Women and the Athenian Dramatic Festivals’, *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 121 (1991) 133-48; S. Goldhill, ‘Representing Democracy. Women at the Great Dionysia’, in R. Osborne & S. Hornblower (eds.), *Ritual, Finance, Politics. Athenian Democratic Accounts Presented to David Lewis* (Oxford, 1994) 357-70; D.K. Roselli, *Theater of the People: Spectators and Society in Ancient Athens* (Austin, 2011) 158-93.

³⁰ Cf. Sommerstein, ‘Language’ (n. 13) 61-85; Willi, *Languages* (n. 12) 157-97; Y. Duhoux, ‘Langage de femmes et d’hommes en grec ancien. L’exemple de *Lysistrata*’, in J.H.W. Penney (ed.), *Indo-European perspectives. Studies in honour of Anna Morpurgo-Davies* (Oxford, 2004) 131-145; T. Fögen, T., ‘Female speech’, in E.J. Bakker (ed.), *A companion to the Ancient Greek language* (Chichester, 2010) 311-326; C. Meluzzi, ‘Variabilità sociolinguistica e pragmatica nelle commedie femminili di Aristofane’, in N. Grandi, M. Nissim, F. Tamburini & M. Vayra (eds.), *La nozione di classico in linguistica* (Roma, 2014) 167-76.

³¹ To quote just one other example of a pun on a military term perverted into a sexually charged word or, rather, name: Ὀρσίλοχος (725), a *nom parlant* which I have explained elsewhere as meaning ‘exciter of (female) troops’ rather than ‘inciter of troops’, cf. M. Janse, ‘εἰς Ὀρσίλοχου (Ar. *Lys.* 725)’, *Mnemosyne* 64 (2011) 629-631; M. Janse & D. Praet, ‘Orsilochus, the Perfect Adulterer’, *Glotta* 88 (2012) 166-173.

³² Henderson, *Aristophanes: Lysistrata* (n. 1) 167.